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- 57 Song of himself written by  
 Walter Chapman of Bee  
 another
- 57 hymn composed at school
- 70 Confession of hymns (note on it)
- 131 Song by hymn
- 154 a hymn
- 185 do
- 209 Song many hymns
- 231 from school
- 232 Song
- 300 10<sup>th</sup> LL May P. A. 1707
- Walter Service P. A. 36
- 377 her P. A. 36 years with
- 392 Service P. A. 36
- 424 Singing in church of hymns
- 425
- 431 at school by P. A. 36 & period
- 434
- 444
- 496 at a wedding
- 545 first hymn in many
- 546 Evening
- 548 Sunday
- 564 jingle





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Cottonus Mathernus

Theologicus Doctor. Regia. Facultatis. Lovanienfis. Socius.  
et Capituli apud. Brachnam. Viri. Anthonij. nuper. Graepifilius.

Ætatis. Suae. LXV. MDCCXXVII.

pp. 4. am. ad. v. in. p. p. ab. Orig. P. et. et. et.

Massachusetts Historical Society Collections



SEVENTH SERIES—VOL. VII

# DIARY OF COTTON MATHER

1681-1708

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund



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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, APRIL, 1911 . . . . .	vii
MEMBERS:	
RESIDENT . . . . .	viii
HONORARY . . . . .	x
CORRESPONDING . . . . .	x
PREFACE . . . . .	xiii
LOCATION OF MANUSCRIPT DIARIES . . . . .	xxiii
DIARY, 1681 . . . . .	I
1683 . . . . .	54
1685 . . . . .	86
1686 . . . . .	121
LETTERS.	
1690, May 17. To INCREASE MATHER . . . . .	137
On his return to New England. Agents appointed. In- gratitude for services. His own position.	
1691, September 14. To JOHN COTTON . . . . .	140
The king and the charter. Forgery of a clerk. Plymouth as a province. Magistrates.	
1692, August 5. To JOHN COTTON . . . . .	142
Execution of witches at Salem. The earthquake at Jamaica. Trouble at Taunton.	
DIARY, 1691 . . . . .	xxv
1692 . . . . .	144
1693 . . . . .	160
1696 . . . . .	182
1697 . . . . .	221
1698 . . . . .	252
1699 . . . . .	292
1700 . . . . .	335
1701 . . . . .	393
1702 . . . . .	418
1703 . . . . .	466

LETTER.	PAGE
1704, December 4. To SAMUEL PENHALLOW . . . . .	507
Grateful for his communication. Illness of his daughter Catharine. Colonel Hobby and the governorship.	
DIARY, 1705 . . . . .	509
1706 . . . . .	545
1707 . . . . .	593
LETTERS.	
1707, March 6. To SAMUEL PENHALLOW . . . . .	598
Books sent by a captive woman. Encloses some state paper.	
1707, July 8. To SAMUEL PENHALLOW. . . . .	599
News from England. Some proceedings against traders resented. Francis Makemie.	
1707. Esquire Bickerstaff's Predictions for 1708 . . . . .	600
1708, September 21. To — . . . . .	602
Question on baptism.	
1708, November 22. To SAMUEL PENHALLOW. . . . .	603
Sends copies of <i>Good Evening</i> . Effect of his name.	

## ILLUSTRATIONS

PORTRAIT OF COTTON MATHER, after Peter Pelham	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
PAGE OF THE DIARY, to <i>face page</i> . . . . .	I



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## P R E F A C E

THE DIARY OF COTTON MATHER is of value as the record of a man of peculiar attainments, as a bibliography of a very prolific compiler and publisher, and, most of all, as an important contribution to the history of the Congregational Church in Massachusetts. For he was only a type, one of many, made prominent by the large number of his printed writings, some of which have served to keep him in the public eye even to this day. The existence of this record, scattered in three different collections, has long been known, and much inquiry has arisen about its contents. Mr. Wendell used a part in his scholarly biography of Cotton Mather,<sup>1</sup> and extracts have appeared in many places; but no year's record has ever been transcribed or printed. In April, 1908, Mr. Henry H. Edes proposed to the Council of the American Antiquarian Society to confer with the Council of this Society "with a view of securing the proper editing and publication of all the manuscript diaries of Increase Mather and Cotton Mather."<sup>2</sup> In February, 1909, the Massachusetts Historical Society appointed a committee to publish the diaries in cooperation with the American Antiquarian Society, and invited the latter Society to aid. Circumstanced as it was, the Antiquarian Society could not take an active part in the editing and publication, but freely offered such material as it had, and named a committee of conference composed of Andrew McFarland Davis, George Parker Winship, and Clarence Saunders Brigham.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cotton Mather, the Puritan Priest*. New York [1891].

<sup>2</sup> *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, XIX, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 306.

So far as it has been preserved, this Diary is now printed for the first time. It is far from complete, and the record for some of the most important years of the diarist's life has been lost or destroyed. It is an account edited by himself, and comprises therefore only what he wished to have preserved for the benefit of his children. Such care also precludes the idea that Mather was not preparing a calendar of events and a record of feelings for posterity, and therefore for publication. Enough of the Diary, perhaps more than enough, remains to develop and illustrate his career, and to enable the reader to measure the man in his intentions and in his actions. While describing these he has prepared, not consciously, the material for a better comprehension of the position of church affairs in Massachusetts during his ministrations.

A diary being the more intimate and immediate records of the writer's thoughts, if spontaneous, better expresses his feelings and his character than any other form of writing. This was peculiarly the case with Cotton Mather. He early formed the habit of placing on paper his mental processes, of examining his own spiritual condition, and of measuring himself in action by standards arbitrarily imposed by his own beliefs, standards drawn from Scripture and his interpretation of what Scripture required. He inherited this habit from his father, Increase Mather, whose leaning towards a somewhat morbid introspection became exaggerated in the son. Cotton from his early youth minutely recorded his performance of the outward observances demanded by the church of the day from its members; and, from noting or listing such formal acts, it was an easy stage to recording the inward feelings and interpreting the agitations of mind an ill-balanced character endured. At first he intended to be a physician, and had made some progress in his studies when he altered his determination and studied for the ministry. The training required for the church was in that day not broad, being

confined to philosophy, logic, dogma, and the dry husks of theological disputation, materials for culture that have become more curious than useful, and more capable of historical use than of actual application to problems of life in general. In Mather's case such a training only aggravated tendencies handed down from his father and his grandfathers — Richard Mather and John Cotton. Physically not strong and with oversensitized intuitions, he became an ecstatic, dangerously near to one possessed. In spite of all his reading, and he was one of the greatest readers of his day in America, he remained bound and limited by the accepted dogmas of his church; in spite of his great activities in public and church endeavor, he continued to be something of a dreamer, inclined to a quite material mysticism that was false, and to beliefs concerning his own power and influence that could only lead him astray. A wholesome counteraction of this tendency was wanting; and he suffers accordingly.

For this the time was as responsible as his nature. The first generation of clergymen in New England contained men of strong characters and great performance. The names of Cotton, Wheelwright, Wilson, Norton, Chauncy, and Richard Mather command respect if they do not command allegiance to their beliefs and conduct. Trained in Old England, and armed with all the weapons of controversy that had been kept bright by persecutions and disputations under the distracting changes of church government from the days of Elizabeth, they possessed an energy and, for that day, a learning that compel admiration when applied to conditions in Massachusetts Bay. If the standards of today be applied, and no standards could be more severe, they were narrow minded and even cruel bigots.<sup>1</sup> But the purpose that led them to migrate to a new and unknown

<sup>1</sup> Brooks Adams in his *Emancipation of Massachusetts* gave a much needed criticism of the rule of the elders.

land, marked them as progressives, however tempered by an intention of preserving intact their church organization, in itself proof of an absence of the advance principle that makes for progress. The conditions in New England strengthened this purpose and intention, and also hardened them to contend against the many dangers which they conceived threatened the safety and existence of the new settlements, based so firmly upon a strong churchly organization. In this contest they lost little of their power or influence, and found or compelled the magistrates to be willing to further their ideas of what the situation required.

This influence of the church and elders persisted in the next generation. Yet even then the beginnings of other tendencies began to be felt. However homogeneous the first emigrations had been, the unity of purpose had not been so perfect as to exclude moments of rebellion that called for the exertion of power to suppress. The mere growth of population, bringing with it an increasing diversity of interest, threatened the dominance of one church or one belief. The fear aroused in Winthrop's time by the visit to Boston of a Jesuit, exemplified the danger that seemed ever to threaten the colony. The Quakers, the French refugees, and the presence of a Jew, were only outward manifestations of disturbing factors, against which the church must exert her power. The Arians, Pelagians, Formalists, and Anabaptists — and the names were freely and wrongly applied — were enemies to the church, and also of the State. But as time passed, these hostile elements grew in number and restive under restraint, and the population perforce became more tolerant of their presence. They even made their influence felt and raised embarrassing questions on the requirements of the churches of the day. Political disturbances such as accompanied the abrogation of the old and the granting of the new charter were reflected in church unrest. The position of the clergyman was

always under review, but not for more than a century really shaken.

To secure this preeminence all other social activity had been sacrificed; whatever could question or oppose the rule of the church was ruthlessly crushed. With the ocean on one side closing a free intercourse with Europe, and the unexplored wilderness on the other, the community stood in danger of intellectual atrophy. "That result the clergy — the dominant influence — courted. They, as men are apt to do under such circumstances, looked on change with suspicion and dreaded innovation as concealed heresy." After 1647 their ascendancy was undisputed, and for a full century under the supreme rule of orthodoxy the result was not only benumbing and provincial, but produced a morbid general condition. The preaching must be highly seasoned to be palatable, and the great importance attached to theology made real progress impossible. The period was sterile — glacial.<sup>1</sup>

Cotton Mather well represented the scholarship, the theology and practically the thought of the community in which he lived. The Puritan had passed out of the active, formative stage into the fixed and unchangeable. Mather was the young man of promise; in him the community saw the qualities it regarded as its highest and most perfect attributes. He reflected the Puritan spirit as it had hardened, become ossified, and thus his writings serve to preserve the methods, expressions, and life generally of that day.

If the second generation of elders suffered in mind and in influence by the changes introduced by the supposedly hostile forces, the third generation, to which Mather

<sup>1</sup> This has been developed in Charles Francis Adams, *Massachusetts: its Historians and its History*, and some of his very words have been used in these paragraphs.

belonged, was even more subject to disrupting movements among the people. The dangers that surrounded the congregations formed one of the most frequent subjects of discussion, and the decay of piety, the corruption of morals, the presence of strange doctrines, the danger of incurring the displeasure of the Almighty by departing from his ordinances, and the frequent display of his anger, were dwelt upon in Sunday sermon, Thursday lecture, and election discourse. The magistrates and people were loudly called to the rescue of the colony and church. Fast days multiplied as occasion called for such expression of public humiliation for general wrong-doing.

It was in this transition period that Mather held sway. In the beginning of his public ministry Church and State were still practically one, working together and in full confidence of their rectitude and devotion to public welfare. The elder was still the great man of the community, consulted on all occasions, the source of a wisdom to which ordinary mortals could not aspire. Before Mather died, this supremacy had been sadly shaken, and no one felt it more keenly than he felt it himself. He draughted fast day proclamations; he clamored importunately for the maintenance of church authority; he spent a lifetime in devising schemes for advancing piety and religion; he deplored the formation of new churches and the introduction of ideas which did not entirely conform to his own; and he shrank from whatever seemed to injure his own position or methods in the vineyard. He regarded his father and himself as above criticism, and often used the elders of the former generation as a shield against those who attacked him, and, as he believed, the church through him. It was all in vain, for nothing he devised or performed could stem the natural current of the non-conformity, or the dissent, of the day. He felt his influence slipping away, and interpreted it as something personal to himself.

In this he did not err, and in Mather will be found much to repel and little to attract. In the course of time his earnestness becomes painful, his resignation and self-abasement ring hollow, his cries become strident, his postures and prayers seem mechanical. Believing himself to be the favorite of God he established communication with Deity, either through the agency of an Angel or even more directly, and received encouragements which fortunately he was unable to express in human language, and which become little less than ridiculous in his attempts to express them, unless allowance is made for his mental and physical condition. He indulged in prophecy, and, if he only waited a sufficient time, he could find some happening that would fit his prophecy. The practice involved dangers that sometimes returned upon him to his discomfiture. These communications and the apparent success now and again attending them, reacted upon an already well developed vanity, and he lived in an atmosphere of self-complacency, as misleading as it was unreal. His mind fed upon material clearly innutritious, and he resorted to fasts, vigils, and self-mortifications in the belief that he was thereby assuring to himself this intercourse with divine beings, and so increasing his usefulness to the world. In reality he was drawing heavily upon a not very strong vitality, and inducing a state of mental intoxication, believed to be of ecstasis, a state of rapture in which the body became insensible to surrounding objects, while the soul was engaged in the contemplation of things divine. This involved an intoxication of the senses, and an indulgence in prophetic inspiration. He took his religious observances as men take opium, and under their action he was convinced that he felt, saw, and heard things beyond the apprehension of ordinary men. That the means of inducing rapture were crude, that they acted upon a man incapable of high imagination, and that the results were not commensurate with the intentions of the act, at times

produce a touch of absurdity. Consciously or unconsciously Mather records his experiences in the very words and experiences of earlier mystics and elders, and these frequent borrowings awaken some doubt upon his ability to produce a real ecstasy, one that could be oblivious to pain, or neglectful of the effect to be produced upon others by its display. The mechanism is too obvious, and the concernment over self is too marked to escape attention. Indeed the impression gained is that his periods of transport were far removed from true religious rapture or frenzy, and more closely resembled a physical cataleptic state.

In inducing these sensuous conditions and in surrendering himself entirely to their numbing effects, he believed he was giving himself completely into the hands of divine power, to be directed wholly by that power. Such surrender may arise from a weakness of mind or body, which dislikes to contend strongly against temptation or against the annoyances that pertain to any station in life, and which seeks refuge and relief in giving the responsibility of decision to another. Such natures are apt to be credulous and easily imposed upon, for they have not passed through that strengthening process that would enable them to stand alone. Mather's training had been a sheltered one, and he early stepped into a place already prepared for him, and in which he was still in great part protected. That he should have been carried too far in the witchcraft delusion is not strange, for many much stronger than he gave way to it; but it is somewhat strange that he should so often have been imposed upon by little incidents, as his Diary proves, and that he should so seriously accept the mystical explanation of a very commonplace fact. The solemnity of record adds not a little to what is essential to an apprehension of the man, but it leaves an impression of positive weakness. No one can read the issues of that day and fail to recognize that strange beliefs were held, strange objects seen, and strange

interpretations applied; but, after all due allowance, for the atmosphere in which men then lived, it is still difficult to accept Mather at his own estimation. That he was the special subject of divine favor, and the special object of satanic buffetings, sums up this estimate. An overweening vanity lay at the basis of it.

Under such stimulus the church over which he presided, the town in which he lived, and even the Colony of Massachusetts proved too narrow a field for his endeavors. His restlessness, made the more impelling by his habits, led him to look abroad for objects of his care. The ungodspellized plantations adjacent to Massachusetts, the colonies to the southward and in the West Indies, the concerns of European countries, the conditions in the Spanish American countries, and the captives in North Africa, — these were some of the objects of his activities. He wrote in French to produce a reformation in France; he wrote in Spanish to subvert the colonies of Catholic Spain; and he urged the translation of his writings into other tongues, that they might bear witness to his desires to remodel mankind upon the lines of his beliefs. As an ardent proselytizer he sought the reformation of the world, and the instruments were to be prayers and printed books. His advocacy of inoculation for the smallpox was greatly to his credit.

This leads to a notice of a notable phase of his activity, for no man, before or since his day, sought and enjoyed so many opportunities to print what he wrote. On this phase nothing could be more eloquent than the Diary now printed. The eagerness to see his compositions in print grew with his years, and his industry was turned to the regular manufacture of matter for the press. Having completed a study, tract, or discourse the printing of it became an object of his thought, a subject of his prayers. At times his very religion seems to be subordinated to this passion for seeing his productions in type, and as the number of issues increased, the

stronger became his conviction that through them he was accomplishing a great world-work, one that the Lord had designed he should perform. He was assiduous in distributing his own books, and artful in securing the aid of others to print or distribute them. These tracts possessed in his eyes a great efficacy in advancing the cause of religion, in soothing distress, and even in quieting bodily pain. As the record of a most active writer for the press the Diary possesses value in bibliographical study. A much larger number of these issues than Mather would have deemed possible have entirely disappeared; many exist in a single known copy; others are not rare. The greatest contribution of value that came from his pen was the *Magnalia*, a work that is still a storehouse of ill-compiled and ill-digested matter, not without real historical importance. Moreover, it stands as the one contribution from New England of value to history in the period from 1650 to 1780. It is, perhaps, fortunate that his greater compilation, the *Biblia Americana*, never saw the light.

The text of the Diary is as Mather wrote it, some changes in punctuation and capitalizing only having been made. The notes have been confined to such matters as seemed to require explanation, and are not intended to elucidate every point of the text in a biographical spirit. Such a task would have led to encumbering the volumes with notes equal in length to the text; and, as the Diary is not complete, the notes would have shared in this defect. On the side of bibliography the notes are brief, as a full bibliography of the Mathers is being compiled by competent hands. Some letters, hitherto unpublished, have been added to their respective years.

Acknowledgment is made to Rev. William H. Cobb of the Congregational Library for the privilege of using the record for 1716. Also to the Second Church, which through Dr. Francis Henry Brown placed its manuscript volumes of

records at the disposal of the Society. As the records of the Church over which Mather presided have never been printed, the essential entries have been included as notes. They develop the church discipline of the time as enforced by Mather, and in his very words.

A portrait of Cotton Mather is in the American Antiquarian Society; but its artistic value is slight and, as a representation of the man, indifferent. The mezzotint by Peter Pelham, from a portrait painted by him in 1728, is of a higher order of workmanship, and is reproduced on a reduced scale from a fine impression of the original, courteously loaned by Mr. Henry W. Cunningham, of Boston.

Mather's script is not difficult to read after certain peculiarities have been mastered; but the condition of some of the papers, blotted by erasures, spotted or faded by exposure, and frayed and torn at the edges from use, made the reading at times difficult and doubtful. The manuscript was transcribed by Miss ANNA M. GALVIN, and with an accuracy leaving little to be desired. The Latin sentences have had the scholarly supervision of our colleague, Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES. The proofs have also been read by Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE, whose knowledge of Mather imprints has proved serviceable.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

BOSTON, MASS., April, 1911.



LOCATION OF MANUSCRIPTS

LOCATION OF MANUSCRIPT DIARIES

VOL. I

1681 Massachusetts Historical Society.  
 1683 " " "  
 1685 " " "  
 1686 " " "  
 1691 American Antiquarian Society.  
 1692 " " "  
 1693 Massachusetts Historical Society.  
 1696 American Antiquarian Society.  
 1697 Massachusetts Historical Society.  
 1698 " " "  
 1699 American Antiquarian Society.  
 1700 Massachusetts Historical Society.  
 1701 " " "  
 1702 Massachusetts Historical Society.  
 1703 American Antiquarian Society.  
 1705 Massachusetts Historical Society.  
 1706 " " "  
 1707 " " "

VOL. II

1709 American Antiquarian Society.  
 1711 " " "  
 1713 " " "  
 1716 Congregational Library.  
 1717 American Antiquarian Society.  
 1718 Massachusetts Historical Society.  
 1721 " " "  
 1724 " " "



1691<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A fragment found too late to be inserted in regular order in the volume.

7 d. 2 m. [April.] 1691.

This Day, was with mee, a Day of singular Distress. My Father was now on board a Ketch, which attended him, to meet the ship, wherein hee was to take his Voyage for England. This Day the Ship was to sett sail; and I understood that my Father's Enemies, with other Vessels, which had armed Men in them, were to accompany that Ship, till clear of the Coast, that so hee might have no Opportunitie to gett on board.

All the Time, of my Father's Absence, in this Difficulty and Obscuritie, I had kept wrestling with God, for his Preservation. Many *Psalms* had I pray'd and sang, with a particular Application to this Affayr. Especially, the 27th, the 56th, the 57th, the 59th, the 64th, the 121st, the 140th, and the 142d.

But *this Day*, I sett apart for *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, before the Lord. I humbled and loathed myself before God, for my former *Iniquities*, and my present *Infirmities*. I confessed my *Unworthiness* of all Mercies; and especially such a Mercy, as the Enjoyment of such a Father, as mine. I Implored of the Lord once and again, that He would this Day, deliver my Father from his *Adversaries*. The fresh Accounts, which were in the midst of the Day, brought mee, about the Perils now surrounding of my Father, produced in mee such a Distress, that I cast myself prostrate on my *Study-floor*, and there, with my Mouth in the Dust, I begg'd for my Father's Deliverance; promising that I would within a few Dayes, keep a *Day of Thanksgiving* unto God, if I might obtain it. My Spirit was, after this, at some Ease, about this perplexing Affair.

But I thought myself concerned, further to entreat, that since my *Father* had now left mee, alone, in a great *Place* and in a great *Work*, yett that I might not be alone; or bee destitute of those Assistances from God, without which, I must needs Dishonour Him; which was to mee, the dreadfulest Thought in the World: And the Lord assured mee, *that Hee would bee with mee*.

Well; at Night, the Gentlemen (my Father Philips, the Principal) who had undertaken, for the Safety of my Father, arrived home, and came to tell mee, that my Father, was, beyond the Reach of all Ill men, putt aboard, the Ship intended; thro' the Wonderful Providence of God, causing the *same Wind*, both to help *him*, and hurt his pursuers. Thus the Lord heard mee, in the Day that I cried unto Him; *I will love the Lord!*

This Week, dream'd, that being left alone, I was putt upon preaching a Sermon publickly, for which I had no Time to prepare aforehand. I dream'd, that being driven to this extemporaneous Extremity, I preached a Sermon upon those Words, *I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee*. The Thoughts, which I had upon this Text, in my Sleep, were so proper and so lively, and I could, after I awoke, remember so many of them, that indeed, I preached the *Lords-Day* following upon that very Text.

And the Week following, I kept a Day of secret *Thanksgiving* unto the Lord, as I had promised.

DIARY OF COTTON MATHER





7. J 9. 11

This DAY, was Devoted unto Secret Humiliations  
and Supplications, Before the God of HEAVEN.

Having this Day, Obtained and Received, a  
Joyful Assurance, that none of my former Inqui-  
-ties would be Remembred against mee, I set  
myself to Redye ye Smiles of God upon mee, in ye  
Ordering of my single or married Estate, unto His  
Glory.

I Acknowledged unto the Lord, my own Unworthi-  
-ness of any Good Thing, especially of that good  
Thing, which is found by Him that obtain favour of  
ye Lord: I professed, that I would study to do  
nothing hereabout, that should bee displeasing  
unto Him: I declared, that I desired Nothing  
in this World, which might prejudice my glori-  
-fying of myself: I said, that if Hee saw  
any thing, would hinder mee from Honouring  
of Him, I should bee glad, if Hee would hinder  
mee from Having of that, whatsoever my  
-guided Appetites, might plead unto ye Contrary:  
I said, that if Hee would leave mee to embrace  
a Celibacy, I would evermore take a Content-  
-ment in it, as that which would capacitate mee  
to serve my parents, and His people, to whom  
I owe my All. Nevertheless, to this I subjo-  
-ined, that since my Inclinations and Invi-  
-tations did now seem to Recommend a married  
Estate unto mee, I begged of Him, that Hee  
would lead mee in ye way whitherso I should go,  
-and I vow'd unto Him, that if Hee would  
prevent all Obstructions, of my desirable  
Engagement in a married Relation, unto one  
who shall bee a Redfying to mee, in that Work  
which my Hand finds to do, I will TWICE  
at least, every Year join with her, in  
keeping a Day of Thanksgiving, private



# Diary of Cotton Mather

1681<sup>1</sup>

12 d. 1 m. [March.] This Day was filled with the Devotions and Enjoyments of a raised Soul.

But there were especially two things, whereabouts the Salleyes of my Soul, were considerable, not only on this Day but at many other Times, in this part of my *Life*.

One Thing, wherein I was more fervently concerned, was, that great Thing of, *a Closure with the Lord Jesus Christ*. In the Prosecution of this Matter I may truly say, t'was the *Spirit* of God, that was my *Teacher*: no *Man*, or *Book*, showed mee the way of expressing this glorious Transaction; but this Day, I used such Words as these among others, before the Redeemer of my Soul.

“Oh! my Dear Lord; Thy Father hath committed my Soul, into thy Hands; there's a *Covenant of Redemption*, wherein I am concerned: I know my *Election*, by my *Vocation*, and my Concernment in that *Covenant*, by my being made Willing to come under the Shadow of thy Wings in the *Covenant of Grace*; Now, in that *Covenant*, the *Father* said unto the Son, *such an elect Soul there is, that I will bring into thy Fold, and thou shalt undertake for that Soul, as a Sufficient and an Eternal Saviour*. Wherefore, I am now, in thy Hands, O my Lord; Thy Father hath putt mee there; and I have putt myself there; O save mee! O heal mee!

<sup>1</sup>The record begins thus abruptly. It was his custom to begin a new year's record on February 12, his birthday. The earlier pages covering the month's entries have been lost. As he was born in February, 1662-63, he had completed his eighteenth year.

O work for mee, work in mee, the good Pleasure of thy Goodness."

And afterwards I said,

"*Lord*, I have been leaving my Soul, this Day, with Jesus Christ, and Thou hast bid mee to beleeve that I shall be saved by Him. *Lord!* I do beleeve, that there never came a poor Soul to the Lord Jesus Christ in vain, and I do beleeve that I myself shall not find it in vain. Hee will do *great things* for mee. Hee has already done enough, to leave mee without any Cause of rep[en]ting that I have, thro' so much Agony of [Soul] come unto Him; yea, but I beleeve that [Hee] has more still to do for mee. Having been the *Author* Hee will bee the *Finisher*, of my Faith."

Another thing that much exercised mee was, that I might not bee left without necessary Supplies of *Speech* for my Ministry.<sup>1</sup> God was pleased so far to lett my *Infirmity* remain, that altho' by a careful *Deliberation*<sup>2</sup> my *public Services* were freed from any Blemish by it, yett I was, by His Wisdome, kept in continual *Prayer*, and *Fear*, and *Faith*, concerning it. How many Thousands of sollicitous Thoughts I underwent concerning it, is best known to Him, who by those Thoughts *drove* mee and kept mee *nearer* to Himself.

On this Day particularly I pleaded;

"*Lord!* Thou art Hee that *made man's Mouth*; and thou wast angry with *Moses*, because hee would not make that consideration, an Argument for *Faith*, that thou wouldest

<sup>1</sup> He was at this time assisting his father at the North Church. He first preached for his grandfather at Dorchester, August 22, 1680, and for his father at Boston on the following Sabbath. He was called to be assistant to his father February 23, 1680-81.

<sup>2</sup> His son, Samuel, states that while Mather was in full concern for relief from this troublesome affliction, "that good old Schoolmaster Mr. Corlet gave him a Visit on purpose to advise Him; *Sir*, said he, I *should be glad if you would oblige yourself to a dilated Deliberation in speaking; for as in singing there is no one who stammers, so by prolonging your Pronunciation you will get an Habit of speaking without Hesitation.*" *Life of Cotton Mather*, 26.

*bee with his Mouth.* And now, because I would not so sin, therefore I trust in thee! Thou dost send *mee* forth, as thou didst *Moses*, in Service for thy Name among thy people; and thou who didst make *Mans Mouth* and make *my Mouth*, wilt bee with my Mouth. It was also once used, as a Bottom for Faith, *the Lord hath*, and therefore, *the Lord will*. Now tis a blessed Experience which I have already had of thy Help; yea, such an Experience as hath caused mee to promise, *that I would never distrust thee more.* Lord, Thou saist, *None of them who trust in thee shall bee desolate.* But how *desolate* shall I bee, if I am left without *Speech* for thy *Work!* I trust in thee; and therefore it shall not bee. Thou saist, *Thou wilt never forsake them that seek thee.* But I have *sought* thee, and I will *seek* thee, as long as I have a Day to live. And now, O Lord, I will beleev-ingly wait on thee; I shall see a *Token for good*; Thy People too shall see *Witnesse of the Token.*"<sup>1</sup>

Butt one special Action of this Day, was to make and write the following:

#### RESOLUTIONS AS TO MY WALK WITH GOD.

*Lord!* Thou that workest in mee to *will*, help mee to *resolve*.

I. As to my *Thoughts*.

1. To endeavour, that I will keep *God*, and *Christ*, and *Heaven*, much in my *Thoughts*.

2. In a special manner, to watch and pray, against

<sup>1</sup> Mather suffered in youth from an impediment of speech which threatened to destroy his usefulness in the public ministry, and fearing this, he first studied medicine, for which he retained a strong interest throughout his life. His treatise on medicine, the *Angel of Bethesda*, on which he placed a high value, is a curious mixture of medicine and his peculiar faith dogmas. It has never been printed, but deserves to be for the sidelight it throws upon the medical practice of the day. From a folio volume (still in manuscript) of records of cases treated by Governor John Winthrop, the younger, and this treatise by Mather, the medical knowledge of a century and a half could be summarized. The Winthrop ms. is in the Massachusetts Historical Society; the *Angel of Bethesda* is in the American Antiquarian Society.

*lascivious Thoughts, ambitious Thoughts, and wandring Thoughts in the Times of Devotion.*

II. As to my *Words*.

1. To bee not of many *Words*, and when I do speak, to do it with *Deliberation*.

2. To remember my obligations to use my *Tongue* as *the Lord's*, and not *my own*: and therefore, to promote *savoury Discourse*, if I can, wherever I come; and to discourse with such as come fairly in my way, about the Things of their *everlasting Peace*.

3. Never to answer any *weighty Question*, without lifting up my Heart unto God, in a Request, that Hee would help mee to give a *right Answer*.

4. To *speak Ill of no Man*; except, on a good *Ground*, and for a good *End*.

5. Seldome to make a Visit, without contriving, *what I may do for God, in that Visit*.

III. As to my daily Course of Duties.

1. To *pray* at least *thrice*, for the most part every Day.

2. To *meditate* once a Day; in the *Meditation* proceeding after some such Method as this; that there shall bee two Parts of the work, *doctrinal*, and *applicatory*. The *doctrinal* to bee dispatched in an Answer to a Quæstion. The *Applicatory* to flow from thence into *Examination, Expostulation, Resolution*.

3. To make a Custome of propounding to myself, these *three Quæstions*, every Night before I sleep.

*What hath been the Mercy of God unto mee, in the Day past?*

*What hath been my carriage before God, in the Day past.* And,

*If I dy this Night is my immortal Spirit safe?*

4. To lead a Life of heavenly *Ejaculations*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mather early adopted the practice of ejaculations, which Fuller describes as a short prayer "darted up to God" in an emergency. In this sense the word was much used at the time this record was written.

5. To bee diligent in *observing* and *recording* of *illustrious Providences*.

But in all, to bee continually going unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only Physician, and Redeemer, of my Soul.

Lord! Thou that workest in mee to *do*, help mee to *perform*.

Penned by, *Cotton Mather*; A feeble and worthless, yett (*Lord! by thy Grace!*) desirous to approve himself, a sincere and faithful Servant of Jesus Christ.

The Lord knowes, how miserably defective I have been, in the *performing* of what I have thus *resolved*. But my Defects, have been the matter of my continual *Reflections* and *Abasements* before Him. And, for the main, I have made in my Study, to bee *abounding in these Works of the Lord*. Yea, these Flights of my Soul, in *Essayes* to glorify God, have been but the lower and lesser *Flights* of my Youth; which I hope, will ere long proceed unto a *Mounting up with the Wings of Eagles*.

The Singular Assistences which the God of Heaven gave unto mee, in my public Ministrations on the following Sabbath, were such, as caused mee to draw up this conclusion; *I beleeve, I shall have a glorious Presence of God with mee, thro' my whole Ministry*.

And God so strangely inclined the Hearts of the People in our Congregation; that besides their weekly Collections every Lord's-Day, they did about this Time subscribe about *Seventy Pounds*, for my Encouragement, in my public Service the ensuing year.<sup>1</sup>

13 d. 1 m. [*March.*] *Lord's-Day*. Coming home, from the

<sup>1</sup>Cotton was not ordained colleague to his father in the church until May 13, 1685. His uncle Nathaniel wrote: "I had forgot to say to yourself, by any means get to preach without any use of or help by your notes. When I was in N. E., no man that I remember used them except one, and hee because of a speciall infirmity, the vertigo, as I take it, or some specie of it. Neither of your Grandfathers used any, nor did your uncle [Samuel] here; nor doe I, tho wee both of us write generally the materials of all our sermons." 4 *Collections*, VIII. 34.

public Service, wherein I enjoy'd the special Assistences of God I wrote these Words: ~~☞~~ *I beleeve that I am a chosen Vessel, and that the Lord will pour mercy unto mee, till I have arrived unto a Fulness of eternal Glory! Lord, help me to serve thee, love thee, glorify thy Name. Fill mee with thy Spirit. It will bee so! Oh! Who am I, that I should bee filled with the Spirit of the Holy God! But it will bee so! The Lord hath caused His Servant to trust in His Word.* Isa. 44. 3.<sup>1</sup>

This Day in the Assurance, the glorious and ravishing Assurance, of the Divine Love, my Joyes were almost insupportable!

19 d. 1 m. Three weeks are not passed, since my keeping a secret *Fast*, before the Lord; and now on the very same Accounts, I keep another.<sup>2</sup>

My Essayes, to cast myself upon the Mercy of God, in Jesus Christ, this Day, were attended with wonderful *Assurances*, that the *Lord was mine and that I should be His forever.*

Yea, I feel the Lord Jesus Christ most sensibly carrying on, the Interests of His Kingdome in my Soul, continually.

The Day following [20th], having been thrown into much Weakness and Faintness by the extraordinary Devotions, wherein I had been labouring, Satan made it unto mee an Occasion of many Discouraging Fears, that I should not bee able to go thro' the work, which was the Lords-Day before mee. But I earnestly cried unto the Lord, saying, *Lord, I*

<sup>1</sup> "For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring."

<sup>2</sup> While Mather did not literally starve his veins with daily fasts, he undoubtedly carried his abstinence at times to an excess, and produced a weakness that accompanied him through life. When thus weakened he saw visions and heard voices, the recording of which was beyond him and his attempts to picture them are at times not a little ridiculous. At first spontaneous, these visitations became in time mechanical, and the mechanism is so apparent as to deprive the exhibition of its intended effect. He began those exercises of days of prayer and fasting when he was about fourteen years of age, making Scudder's *Christian's Walk* his directory in those duties. *Paterna*, in Wendell, *Cotton Mather*, 36.

*know not what to do, but my Eyes are unto thee. Thou art a Master, most able and ready to help thy poor Servants. Oh! lett thy Strength appear in my Weakness; and, being strong in the Lord lett mee be carried now beyond myself. Lord, Thou hast said, Thou wilt bee with thy Disciples to the End of the World; I apply that Word, I rely on thee; I beleeve thou wilt enable mee to glorify thy Name.*

In the Strength of this Faith I went into the great Congregation; and the Lord gave mee such remarkable and even unusual Assistences, that I saw cause then to enter this Advice;

“Remember, O my Soul; that when I am going about the Work of my dear Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, thou art then to depend on Him for Strength: *Fear nothing, thou shalt be strong.*”

3 d. 2 m. [April.] *Lord's-Day.* ☞ This Day, the Lord putt itt into my Heart to make this Prayer before Him. *That Hee would give mee, to write something that may do Service, for the Lord Jesus Christ, among young Persons.* And I was perswaded, that I should live to do it!

8 d. 2 m. I found my Soul under strong Distempers; and especially, an *idle Frame* of Soul, was a Plague upon mee. Upon this Occasion I fell into an exceeding Bitternesse of Spirit; and I was filled with *Fears*, that the Spirit of God was going to take a sad *Farewell* of mee. This *Agony* of my mind, sett mee upon *Prayer*; but in *Prayer* I found myself horribly *straitned*; nor could I find any *Promise* that I could lay hold upon. Yea, I could not go unto the Lord *Jesus Christ*, nor do any thing to rescue myself out of the most shattered, and confused, condition in the World. I saw, there was no *Peace* to bee had, if the Lord *spoke* it not, and I saw, that it was a dangerous Thing to give way unto anything, that may *grieve the Spirit of God*. The Lord is grinding mee to Peaces for the Frames of Soul, wherein I have allowed myself.

But after all, I will (thought I) do these things. First. I will not absolutely conclude, that the Lord, intends mee *Hurt* in my *Desertions*. Hee has done, and will do, the same good unto mee, by them, that by other *Afflictions*. I beleeve, that when the Lord had *broken* mee, and fitted mee for further Mercy, and laid mee low before Him, Hee will *raise* mee up, in bestowing of great *Comfort* on mee and employing mee in great *Service* for Him.

Secondly; I will not slacken my seeking the *Face* of God. Tho' now, when I try to *pray* I am so full of Darkness, Horrour, and Confusion, that I am not able to *pray* as formerly, yett when I can't *pray*, I'l groan. There is an, *It may bee, a, who knowes! a, who can tell!* but the Lord may pittie mee and Releeve mee.

The Day following, my Confusions continued and tho' I made Attempts at *Prayer*, yett a disconsolate Heart, that I had, could make no work of it. I considered; I was never sufficiently sensible both of my *Vileness* and *Weakness* before the Lord; and I never enough prized His *Consolations*. Now, thought I, the good God will rectify my Spirit. I considered also; perhaps the Lord is trying, which way my *Spirit* will work; and whither I will go for Help and Joy. But, *Lord, Thou art my Fountain, and I am resolved in thy Strength, that tho' thou grindest mee to Powder, I will never leave thee; tho' thou killest mee, I will putt my Trust in thee. I have worldly Delights and Contents enough, but O my Lord, they will not do.*

After some further Meditations, I went before the Lord, and my *departed Strength* returned something to mee. At last I said, *Lord, this has been the Counsel, that in thy Name, I have given to discouraged Souls, when speaking to them, in the great Congregation: If they could not beleeve, yett lett them try what they could do, and stretch out their withered Hands. And, Lord, this course I will follow, this Counsil I will take myself. Oh! Thou mighty Saviour, who hast bid all the Ends*

of Earth, to look unto thee, and said that thou wilt cast out none of those that come unto thee, Oh! I am helpless. But I look unto thee, I come unto thee. O undertake for mee. Deliver mee. I beleeve thou wilt; Lord, help my Unbeleef. My Diseases are so complicated, that I am not able so much as distinctly to mention them unto thee; much less can I remedy them. Only thou art my Support; and the Lord Jesus Christ shall have all the Glory.

So my Heart was quieted.

10 d. 2 m. Lord's-Day. This Day my enlarged Heart used these Expressions, in Prayer before the Lord.

"Lord, spare my Life, but, if thou dost call for mee out of this Vale of Tears, I am willing to dy, and come unto thee. Nevertheless, if it bee thy Will, I would live, to do some special Service for thee, before I shall go hence and bee no more; Yea, lett mee do something and in thy Time lett mee write something that may do good unto young Persons when I shall bee dead and gone."

16 d. 2 m. This Day I sett apart for solemn Humiliation, and earnest Supplication, in Secret before the Lord. My unsuitable and unsanctified Frames, under the most wonderful Mercies of God; and the Desertions which had lately darkened my Soul, were the things which drove mee to these Duties;

And my special Errands to the Lord were, that Hee would speak Peace unto mee, and that Hee would give mee Strength to overcome the Distempers of my Heart, and that Hee would prepare mee for and employ mee in some special Service, to His dearest Name.

Horrible Agonies and Amazements took hold of my Soul this Day, when I was, as in the Beginning of such Dayes I ever use to bee, entertaining myself with the manifold Instances of my Sinfulness and Wretchedness. After the Prayers wherein these things were amplified, sitting in my Chair, I had such Thoughts as these; "What intends my

Lord, to do with my Soul? Why do's Hee thus grind, and break *my Heart*, and upon every Turn, cast mee into *unutterable* Anguishes? O surely, Hee will sweeten *Heaven* to mee at the last. Yea, blessed bee the Name of the Great God; I know that I am entred at the *strait Gate* and walking in the *narrow Way*."

After this, essaying to go unto the Lord Jesus Christ, I found that I *could not* beleeve on Him. So, I cried earnestly, unto God, even as for my Life that Hee would help mee to beleeve, and, Oh! Blessed bee His Name! Hee did help mee; with a moved, melted, raised Soul, I *laid hold* on the Lord Jesus Christ, saying, "*Lord*, tho' I am lamentably full of Miseries; yett, blessed bee thy Name, there is a Christ, in whom there is a *Fountain sett open* for mee. And now, *Lord*, Thou hast bidden mee to go unto Him; it is thy *Commandment*, that I should beleeve. My Lord Jesus Christ has also encouraged mee, with His gracious *Invitations*, and has told mee, *Hee will in no wise cast mee out*. Oh! blessed Words! what shall I now do, but come? *Lord!* At thy Bidding *I come!* And now I will sitt down *satisfied*. I know that the Lord Jesus Christ is both an *able* and a *faithful* Saviour, and by Him I shall bee *saved from my Sins*. That, that is the *one Thing which I have desired; and that I will seek after*, even, that my *Iniquities* may bee subdued; and that I may bee sanctified as well as pardoned. And, Oh! what a glorious Word is this! It belongs unto my Lord Redeemer now, to destroy all my Sins. Why doth Hee call for my *Heart*? Is it not, that Hee might *work all His own works* in it? Why doth Hee *knock* at the Door of my Soul? Is it not, that he may come in to sett up His *Kingdome* there! And is that it? O Lord. Oh! lett that *blessed thing* bee done. And, now, I beleeve I shall bee *saved*. Being a *Sheep*, in the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, I never shall miscarry."

These Passages I recite the more distinctly that so,

having been thus in my Youth, *taught of God*, I may do something towards the *Teaching* of my Children or others with whom I may leave these Papers, the *Way of Salvation* by Jesus Christ. ☞ This Day also I received an Assurance from the Lord, that I should yett *live to do some great Services for Him*.

10 d. 3 m. [May.] This Day being taken with a violent pain in my *Back* and *Side*, which looked like a *Messenger of Death*, I wrote the following

#### THOUGHTS.

Oh! the *Hardness* of my Heart! If Mercies could have softned or quickned mee I should not have been as I am; but there is *desperate Wickedness*, from which I am yett uncleansed. I have sometimes thought I should never come to this Pass, when in secret Places, my filled Soul has been satisfied with the communion of the Blessed God. But nothing will now work in mee! Oh! I am as fitt for *Sickness*, as ever any poor Creature was. *Fitt*, in the same Sense, that a rotten Stump, is *fitt* for the Fire. And, *Lord*, shall I never bee awakened, until I feel the heavy *Blowes* of thy Hand? However, I have this to say. *First, Lord*, Thou canst *rectify* my Spirit every Way, without such bitter *Corrections*, as I have Reason to expect. *Next, Lord*, yett if thou wilt *afflict* mee, yett if I may bee brought thereby to *see* thee more, and love thee more, I *submit*; here I am; afflict mee; do what thou wilt with mee; *kill* mee; for thy *Grace* hath made mee willing to dy; *only, only, only*, help mee to delight in thee, and to glorify thy dearest Name.

So filthy a Wretch as I who continually *grieves* the good *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and grow proud and vain when Hee does exalt mee with His Favors have Cause to mention His Assistences unto mee with a very trembling Soul.

And what shall I make of this Instance?

There was an honest Man in the Town, whom I lovingly and frequently rebuked, for his neglecting to join himself unto some Church of the Lord Jesus Christ. His Indisposition thereunto continuing, I told him, *Well the God of Heaven hath by His Word been calling upon you; expect now to have Him speak unto you by a Blow!* A few Days after this, the honest Man fell down from the top of an House and received a *Blow*, whereof hee lay, for some weeks, as dead. But coming to himself, one of the first things hee thought on, was what I had said unto him; under the sense whereof, hee quickly went and joined himself unto the *South* church.

14 d. 3 m. 1681. This Day I saw that I had great cause to humble myself in *Fasting and Prayer* before the Lord, and accordingly I sett apart the Day.

Because, 1. My *old Iniquities* might make mee walk softly in the Bitterness of my Soul, all the Dayes of my Life. Oh! I was never enough humbled for them!

2. My *late Infirmities* have been very grievous, my *proud*; my *wanton*, my *slothful* Heart, fearfully testifies against mee.

3. Thé Lord has been so provoked, as to withdraw the *Light of His Countenance* from mee, and leave mee in a condition of heavy Darkness.

4. I am as *unprofitable* a Creature, as almost any I know in the World!

5. Times of *Trouble* are coming, and I had need yett the *Mark of God* upon mee.

For these causes, I devoted the Day unto the Lord; that I might abase myself before Him, and implore His Blessings, in all Respects, upon mee.

This Day, I thus renewed my Closure with the Lord Jesus Christ.

“*Lord*, I am a vile *Sinner*, and, which my Soul melts at the mention of, Thou art justly *angry* with mee. But, Oh! for a *Reconciliation!* *Lord*, Is there *no Hope in Israel?* Yea, thou hast opened a *Door of Hope*. And what a Word is that

which thou hast spoken? Thou dost even *beseech Sinners* to bee *reconciled* unto thyself. Is that so? *Lord*, I am willing to bee *reconciled* unto thee; my very Soul desires to love thee, and love thy Wayes, and walk therein alwayes, even unto the End. But is there not a *Jesus* who *delivers from the Wrath to come*? A JESUS! *Lord*, my Soul now lives and melts at the Remembrance of that sweet Name. A JESUS who is a *mighty Saviour*. To Him I go; and, *Lord*, It is at thy Bidding that I go. It is Hee that *formerly* invited mee, *formerly* encouraged mee, *formerly* assisted mee, to come unto Him, and I *formerly* have also found it *good for mee* so to do. Hee calls even such as I am, and solemnly professes, that Hee will *not cast them out*, when they *come* unto Him. Lo! then I *come*; I bring my Soul unto Him; Oh, lett Him save mee. Is not Hee a *Priest*, a *Prophet*, a *King*? Now, now I have *enough*, my Soul needs *no more*. Hee will bee *these* to mee, and therefore Hee will bee *All* to mee. And now I am *satisfied*! Tho' my Case bee so very bad, and tho' my Distempers are so very strong, that I am in myself at an utter Loss, how to releevе myself, yett Hee will bee my Undertaker; I will *rejoice in that Lord, and in His Salvation*. Hee will carry on the works which *Hee* has begun, till the *Times of Refreshing* do come from the *Presence of the Lord*."

My Heart was this Day also melted with a marvellous Assurance, that I should enjoy much of the Divine Presence with mee in my Ministry.

16 d. 3 m. Choosing, for the sake of some Conveniences, to retire for my Studies, into our spacious *Meeting-house*, I had a strong Impression, on my Mind, there to make a Prayer, in one of the *Pewes*; and particularly, in a *Pew* belonging to one Mr. *Middlecot*;<sup>1</sup> a Gentleman of good Fashion and

<sup>1</sup>Richard Middlecot was admitted into the Church March 20, 1691-92. He was a merchant, son of — Middlecott of Warminster, England, who served his apprenticeship with a merchant of Bristol. Married Sarah Winslow, widow of Miles Standish. *Mass. Hist. Proceedings*, XIII. 410.

Quality, in our Neighbourhood; but one of an airy Temper, and not yett making much Show of Acquaintances with the Wayes of God: nor indeed, was hee any other than a Stranger to myself. Here, I cried unto the Lord, for this Gentleman, who was the owner of the Pew, that the Lord would work thoroughly and savingly on his Heart, and make him a really renewed Person, and lett mee live to see the *Answer* of these my Prayers. And I had my Heart filled, with a strange and a strong Hope, *that my Prayers would at one Time or other bee graciously answered.*

*Memorandum.* About eleven years afterwards, I saw the Answer of these Prayers, when the very Gentleman joined unto our Church, and proved himself in further Instances a pious Person, and a great Blessing and Comfort unto myself.<sup>1</sup>

4 d. 4 m. [June.] This Morning as I was going, for I knew not what myself, into one of our Chambers, I accidentally took up a Book, lying there; which was Mr. H. *Lukins* of Prayer.<sup>2</sup> There I litt upon this Passage,

“Some Men go to Markett only for Company and Curiosity, and such are soon weary of being there; and may come home as soon as they please. But those that are Men of much Business, and great Dealing have many Occasions to take up their Time, which cause them many Times to stay late. Formal Christians have little to do with God, when they come to Him only for Company or Custome, but a serious Christian, that understands the Business of Christianitie, hath so much to do, when hee comes to the Throne of Grace, and the Favour of God, to desire towards in so many particular Cases and on so many Occasions, that hee hardly knowes how to gett away.”

These Words were to mee like a Rebuke of Thunder. I

<sup>1</sup> This memorandum is written in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Lukin (1628-1719), a non-conformist divine, whose “The Interest of the Spirit in Prayer” was printed in London, in 1674 and again in 1678.

thought, they came to mee, as if the Lord from Heaven had intended mee an Admonition for the Slothfulness, the Lukewarmness, the Formality, which I saw was of late grown upon mee, in the Wayes of God. And I hope, not without some Impression!

6 d. 4 m. This Day, a good Woman, bewayled unto mee her Condition, on the Score of woful *Thoughts* pestering her Mind; Shee told mee, shee was rendred afraid of her Condition, because I had lately given it as one Mark of an *effectually called Person to have the Heart filled with New Thoughts.*

These words of hers were blessed by God unto my own Awakening. For upon Reflection I found that I had of late been dog'd with, *proud Thoughts*, in almost all I did.

My Heart grew full of Distress, lest the unreasonable *Pride*, should provoke the God of Heaven, to deal terribly with mee.

And a Sermon preached this week, by my Father about the Sin of *Pride*, I thought, I heard and wrote as my own Condemnation. The Apprehensions of the cursed *Pride*, the Sin of *young Ministers*, lurking and working in my Heart, filled me with much Bitterness and Confusion, before the Lord; and caused mee to resolve, ~~that~~ that before the week was out, I would sett apart a Day, to humble myself before God, for the *Pride* of my own Heart, and entreat that by His Grace, I may bee delivered from that Sin, and from all the dreadful Wrath whereto I have been by that sin exposed.

Which accordingly, I attended.

11 d. 4 m. This Day I sett apart, for *Prayer*, with *Fasting* before the Lord.

And I did endeavour to *humble* myself this Day, as for my Unprofitableness in every Relation and my other manifold Corruptions, thus especially for my PRIDE, with the several Manifestations of it.

Concerning my PRIDE, I examined myself, by all the Discoveries of it; but I found especially two Respects, wherein I was most wofully guilty before the Lord.

First, my *Applauding* of myself in my Thoughts, when I have done any Thing at all significant, pray'd or preach'd with enlargements, answered a Quæstion readily, presently, suitably, and the like. *Proud Thoughts* fly-blow my best Performances!

Next, my ambitious Affectation of Præheminiencies, far above what can belong to my own Age or Worth, and above others that are far more deserving then myself.

For my *Humiliation*, I then wrote these Considerations.

“I. How do's my *Pride* render mee without the *Image* of God? It is indeed the very Image of *Satan*, on my Soul. The more any Man has of God in him, the more *humble* will hee bee and low and vile in his own Eyes, and empty of himself. When the Lord renews His *Image* in us, Hee *pulls downe our proud Thoughts*. Tis true, my *Pride* is a most *natural Sin*. But *Grace* would overcome *that* in a most special Manner and Measure. And then how little *Grace* have I! How unlike am I to the Lord Jesus Christ, the *Lowly* one! Oh! Lett mee for this cause abhor myself in Dust and Ashes.

“II. Do I not, by my *Pride*, grievously *offend* the Lord? It is a Breach of His *Holy Command*: And how often does Hee declare His *Abhorrence* of it. (See Psal. 138. 6 and Prov. 6. 17. and Hab. 2. 4.) His *Holy Spirit* is thereby grieved; and how vehemently does the Scripture caution against all Tendencies thereunto! Shall I bear to think of offending that God, who has been a *Father* to mee, and whom I have chosen, and vow'd that I would love and serve, as my God? Or that Spirit, upon the sweet Influences whereof my Soul does live, sealed unto the Day of Redemption: Oh! the inexcusable Wickedness of my Heart!

“III. Is not my *Pride* a most unreasonable *Folly* and *Madness*? Have I any just Occasion for glorying in myself? Do I any thing Singular? Am not I in most Attainments exceeded by most of my Calling and Standing? But, oh! lett this bee a Dagger to my Heart! Have I not a *cursed Nature* in mee? And has not the Lord heretofore justly left mee unto some abominable Iniquities, the Sense whereof should cause mee to *walk softly all my Dayes*! Lord, I *am viler than a*

*Beast before Thee!* Or, why should I seek *Honour*? Am I fitt for any Service? Or, am I not rather *unsavoury Salt*, fitt for nothing but the Dunghill? What am I better than the *least of Saints*? If in any external *Grandeurs* I gett above them, I am thereby obnoxious to more Temptation and Sin, and Wrath. Ly then in the Dust, before God, O my Soul!

“IV. How *dangerous*, How *destructive*, an Evil is this *Pride* of Mine! I provoke the God of Heaven to take away every one of those *Idols*, which in my fond *Pride* I dote upon; and if the Lord should now deprive mee of my Capacities and my Opportunities, where am I, but in an horrid Pitt of most *unpittyable Miseries*! Yea, lett me remember, *Pride* sooner than any thing will drive away the good Spirit of God from the Heart of a poor Creature. And if that should bee my Fate, *Oh! Lord have mercy!* What a Monument should I bee, of thy ireful and thy direful Vengeance!

“O that the Lord would sett home these Thoughts, for my *Humiliation!*

“But what shall I do for the Cure of my Disease?”

“I. In the first and cheef Place, I would carry my distempered *Heart*, unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and putt it into the Hands of that Alsufficient *Physician*, for him to cure it.

“II. I would bee daily watchful against my *Pride*; and continually keep an Eye upon my Heart and check the *very Beginnings* and *first Motions* of the Corruption.

“III. I Would study much, the Nature, Manner, and Aggravations of this *Evil*, and the Excellency of the *Grace* that is contrary thereunto.”

In the Supplications, which this Day I spread before the Lord, I was not without His Assistances. Especially, when I was crying unto the Lord, about and against, my Lust of *Pride*, which had this Day brought mee, unto the Dust.

In one Prayer, I said,

“*Lord*, What shall I do for the Cure of this Disease, my *Pride*? Blessed bee thy Name, that thou hast show'd mee a *Way*, and bid mee *walk* in it. Have I not heard thee saying to my stung and swoln and sinful Soul, *Oh! look and bee saved!* And therefore, by thy Grace, I'll do it. I *have* done it, and found, yea, to this Day I find, the Benefit of it. Why is it, that I am not insensibly and incurably

forever carried away Captive, by the *Lust*, which I am now *warring* with? Tis because I had putt my Heart into the Hands of the Faithful Jesus; and Hee it is that hath not suffered mee to go on unconcerned about the Distemper of my Soul, but hath awakened mee to seek Releef at His Hands, as I do this Day. And now; *Lord*, I come unto Him. Hee sees how I am *labouring* and *heavy-laden*, but Hee has bid mee come. Do's not He call for *my Heart*? But what kind of Heart? It is not mention'd, but I am sure, tis *my Heart*, that is called for. Hence, tho' *my Heart*, bee a *proud Heart*, yett as long as tis *mine*, I am to bring it. Yea, O Lord, I bring it, *because* it is *proud*. And wherefore, doth Hee call for it? Is it not that Hee may sett up His Kingdome in it, and fill it with His Graces, and manifest the Power of His rich Goodness in it forever? Oh! then, lett Him take my *Heart*, and make it *humble*! Tis easy, with Him to do it. Tho' I can't overcome this *Pride* of mine, yett *Hee* can do it. Oh! Lett Him do it; I wait upon Him for it; yea I do beleieve, I am satisfied and assured that Hee will do it. I have not sought thy Face in Vain!"

And in some of my further Prayers, the Lord, gave mee glorious Assurances, that Hee would never leave the Works which Hee had begun in my Soul, but fill mee with His own most Holy Spirit and *guide mee by His Counsel, til Hee brought mee to His Glory*.

And, that Hee would uphold mee graciously in my Ministry, yea, that Hee would employ mee to do peculiar Services for His blessed Name.

18 d. 4 m. As the last Week, I kept a Day of *Supplication*, so I was desirous this Week to keep a Day of *Thanksgiving*, in secret Places before the Lord.

I never knew of any person, or heard of more than one Person,<sup>1</sup> who did accustome themselves unto such an Exercise. But the Good *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, having taken *Possession* of my sinful Heart, I became *inclined* and *instructed*, unto such *Methods of Religion*, as were now before mee.

I was now *taught of God*, thus to spend this Day.

<sup>1</sup> My Grandfather Cotton (*In the margin*). John Cotton (1585-1652), whose daughter, Maria, married Increase Mather.

I. To *recollect* the *merciful Dispensations* of God unto mee.

II. To *consider* the *Aggravations* of those Mercies, in the *Greatness* and the *Freeness* of them.

III. To *register* them in my *Memorials*.

IV. To *acknowledge* them in my *Devotions*.

And V. To *contrive* what *Returns* I should make by way of *Gratitude* unto the Lord.

Accordingly; after Prayers for Assistance, I meditated over, the *former Kindnesses* of the Lord unto mee, which I have already recorded in my *former Manuscripts*; and returned my most hearty and solemn Thanks unto the Lord on the Account thereof.

Especially, my Soul was moved, when saying, "Lord, Hast thou not pull'd mee out of the *horrible Pitt*, and awakened mee to look after the Lord Jesus Christ, with a Sight of my Misery without Him? Hast thou not helped mee to come unto my Lord-Redeemer and feel the begun and blessed Benefit thereof, in His Healing of mee, when my Soul has been endangered by Diseases that had been undiscovered? Whose Works are those that have been done upon my Soul? Have I done those great Things on my own behalf? Oh Lord, *Not unto mee, Not unto mee, but unto thy Name is all, all, all the Glory due*; and thou shalt have it. There shall *Hallelujahs* bee sung to Thee forever and ever.

The *Forenoon* being spent in these things, in the *Afternoon* I proceeded unto the *later Kindnesses* of God unto mee in my *later Experiences*. Here I saw, besides my *Life* and *Health*, and outward Comforts continued still unto mee,

I. As to my *particular Calling*,

1. How wonderful is the Goodness of God unto mee, a vile Worm, in that Hee does employ mee, in the *Ministry* of the glorious Lord Jesus Christ!

2. How *Miraculous* a Thing is the *Freedom of Speech*,

conferred upon mee, and enlarged unto mee, in most sensible Answers to many Prayers! <sup>1</sup>

3. How mercifully has the Lord upheld mee in His Work, notwithstanding my *weak Head*, and my *vain Heart*, which render mee the unfittest of most Men living for eminent Services?

4. How great and growing a *Reputation* has the Lord given unto mee, a most contemptible Creature, among His People!

5. What comfortable *Provision* has the Lord made for mee, as to my temporal and sæcular Condition; even to a Wonderment!

*Think on these Things, O my Soul. Soak thyself in the Meditation of them.*

To these Things, are to bee annexed,

The Smiles of God, upon my *Father's Family*; and upon the *Town*, and the *Land*, and the *Congregation* whereto I belonged.

But especially, the Life and Health of my dear *Father*, whom I may reckon among the richest of my Enjoyments.

The Lord helped mee in returning of Praises unto His Name, on these Accounts.

II. As to my *general Calling*.

1. Hath not the Lord brought mee out of a natural Estate, into the *Kingdome of His dear Son*? Lett mee *examine* this, and as long as I live, lett mee feed on the *Foretaste*, and when I dy, lett mee come to the full *Fruition* of this Happiness.

2. Do I not most sensibly find the Lord Jesus Christ, in a *strange*, but a *sweet Manner*, with Acts of wonderful *Wisdom*, *Goodness*, *Truth*, carrying on the Interests of the *Kingdome*, which Hee hath begun in my Mind and Life!

<sup>1</sup> "Blessed bee God also that hath untied your tongue so as you are able without troublesome impediment in your speech to speak of the great things of the Gospel in great Congregations." *Nathaniel Mather to Cotton Mather*, March 8, 1681 [82]. 4 *Collections*, VIII. 33.

And, what infinite Heaps of Mercy are contained in these two Particulars, my Hand cannot ever describe, or my Heart conceive. *Lord! bring mee to Heaven, and then I shall know the Heighth, Depth, Length and Breadth, of what now passes all my Knowledge!*

These matters, I also spread before the Lord, on my Knee, with my Praises for them.

In the close of the Day, I came to ponder,  
*What shall I now render to the Lord, for all His Benefits?*  
 And my Thoughts upon that Quæstion were,

I. Shall I not *love* the Lord, and bee fervent, constant, unwearied in the Service of Him? Especially in the Obligation of the *Rules*, which I wrote at the Beginning of this year, for my future Conversation?

II. Shall I not endeavour to shine by a *good Exemple*. Yea, and *orally* upon just Occasion, as well as *practically* always, bear a Testimony against the Levity of the *young Generation*?

III. Shall I not, *husband* and *redeem*, what I can, the *golden Hours*, which I enjoy in the midst of so many *smiling Providences*? And prepare for *Affliction* too, with all *Speed* and *Care*?

IIII. Shall I not *every Day*, in every Capacity, Relation, Company, bee contriving, *What can I now and here do for God*? And lay myself out accordingly. Oh! that, oh! that, Oh! that, God would help mee, thus to do!

Thus I concluded the Day, ashamed of my Offerings, but relying on the Mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the Acceptance of them.

19 d. 4 m. *Lord's-Day*. This Morning, my Heart was melted, in secret Prayer before the Lord, when I used these Words;

“*Lord*, I am in thy Hands, a poor, broken, sorry despicable Vessel. But it is with *Thee*, to make mee a *Vessel of Honour*. Oh! Do so! This, even *this*, is the greatest

of my Desires. I am worthy to bee Nothing forever. But Oh! Lett thy Name have Glory by mee. Thou art worthy to bee exalted forever and ever. Oh! Do these Things *in* mee, and *for* mee, and *by* mee, that upon *my* Account it may bee said, *O the Power, the Wisdome, the Grace and the Truth of the great Jehovah!* Lord, Thou art my Aim, and my All, and my *exceeding great Reward.*

*Memorandum.* About this Time I bought a *Spanish Indian*, and bestowed him for a *Servant*, on my Father. This Thing, I would not remember in this Place, but only because I would observe whether I do not hereafter see some special and signal Return of this Action, in the Course of my Life. I am secretly perswaded, *that I shall do so!*<sup>1</sup>

5 d. 5 m. [July.] The Sight of my multiplied Failings in every Capacity this Day fill'd mee with Disquietment and Indignation.

There were especially two Things that made mee very melancholy.

First, The strange *Unaffectedness* of my *Heart*, when thinking and speaking about the Things of God. Methinks, I am but a very *Parrot* in Religion!

Secondly, My *Idleness*, my *Listlessness*, my grievous Mispence of my precious and golden Hours.

The Lord helped mee to Address, my merciful *High-priest*, for Help against the Plagues, that are thus upon mee.

6 d. 5 m. In Preparation, for a public Fast, kept thro' the Colony,<sup>2</sup> I sett my self this Evening, to examine my

<sup>1</sup>"Now see what I have recorded, in the Thirty Fourth year of my Life." *In the margin.* See under August 12, 1696.

<sup>2</sup>The manuscript resolution for this fast, in the writing of Cotton Mather, is in the *Mass. Archives*, xi. 8. It passed the General Court May 30, 1681. "It being a Time, wherein God is calling for greater fervency and frequency in the most solemn seekings of God in the face of Jesus Christ, then wee have ordinarily had experience of; both with respect unto the deep Consultations of the Antichristian party who have been complotting the subversion of the true Christian protestant Religion, and in a more especial manner designing the destruction of the Lord's people in England, Scotland and Ireland; And in respect of ourselves, inasmuch as besides the particulars expressed in former Declarations of this Nation,

manifold Unanswerableness to the Engagements that ly upon mee. I did with *Tears* confess and bewayl my Mis-carriages before the Lord; and at length, acting Faith in the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ; I concluded with a comfortable Assurance, that my Sins were all pardoned, in that precious Blood.

The Day following, in Consideration, that *Reformation* was the great Voice heard among us, I resolved with God's help to study it;

I. In respect of *Myself*.

Renewing my Purpose penn'd the Beginning of this Year, and especially,

1. Labouring after a greater Sense of the *Reality of Invisibles*.

2. Labouring to improve my *Time*, with more Diligence, to more Advantage.

II. In respect of my *Father's Family*.

1. To make my Brothers and Sisters, as many as are capable thereof, to take their *Bibles*, when the Scripture is read Morning and Evening before Prayers; and attentively accompany the vocal Reader.

2. To gett my Sisters, as many of them as I can, to spend an *Hour* together every Day. Half of it, in writing and

which should awaken unto prayer; the Lord hath largely threatned as if Hee would call for a Drought upon the Land; And our present State is on other accounts awfully circumstanced; nor have wee any but the Lord our God to betake ourselves unto for Salvation; and him wee have many a Time found to be a God hearing prayer.

"Upon such considerations as these mentioned, this Court doth appoint the 7th of July next, to be observed as a day of public Humiliation throughout this Jurisdiction; hereby prohibiting all servile Labour upon that day; and earnestly exhorting the ministers of God, with all the Lord's Remembrancers, to lift up a prayer in this day of Rebuke and Trouble, and to *wrestle with him in a speciall manner for his dear People in the Land of our Fathers' Sepulchres*. To entreat also the Continuance of Divine favour towards us in these Ends of the Earth, that the Lord our God would bee pleased still to bless us with Peace, Health, Liberty, reserving for us the appointed weeks of Harvest, and ordering all things wherein wee are concerned, well for us, that so our Souls may render solemn Praises to his glorious Name."

half of it, in furnishing themselves with Knowledge about the Matters of Religion.

3. To sett a better Exemple of Seriousness and Gravity before them.

III. In respect of the *Place where I am*.

1. To pray frequently and fervently, for the Mending of what is amiss in it.

2. To contrive what I can, for its Welfare, and communicate my Contrivances to my Father, who can more properly and effectually putt in Execution.

About the Middle of this Month, I lost abundance of precious Time, thro' tormenting Pains in my *Teeth* and *Jawes*; which kind of *Pains* have indeed produced mee many a sad Hour, in my short Pilgrimage.

In the Pains that were now upon mee, I sett myself, as well as I could for my Pains, to *search and try my Wayes*. I considered,

I. Have I not sinned with my *Teeth*? How? By sinful, graceless excessive *Eating*. And by evil *Speeches*, for there are *Literæ dentales* used in them?

II. This is an *old* Malady, from which I have yett been free, for a considerable while. Lett mee ask then; Have not I of late given way to some *old* Iniquity?

22 d. 5 m. This Evening as I was in Meditation, enquiring and contriving, *how I might glorify God*? I happened then to look thro' the Window upon the Heavens and this Thought was after a most powerful and refreshing Manner cast into my Mind. *Surely, if the Lord intended not forever to glorify mee in Heaven, Hee would never have putt it into my Heart, that I should seek to glorify Him on Earth!*

6 d. 6 m. [August.] 1681. *Saturday*. Tho' I had already spent one Day this Week in Fasting and prayer, with our Young men's Meeting, to whom I preached on Ps. 8. 4.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The entry is obscure, being crowded in the writing. The fourth verse is "What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?"

Yett I sett apart this Day for the like Devotions in my Study. And this for these

I. Causes of *Humiliation*.

My *old Sins*, never to bee forgotten with my *mourning Soul*.

My *late Falls* into old Sins, in regard whereof my *broken Vowes* give mee *broken Bonds*.

My great Unsteadiness, in observing and performing, my *Resolutions*.

II. Matters of *Supplication*.

That the Lord would bee *reconciled* unto mee.

That the Lord Jesus Christ, by taking my Heart into His own Hands, would save mee from all my *Sins*.

That I might have the Presence of God with mee, in His *Work*; and bee favoured in my Utterance, Acceptance, and Success.

That I may bee comfortably carried thro' the Concerns of my *Commencement*, the next week.

That, my *Life* may bee spared and I may find God helping of mee, to do some special Services for His Name.

That my *Father* and his *Family* and our *Assembly* may bee blessed with all suitable Mercies.

That this poor Land may bee refreshed with the wanted Showers of Heaven, and bee in all Respects healed and saved.

This Day, I was melted into Tears, when putting my greatest Interests into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, and saying,

“*Lord*, My Soul is full of Wants and Woes; but into thy Hands I putt it. Oh! Thou *Mighty Saviour*, bee thou the *compleat Saviour* of my Soul. Yea, I know thou wilt bee so. *Never, never, never* any Soul miscarried, that was in thy Hands. I shall not bee the *First*. I shall feel and find Thee saving of mee, and giving mee blessed Earnests of an *Inheritance among the Saints in Light*. Oh, my Lord;

my Soul can live upon Thee; tho' all my other holds do fail mee, as I am willing they should, yett I can live upon thee. I shall serve Thee a while in this World, and I will *want all the Dayes of my appointed Time, till my change do come.* Then shall I walk thro' *the very Valley of the Shadow of Death*, fearing no Evil, because my Soul does live upon thee. Tho' I am a vile Sinner, yett thy Mercy will in mee bee glorified!"

9 d. 6 m. This Day, I took my second Degree, proceeding *Master of Arts.*

My Father was *Præsident*, so that from his Hand I received my Degree.

Tis when I am gott almost half, a year, beyond *Eighteen*, in my Age.

And all the Circumstances of my Commencement, were ordered by a very sensibly kind Providence of God.

My Thesis was, *Puncta Hebraica sunt Originis Divinæ.*

23 d. 6 m. In secret Prayer before the Lord, my Heart was much moved, when I uttered these Passages.

"*Ah, Lord!* My Soul desires Thee. I have sometimes fallen into Sin, but my Soul hates it, and has groaned under its own *Slavery* by reason of it. But as for Thee, *Lord*, my Soul does love thee; I choose thee, for my best Good and my last End. Lett mee enjoy Thee, and engage Thou for my Good. ~~Let~~ Especially, fill my Soul with *Grace*; lett thy *Spirit*, even bee *poured* out upon mee; and improve mee in special Services for thy Name. *I beleeve it will bee so!"*

3 d. 7 m. [September.] This Day I again spent in secret Humiliations and Supplications before the Lord.

Matters of *Humiliation*, were,

My *old* and *new* Sins.

My exceeding Want of *Grace*.

And my wonderful Unprofitableness in every Relation.

Matters of *Supplication*, were,

That God would bee *reconciled* unto mee; and that the

*Mediation* of the Lord Jesus Christ, might rescue mee from the Dangers whereto my Sins exposed mee.

That I may bee directed, assisted, supplied, in all the Concerns of my *Ministry*.

And, that Blessings might [be] dispensed on all those Persons or Peoples which I ought more particularly, to bring unto the Lord.

The Lord helped mee, in the morning of this Day, to bewayl my own Vileness, before Him, with many Tears, and with much Abasement, and Confusion of Spirit.

When I came to seek *Reconciliation*, the Lord putt Arguments into my Mouth; I pleaded, Jer. 3. 12 and at last, I concluded,

“*Lord*, What wilt thou have mee to do? Am I to *confess* my Sin? I have done it; Oh! do thou now *forgive the Iniquity thereof*. Am I to *renounce my Sin*? I do so, I do it; it is an evil, bitter, hateful Thing unto mee. *Thou art my only Portion*. I declare, I protest, Thou shalt bee so; *What have I any more to do with Idols*? Am I to go unto the Lord Jesus Christ? He only can make Satisfaction for my Sins, and purchase my *Reconciliation*. To *Him* I would go. *Lord*, Help mee; for tho’ I hear Him calling, *look and bee saved!* and *come and have Rest!* Yett, except the *Father draw mee*, I cannot *look*, I cannot *come*. Well, In thy Strength, I do it. Oh! behold what that blessed *High-priest* has done and suffered, as done and suffered in my Stead. Oh! Lett mee bee *accepted in the Beloved*. And what will my Lord now say unto my Soul! Wilt thou say unto mee, *thy Faith hath saved thee!* Wilt thou say unto mee, *thy Sins are forgiven thee!* Wilt thou say unto mee, *In my Son I am well-pleased with thee!* Oh! I know not what to do. I cannot, I cannot live under thy Wrath. *Dearest Lord*; if thou wilt not refresh my Soul, with immediate Intimations of thy being reconciled unto mee, yett I will catch hold of the Lord Jesus Christ, and cleave

to Him, while I have a Day to live, while I have any Being!"

Afterwards, on this Day, I found my Soul somewhat comforted, when I thus addressed the Lord *Jesus* Christ.

"*Lord*, in thee, there does *all Fulness dwell*. I want no Part of Salvation, to which Thou art not able to help mee; and Thou knowest what Part I most want. Thou knowest the Pollution of my Soul, the Blindness of my Mind, the Hardness of my Heart, its Wandrings, and Wantonness, and Pride, and woful Indispositions, and the grievous Temptations whereto I may be exposed. Oh! I putt my self into thy Hands: I beseech Thee to take the Care of mee, and fulfil in mee, and for mee, the *good Pleasure of thy Goodness!*"

But I earnestly sought unto the Lord, that before the Day were done, Hee would manifest of His *Love* unto mee, with some yett more effectual Intimations.

And behold! Immediately after this, as I was then sitting in my Chair, the Lord brought unto mee that Scripture, in Joh. 14. 23. *Jesus* said, *If a man love mee, Hee will keep my Words, and my Father will love Him, and wee will come to him, and make our Abode with him*. My Heart was even dissolved upon the Reading of these Words. I said, *Oh! I feel! I feel! I feel! I love the Lord Jesus Christ; I love Him dearly, I love Him greatly, yea, I love Him above all. And what? Will God love mee, and will my Lord come to dwell with mee? Oh! Joy unspeakable and full of glory!*

At last, I concluded the Day, with Assurances that, my *Advocate*, the Lord *Jesus* Christ, had procured the Acceptance of my Petitions in the Court of Heaven.

"And now, *Lord*, wilt thou give mee (*said I*) one Glimpse of thy *Love* before I go? What shall thy *Spirit* say unto my Soul? Dost thou love mee; Yea, or No? Well, my Dear, Dear, Dear Lord; Thou dost *love* mee so that I shall bee a Monument, exhibiting thy *Grace* forever and ever. Oh!

What *Love*, what *Love*, what *Love* is this! That I who have been so polluted, and so unworthy, should bee loved by the great God! *Lord*, Thy *Love* will comfort, support, and make happy forever. Now, Oh! that I could praise Thy Name, and *love* Thee again, as thou art worthy that I should, *with all my Heart.*"<sup>1</sup>

19 d. 7 m. This Morning, I began a Custome, which I found many wayes Advantageous to mee.

My *rising Thoughts*, in the Morning, I chose to fix upon some *Scripture*, but sometimes upon some *Quæstion*, which might bee of some special Consequence to my everlasting Interests. I judged, that my *morning Thoughts*, being placed as they should bee, on some divine and holy Subject, I should bee thereby the better disposed, unto *the Fear of the Lord all the Day long*. And that the passing of so many *Truths*, as would hereby pass thro' my Mind, would marvellously *sanctify* mee. The Text which I began withal, was, that in Zach. 13. 1.<sup>2</sup> Whereon, the Head of my Meditations were cast into these three observations.

"The *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ, is fitly compared unto a *Fountain*.

"This is an open *Fountain*.

"And, the End of it is, for the *washing away of Sin*, which is *uncleanness*."

This my Custome, I may explain, by giving one Instance more.

On the Following Sabbath.

"My Rising Thoughts were, on Isa. 56. 4.<sup>3</sup>

"The Lord expresses the whole of *Religion*, under that Phrase, *keep my Sabbaths*.

"Tis true concerning both Persons and Peoples,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, 146.

<sup>2</sup> "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness."

<sup>3</sup> "For thus saith the Lord unto the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and choose the things that please me, and take hold of my covenant."

“That if *Religion* desirably flourish, *Sabbaths* will be due kept.

“But *Religion* will decay and wither, if Strictness about the *Sabbaths* do go.

“Indeed, not to keep *Sabbaths* exactly, is both the *Guise* of, and the *Way* to, the greatest Irreligion.

As has been said of Prayer, *either Sin will make Men leave off praying, or Prayer will make Men leave off sinning*; so may wee say of the *Sabbath*.”

I will give no more Instances. Tho’ I did in certain Papers enter the Heads of my Thoughts, in vast Numbers of these Meditations.

Yea, I went over many Portions and Chapters of the Bible in these morning Exercises; and I herein handled Multitudes of Cases referring to the most important Points of Christianitie.

21 d. 7 m. Thoughts, then formed and written.

There are certain miserable People to be executed on the morrow, for horrible Crimes by them committed; A Man, for a Rape; and Two Negroes, for Burning of Houses, and Persons in them.<sup>1</sup>

What use am I to make of this?

I. Lett mee, with deep *Humiliation* reflect on the Vileness of my own Heart. It was the holy *Bradford’s*<sup>2</sup> Custome when hee heard of any atrocious Iniquity perpetrated, hee would lay his Hand on his Breast, and say, *There is that in this Heart of mine, which would make mee as vile as the Vilest, if sovereign Grace did not prevent it*. Alas, I have the Seed of all Corruption in mee. My Heart naturally departs from God; it is not any Vertue of my own, that keeps mee from

<sup>1</sup> An account of this “overmuch wicked” man, William Cheny, is in the *Magnalia*, Bk. vi. 40. The negroes were Marja (negress), servant of Joshua Lambe, of Roxbury, and Jack, a servant, of Samuel Wolcott, of Wethersfield. *Records Court of Assistants*, I. 198.

<sup>2</sup> William Bradford, of Plymouth Plantation. The saying has been attributed to others, e.g. John Bunyan.

the most enormous Villanies. *Oh! the Plague of my own Heart!* Yea, and am I not guilty of *Unbeleef?* wherein there is as horrid Sin, as in the most horrible Abominations that the Sword of civil Justice takes Vengeance for. O that I could abhor myself in *Dust and Ashes;* and when I see Malefactors hanged and burned, I may judge myself unworthy to *breath* in God's *Air,* yea worthy to bee condemned unto everlasting *Fire,* with the Divel and his Angels.

II. Lett mee bee exceedingly Thankful, for the *restraining Grace* of God, which I may look back upon. *Lord,* why have not the Outbreakings of my *corrupt Nature,* been as hideous as any whatsoever! My *Nature* is as *corrupt,* as any Man's in the World. Furious *Temptations,* to the worst of Wickednesses, at the very Thoughts whereof my Heart shivers, have sometimes assaulted mee; and I have been upon the very Brink of such Confusion, as perhaps never any poor Creature fell into. What was it that then upheld mee? *Lord!* Thou hast restrained mee, and *Thou* shalt have the Glory of this Goodness forever.

III. Lett mee observe the Wayes of sinful *Apostasy,* that have carried any unhappy Wretches unto a fatal Mis-carriage and a final Overthrow: and now avoid the same in myself, with all the Care imaginable. Yea, and solemnly warn others, as far as God gives Opportunitie, to take heed of the like *Undoings.*

The bitter Anguishes raised in my Soul, by violent and enslaving *Temptations,* to Sins that had heretofore given mee the worst of Wounds imaginable, these were in this Month very singularly exercising to mee.

I had no Remedy, but continually to fly and cry unto the Lord Jesus Christ; which I did, as a most *wretched Man,* for my Deliverance.

But, I desire, to walk humbly before the Lord, all my Dayes, in the Remembrance of the lothsome Corruptions,

which my Soul has been from my Youth polluted withal.<sup>1</sup>  
*Lord, Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?*

Altho' I have been kept from such Out-breakings of Sin, in Actions towards others, as have undone many in the World, yett I have certainly been one of the filthiest Creatures upon Earth.

If ever the Lord make any Use of mee to glorify His Name, after I have been such a polluted Sinner, the free, rich sovereign *Grace* of God, will have as glorious a *Triumph* as ever any poor Sinner could afford unto it.

1 d. 8 m. [October.] After my rising Thoughts had been employed on, Psal. 126. 5.<sup>2</sup> I spent this Day in *sowing the Tears* of Repentance and Supplication; with Desires to humble myself before God, for my *old* Sins, and for my *late* ones; especially my exceeding Sluggishness and Laziness, and woful Dulness, in the Service of God, and obtain His Mercy, in the *Pardoning* and *Subduing* of my Sins, and my enjoyment of His Presence with mee, in my *Ministry*.

My Spirit was in *Agonies* this Day, when after my *Confession* of Sin, I found my Heart yett unbroken. I cried unto God, that Hee would embitter *Sin* to mee, and give mee a *just Sorrow* for my being so *sinfully Sorrowless* as I am. I concluded,

“And, *Lord*, I hope, thou hast now taken away my *Delight in Sin*. My Heart would abhor it, and resist it. My Soul does not like it. I think it is thus with mee. If it bee not thus, *Lord*, lett mee know it. *Search mee, try mee, see if there bee any way of Wickedness in mee. If I have done Iniquity*, or if I delight in doing it, show it mee,

<sup>1</sup> His brother, Nathaniel, said: “Of the manifold sins which then [in boyhood] I was guilty of, none so sticks upon me as that, being very young, I was whittling on the Sabbath-day; and for fear of being seen, I did it behind the door. A great reproach of God! a specimen of that *atheism* that I brought into the world with me!” *Magnalia*, Bk. IV. 216. The extract illustrates the unfortunate moral surroundings of a child under the teachings of the day and the extraordinary application of the word atheism.

<sup>2</sup> “They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.”

and *I will do so no more*. I would give thee, my *Heart* and *Love*, and *Soul*, and all that I have, or am, or can. I am, like the man with a *withered Hand*, essaying to do it. *O my Lord*, Help mee, in this my Resignation."

Afterwards, I made these attempts, at closing with the Lord Jesus Christ.

"I have plunged my Soul down into an *horrible Pitt* of Sin and wo; but I cannot think of lying there. *Salvation*, I must, I must bee made Partaker of. And what shall I do? I am utterly unable to save myself. But there is one *mighty to save*, one whom God has *laid Help upon*; Him, Him would I look unto. *O my Lord Jesus Christ!* Tho' I may bee still as wretched and sinful as ever, yett is it not, is it not, as much my Duty to come unto thee as ever! Art thou not *able* to save mee? *Lord*, I will never dispute *that*; I know Thou *art*, bee my Sins never so many, and never so horrid, and bee my Heart never so hard, and my State never so sad. And art thou not *willing* to save mee? Indeed, I am unworthy; and I have nothing in mee, to move thee, unto any saving Notice of mee. Yea, I have rejected Thee, and therefore thou mayst reject mee; and then I am in a forlorn Condition indeed! But, Lord, it repents mee, that I have rejected thee, I will never, never, never do so again. My *Soul* now *followeth hard* after thee. I see my Need of thee; and an excellent Beauty in thee. Oh! Surely Thou art willing to undertake in the Work of my Salvation. Didst thou putt away those that came unto thee, for the *Healing* of their *bodily Diseases*, when thou wast visibly incarnate here in this lower World? Art not those things recorded, as an Intimation of what *Method* I should use, and what, *Success* I should find, in my addressing of thee, for the Healing of my *Soul*? Yea, which is a Word full of Life and Heaven! 'Tis one Thing in the *Faith* required of mee, to beleve thy *Willingness* to accept of miserable Sinners, when they come unto thee; so that if I doubt thy

*Willingness*, I shall bee guilty of a very criminal *Unbeleef*. Oh! therefore I look up unto Thee. Wilt thou pass by mee, now thou seest mee in my *Blood*; and shall it not be a Time of *Love*? Wilt thou not say unto mee, *Live*? O, lett mee now, *beleeving, rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of Glory!* The Lord Jesus Christ, will bee my *Priest, Prophet, King*. Hee will engage for my good. Hee will take away my Sins. Hee' will bring mee safe Home to His Father's House forever!'

☞ Towards the close of the Day, I could not but use these words; *Lord, I know Thou wilt bee with mee. Lord, I know Thou wilt improve mee in eminent Services for thy Name. Lord, I know Thou will signalize mee, as thou hast my Father, my Grandfathers, and my Uncles before mee. Hallelujah.*

8 d. 8 m. As I kept this Day se'nnight a Day of *Supplication*, so I sett myself to keep this, as a Day of *Thanksgiving*, alone in my Study.

On this Day, having largely revolved the *former Mercies* of God with mee, I proceeded then to enumerate *further Mercies*.

I. On my *spiritual Estate*, I observed.

1. It is the infinite and stupendous Grace of the blessed God, that Hee has taken any Kind of Notice of my *Soul* at all. Are not Millions left eternally to perish under the Wrath of God. And, *why mee, Lord, why mee?* Oh! why should I bee singled out, as a Monument whereon *Mercy* shall bee glorified forever? This Consideration will have a wonderful Share, in the *Fulness of Joy*, that is in Heaven above; Lett mee now with a ravishing Astonishment of Soul, begin the Contemplation of it. I never had any thing to move the Lord, unto any kind Notice of mee, but lay like a *wretched Infant in my Blood*. And for the Lord now to pass over millions, of a *better Disposition*, of more *Learning*, more *Wisdom*, and more *Figure* in the World, and look with an Eye of Love, upon so crabbed, foolish, despicious

able a Soul as *I* am! No Reason can be given, but, *Father, it hath so pleased Thee!*

2. And, yett, very *great* are the Things which the great God has done for mee. Hee has not only *offered* such an *Alsufficient Saviour*, as the Lord Jesus Christ, unto such an every way forlorn Creature as I am, upon such happy *Terms*, as those in the *Gospel*, and *continued* so to do, after I had rejected Him, and exposed myself thereby to His hottest Indignation: But Hee has also made mee to *feel* my Wants of the Lord Jesus Christ, and so to *prize* Him, that I have been *willing*, yea, earnest and restless to obtain an *Interest* in Him. And yett further, I have also found the Lord Jesus Christ, a mighty and a faithful *Saviour*, altogether as good as His Word. Hee has been with a *strong Hand* saving of mee, and kept mee from dark *Pitts* of *Sin* and of *Death*, which I have been ready to stumble into, and favoured mee with two Things, which (however *vile* I am) I cannot but acknowledge.

One is, *A tender Heart*; not able to live quietly under the smaller Neglects of God, which the Generality of Christians give way unto.

The other is, *an active Mind*; uneasy except when I am doing something to promote the Kingdome and advance the Glory of God, in my Generation.

II. On my *Employment* in the Ministry of the Gospel, I observed;

1. The Freedom of *Speech*, bestowed on mee by a *Miracle*, is by a *Miracle* continued unto mee. Hereby I have not only an Advantage *to do good*, but the Glory of the Divine *Power* and *Bounty* is after a most affecting Manner displayed before many Hundreds of the Children of Men. And this I enjoy, tho' by Sin daily provoking of Heaven to take it away.

2. My *Life* and *Health* are spared, albeit I have been wicked enough to *dy before my Time*.

3. I am employ'd in a populous Place, the *Metropolis* of the whole English *America*, and may cast the Net among much Fish.

4. And I am herein a Colleague to a *Father*; yea, to a *Father*, given mee from the Dead, and one of my greatest Blessings.

5. I am *esteemed* and *honoured* among the people of God, who *pray* for mee.

6. I have seen some *Success* of my Labours; many that have joined unto our Churches, have acknowledged it.

III. On my *external Conditions*, I observed,

1. My *Comforts* in my *Father's Family*.

2. My convenient *Study*, with a well furnished *Library*.<sup>1</sup>

3. My considerable *Salary*.

4. My prospering in my Care of my *Pupils*.

5. A *Constellation* of many smiling Providences.

To these Things, I added, the Smiles of God upon *Others*, wherein I am concerned.

These Things, I did on my knees, in several Prayers, acknowledge before the Lord; at last concluding:

"Oh! my Lord; tho' I have sinned against *Mercy*, and been unworthy of *Mercy*, yett I have been a Child of *Mercy*, my Life has been filled with *Mercy*, and thou hast followed mee with *Goodness* and *Mercy* all my Daies. Praise waiteth for Thee. I thank God, thro' Jesus Christ, my Lord."

So I came to consider on that Quæstion.

*What shall I render to the Lord, for all His Benefits?* Here, besides my Renewal of the Resolutions penned in the beginning of this Year, I did resolve upon two Things,

I. To have my *sett Times* for Meditations on that Enquiry, *what is there that I may do for the Interests of God!*

<sup>1</sup>The reference is more probably to his father's library. Cotton Mather early began to accumulate a library, which in time came to be one of the largest in the Province. The history of the Mather libraries is told by Julius H. Tuttle in the *Am. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, xx. new series, 269-356.

II. To act as much as may bee, for God, in every Action.  
And therefore,

Before I study, or preach, or hear, a *Sermon*;

Before I make a *Visit*;

Before I eat a *Meal*;

Before I sett upon any *Recreation*;

Before I fall *asleep* at Night;

I would still have distinct Thoughts, *lett mee now do this* (or, *I will do this*) for God.

The Lord having *taught* mee thus to fall into the Way of declared and explicit *Acting* for Him, tis incredible what a *new Life* of Soul, I did thereby Experience. My Soul was from this Time raised into an high, a sweet, an heavenly *Way of Living*; I something felt the Meaning of *dwelling in God*, tho' no Books or Men on Earth had ever instructed mee how to do it. The Thoughts of *being for God*, continually, and of expressly interesting the great God, in all my Motions, exceedingly ravished mee.

Thus the Holy Spirit of God, most mercifully discovered somewhat of the *Possession*, which Hee had long since taken of mee. Thus did the Faithfulness of the Lord Jesus Christ, appear, in carrying on the *Sanctification*, for the producing whereof I had relyed upon Him. And thus, while I was yett a *Child*, I fell into some singular Methods, of doing those things, which might render mee in Time, a *Man of God*.

9 d. 8 m. *Lord's-Day*. This Day, the Lord made mee somewhat an *Instrument* of His Praises, to encourage my *Endeavour* at His Praises yesterday. I went unto the Pulpit of my old Grandfather *Cotton*, in the Old Church of *Boston*; <sup>1</sup> and there, being thereto called, I preached, with a very singular Assistance of the Lord. Yea, Such was His powerful Presence with mee, that some afterwards declared their

<sup>1</sup> John Cotton was installed as Teacher in the First Church in October, 1633, Rev. John Wilson being the Pastor. He served the church until his death in 1652.

melted and broken Hearts, could hardly forbear crying out aloud, in the Assembly.

16 d. 8 m. *Lord's-Day*. As I was going to serve the Lord Jesus Christ in the public Assembly, I did on my Knees in my study utter such Words as these.

“*Lord*, If I might hold forth much of Thee, If I might glorify Thee, and bee a *Vessel* by Means whereof a great Revenue of Praise may redound unto thy great Name, I should *count* it, yea, I have *chose* it, as my greatest Happiness; and this Happiness, *I know, I shall, I shall, I shall enjoy it forever!*

29 d. 8 m. In the Fear, and by the Help, of God, lamenting my most lamentable Temptations, both unto *Slothfulness*, and unto some Degrees of *Wantonness*, I sett apart this Day, for the Duties of a secret *Fast* before the Lord.

One of my Exercises this Day, was to pen down the following Arguments, which encourage mee to beleieve that tho' my *Sins* are *many* and *mighty*, yett they are all *forgiven*.

I. There are in the *Scriptures*, blessed Encouragements, unto the vilest of Sinners, to hope and wait, and seek for *pardoning Mercy*. Particularly,

Psal. 130. 4.                      Isa. 55. 7.

Exod. 34. 6, 7.                    Mic. 7. 18

Neh. 9. 17.                        Isa. 1. 18

II. The Lord *Jesus Christ* is Alsufficient Saviour, in and thro' whom, the worst of Sinners may receive *Atonement*. Consider

Zach. 13. 1.                        Math. 26. 28

Math. 1. 21.                        Acts. 5. 31.

Now, 1. I go to the Lord Jesus Christ, for a Pardon. I now do it, and I have heretofore done it. So, *being justified by Faith, I shall have Peace with God*. Rom. 5. 1.

2. I attend those Things, which are the Symptomes of a

True *Faith*, and have the Promise of a Pardon thereunto annexed.

First; *Hee that confesseth and forsaketh shall find Mercy.* Prov. 28. 13. Now I *confess* my Sins; I do it on my knees. And in my Affection, I *forsake* them all. Why else, do I sett apart such Dayes as these to combate, and to distress, my Lusts, and obtain the Destruction of the most beloved among them?

Again; *Hee that judgeth himself shall not bee judged of the Lord.* 1. Cor. 11. 31. I judge myself as the worst of Sinners; Hence the Great God, will in and thro' His own Son, my Surety, judge mee righteous. I *judge* myself worthy of *Death, Death, Death* forever. Hence, the great God, on the Account of Him that has made Himself a *Sacrifice* for mee, will *judge* mee to *Life eternal*.

Thus did I try to *argue* myself into the *Faith*, and *Hope* of my *Justification*. But I must say, that I found no *Spirit* in all this *rational* way of Arguing: None of the *Argument* brought unto my Soul, that joyful Peace which I wanted. At last, the *Spirit* of God powerfully came in upon my Heart, and enabled mee to receive the Pardon of my Sin, offered freely unto mee, with the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ; and this without any *distinct Considerations*, on my having these and those *Conditions*, wrought in mee. *Then* could I, and never till *then*, rejoice with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory. Afterwards, t'was comfortable for mee, to see in my self, the Conditions of a *pardoned Soul*.

30 d. 8 m. *Lord's-Day*. Taught of God, I fell upon a particular Way to *exercise Grace*, and proceed regularly and methodically at the *Table of the Lord*.

The Instance this Day was this.

'Workings of Heart.

"At the Administration of the *Bread*.

"Do I *need* the Lord Jesus Christ?

“Yes, infinitely. But chiefly on two Accounts.

“The *Guilt* of Sin on mee, is mountainous: none but Hee can remove it.

“The *Power* of Sin in mee, is marvellous: none but Hee can subdue it.

“But, am I willing to *have* the Lord Jesus Christ?

“Yes, most readily. For

“There is a dreadful Necessity that the Maladies of my Soul should bee releev'd.

“Hee, and none but Hee can relieve them.

“I cannot find any Thing unlovely in the Lord Jesus Christ. All His Offices and Benefits are desireable.

“And therefore, *Lord* I am willing.

“*Art Thou so! Then take Him;* said the Lord; *I give Him to Thee.*

“And by this Time, the *Bread* is brought unto mee, to seal this Gift; which I *take* accordingly.

“And now, I proceed, the Lord Jesus Christ is mine; if I won't beleev'e it, with *Thomas*, I may now see it, feel it, tast it. And Hee will engage for my Good, and perfect every Part of my Salvation.

“At the Administration of the *Wine*.

“The *first Covenant* being broken, and speaking nothing but Confusion to fallen Man, the gracious God enters into a *New-Covenant*, of Grace.

“In it, is tendered all manner of good, for Beleavers on the Lord Jesus Christ, the Mediator of that Covenant.

“Am I willing thus to come under the Way of this Covenant?

“Yea, *Lord*, Thou hast made mee willing.

“Then, said the Lord, *Here is the New Testament in my Blood.*

“By this Time, the *Wine* comes, and I drink of it, and thereby I have all the good of the Covenant *sealed* unto mee.

“And now, I proceed, I shall have *Repentance and*

*Remission of Sins.* There are *some* Sins, wherefrom I shall bee certainly præservèd, and at last I shall be wholly rescued from *all*. All my *Changes* in this World, will bee well-ordered for mee; and I shall bee safely brought unto *Glory* at the Last.”

With what *Variety* of *Contrivance*, may I now approche unto the Table of the Lord! <sup>1</sup>

I foresee, I shall not have Liesure to write, the Devotions, which I have used in this one Way of *suiting* my Thoughts, to the *Circumstances* that pass at the Lord's Table. However, it may bee, I shall insert one or two Examples more, if I live till hereafter, for the Instruction of my little Folks, for whom these Papers are intended.

About this Time, there was a *Proposal* made among many devout People, in this Countrey, to retire, each one, every *Monday*, between eleven and twelve a clock, for *secret Prayer* before the Lord, purely on the behalf of the Church abroad weltring under grievous Persecution, and our own Land now in many threatenng Circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1690 Mather published a little volume, *A Companion for Communicants*, composed of discourses upon the nature, the design and the subject of the Lord's Supper, with “Devout Methods of preparing for and approaching to that Blessed Ordinance.” It was dedicated to the Church in the North Part of Boston, and especially to Sir William Phips, John Richards, Adam Winthrop, John Foster, and Dr. John Clark, who were instrumental in having the book printed. Sections were devoted to self-examination, embodying the later developments on the lines indicated in the text.

<sup>2</sup> The French King, Louis XIV, in June, 1681, issued “an Edict unsurpassed in the history of religious persecution for its mixture of hypocrisy and cruelty. It declared that children of Protestant parents might declare themselves converted to Catholicism at the age of seven. The Edict, which at first sight seemed merely ridiculous, proved in its working a terrible weapon of religious coercion. Any trivial acts or words could be interpreted as implying adhesion to Catholicism; then came the invasion of Protestant households and the forcible abduction of children. All appeals to the king were in vain. He had perhaps not yet determined on the revocation of the Edict [of Nantes]; but he told Ruvigny, ‘the deputy-general of the Reformed churches,’ that he was henceforth ‘indispensably bound to effect the conversion of all his subjects and the extirpation of heresy.’” *Cambridge Modern History*, v. 23. In England Charles had dissolved his last Parliament, and the effects of the so-called Popish Plot were still felt.

A practice of this Nature, had been agreed among many N[on] C[onformists] in Great *Britain* and *Ireland*; and from thence it came to bee recommended here. Now, tho' many good Men disliked it, as having somewhat of *Superstition* in it, yett I did very successfully promote it, among many Scores of pious People in this Country, as having in it, nothing but what was allowable, commendable, and what was agreeable to a pious and public Spirit.

Many good Men did afterwards highly bless God, for this Proposal; and I did myself a long while more or less attend it.<sup>1</sup>

In the Month of *November*, Messengers from the ancient and famous Church of *Newhaven* addressed themselves unto mee, to become their *Pastor*, but I did not comply with their Desires.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, on this occasion, I sett myself to admire the most wonderful Grace of God, that so mean, and vile a Creature as I am, should bee at all acknowledged among His People.

And while I was, with much Amazement of Soul, considering the incurable Corruptions, of my Heart, that as it were, defy'd all the Means of Mortification, yea, and even my best Endeavours to putt my Heart into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ for cure, I yett wrote the following Thoughts.

"I think, *first*, the Lord will not utterly destroy mee. Hee has wrought those Works in mee, that, I hope, Hee will never disown or forsake. If Hee *do*, I shall bee the direfullest exmple of a deluded and an exalted Hypocrite, that ever was! *Lord, lett my Soul tremble!*

"But, *Secondly*, the Lord will bring my Soul down into

<sup>1</sup> Written in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> For ten years after the death, in 1674, of Rev. Nicholas Street, the colleague and successor of John Davenport, the church of New Haven was without a regularly constituted pastor. At this time John Harriman was serving, and there were differences of opinion in the church, of which little is known. Bacon's *Historical Discourses*, 159. See letter from the New Haven church to Increase Mather, April 17, 1682, in 4 *Collections*, VIII. 692, 308.

the Dust, and under all Enlargements and Attainments, cause mee to abhor myself. And I have infinite Reason so to do. If ever I am lift[ed] up with Pride, I shall bee, (*Lord! I here own it under my Hand!*) a most *unreasonable Wretch*. I must walk softly and sorrowfully as long as I breathe on Earth. Shame is to bee my Garment, *Grief* my meat, *Tears* my Drink, and *Sighs* my Language, as long as I am related unto this *vile Body!*

“And, *thirdly, Strength against Sin*, is a Mercy so glorious, that the Lord will have mee stirr up myself and *wrestle* and *struggle* to purpose, before I shall attain it. Wherefore, *Lord*, I here make my *Vow*, that *I will never give Thee, or my own Soul rest, until my dearest Lust, become as bitter as Death, as hateful as Hell unto mee.*”

24 d. 9 m. A public *Thanksgiving*, being celebrated in the Countrey,<sup>1</sup> I did on that Occasion, thus recapitulate, the Favours of God unto mee; following the Method of *Jacob*, in the thirty second Chapter of *Genesis*.

1. The Lord hath shown mee, very much of His *Goodness* and His *Truth*. How *many* are His Mercies! (Psal. 119. 156.) And how *mighty!* (Psal. 126. 3.) The least of them worthy of an *Hallelujah*.

1. *Common* Mercies; *Life*, and the Comforts of it, I enjoy, in more than a common Manner.

2. *Special* Mercies. Whereof, I single out these, for my present Observation.

<sup>1</sup> *Mass. Col. Records*, v. 324. The manuscript resolution, in the writing of Cotton Mather, is in the *Mass. Archives*, XI. 21. It was adopted October 21. “The Court being sensible of the Goodness of the Lord in remembering Mercy towards his people inhabiting this Wilderness, in the midst of Judgment which wee have had Experience of; since in the Time of the late Drought Hee did graciously incline His Ear to the Prayers of his People, in sending down seasonable shows of blessing from Heaven, so as that the Harvest this year hath not wholly failed, as once there was cause to fear it might have done; Being also sensible of the Divine favour as yet continued to us in respect of our Libertyes both civil and sacred, and the public Peace and Health, which God hath this last Year blessed this Land with, and that Thankfulness for such invaluable mercys is the way still to enjoy them.”

1. *Within* my own Soul.

1. I hope the *Spirit* of God, has brought mee home unto the Lord Jesus Christ.

2. I am sure the Lord hath powerfully inclined mee, to *live unto Himself*, and made mee above all Things desirous, to bee unto *the Praise of the Glory of His Grace*.

2. *Among* others.

1. The Lord has improved mee, in the *Ministry* of His Blessed Son. *To mee, who am less than the least of all Saints, is this Grace given.*

2. Therein Hee hath given mee the Happiness to *hold forth Something of Himself*.

1. Hee hath made my poor Endeavours, both public and private successful unto Good.

2. Hee hath done those things, for mee, which give others to see and hear, and magnify His own great Name, which is the Heaven of Heaven itself.

II. I am *less than the least* of all this. For,

1. Had I been the most upright, and fruitful, and useful Man in the World, yett I could have merited Nothing, at the Hands of God.

2. Whereas, I have done just Nothing at all, for the Lord; no Service, no Honour, has Hee had of mee.

3. Yea, I have done very much against the Lord, and been a viler Creature, than I know any one in all my Generation.

Bless the Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within mee!

26 d. 9 m. In a Self-EXAMINATION, præparatory to a Communion. I find

I. Not only my *Understanding* sees, but my *Will* chooses the Great God, as my *best Good*, and my *last End*.

1. My *Interest* in Him, is my greatest *Wish* and *Joy*. According to Psal. 4. 6. Psal. 73. 25. Psal. 16. 5, 6. Lam. 3. 25. Isa. 26. 13.

*Obj:* Then you would bee more careful and earnest for the Securing of it.

*Ans.* 1. I mourn under, and strive against, my own Coldness, and endeavour to stirr up myself.

2. My Zeal to make sure of any other Enjoyment, is not so lively, as to make sure of this.

2[3]. I do heartily embrace and propose the Glorifying of Him, as the main Design, which I would bee and live and work upon.

*Obj:* How do you know that?

*Ans:* 1. By my frequent and actual *Dedications* to His Glory.

2. By the Disposition of my Heart, in *Prayer*, for *any* Mercy; above all, for *that* Mercy.

3. By my exceeding *Satisfaction*, when I see God acknowledged, especially when by mee, or by my Means.

II. With much Detestation, I reject all that, which hath made a *Separation* between the Lord and my Soul.

*Sin*, is that *accursed Thing*, Isa. 59.2. Wherefore,

1. I lament it. 2. I abhor it. 3. I labour to avoid it.

III. I essay to come unto the Lord Jesus Christ, the ever-glorious *Mediator*, that I may bee instated in the full Enjoyment of God. According to Joh. 14. 6.

1. Thirsty after the *Fountain of Life* in God, I go to the Lord Jesus Christ, as the *Way*.

2. I would have *None but Him*, to bee my *Saviour*.

3. I am free, that Hee should execute *every One* of all His *Offices*, in the accomplishing of my Salvation.

Blessed bee my Lord, who has not left mee destitute of His eternal Mercies!

21 d. 10 m. [*December.*] As I lay in my Bed, this Morning, many glorious Thoughts passed thro' my Mind; where-with I gave up my whole self, unto God, in the Lord Jesus Christ; and I contrived particularly, how my *Body*, each

Member of it, might [be] serviceable unto Him, in bringing of Honour to His blessed Name.

24 d. 10 m. Examining myself, by the Discoveries of, *the Power of Godliness*, in Mr. *White's* Holy Book, on that Subject I found myself, not altogether a Stranger thereunto.

Only, I find myself defective, in the Entireness of my giving up myself unto God, so as to bee troubled, if any love *mee*, prize *mee*, but not purely upon *His* Account.

Wherefore I resolved, that I would labour after greater Attainments, in this matter.

25 d. 10 m. *Lord's-Day*. I will once again record the Methods of my Soul at the *Table* of the Lord.

At the Administration of the *Bread*.

*Qu:* Do I not impensely desire to *live* unto the glorious God, and *glorify* His blessed Name, throughout all my Life, yea, while I have any Being?

*An:* Yes; *this one Thing have I desired, and this will I seek after.*

*Qu:* But feel I not, that I want *Strength* to do that glorious Thing?

*An:* Alas, yes, I do so. My lamentable *Experience* has told mee this.

*Qu:* Well, there is now *Strength* enough in the Lord Jesus Christ. Am I willing that Hee should bee my *Strength*? and am I desirous to live upon His blessed *Strength*?

*An:* Yes, most heartily.

*Then thou shalt have it*, saies the Lord. And immediately the *Bread* now comes to mee, and *seals* to mee my *Union* with the Lord Jesus Christ, and the *Strength*, whereof, I now consider that I shall thereby bee made Partaker.

At the Administration of the *Cup*.

*Qu:* Is there a *great Salvation*, whereof the Lord Jesus Christ has been the Author?

*An:* Yes: *great* upon all accounts; the *Price* of it, the *Ill* from which, and the *Good* in which, it is.

*Qu:* Is it not all *offered* unto mee?

*An:* Yes, the Lord holds forth all saving Benefits unto mee, and bids mee, *drink Abundantly*.

Then, saies my Soul, *I will take the Cup of Salvation, and call on the Name of the Lord*. And immediately the *Cup* comes to mee. So, I consider thereupon, how my Interest in that inconceivable, comprehensive, everlasting *Salvation* is now confirmed unto mee forever.

28 d. 10 m. This Day, our Church renewed their *Vote* for the Continuance of my public Labours among them; adding that it should bee in order to my Settlement among them as their *Pastor*.

And afterwards, voted mee a *Salary* of 70 lb. *Annum*.

9 d. 11 m. [January, 1681-82.] I sett apart this Day to *humble* myself before the Lord for my exceeding Sinfulness; and *implore* His favour in two Respects; first, the *Freedome of my Speech*, which from some Difficulties upon it, was become a matter of more than ordinary Thoughtfulness unto me; and, secondly, the *Guidance* of all concerns between our Church and myself.

The Lord raised my Soul this Day unto some very singular Entertainments of Devotions; and I will record especially two or three of the Addresses which I now made unto Him.

One Address was in Words to this purpose.

“Oh! Holy Lord God! I am altogether vile: and tho’ I have been endeavouring to enumerate some of my Rebelions against Thee, I can do nothing at it; my Spirit is overwhelmed within mee, because I see *innumerable Evils compass mee about, and my Sins are more than the Hairs of my Head*. Now, O Lord God, is there any *Hope* of Mercy, for such a Sinner as I am? It will bee a *Wonder* indeed, if there bee! But there *is*, Lord, there *is*. Thy own mouth

has told mee, *There is Forgiveness with thee, that thou mayst bee feared: And, Thou delightest in mercy, and therefore pardonest Iniquity.* Thy Call is, *lett the Wicked forsake his Way, and return to the Lord, and thou wilt abundantly pardon.* O blessed Words! O glorious Newes! Behold then, I desire to *return* unto thee. But in what way am I to *return*? Lord, I am to *return* in a way of *Repenting*.

“Wherefore, O my God, I now turn from all my *Idols*. I turn from them, with *Sorrow*. I am grieved, I am grieved, at my very Heart, for my displeasing of Thy Majesty, unto whom I have had infinite Reason to give my Love, my Life and all that I am or have. I turn from them with *Hatred*. I abhor all my Lusts. I renounce, I reject with Detestation, all that hath stood in Competition with thy Blessed Self, within my Soul. And, O my God, I turn to *Thyself*. Who would not so do? *I come unto Thee, Thou art the Lord my God.* I take Thee for my *best Good*; Vouchsafe mee Thyself, and I shall bee contented, tho’ thou deny mee every Thing else. Lett mee bee able to say, *the Lord is my Portion*, and then I shall also say, *the Lines are fallen to mee in pleasant Places*. And, I take Thee for my *last End*. Nothing, no, nothing else, is worthy of my Aim, and my Heart. *Self* is not so, *World* is not so, *Satan* is not so. *Whom have I in Heaven but Thee? There is none on Earth, that I desire or design, in Comparison of Thee.* But, Lord I am to *return*, in a Way of *beleeving* also. Oh! I do it most heartily, readily! Thou offerest Thy dear, sweet, heavenly Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, unto my Soul. O my God, I accept of Him. Thou tenderest, His *Blood* unto mee. Lord, I receive it, with both Hands, with all my Heart. Alas, all my own *Righteousnesses* are *Filthinesses*. But oh! Lett the *Obedience* of the Lord Jesus Christ, bee the *Satisfaction* for all my Sins against Thee; and lett that Satisfaction bee the *Conduit-Pipe* thro’ which, all the good, that ever I enjoy from thy Hands, may come swimming down. And thou

commandest mee to rely upon Him, for *Strength*, in order to my doing all that I have to do, for thy Glory. Oh! To Him I go, that Hee would undertake the Cure of my miserable Soul. May the Lord Jesus Christ; *strengthen* mee, instruct mee, defend mee, and govern mee forever! And, now, I know, I shall bee saved. Thou wilt bee my God, and my Friend; and I shall in the highest Heaven celebrate thy Grace with eternal *Hallelujahs!*”

Afterwards, I made another Address, that the *Impediment* of my *Utterance*, which threatned such a Return upon mee as to render mee unserviceable, might bee removed. And this in such Terms as these. (As near as I can well recollect them.)

“Most Gracious Lord, God; Thou Fountain of all Good! Help mee, I pray thee, to present the Desires of my Soul before thee, concerning that *free Speech*, which thou knowest is needful, and would bee useful, for mee. What *Measure* thereof I would have, I do not præsume to define; but I leave it, O Lord, unto Thy infinite and excellent *Wisdom*. But, oh! deny not unto mee what may bee *good* for mee! I must indeed, begin my Supplications, O Lord, with my hearty and humble *Confession*, that I am every way *unworthy* of this Mercy. If I had walked never so exactly before Thee, yet could I have *merited* Nothing. But, Lord, I have sinned horribly; and by my early Wickedness and Filthiness, I have provoked Thee, to take away from mee one of the greatest Conveniencies, enjoyed by thy reasonable Creatures. I must lay my Hand upon my *Mouth*, and say, that tho’ thy *Rod* has been very heavy in this regard upon mee, yett thou hast *punished mee farr less than my Iniquities have deserved*. Lord, I deserve, not only a *Stammering*, *Slowness*, but also a total *Dumbness* in my Speech; yea to bee sent, where I should not have a *Drop of Water* to cool my *Tongue*. I have therefore no *Argument*, in this case, to plead, O *Blessed Lord*, but what shall bee found in

*Thyself*. And what shall I now say? In *Thyself*, O Lord, I see enough and enough.

“*Lord* Art thou not a *Good God*? Yea, I am every way sure, that there are no Bounds of thy *Goodness*. Now, Lord, lett this thy admirable *Goodness*, mercifully pardon all the Sins, which might Intercept the course of this thy Favour to mee. And oh! lett not thy *Goodness* permit mee to ly under a dreadful Affliction, that shall prejudice my Services of *Thyself*, in the weighty Work, whereto thou hast called mee; lest the *Spirit* fail before Thee, and the *Soul* that Thou hast made!

“And, *Lord*, Art thou not a *Powerful God*? Yea, I know, that great is my *Lord*, and of great *Power*. Oh! Thou that madest *Man’s Mouth*, didst Thou not make the Mouth of the Stammering *Moses* to speak? Didst thou not open the Lips of *Jeremiah*, when hee pleaded, *I cannot speak*? Did not my Lord *Jesus Christ* cure a man that had an *Impediment in his Speech*? Oh! *Lord*, Oh! *Lord*, I am sensible, that one Touch, one Word of thine will releevе my *Infirmities*. Oh! touch my *Tongue*: Say, *Ephphatha* and my mouth will bee opened! That which Thou hast *already done* for mee, shewes what thou art able to do. Oh! Lett thy wonderful Works bee Seen!

“And, *Lord*, Art thou not a *Faithful God*? Yea, Thou art *faithful and true*. And, *Lord*, shall I now say that Thou hast encouraged mee, in this also. I have heretofore found Thee marvellously proportioning my *Speech* to my *Need*: The Language of which was, *Trust in mee, Fear not, I will never fail Thee*. Hast thou not many a Time, created in mee a strong *Perswasion*, when I have been upon my *Knees* before Thee, that Thou hadst greater *Supplies of Speech in store for mee, than I ever yett received*? and shall this *Perswasion* prove a *Delusion*? Farr be it? No, I had with it a frequent *Earnest* of this future *Mercy*. And what is thy *Word*? Hast thou not expressly said, *the Tongue of the*

*Stammerer shall speak plainly?* Lord, I lay hold upon that Word. Hast thou not said unto my *Faith*, none of them who trust in Thee shall be desolate; and Thou wilt never forsake them that seek Thee? Oh! fulfil unto mee, those words of Thine. Thou wilt fulfil them!

“But, Oh! my Lord, I have one Argument more, to bring which Thou wilt have regard unto. It is this: O Lord, open Thou my Lips, and my Mouth shall show forth Thy Praise. Abundance of Praise will come to thy Name, if Thou grant mee my Request. Others that hear, will adore thy Attributes; and I shall myself do Service for Thee. What shall I say? Oh! Lord God; my Tongue is Thine. I have given it unto Thee. I have endeavoured a little to improve it for Thee; and shall yett more do so. And, Lord, wilt thou lay unhappy Chains upon one of Thy Tongues? There are Multitudes in the World that never gave their Tongues unto Thee, who yett enjoy them, without any afflictive Restraint upon them. And wilt thou deny *this* to mee, who have otherwise desired, otherwise designed? Lord; I now know, that Thou hast heard mee. Oh! my God and Father: Thou hast heard the Voice of my Supplications. I will now live unto Thee forever and ever. And I now conclude, with declaring, that I do not, I dare not, expect this Mercy, on the Account of any Thing that I perform, or purpose; but I reckon it swimming down unto mee, in the Blood of the Sweetest Jesus; to whom I shall render everlasting *Hallelujahs*.”

Thus did my glorious Lord-Redeemer, make the Remainers of my Affliction in my Utterance an Occasion of my continual Addresses unto Him, with a manifold exercise of Grace. Tis possible, that Satan also, might make this an Occasion of daily *Buffetings* upon mee; albeit by careful Speaking, I all this while, was an uninterrupted Preacher, that found much Acceptance among the Churches of God.

Why should I bee discouraged? Moses complained that

the Infirmitie of his *Utterance* continued, after his Entrance upon his *Ministry*!<sup>1</sup>

However, I received an Answer to the Prayers of this Day, in an immediate and perceptible Enlargement, unto the Liberty of my *Speech*. And as for Matters, in the *Church*, which I this Day also recommended unto the Lord, they went on very comfortably.

22 d. 11 m. *Lord's-Day*. I will once more, give a *Specimen*, of an Heart proceeding methodically, at the *Table* of the Lord.

My Heart, this Day, thus proceeded.

At the Administration of the *Bread*.

"It is said, Joh. 2. 11. *Jesus manifested forth His Glory and His Disciples beleaved on Him.*

"Here my Lord, is manifesting of His *glory*, His mediatorial *Glory*. What remains, but that I beleave on Him.

"Am I willing so to do?

"*Yes*; I have nothing against it. Lett mee receive Him, enjoy Him, depend on Him, in all His Offices forever.

"*Thou shalt so*; saies the Lord: *Here I bring Thee, a Seal of it*. So the *Bread* comes: taking whereof, I consider, that the Lord Jesus Christ is mine, and I shall bee saved by Him.

At the Administration of the *Cup*.

"May not the *greatest Sinners*, have an Interest in the *Salvation*, whereof the Lord Jesus Christ is the *Author*?

"*Yes*.

"But what must I do, that I may have so!

"I must *return* to God, in and by the Lord Jesus Christ; and then all that *Salvation* is *mine* forever.

"Am I willing. so to do?

"*Yes*; I am willing.

"*Then* saies the Lord, *the Salvation is thine: I seal it unto thee*. So the *Cup* comes; and I spend the Rest of the Time, in rejoicing upon this Assurance."

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin.

6 d. 12 m. The Church of *Newhaven* renewed their Addresses unto poor, vile *mee* to become their Pastor; but this Day, I wrote unto them, the Indisposition which I had, unto the Thing which they desired.

My Reason was, because the Church of *North Boston* would have entertained uncomfortable Dissatisfactions at my Father, if after so many importunate *Votes* of theirs, for my Settlement here, hee had any way permitted my Removal from them.<sup>1</sup>

What Repentance will do? The same that you read, Prov. 30. 20. But more effectually, more commendably. *David* in his younger years was taken in Adultery; in his old Age was found abed with a *Virgin*.

Hæc est virtus Christi Domini; ut quamvis peccator sit, qui ejus unda ablutus fuerit, denuo in virginem reparetur, fitque Virgo Fide Christi, qui fuerit Adulter corruptione peccati.

<sup>1</sup> He remained an assistant until January 8, 1682-83, when the North Church chose him for its Pastor, but was not ordained until May, 1684.

1682-83

THE XXI<sup>ST</sup> YEAR OF MY AGE

Horæ plusquam Amœnæ, nunquam redituræ.<sup>1</sup>

12 d. 12 m. [February], 1682-83. I am this Day twenty Yearre old. But alas, how little have I done, for the Glory of God all this While!

I would this Day resolve, especially two Things.

I. To bee more diligent in searching of the *Scriptures*.

II. To bee more Concerned, for the Welfare of the *Church* whereto I am related.

19 d. 12 m. A PURPOSE. There are some *Gentlemen*, and *Merchants*, in whom the Good God, hath given mee an Interest; and shall I not improve that Interest?

I may do well, to engage them, in Agreements, together, to single out some godly, but needy *Ministers* in the Countrey, for the Objects of their Charity; unto whom their *Bounty* may so expresse itself, that God may bee *glorified* and they themselves gloriously *rewarded*.

4 d. 1 m. [March.] 1682-83. *Lord's-Day*. Hearing my Father preach a Sermon, upon the *Eighth Commandment*, I considered, that I have in my study, two or three small *Books*, which I borrowed of my Schoolfellow, when wee were at School together, and the Promise, to return them when hee should call for them. He afterwards left off Learning, and went out of the Countrey, but I still have the Books: I resolve to lay out, however ten times the Value of them in good Books to give away; not knowing how else to have Peace in my own mind.

<sup>1</sup> "More than delightful hours, never to return."

12 d. 1 m. PURPOSES. It will bee for the Glory of God, that I should observe, the following

RULES OF SPEECH.

Oh! Lord God, in Jesus Christ, help mee!

I. Lett mee in a solemn Way, give my *Speech* up unto God, as a Faculty to be everlastingly improved for Him.

II. Lett my future Care, in and of my *Words*, declare the Sinceritie of such a *Dedication*.

And therefore, lett mee seek *Rules of right Speaking*.

1. By *praying* daily to God, *Lord, lett my Mouth show forth thy Praise*.

2. By *Reading*, both of exemplary *Men*, and of profitable *Books*, which may teach mee, *the Government of the Tongue*.

Lett mee then use the *Rules* which I have sought. especially

1. By being a Person of but *few Words*.

2. By being *deliberate* in the Motions of my Tongue and Lip.

3. By avoiding all Expressions, which I apprehend will trespass on the Commandments of God.

4. By rarely coming into Company, without seeking of useful Discourse in the Company.

In so doing, *the Tongue of the Stammerer shall speak plainly*.

26 d. 1 m. A PURPOSE. I have, by happy Experience, been convinced what good may bee done, by *Visits* religiously performed.

I would, as soon, as is convenient, sett apart one Afternoon, every Week, to visit all the Families, in our Neighbourhood; and therein essay, as handsomely as I can, to bring Persons of all Ages and Sexes, unto an Acquaintance with God.

30 d. 1 m. In Prayer, the Lord filled mee, with Faith and Joy, when I considered that admirable Clause in the

new Covenant, *I will not turn away from them to do them good*; and when I professed unto the Lord, that since the Covenant, and all the inestimable Blessings of it, were offered unto my Acceptance, I did humbly lay hold thereon; And I desired, not only an Interest, in all that *Salvation*, which the *Covenant* proposed, and above all, that highest Blessedness, of being made *like to God and Jesus Christ*; but also I consented that Jesus Christ, the *Surety* of the *Covenant*, should be the *Way*, in which all Mercy should be communicated unto mee.

16 d. 2 m. [April.] PURPOSES. The Lord hath graciously given mee to see, that I have but *one Thing* to do in the World, and that is, to become acquainted with Him, so as to be continually acting of *Grace* upon Him.

The greater my Attainments in this kind, are, the more Glory shall I bring to my Blessed Maker and Master. Wherefore, hereunto, I *press on*.

1. Lett mee be abundant in *secret Prayers*.

2. Lett mee carefully read some excellent *Books*, which my Saviour, in His infinite Faithfulness, has bestowed upon mee.

And among the rest, *Howes* Blessedness of the Righteous.<sup>1</sup>

In the whole former part of this Year there occur'd little Remarkable, concerning the Experiences of my life.

Wherefore, but little is Recorded.

5 d. 3 m. [May.] Upon many Calls thereunto I spent this Day in *secret Prayer* with *Fasting*, before the Lord.

And I will, to give one instructive Instance, unto my few Friends, with whom I leave these papers, particularly recite the Method of my Proceedings, from the Beginning, to the Conclusion, of the *Day*.

<sup>1</sup> John Howe (1630-1705), domestic chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. His *Treatise on the Blessedness of the Righteous* was printed in 1668.

1. I Began the Day, with expressing before the Lord, my *Beleef*, of His being a *Rewarder of them which diligently seek Him*, and my *Request*, that Hee would now strengthen mee to seek Him.

2. I then read the *Chapters* of the Bible, which occurred unto mee, in my *Course* of Reading; and those *Chapters*, I largely turned into *Prayers*, before the Lord.

3. Afterwards, I essayed in *Meditation*, to affect my own Heart, with a Sense of the manifold Vileness where-with I have provoked God: My *old Sins*, and my *late Sins*; especially my woful *Unfruitfulness*, under my marvellous Enjoyments, Priviledges and Advantages.

All which, I then confessed, and bewayled, upon my Knees, before God.

4. This done; I sang unto the Lord, that Hymn of *Barton's*, which is called, *Confession of Sin*.<sup>1</sup>

5. Hereupon, I spent some Time in pondering of a profitable and a seasonable *Quæstion*; and then in forming of some *occasional Reflections*.

6. I then went again unto my *Supplications*; wherein I considered, that after all my Vileness, the Lord is willing to deal with mee, in the way of the *Covenant of Grace*; and for that End, offered unto mee such a *Surety* and a *Saviour*, as the Blessed Jesus. Wherefore, I now stirr'd up myself, to take hold of Him, earnestly putting my Soul, into the Hands of the Mediator, and crying to Him that Hee would convey unto mee, not only *Pardon* of Sin, but also *Power* against it, and make mee an happy Subject of all His redeeming Works.

7. Now, I sang unto the Lord, that Hymn in *Barton's* which is entitled, *Humble Confessions and Supplications*. And I sett myself, by further *Meditation*, to establish

<sup>1</sup> William Barton (1598?-1678), hymnologist, whose verse translation of the Psalms was first published in 1644, and ran through many editions in the lifetime of the author, and with many alterations of text. He complained of editions printed by stealth, but in large numbers, both in England and in Holland.

myself, in the use of such *Rules of Speech*, as might render mee, a *perfect Man*.

8. From which, I betook myself unto *Prayer*. And my *Prayer* now was, especially for such a *Door of Utterance*, as from Time to Time in my Ministry I might have occasion for.  And I had a full Assurance, that I was heard in this *Petition*.

9. I then sang Part of the 51st *Psalm*.

And so proceeded unto another *Prayer*, wherein I presented before the Lord, the Desire of *Solomon* for *Wisdom*; and for the Presence of God with mee, in all the Concerns of my Ministry.

10. Which being finished, I sang Part of the 103d. *Psalm*. And then I examined myself by the signs of a State of *Nature*, and a State of *Grace*, given in Mr N. Vincent's, *True Touchstone*;<sup>1</sup> and found Joyful cause to *hope*.

11. In the next Place, I made another *Prayer*; to recommend unto the Blessing of God, my particular Friends, and all His people.

12. So I went unto a Meeting of *Christians*, that were preparing for the Communion tomorrow and pray'd and preach'd with them.

13. Leaving them I visited a sick Neighbour and pray'd with him.

14. And last of all, I shutt up the Day, renouncing all Apprehension of *Merit*, in my own Duties, and relying upon the Lord Jesus Christ alone, for Acceptance and Salvation.

12 d. 3 m. This Evening, I had much Satisfaction of Mind in contriving what *noble Attainments*, I should bee continually pursuing of. And while I was lying on my

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Vincent (1639?-1697), an ejected minister. *The True Touchstone* was printed in 1681. "Mr. Vincent," wrote Samuel Baker to Increase Mather in January, 1682-83, "a London minister, convicted on the 35th of Eliz: lies a prisoner his 3 months, then must leave the king's dominions or suffer death."

4 *Collections*, VIII. 511.

Couch, in the Dark of the Evening, I *extempore* composed the following Hymn, which I then sang unto the Lord.

*High Attainments.*

Lord, what shall I return unto Him, from Whom all my mercies flow?

- (I) To mee *to live*, it *Christ* shall bee,  
For All I do, I'll do for Thee.
- (II) My *Quæstion* shall bee oft beside,  
*How thou mayst most bee glorified!*
- (III) I will not any creature *love*,  
But in the *Love* of Thee above.
- (IV) *Thy Will* I shall embrace for *mine*,  
And every Management of Time  
Shall please mee (V.) A *Conformity*  
To Thee, shall bee my *Aim* and *Eye*.
- (VI) *Ejaculations* shall ascend,  
Not seldome from mee. (VII.) I'll attend  
*Occasional Reflections*, and  
Turn all to Gold that comes to hand.
- (VII)<sup>1</sup> And in particular, among  
My Cares, I'll try to make my *Tongue*,  
A *Tree of Life*; by speaking all  
As bee accountable who seall.
- (IX) But *last*, yea, *first*, of all I will  
Thy *Son* my *Surety* make, and still  
Implore Him, that Hee would mee bless  
With *Strength*, as well as *Righteousness*.

I designed rather *Pietie*, than *Poetrie*, in these Lines. But being truly, and briefly, expressive, of the Desires, working in my Soul, I afterwards wrote the following Explications of them.

NOTES.

1. That I may press after the apostolical Excellency.

*To mee to live is Christ*, I would endeavour to dedicate every *Day* of my *Life* unto God, yea, to dedicate each

<sup>1</sup> Error for VIII.

Action of every Day, as far as I can, unto the Honour of God. In the *Morning* I would lift up my Heart, unto Him, who *knowes my Thoughts afar off*, saying *this Day shall be spent in the Acknowledgments of God*. And, as far as I can, to each new *Improvement* of myself, *natural, civil, and religious*, I would putt such a Preface as that, *Thy Glory is in this aimed at, O God!* In all which, I would have a special Respect unto the Magnifying of that *Mediator*, whose *redeeming Works*, will come to be considered, in my Obedience.

2. Besides the welcome Entertainment which I would give, *all the Day long*, unto *Methods* that may occur for my Serving of God, I would for the most part, every Week, sett apart a Time, to consider, *what is there that I may do for God*. First, in my own *Heart and Life*, and then in every *Relation* instanced by mee! And reserve many *written Memorials*, of my Conclusions and Contrivances.

3. I must look to it, that I *love Creatures*, under whatsoever endearing Circumstances they court my Affections, with a *Love*, not only *less than my Love to God*, but also, on the *Score*, and for the *Sake* of my *Love to God*; whose *Beauty* or *Image* resting thereon, with an *Advantage* thereby putt into my Hands for the *glorifying* of Him, shall be the *Reason*, of my *Love* thereunto. Since, *Non amat te, qui quid amat te, præter te, quod non amat propter te*. And one manifestation hereof, shall be my *Jacob-like*, paying to the divine Majesty, such a *Rent* of my possessions, as the *Tithes* of all my *Income*, whether in *Salary*, or in *Donation*.

4. I am to resign all my Concerns unto Him, *without whom not a little Bird falls unto the Ground*. And I would so own His *Hand* ordering and managing all that betides mee, as that I would rest *contented* therewithal, in a Confidence that it is a Dispensation of Him, who is both a *wise Friend* and my *best Friend*; and whose *Cravings* for mee, are infinitely better than any *Cravings* of my own. This is to issue in my having *no will opposed unto His*.

5. My highest Acquisition, I will reckon to bee, a *Likeness unto God*. To *love* that which *God* loves, and *hate* that which *God* hates; to bee *holy as God is holy*, and like Him, a *great Forgiver*; and bee His *Child*, as much as may bee like the *just at the Resurrection from the Dead*. This will I seek, as the noblest *Crown*, that ever I can wear; and that which the *Thorns* placed upon the Temples of the greatest earthly Monarchs, were never worthy to bee compared with. O That I may bee conformable unto the *communicable Attributes* of God, and agreeable unto his *Incommunicable*.

6. Every Day, and at such Minutes, as I have not Liberty to make my more *sett Visits* unto the *God of Heaven*, I would then ty my Desires unto the *Arrowes of ejaculatory Prayers*, and so shoot them over the Heads of all Interruptions.

Every Opportunitie, to *speak well* of Him that *redeems mee from all Adversitie* I would have, not pass mee, without a *Lord, I thank thee*. When I read or hear, anything of Importance, I would add a pertinent *Salley of Soul* to Heaven upon it. I would never answer a *weighty Quæstion*, without such a silent *Petition* to God, for *Direction* in it. Yea, As I walk in the *Street*, or sitt in the House, tho' I will not bee so *Pharisaical* as to *show* it, yett I will use frequently to lift up a cry unto God, for some suitable Blessing, to bee vouchsafed unto the Persons that I have before mee, not knowing, but that *Thousands* of Men, Women, and Children may fare the better for *mee*; however I shall myself have the Comfort of exercising this Christlike Disposition, of an *universal Charitie to Mankind*, and my *Prayers will return into my own Bosom*. Oh! Blessed the man that hath his *Quiver* filled with such *Arrowes*.

7. The World, is filled with loud and plain *Preachers*, whose Instructions, it shall bee no lesse a *Pleasure*, than a *Profit* for mee, to yeeld Attention unto. And especially,

the little Parcels, Fragments, and Intervals of *Time*, wherein the Generalitie of People, do suffer their minds to ly like the *Field* of the Sluggard, *overgrown with Weeds*, I would have to bee so well-husbanded by mee, as that at all Places of Diversion, I would be at my spiritual *Alchymie*. The candid *Lessons*, thus received, shall not bee *dismissed* without a gainful *Ejaculation*, unto the *God of all Grace*.

8. It was the Resolution of the Psalmist, whose *Tongue* was his *Glory*, to *take heed that hee sinned not with His Tongue*. And it shall bee *my Study* to do this, which the Apostle pronounces the Prærogative of, *a perfect Man*. What Solomon ascribes to the *Tongue of the Righteous*, is to bee endeavoured by my *Tongue*; which, by uttering my Conceptions *cautiously, moderately, deliberately*, and by making all that come into my Company, the Partakers of some *useful Notion*, shall discover mee, to bee under the Awe of that Admonition, *of every idle Word shall an Account bee given*.

9. The former *honest Purposes*, are amiable, are necessary. But *the Things are too great for mee, and I cannot do them myself alone*. Wherefore my Dependence must bee upon the Lord Jesus Christ, for the *Pardon* of my *Defects*, and for a *Supply* of *Grace that shall bee sufficient for mee*. Unto *Him* will I, in the most explicit and importunate manner betake myself; and that *still, forever*; unto *Him*, as my *Prophet, Priest, and King*; with the Profession, *In the Lord have I Righteousness and Strength*.

Surely, *Hee that doeth these Things, shall never bee moved*.

14 d. 3 m. PURPOSES. I shall bee serviceable to God, in being serviceable to Man; especially with *Soul-Service*. And how shall I better bee so; than by fervent *Prayers*? Wherefore I design,

1. To take the Bills,<sup>1</sup> that are putt for *Prayer* or *Praise*,

<sup>1</sup> A few of the original slips or bills sent to Mather have been preserved. "Benjamin Elton Bound to Sea Desires prayers for him, that God would Bless and

in our Congregation, and afterwards present the particular Cases, there exhibited, before the Lord, in my Study, where I may more particularly implore the Grace of God, for each of them, than I did in the public.

2. To ask myself, before my evening Prayers in secret, Who has in the foregoing Day show'd mee any *Kindness?* and particularly supplicate the God of Heaven, that Hee would bestow spiritual and eternal Favours, on each of them that have so obliged mee.

14 d. 3 m. I am extremely defective in recording particular Providences, that appear in the conduct of my Life. But indeed I am so shallow, that I cannot easily avoid the Fault of being, either *negligent* on one side, or *superstitious* on other.

However, I will now mention one little Thing of the same Kind, that I have seen many, in the Course of my Life; and it may bee, t'will do some Friend or other some good, that I should mention it.

I was owner of a Watch, whereof I was very fond, for the Varietie of Motions in it. My Father was desirous of this Watch, and I, in a manner, gave it him, with such Thoughts, *I owe him a great deal more than this; and the Observation of the fifth Commandment, never wants a Recompense.* Quickly after this, there came to mee a Gentlewoman, from whom I had no Reason to expect so much as a Visit, but in her Visit, shee to my surprise, pray'd mee to accept, as a present from her, a *Watch*; which, was indeed preferable unto that which I had before parted with.<sup>1</sup> I

prosper him and in Safety Returne him." "Anne Williams would Return thanks to God for Hire safe deliverance in child bead, and desires your prayers for Hir Absent Husband Abroad at see." "Thomas Diamond Returned from see Desirs to Returne thanks to God for his mercies to him." Sewall records in his *Diary*, i. 68, "I put up a Note to pray for the Indians that Light might be communicated to them by the Candlestick, but my Note was with the latest, and so not professedly prayed for at all."

<sup>1</sup> In February, 1893, the Society received as a gift from Mrs. Elizabeth Anna Byles Ellis, a watch which had long been in the Mather family. It was made

resolved hereupon, to stirr up, *Dutifulness unto Parents*, in my Neighbours, more than ever; and *redeem* the Time, which I was helped thus to *Measure*.

31 d. 3 m. A PURPOSE. I have many *Enjoyments*. One way of improving them all, for the glory of God, will bee, by making them the Subjects of my *occasional Reflections*. They shall then afford mee Multitudes, hundreds, thousands of *Lessons* about *the Kingdome of God*.

3 d. 4 m. [June.] *Lord's-Day*. Intending to record no more of my *sacramental Methods*, I will distinctly at this Time recite the Workings of my Heart at the Table of the Lord.

While the *Bread* was breaking, I considered, that the Lord Jesus Christ had given Himself.

To whom? For whom?

The Answer is made, *mee*; for the Sign and Seal thereof, is brought unto *mee*.

But for what End? Even, that I may become very *holy*.

Then I sett myself, to entertain such Considerations drawn from the Death of the Lord Jesus Christ, as might induce mee unto *Holiness*. And I look'd up unto Him, for the Communication of so *great Salvation*.

While the *Wine* was filling, I considered, That the Lord Jesus Christ was crucified.

On whose Behalf?

On *mine*. For so I hear the voice here uttered, *Shed for you*.

I then resolved, that I would crucify all the *Lusts* of the Flesh; inasmuch as either they had killed the Lord Jesus Christ, or else they would kill mee.

This Work I now began, by doing unto my *Lusts*, as the Jewes did unto the Lord Jesus Christ. They enquired,

by D. Quare, London, and bears the number 807. On the case of the works has been scratched the year 1712, probably the date of a repair. With it are two silver seals.

who and where Hee was? and I said, *Lord, make mee to know my Transgression and my Sin.*

They brought *Him* then before the *Rulers*. And I presented my *Corruptions* before *God*.

They solicited, that Hee might bee *slain*, as worthy of *Death*. And I professed unto the Lord, that for innumerable Reasons, I thought my Iniquities *worthy to dy*, and I besought the Lord now to *destroy* those *Enemies* in my Heart, that would not have *Him to reign over mee*.

And I purposed that I would hereafter bee as active in the Execution of these evil Inclinations as the Jewes were in the execution of my dearest Redeemer.

11 d. 4 m. The *first* of my Father's Children that have Dyed and the *Ninth* of his Children, my little Sister *Katharine*, dyed this Day.<sup>1</sup>

When shee was opened, it was found, that the right Lobe of her Lungs was utterly wasted and not any thing but about three Quarters of a Pint of Quittor, in the room thereof.

Shee was not a year old; and had lain sick, for four or five months.

PURPOSES. I. There are brought unto my Hands, the Lives of many excellent Christians and Ministers; namely, *Sam: Clarks* last Volumes; where among the rest there is the Life of my Grandfather *Mather*.<sup>2</sup> In reading hereof, I would particularly take notice of such passages as rendered other Persons excellent; and vigorously endeavour to follow them.

II. There is an old *Hawker*, who will fill this Countrey with devout and useful Books, if I will direct him; I will therefore direct Him, and assist him, as far as I can, in doing so.

<sup>1</sup> She was born September 14, 1682.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Clarke (1599-1683).

"I have seen Mr. Clark's late book, and am ill pleased with that abuse of my father's life. But it cannot now bee helped." *Nathaniel Mather to Increase Mather*, August 13, 1683. 4 *Collections*, VIII. 50.

18 d. 4 m. PURPOSES. I. I may do something for God in my *Visits*. And therefore, as an Effect of my constant and earnest Cares, to carry on *holy Designs*, in my occasional Diversions, I now think of one Rule, which I have not formerly so much observed; That I should, for my ordinary *Farewel* to my christian Friends, as my parting with them, contrive to commend unto them some suitable *Text of Scripture*, whereof they may think, when I am gone from them.

II. I would endeavour to do much more for God, in my *Studies*. And therefore I would, if I can attain it, bee a more *early Riser*, for them.

25 d. 4 m. The Lord sent mee a little Book, of Mr *Corbet's*; entituled, *Self-Employment*.<sup>1</sup> In the close of which Book, I found some excellent Resolutions of his, from whence I singled out these that follow, for my more assiduous *Meditation* and *Imitation*.

"In *Arguing* with another, watch against every *inordinate Heat*, loud Speaking, and every rash word.

"If any *Neglect*, or *Sleight* thee, *care* not for it, yett *observe* it.

"Any matter of *Trial* to thee, reckon among thy *Gains*.

"Take no *Delight of Sense*, but in a manifest and direct *Subserviency* to *spiritual Ends*; and use not that *Delight* to irritate, but to allay *Sensualitie*.

"When thou art in *Company*, where the *Talk* is but vain, *watch* to putt in a *Word* that may bee for *Edification*.

"If any *despise* thee, do not bear a *Grudge* against him for it, and bee not offended with any, meerly because they do not honour *Thee*.

"When thou art framing *Excuses*, take heed of speaking an *Untruth*, or approaching too near it. Lest in avoiding the offence of *Man*, thou make too bold with *God*. Take heed of this also, when thou wouldst *speak pleasingly*.

"Use no *Recreation*, or *Delight of Sense*, but what thou canst, at the very *Time*, desire of *God*, may bee sanctified, unto *spiritual Ends*.

<sup>1</sup> John Corbet (1620-1680), an ejected minister. *Self-Employment in Secret* was issued in 1681, and passed through many editions.

“When thou hearest, that another hath spoken any thing unto thine *Injury*, or *Disparagement*, beware of a Transport of *Anger*; that thou speak not harshly or unadvisedly against him; or too passionately for thyself; or, as too much concerned for thyself.

“Uphold the Reputation of thy *Colleague*; or any that is joined with thee, in Service, as thou wouldst *thine own*.

“Watch against all secret Pleasure, in the lessening of *Another*, for the advancing of *Thyself*.

“When thou hast an Opportunitie of speaking a *Word*, for the Good of another’s Soul, defer not the doing of it, until another Time.

“Watch against all bitter, and over-passionate Speeches against *malignant Opposers* of the Truth. For Meekness of Spirit, and Behaviour is more according to Christ, than *wrathful Zeal*.

“Bee not discomposed about some petty *Absurdities* of Behaviour, or little Indecorums, or Oversights; for so to bee, is Pusillanimitie.

“When thou hast conceived a *Dislike* of any Person, his Wayes, or Actions, or dost ill resent his Carriage towards thee, take heed thou do not take any secret Pleasure in the *Foresight* of Evil coming upon him, or in hearing or observing any such Folly of his, as tends to his Reproche, or Ruine, or notable Damage.

“After thy *public Ministrations*, in prayer and preaching, bee not thoughtful, or much concerned, how *Men* like thy Performance, but bee concerned for this, how acceptable it is to God, and how effectual and successful, to holy and saving Ends.

“Watch every Opportunitie, to putt in a savoury Word, for the Good of a *Soul*, with whom thou hast Occasion of Converse.

“Bee as serious and hearty; in thy *Prayers* to God, for the Concerns of *Others*, as for *thine Own*.

“Do not value *other Men*, according to their Esteem of *thee*; but according to their *true Worth*.

“Watch against the Expectation of hearing thy *own Praise*; and when such a Thought arises, instantly suppress it.

“Watch against all *Eagerness* and immoderate Delight, in eating and drinking; and against minding any kind of *Food*, for the Pleasing of the *Sense*.

“By no means, lett *Pride* sett thee to study, or preach or pray, or carry thee on, in any Service.”

In such Things as these, O my Soul, are thy *Deficiencies*; In such Things now, lett bee thy *Excellencies*.

9 d. 5 m. [July.] About this Time, I sett myself, to

promote a pious and praying *Meeting*, among the young People, in the south part of *Boston*; for the Prevention of the Mischiefs arising from vain Company, and as a Nursery to the Church there. But the Matter did not obtain so far as I desired.

It was afterwards obtained; when there were such Numbers of young Men from the *South* End of the Town, joined unto the Meeting at the *North*, as that I could make of them enough to constitute, a distinct Meeting. They did so, and at their first Setting up, I preach'd unto them.<sup>1</sup>

15 *d.* 5 *m.* This Day, over-looking the *Addresses* of persons to join unto our Church, I found above *thirty Seals* of my Ministry in this Place, among these Papers. From whence I may form a *probable Computation*, of many scores, that have here and elsewhere been thereby helped in their Acquaintance with the Lord. Blessed be God.

26 *d.* 5 *m.* This Evening, as I was walking where I had such a prospect of our Neighbourhood, as gave mee to see that God had cast my Lot, in a place exceedingly *Populous*, I found my Heart, after a more than ordinary Manner melted in Desires after the Conversion and Salvation of the Souls in this Place.<sup>2</sup> And my Soul, was afterwards exceedingly transported, in *Prayers* for such a Mercy.

 *Memorandum.* Using of sacred *Meditations* (with mixed *Supplications*) at my waking Minutes, every Morning, in my *Bed*, and in this Course, going over many Portions of the *Scriptures* a *Verse* at a Time, the Thought of *Isaac* having his happy Consort brought unto him, *when* and where, hee was engag'd in his holy *Meditations*, came sometimes into my Mind, and, I had sometimes a strange Perswasion; that there would a Time come, when I should

<sup>1</sup> Written in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> The usual estimates of the population of Boston about 1684 give between four and five thousand inhabitants.

have my *Bed* blessed with such a Consort given unto mee, as *Isaac*, the Servant of the Lord was favoured withal.

In the Beginning of *August*, spending about a Fort-night, with my Father at *Lyn*, where wee both of us preached on two successive Sabbaths, I enjoy'd many happy Hours, in the countrey-Retirements of the Fields; and in some of those  Retirements, I received strong and strange *Assurances*, That the God of Heaven intended, not only to bless me, but also to make mee a Blessing.

27 d. 6 m. [*August*.] Considering my own many Sins and Wants and the many Sorrowes of the Church, I sett apart this, for, a Day of Prayer, with Fasting, in my study, before the Lord.

I *judged* myself before God, for my horrible Transgressions of all Sorts; and on the Distresses of my Soul, beholding my Miseries, by my unavoidable *Exposedness* unto the Wrath of God; and my insuperable *Estrangedness* from the Foundation of all Good; but beleiving that the Mediator was yett willing to have Mercy on mee, after all the Indignities which I had putt upon Him, if I *now* look'd unto Him, I earnestly besought Him, that Hee would graciously take the Care of all that concerned my Salvation; and rescue mee from all the Confusions which I had brought upon myself by my leaving of God; and bee my *Prophet*, *Priest*, and *King* forever. And I professed unto Him, that I left my immortal Spirit, in His blessed Hands, and that I would expect every Part of my Welfare, as the Fruit of His blessed *Satisfaction* and *Intercession*; and that I would submitt unto His glorious *Dominion*, *Power* and *Wisdom*e, so as never wittingly and willingly to withdraw from the Regulations thereof; but I would fly unto His precious *Blood*, for *Pardon*, whenever I perceived any *Deviation* in myself. And I concluded with a triumphant Hope, that Hee would now delight in mee, to do mee Good; and that God would have no Controversie with mee; and that I

should after a desireable Manner know Him, love Him, honour Him: that I should find my never-dying Soul to bee under the peculiar Care, of a loving and faithful Redeemer in the Times of the greatest *Extremitie* that should ever come upon mee.

Hence forward, rejoice, O my Soul, in thy Saviour.

This Day, I also made a most explicit Address unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as having all *Keyes* in His Hands, for my *Speech*, that I might have such continual and sufficient Supplies of it, as in my Ministry I had Occasion for. I adored, I confessed, His infinite *Might*. I praised Him for His *Mercy*; I exceedingly bewayled the Sins of my *Tongue*. I declared, I asked for a *Tongue* only to serve Him, and bespeak the Loves and Lives of my Neighbours for Him; and I concluded, with a glorious Assurance, that the  *Tongue of the Stammerer should speak Plainly*; and whereas there are vile Mortals, who have questioned His *Deity*, I should from an happy Experience testify, That *verily Hee is GOD, and His Kingdome ruleth over all*. Whereto I added,

“Only, O Lord, thy Servant herewith, does *vow* unto Thee, that Hee Will endeavour to honour Thee, with His poor *Speech*, more than heretofore; and labour after greater Deliberation, Gravity, Savouriness therein, than hee has yett attended or attained.” *Amen*, Lord lett mee do so!

But in the Close of this Day I formed certain *Contrivances*, about my *Walk with God*, which having in them something of *Curiositie*, I shall give a particular Account of them.

I was desirous, not only to entertain *Purposes* of glorifying my glorious Lord Jesus Christ, but also to *honour Him with my Substance*, particularly thro’ my being thereby quickened unto Stedfastness in those Purposes.

There now occur’d unto mee, no way more ingenious, or ingenuous, than for mee to awe myself into *Faithfulness* unto *them*, with *Forfeits* upon *that*.

Such *Penalties*, I also saw, would lay mee under a necessitie to *Do Good* still, one Way or other.

Herein I was very far from any vile Imagination, That I could *buy off* the Guilt of any Omission whatsoever; I knew, I own'd, that only the precious Blood of the *Lamb of God*, signified anything to do that. But I imagined, that for mee to make my Omissions more painful and costly unto my *Flesh* would bee to furnish myself, with effectual *Monitors* of my Duty.

Wherefore, I now purposed, that if I did any Day omitt such or such Exercises of Religion, which I have heretofore prescribed unto myself, I would *forfeit* a certain Piece of Money, (besides and beyond my *Tithes*) to be given unto the *Poor*.

These Usages, I continued for some while, until I found my Disposition unto such Methods of conversing with God, so strengthened, that I had not so much Need of using these *Incitements* any longer.

Thus, I have sometimes laid a *Penalty*, for some while upon myself, that if in joining with the *Prayers* of another, I did lett more than one entire Sentence pass mee at any Time without annexing some Ejaculation pertinent thereunto, I would forfeit a Piece of Money to bee given unto the *Poor*. And I found this Effect of it, that in a Week or two, I had little Occasion to lay my *Penalty*; for I found, my Distractions in my Duties, which had been my Plague, most wonderfully cured.

Thus also, I have sometimes laid a *Penalty* upon myself, on a *Lord's-Day*, that if thro' the whole Day, I spoke *one Word*, which I could not judge proper to bee spoken on such a Day, I would, in like manner, forfeit. And I found myself marvellously strengthened by this Caution, in keeping the *Lord's-Day* at such a Rate, as was unto mee, a little Prælibation of the *rest remaining for the People of God*.

Moreover, because at this Time I kept a *Diary* of my

daily Actions, I now purposed, that I would note no Action in my *Diary*, except it had been præfaced or attended, with some such Motion of Soul as this, *Oh, Lord this is that thou mayst bee glorified!* or, *Thy Glory is in this aimed at, Oh God!*

That I may but just exemplify the Watch which the Lord in those Dayes helped mee to keep over my *Walk*, I will here transcribe only the Actions of one Day, namely the first occurring in that part of the Diaries then written by mee.

“28 d. 6 m. 1683. Legi Exod. 34, 35, 36, Oravi. Examinaui Adolescentes. Legi Cartesium. Legi Commentatores in Joh. 6. 37. Jentacul: Paravi Concionem. Orationi interfui Domesticæ. Audivi pupillos Recitantes. Legi Salmon pharmacop:<sup>1</sup> pransus sum. Visitavi plures Amicos. Legi Varia. Paravi concionem. Audivi pupillos Recitantes. Meditat: On *the exceeding Willingness of the Lord Jesus to Do good unto those that come unto Him*; and, I resolve,

“As to bee encouraged in my Addresses unto the Lord Jesus for His *Mercy*, from the Thoughts of His *Mercifulness*, thus also to endeavour that I may bee like unto Him in humble and ready *Helpfulness* unto others. Oravi. Cænavi. Paravi concionem. Orationi Interfui Domesticæ.”

Thus, I find my *Diary*, entering it may bee twenty Actions in a Day, which had been all of them explicitly dedicated unto God. And I continued thus noting my Actions in my *Diary*, till my sinful, slothful Heart grew weary of it; besides, I afterward said t’was but Loss of Time, and a Thing of no worth or use, to keep such Records. Wherefore I left off writing of them.

Nor may it bee thought, that I have *every Day* been so

<sup>1</sup> William Salmon (1644-1713), a voluminous and somewhat notorious writer on medicine, who visited New England in his travels; but in what year has not been determined. His *Pharmacopœia Londinensis* was probably what Mather used.

*watchful*; however the *Free-grace* of God helped mee not a Few.<sup>1</sup>

I continued, indeed, a considerable while in that practice.<sup>2</sup>

When I did at last leave off recording the *Actions* every Day explicitly dedicated unto God, I added these words, in my *Diary*:

“I perceive that for mee to note down all the *Actions* in the Day, which I have given up to God, is, however *specious* to bee attempted, yett not *easy* to bee performed, nor *useful* when it is performed. Wherefore,

“I shall with all possible Care *uphold*, yea, advance and augment, my own *Diligence* and Devotion.

“And all my *Services*, to my Maker and Master, I desire may bee, as already the most of them have been, both *conceled* and *forgotten*, by every one except *Him* alone, who will not *forgett my Labour of Love*.”

My *Diaries*, wherein I had written the Course of my Study and preaching, and the *Resolves of Piety* upon my Daily course of *Meditation*, I have thrown, as useless Papers into the Fire.<sup>3</sup>

10 d. 7 m. [September.] PURPOSES. Yesterday I earnestly call'd upon my Hearers to putt this *Quæstion* sometimes unto themselves, *What is there, that I may do for the Name of God?* And I must now myself answer that *Quæstion*.

I. As a CHRISTIAN. I may glorify God, more than I do, by an exceeding *Accuracy* in my *Walk* with Him. To befriend this, I may do well to draw up *several* and *punctual* *Quæstions*, pursuant unto my *three* evening Interrogatories, the *Review* whereof, every Evening, may, more than a little correct my *Failings*, and strengthen my *Graces*, and render mee a *spiritually-minded* Man.

<sup>1</sup> Written in margin against the first paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> A line struck out.

<sup>3</sup> Not one of them seems to have escaped this destruction.

II. As a MINISTER. I may *save myself and them that hear mee* if having preached, first upon the Duty of *Consideration*, I single out suitable Subjects for the Matter of it; and handle those important Subjects, especially, the *cheef End of Man*, the *Day of Judgment*, the *everlasting Punishment of the Wicked* and, the *Life eternal of the Righteous*; in my public Sermons.

According to the former of these *Purposes*, I have methodized my *nocturnal Recollections*.

Quæstions for the Evening.

I. What hath been *Gods Providence* towards myself in the foregoing Day?

1. My Interior. 2. My Exterior. 3. My Friends about mee.

II. What hath been *my Behaviour* towards God, in the foregoing Day?

1. Have I lived this Day, under a deep Sense of *Mortality* and *Eternitie*; and as a *Stranger in the World*?

2. Have I devoutly read the *Word of God*, this Day; and seriously sought the *Face of God*; both in my *Retirement*, and with the *Family*?

3. Have I had many *Ejaculations* this Day; both in a Way of *Petition*, and in a Way of *Thanksgiving*, unto God?

4. Have I had most affectionate *Meditations* upon *heavenly Things* this Day; and have I made *earthly Things* to occasion some of my profitable *Reflections*?

5. Have I been careful of my *Discourse* this day; and spoken with a *Tongue* bridled by the Fear of the Lord?

6. Have I been diligent in my *Calling* this Day; and avoided all needless Expende of my precious and golden Minutes in *Diversions*?

7. Have I this Day endeavoured all *Usefulness*, unto those to whom I am *related*, or with whom I have been *concerned*?

8. Have I this Day controlled and conquered my *Master*

*Sin*; and has my Watchfulness issued in my Victory over my *own Iniquitie*?

III. Am I in a fitt *State* and *Frame*, to *dy* this Night if called thereunto?

1. Do I still choose the great God, as my *best Good*, and my *last End*?

2. Do I still choose the Lord Jesus Christ, as my *Prophet*, my *Priest*, my *King*?

3. Is it still my Desire to bee employ'd as a *Witness* for His *Truths* and *Wayes* forever?

Afterwards, that I might oblige myself, unto a convenient Pause on each of these Quæstions, I composed the following Hymn, to bee Sung in my *evening Walk* with due Deliberation.<sup>1</sup>

*Psal.* 68. 19.<sup>2</sup>

Blest bee the Great JEVOHAH who  
Doth mee with *Daily Blessings* Load  
Thou, with a Saviour, dost Bestow  
*Salvations* on mee, O my God!

*Psal.* 139. 2, 3, 4.<sup>3</sup>

To Thee my *Wayes* have all been known;  
Known all my *Words* have been to Thee:  
Thou know'st my *Thoughts*; My *Faults* I own;  
May all, thro' Christ, now *pardon'd* bee.

*Phil.* 1. 21.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To illustrate his method in thus paraphrasing the Psalms, the texts are added.

<sup>2</sup> "Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with benefits, even the God of our salvation. Selah."

<sup>3</sup> "Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising, thou understandest my thought afar off."

"Thou compassed my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways."

"For there is not a word in my tongue, but, lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether."

Comparison with the *Bay Psalm Book* does not indicate any features favorable to Mather's verse. It was John Cotton's practice to sing psalms, though whether of his own paraphrasing the record does not show.

<sup>4</sup> "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

Thy CHRIST as now my Life; I fly  
 To CHRIST with an *enlivened Faith*  
 And *now* twill bee my *Gain* to dy  
 To CHRIST fetcht by a *stingless Death*.

11 d. 7 m. This Day, I did, with unaccountable Enlargements and Expansions of Heart, pray over my dear Friend, Mr. *Avery*, who after long unconquerable Illness, was apprehended now irrecoverably drawing very near his End. But in the very Time of my Prayer, the good Man, felt as it were a Load, or Cloud, beginning to roll off his Spirits; and from that Instant, unto his own Admiration, hee began to recover; and came abroad shortly, unto the Glory of God. *Oh! my Soul, why dost thou forgett such Benefits!*

24 d. 7 m. A PURPOSE. I will quicken our *Tithing-men*,<sup>1</sup> to revive their Inspections upon the celebration of the Sabbath, in our Neighbourhood.

Much of Sin, will bee hereby prevented.

9 d. 8 m. [October.] This Day, I took up this RESOLUTION.

I will never hear or see, that any Person has *wronged* mee, or *sleighted* mee, but I will immediately, before Him that *sees in Secret*, pray for the Welfare of that person by *Name*.

20 d. 8 m. The Apprehension of the marvellous Mercies wherewith I am, on every side surrounded, awakens mee, to sett apart this Day, for secret Thanksgivings to the Lord.

On this Day, besides other agreeable Devotions, I sett myself to read over all the Mercies of God, which I have recorded, in my former Papers, with *ejaculatory Pauses* upon them all.

I then meditated, on the *spiritual Blessings*, whereof the wonderful Grace of God, had made mee a Partaker. I saw,

<sup>1</sup> Regular officers who preserved order in the meetinghouse during divine service and enforced attendance upon it. They exercised a general moral police in the town, and were elected by the town annually. See 2 *Proceedings*, XIX. 175.

1. That the Lord Jesus Christ, had gone thro' the Work, and even the most humbling and suffering Work, of a *Mediator* for mee.

2. That the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, had wrought in mee such Works as these.

1. Hee has made mee weary of my *Distances* from God: So that I behold a *Vanitie* in all other Objects, and I abhor every *Lust* that carries mee after them, and I cannot bear to think of being putt off with any Enjoyments of this World for my *Portion*.

2. He has carried my Soul forth to the Choice of the *right End*, and of the *right Way* to reach that End. So that,

1. My only, my earnest *Wishes* are, that I may *glorify God*; that I may have His *Image* imprinted on my Soul, and may show forth *His Praise* World without End. Besides this, I aspire not after other Happiness.

2. My frequent Addresses are to the Adorable *God-Man*, that Hee would *obtain* for mee, and *apply* to mee, *so great Salvation*; and I resign myself up into His Hands, resolving to comply with the executions of all His Offices.

For these Things I offered up my Thanks unto the Lord; longing to bee brought into the Land of *Hallelujahs*.

I proceeded afterwards to consider some further Favours of God. *E.g.*

1. My Improvement in the *Ministry* of the Gospel, after I have been the vilest Creature in the World.

2. The many *Advantages*, which I have to countenance mee, in that Improvement.

1. The miraculous Freedom of my *Speech*.

2. A *Library*, exceeding any man's, in all this Land.

3. A desireable *Acceptance*, among the People of God.

4. An happy *Success* of my Labours, both public and private, upon Hundreds of Souls.

Which Things I also acknowledged unto the Praise of God.

2 d. 9 m. [November.] I had newly been thinking, *how all my Sufferings, might bee rendred, after a sort, Sufferings for God;* and so have a *Reward* belonging thereunto: upon which, one of my Notions was, that I would so acknowledge the Hand of God, in all that befel mee, as to praise Him for it, rather than bee thereby discouraged in serving of Him.

Within a few Minutes after this, I received Information, that a Gentleman having procured from *England*, a very valuable *Seal*, which it was his Intention to present unto *me*, as a Token of his Love, it was unhappily lost, among other Goods in a great Fire, which the last Week raged among our Warehouses.

*Memorandum*, Several Months after this, the *Seal* was found preserved from the Fire, and bestowed upon mee.<sup>1</sup>

I thought myself, called now, by a little Trial, to *exercise* the *Grace*, which I had been *pressing* after; which the Lord helped mee to do, with Contentation, with Joy, with Life.

And I pray'd herewithal, that by no *Fire*, neither the *Fire* of *Lust* here, nor the *Fire* of *Hell* hereafter, I might miss of the *Promises*, which the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ hath *sealed*.

15 d. 10 m. [December.] This Day, I sett apart for *secret Humiliation*, with Fasting and Prayer before the Lord.

My great Errand, was to beg *Pardon* for my Sin, and *Power* against it.

I found, Satan buffeting of mee, with *unclean Temptations*; and used *Fasting* and *Prayer*, that *the Kind might bee cast out*.

Besides my other, and usual Devotions, for such Day, I did this Day write, after this manner.

That I may pluck out my *right Ey*, and cutt of my *right Hand*, these are MY PURPOSES.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin.

1. To putt this Petition, into almost every Secret and Settled Prayer, *Lord keep mee from mine Iniquitie.*

2. To not only *read* all that I can meet withal, which may render my Sin odious, but also to *write* Something that may have the same Tendency.

3. If my Sin do still rage, I will spend a Day in *Fasting* and *Prayer*, ever[y] *Fortnight*, until I bee a Conqueror.

4. Never, never, never, will I lay aside my combate, against my Temptations, or Corruptions.

Now, Oh! Blessed Saviour; Save mee from the *horrible Pitt*; Let mee perform what I resolve, and bee accepted, and succeeded, in what I perform!

12 d. 11 m. [*January.*] The sorrowful and horrible Vexation, given mee, by such Temptations of the Divil, as these that I have already mentioned, again drove mee this Day, to *Prayer* with *Fasting*, in secret Places before the Lord.

I cried unto God, that for the Sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, the *Pollutions* of my Soul, might bee *pardoned*, and that I might have the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, possessing of my Heart, and enabling mee to serve Him in *Holiness*, all the Dayes of my Life. I pleaded with the Lord, that Hee did not use to deny those, who came unto Him, with such *Requests for Grace!*

19 d. 11 m. Having newly been acquainted, with a tremendous and an amazing Instance, of a Minister stricken in years, and eminent and remarked all the Countrey over, for a strict Profession of Holiness, who yett has lately fallen into those lascivious Violations of the *Seventh Commandment*, which have given a most infamous Wound unto Religion; my Soul was thereby cast into exceeding Fears, lest I, who am a *young Man*, in my single Estate, should bee left by God, unto some Fall, whereby His Blessed Name would suffer. And this the rather, because I have many Wayes grieved the *good Spirit* of God; and I am strongly

haunted by the *evil Spirit*, with Temptations, that horribly vex my very Soul within mee. For this Cause, I spent this Day, in the mortifying Exercises of a secret *Fast*, with *Prayer*, before the Lord.

As also, that I might obtain a Deliverance for this poor Countrey; which is in extreme Danger of becoming a Prey to *unreasonable Men, that have no Faith*.

I Likewise carried the *wounded Minister*, in my Prayers unto the Lord, for all seasonable Mercies to bee vouchsafed him.

23 d. 11 m. The young people of our Congregation, kept this as a Day of Thanksgiving, together; for the Success of the Gospel here; and for the Lives of my Father, and my wretched Self, who dispense it.

The Lord helped mee to preach unto them almost three Hours (tho' I had little more than one Hour's Time to præpare for it) on Act. 11, 21.<sup>1</sup> And a good Day it was!

9 d. 12 m. [*February*.] My extraordinary Occasion for *Fasting* and *Praying* still continuing, I did again sett apart this Day, to bee therein spent, secretly before the Lord!

And indeed, little memorable attended mee, all the latter part of the year; except this, — that the Distempers of my Heart, enraged by the Temptations of a filthy Divel, drove mee to the macerating Exercises, of much, *Prayer* with *Fasting* before God. For, I exceedingly trembled, lest I should so grieve the *Holy Spirit*, as to bee left unto something or other, whereby His glorious Name would bee dishonoured; which was the Thing that I deprecated, above all the Plagues in the world. And I resolved, that I would never leave crying unto the Lord, until I had obtained from Him, the Grace to serve Him, with such Holiness, that so much as an *ugly Thought*, should not once dare to expect any Lodging in my Soul.

<sup>1</sup> "And the hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord."

Only, I must here exceedingly bewayl it; I *over-did*, in these Mortifications. I broke the *sixth* Commandment, I wasted my Strength, I wounded my Health, very sinfully, in the Excesses of my Devotions. I doubt, I have shortned my Dayes, by this *Over-doing*; I feel that I have thereby brought upon myself *splenetic* Maladies; yea, tis well, if I escape a Consumption. Perhaps, *hoc Ithacus velit*. This is that, at which the Divels aim, in their molestations.

What! Are my very *Duties* now, but *Murders*? Lord pardon mee, and pittie mee, for the sake of Jesus Christ.

MANTISSA.<sup>1</sup>

Having somewhere in these Papers mentioned this, for one of my Methods to do good; "As I walk in the *Street*, or sitt in the *House*, tho' I will not bee so *pharisaical* as to show it, yett I will use frequently to lift up a Cry unto God, for some *suitable Blessing* to bee vouchsafed, unto the Persons that I have before mee:" I am willing to add a more particular Explanation of that passage, for the Instruction of those few Friends, with whom I may leave (if at all I leave!) these *Memorials* of my *sinful Conversation*.

It has been a frequent Thing with mee, to redeem the *silent*, and otherwise, *thoughtless*, Minutes of my Time, in shaping Thousands of *ejaculatory Prayers* for my Neighbours. And by reciting a *Few* of them, the Way of my shaping the *Rest*, may bee conjectured.

At a *Table*, where, I being the *youngest* of the Company, it was not proper for *mee* to discourse at all, and the Discourses of *others* were too trivial, to bee worthy of my Attention.

Casting my Eye upon, The Gentlewoman that <i>carved</i> for us.	Ejaculations. <i>Lord, carve</i> , of thy Graces and Comforts, a <i>rich portion</i> , unto that Person.
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<sup>1</sup> That is, a lesser work, or supplement, following on a greater.

- A Gentlewoman *stricken in years*. Lord, adorn that Person, with the vertues which thou prescribest unto *aged women*, and præpare her for her approaching *Dissolution*.
- A Gentlewoman lately *married*. Lord, *espouse* and *marry*, the Soul of that Person to thyself, in a Covenant never to be forgotten.
- A Gentlewoman very *beautiful*. Lord, *beautify* the Soul of that Person with *thy Comeliness*.
- A Gentlewoman very *gay in her Apparel*. Lord, give that Person an *humble Mind*, and lett her Mind bee most concern'd for the *Ornaments*, that are of *great Price in thy Sight*.
- One of our *Magistrates*. Lord, inspire that Person with *Wisdom, Courage, and Goodness*, to *seek the Welfare of His People*.
- One of our *Ministers*. Lord, incline and assist that Person, to bee a *faithful Steward in thy House*.
- One unhappy in his *Children*. Lord, convert the *Children* of that Person, and lett him have the Joy to see them *walking in thy Truth*.
- One *crazy and sickly*. Lord, lett the *Sun of Righteousness* arise to that Person, with *Healing in His Wings*; In the Lord, lett him have *Righteousness and Strength*.
- A *Physician*. Lord, lett that Person bee successful in his *Practice*; and let him carry all the *Distempers* of his own Soul unto thee, as the *Lord his Healer*.
- One that had mett with *great Losses*. Lord, give to that Person, the *good Part*, which *cannot bee taken away*.
- A *Servant*, giving Attendance. Lord, make that Person, a *Servant of Jesus Christ*.

In like Manner, when I have been sitting in a Room full of People, at a *Funeral*, where they take not much Liberty for *Talk*, and where yett much *Time* is most unreasonably lost, I have usually sett my Witts a work, to contrive *agreeable Benedictions*, for each Person in the Company.

In passing along the *Street*, I have sett myself to *bless* thousands of persons, who never knew that I did it; with *secret Wishes*, after this manner sent unto Heaven for them.

Upon the Sight of	Ejaculations.
A tall Man.	<i>Lord</i> , give that Man, <i>High Attainments</i> in Christianity: lett him fear God, <i>above many</i> .
A lame Man.	<i>Lord</i> , help that Man, to <i>walk uprightly</i> .
A Negro.	<i>Lord</i> , wash that poor Soul <i>white</i> in the <i>Blood</i> of thy Son.
Children standing together.	<i>Lord</i> , lett the <i>blessing Hands</i> of my Lord Jesus Christ, bee putt upon these <i>Children</i> .
Children at Play.	<i>Lord</i> , lett not these Children always forgett the <i>Work</i> , which they came into the World upon.
A Merchant.	<i>Lord</i> , make that man a <i>wise Merchant</i> .
A Very little Man.	<i>Lord</i> , bestow <i>great Blessings</i> upon that Man, and above all, thy <i>Christ</i> , the <i>greatest of Blessings</i> .
A Man carrying a Burden.	<i>Lord</i> , help this Man, to carry a <i>burdened Soul</i> , unto his Lord-Redeemer.
A Man on Horseback.	<i>Lord</i> , thy <i>Creatures</i> do serve that man; help him to serve his <i>Maker</i> .
Young People.	<i>Lord</i> , help these Persons to <i>remember their Creator</i> in the <i>Dayes of their Youth</i> .

*Young Gentlewomen.*

Lord, make 'em *wise Virgins*, as the *polish'd Stones of thy Temple*.

A *Shop-keeper*, busy in the Shop.

Lord, lett not the *World*, cause that Person to neglect the *one thing that is needful*.

A Man, who going by mee took *no Notice* of mee.

Lord, help that Man, to take a *due Notice* of the Lord Jesus Christ, I pray thee.

One in *mourning*.

Lord, give to that Person, the *Comforts*, which thou hast promised for *blessed Mourners*.

A very *old Man*.

Lord, make this an *old Disciple*.

One leaning on a *Staff*.

Lord, teach this Person to *lean on a Christ*.

One whom I *know not*: (and saw no other singular Circumstance about him, to shape any Thoughts upon.)

Lord, lett this Person bee so *known* to, as to bee *sav'd* by, the Lord.

One who (as I had heard) had spoken very *reproachfully* and *injuriously* of mee.

Lord, bless and spare and save that Person, even as *my own Soul*. May that Person share with mee, in all the *Salvations* of the Lord.

One that was reckon'd a very *wicked Man*.

Lord, rescue that poor Man, from *Satan*, who *leads him captive*.

It were *endless*, and it is now *needless* to exemplify an hundredth part of the *Ejaculations*, which I find, a Person may, without any *Loss* of his Time or any *Prejudice* and *Obstruction* to any of his *Affairs*, thus refresh himself withal.

Wherefore all that I now add, is, that I have unspeakable Cause, to bless my Lord Jesus Christ, for teaching mee, by His Holy Spirit, before I was *twenty years of Age*, these Methods of *living* unto His glory.

Quo magis nos sani sumus, hoc magis libidinos[us] morbus insanet. *August.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cotton Mather published an almanac for 1683, *The Boston Ephemeris*, copies of which are in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Mathers were too active politicians at this time to escape being made a mark by their opponents. The letter purporting to have been written by Increase Mather, and addressed to Gouge, dated December 3, 1683, became known in England and in Boston at this time, and naturally attracted much attention. Mather indignantly denied that the letter was his, and on its face the letter from such a source would have been a blazing indiscretion. Whether Randolph himself perpetrated the rather clumsy forgery, or inspired another to prepare it, can never be determined. The paper and the various opinions expressed of it will be found in 4 *Collections*, VIII. 104, and references under *Gouge* in the index. Cotton Mather shared in the "persecution" of his father, and unduly exaggerated his share by his usual methods of self-castigation not unmingled with much indirect self-laudation.

1684-85

THE XXIII<sup>D</sup> YEAR.

*Cum Relego, Scripsisse Pudet!*

RES MIRABILIS ET MEMORANDA.

Post Fusas, maximis cum Ardoribus, Iejuniisque *Preces*, apparuit Angelus, qui *Vultum* habuit solis instar Meridian *micantem*. Cætera *Humanum*, at prorsus *imberbem*: *Caput* magnifica *Tiara* obvolutum; In *Humeris*, *Alas*: *Vestes* deinceps *Candidas* et *Splendidas*; *Togam* nempe *Talarem*: et *Zonam* circa *Lumbos*, *orientalium cingalis* non absimilem.

Dixitque hic *Angelus* a Domino JESU, se missum ut *Responsa* cujusdam *Juvenis* precibus, articulatim afferat referatque.

Quam plurima retulit *Angelus*, quæ hic scribere non fas est. Verum inter alia Memoratu digna; Futurum hujusce *Juvenis* *Fatum* optime posse exprimi asseruit in illis *Vatis Ezekielis* verbis. Ezek. 31. 3, 4, 5, 7, and 9.

*Behold hee was a Cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and with a shadowing Shroud, and of an high Stature, and his Top was among the thick Boughs. The Waters made him great, the Deep sett him up on high, with her Rivers running about his Plants. His Heighth was exalted above all the Trees of the Field, and his Boughs were multiplied, and his Branches became long, because of the Multitude of Waters, when hee shott forth. Thus was hee fair in his Greatness in the Length of his Branches for his Root was by the great Waters. Nor was any Tree in the Garden of God like unto him in his Beauty. I have made him fair by the multitude of his Branches*

so that all the Trees of Eden, that were in the Garden of God envied him.<sup>1</sup> Atque particulariter clausulas de Ramis ejus extendendis, exposuit hic Angelus, de Libris ab hoc Juvene componendis et non tantum in America, sed etiam in Europa, publicandis. Addiditque peculiare quasdam *prædictiones*, et pro Tali ac Tanto peccatore, valde Mirabiles de *Operibus Insignibus*, quæ pro Ecclesia Christi in *Revolutionibus* jam Appropinquantibus, Hic Juvenis olim facturus est.

*Domine Jesu!* Quid sibi vult hæc Res tam extraordinaria? A *Diabolicis Illusionibus* obsecro te, Servum Tuum Indignissimum, ut Liberes ac Defendas!<sup>2</sup>

The XXIII<sup>d</sup>. Year of my Age.

12 d. 12 m. [February.] 1684. HITHERTO, my God hath helped mee.

This Day, I am *twenty two* years old.

Humble mee, O Lord, that I have done so little for thee, all this while!

Oh! How much of my *short Life* is gone, most unaccountably! Lord, help mee now unto the *Redeeming of Time*,

<sup>1</sup> Mather paraphrased this in "Enchantments encountered," prefixed to his *Wonders of the Invisible World*.

<sup>2</sup> "A strange and memorable thing. After outpourings of prayer, with the utmost fervour and fasting, there appeared an Angel, whose face shone like the noontday sun. His features were those of a man, and beardless; his head was encircled by a splendid tiara; on his shoulders were wings; his garments were white and shining; his robe reached to his ankles; and about his loins was a belt not unlike the girdles of the peoples of the East. And this Angel said that he was sent by the Lord Jesus to bear a clear answer to the prayers of a certain youth, and to bear back his words in reply. Many things this Angel said which it is not fit to set down here. But among other things not to be forgotten he declared that the fate of this youth should be to find full expression for what in him was best: and this he said in the words of the prophet Ezekiel. . . . And in particular this Angel spoke of the influence his branches should have, and of the books this youth should write and publish, not only in America, but in Europe. And he added certain special prophecies of the great works this youth should do for the church of Christ in the revolutions that are now in hand. Lord Jesus! What is the meaning of this marvel? From the wiles of the Devil, I beseech thee, deliver and defend Thy most unworthy servant." Translation from Wendell, *Cotton Mather*, 64.

and the Spending as much as I can, of it, in a perpetual Exercise of *Grace!*

This Day, is the usual Day of the week, whereon I most particularly consider, *how may I further glorify God?* My DESIGNS, this Day were two.

I. Lett mee, besides my *usual Prayers*, hereafter spend in large Supplications to God, for myself, and my Flock, and my Countrey, at least Half an Hour, between the Hours of *Twelve* and *One*, every Day of the week, except the *fifth* and the *seventh*.

II. Lett mee spend the *whole Afternoon*, on the last Day of every Week, in *peculiar Transactions*, between the most High God, and my own Soul. Especially *thus*.

1. Making *three Prayers*

The first, as I begin other Afternoons, consisting of *Praises* unto God, for His *Mercies* unto mee, and my *Requests* on the behalf of *others*.

The second, consisting of more *signal Converses* with God, in Renewals of *Covenant*, and Closures with the Lord Jesus Christ, and the like.

The Third, consisting of *Petitions*, relating to the *ministerial* Capacitie wherein I stand; and particularly the Services of the Day ensuing.

2. Thinking on that Quæstion, *What is there that I am further to do, for the Name of God?*

3. *Meditating* on the Truths of God; and especially on such as I am to deliver on the morrow.

4. Reading of *Books* and singing of *Hymns* wherein *Grace* may be excited.

14 d. 12 m. *Saturday*. P. M. After, and amidst, the usual Devotions of this Time, I considered with myself, *why do I beleeve the Scriptures to be the Word of God?* And having settled the Convictions thereof upon my Mind, I took into my Hands the *Bible*, whereof I ordinarily make use in my public Ministrations; and presenting myself with it, on my

knees before the Lord, I professed unto Him, *that I did embrace the precious Book, as His Word; resolving ever therefore to credit all the Revelations of it: that I would love it, prize it, converse with it, as His: that I would bee so aw'd by the Promises, and Threatenings and Histories of it, as to study a Conformitie unto the Precepts of it, while I have my Being.* So, I blessed Him, for His Vouchsafing of this invaluable Word unto mee.

16 d. 12 m. O my Soul! Is it not very bitter and vexing unto thee, to hear in the most venerable Company, for whole Hours together, little but the *idle Chat* whereby Holes are pick'd in the Coats of other, and absent and honest Men? Lett mee alwayes withhold *my* Countenance from *such* Conference, at least by my Silence at it. And lett mee alwayes, if it bee possible for *mee*, divert these Discourses into better Channels.

*Lord, make my Tongue, a Tree of Life!*

21 d. 12 m. *Saturday.* A DESIGN. The *Letters* of some, have often turned, not only unto the present, but also the future Advantage of Men. How if I should now and then, sett apart a few Hours, to draw up a seasonable *Epistle*, for some or other, whose good, I may promote, by sending the same unto them.

☞ This Afternoon, as I was crying importunately unto the God of Heaven, that Hee would bestow His *Holy Spirit* upon mee, yea, and this in a more than ordinary Manner and Measure, I had a blessed Assurance *that it will bee so.*

14 d. 1 m. [*March.*] 1685. DESIGNS. It is in the Heart of diverse Ministers here, to address themselves, the next Week unto our *General Court*, with Proposals for the *Reformation*, and so the *Deliverance*, of the Land.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A general reformation of the land had long been the object of endeavor on the part of the churches, due, in part, to a recognition that their influence with the people was lessening each year. To maintain their power in spiritual affairs had become difficult, and to restore their hold on the magistrates had become impossible. Hence the tendency to dwell upon the growing wickedness of the

*Little* can be done by so *little* a person, as I am, in this matter. But *three* Things I may do.

I. I may confer with my *Father*, as a sorry *Remembrancer*.

II. I may excite the Christians, who are meeting privately before *then*, to commend this matter in their earnest Supplications unto God.

III. The *Lecture-day*, wherein the matter is to be transacted, I may spend, a great part of it, in secret Prayers and Cries unto the God of Heaven, for the good Success of it.

All which Things, I did accordingly. And the Lord heard my Addresses!

23 d. 1 m. I spent this Day, in the Travails of a secret FAST, before the Lord: Wherein I obtained from Him, an Assurance of my *Pardon*, and of His *Presence* with mee, in my whole Ministry, and in my approaching *Ordination*.

And I then made these Promises unto the Lord.

I. That I will endeavour, to be always exemplary for my *Chastitie*.

II. That I will daily endeavour to be deliberate and considerate in my *Speeches*.

III. That if the most High will vouchsafe to mee, an Opportunitie to build up His Church with an *unblemished Reputation*, I will endeavour to be contented with whatsoever Estate Hee shall order for mee in the World, tho' mean, tho' poor, tho' single, and tho' many wayes Afflicted.

About this Time under some Exercises, the Workings of my Heart, were after this Manner.

"Lord, whatever doth befall mee, this I am resolved on;

"I will forever acknowledge that thou art *righteous altogether*, yea, that thou dost punish mee *far less than my Iniquities do deserve*.

"I will also, unto my very utmost, be *dedicating myself unto*

towns, the drunkenness, swearing, excess of apparel and disregard of the church ordinances; and the interpretation placed upon any visitation, be it Indians, disease or fire, as an indication of divine displeasure. See *John Westgate to Increase Mather*, in 4 *Collections*, VIII. 578.

thee continually, that I may bee thy *Servant devoted unto thy Fear*, forever.

“Lord, if I might *suffer*, and *Thy Name* not bee dishonoured, I should give a Welcome, unto the bitterest Affliction, with *thy Grace being sufficient for mee*. But when I think, of having *Thy Name* reproched, the Dear Name, unto the Glory whereof I have a long While consecrated all that I have and am, and when I am apprehensive of meeting with any Prejudice or Obstruction in serving of Thyself, *here my Soul*, full of Agonies and Anguishes cries out, *Oh! lett the Cup pass from mee!*

“I am willing to bee any Thing, that *God* will have mee to bee. Oh! how hath Hee *broken my Heart*, and ground it and pun’d it into Powder, before Him! How is the inflexible *Stone* turn’d into pliable *Flesh!* Yea, If *Hee* will have mee rejected, reproched, confounded, my Spirit will yett ly at His Holy Feet, without indecent Frettings, at His Dispensations! And if *Hee* will have mee to bee, for the Time to come, reckoned as *unsavoury Salt*, I shall endeavour to kiss His Rod, and say, *Calcate, me insipidum salem, calcate me!*

“Happy are those Chastisements, which awaken my Soul, unto a lively Converse, with the Holy one of *Israel*. I can from the Bottom of my Heart, praise God for my afflictive Exercises, and even take Pleasure in them, on *this Account*.

“If it my Glory to bee conformed unto the Lord Jesus Christ, Oh! how ready should I bee, to give a cheerful Entertainment unto any *Cross* on the Score of its advancing this! But *one Thing* my Soul is exceeding earnest in; that my *Crosses* may not come on mee, as *Punishments* for my Errors and Evils. O lett the *Satisfaction* of the Lord Jesus Christ bee accepted for *them*. Any other way, lett mee bee broken to Peeces, and my Soul will yett magnify the Lord.”

28 d. 1 m. *Saturday*. I do not purpose, to record many more of the rare *Experiences*, which the Devotions of my *Saturday-afternoons* have brought unto mee.

But this Afternoon, in prayer, a gracious God gave mee *Assurance*, that Hee had *pardoned* all my Sins, in and thro’ the ever-lovely Lord Jesus Christ.

Hereupon, by way of Gratitude unto Him whom I have cause to bless, with my *whole Soul*, for His *forgiving all my Iniquities and Healing all my Diseases*, I took up these *Resolutions*.

1. That I would bear a special and eternal Hatred, against all the Lusts of the *Flesh*; and I would, with all convenient Expedition, compose a Discourse to antidote others, against some of them.

2. That I would labour after a very eminent Measure of *Watchfulness* over myself, in the Worship of God, with Endeavours after a *spiritual Worship* in my Approches to Him.

3. That I would speedily give up myself unto God and Christ, with a *written Covenant*, whereto I will *subscribe* my Engagement, that I will bee the Lords.<sup>1</sup>

5 d. 2 m. [April.] *Lord's-Day*.<sup>2</sup> Our *Congregation*, hapning this Afternoon to bee *thinner* than ordinary, my Heart began to sink under some foolish Discouragements hereupon. But I vanquished them, with such Thoughts as these.

“Consider, O my Soul; How unworthy my Sins have rendered mee, of the least Acceptance among the People of God; and that if there were nothing else besides the *Meanness* which attends my Ministrations, *this* were enough to cause in my Auditors, a Withdraw therefrom, unto the Assemblies where they may easily mend themselves.

“Consider likewise, how many *Hundreds* were my Auditors this Day, making a Congregation, which in Bulk exceeds all, except perhaps two or three, in the Land; and that many far more excellent persons than myself, would count themselves happy, if they might preach quietly to a Company one quarter so big.

“Consider also, tis possible the Hearers that went from *mee*, found their *Edification* to bee promoted Elsewhere; and it is not impossible, some of that Number that staid with *mee*, did also reap some little Benefit. And then, bee glad, that the Church of God, is built *per Alios*, when that *Nos non sumus Digni*; but in the mean Time

<sup>1</sup> See under May 4, in this year, p. 96, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> On this day “the brethren stayed in the meeting-house and unanimously consented, that the thirteenth day of May should be the day for my son Cotton’s ordination as their pastor; and that letters should be sent to the two churches in Boston, to Charlestown, Cambridge, Roxbury, Dorchester, to desire them to send their messengers to give us the right hand of fellowship; that Mr. [James] Allen and Mr. [Samuel] Willard should be desired to join with myself in imposing hands.” From the records of the Second Church, in Ware, *Two Discourses*, 49.

triumph in it, as a most undeserved Favour of the Most High, that I may bee capable, of helping forward the Salvation of so much as *one* immortal Soul; and since I have heretofore had the Temptation of being flock'd after, lett mee now suspect, that I need a Rod, for some Irregularities of Spirit under it: but if a Wise Redeemer will now try mee another way, lett mee now humbly act the *Graces* that shall bee suitable thereunto, and especially bee careful to apprehend, that an affectation of displaying ones gifts before Throngs, is too often an abominably proud Fishing for popular Applause; but my Work in the Pulpitt, must bee, rather to acquit myself well, in the Discharge of the Duties incumbent on mee there, before the *All-Seeing Eye* of that Majestie, who, to mee, shall bee *Theatre* enough.

*Satis mihi pauci Auditores, satis unus, satis nullus.*

2 d. 2 m. Things being represented unto mee, as if the extreme Criticalness of the Time, with regard unto our public Affayrs,<sup>1</sup> had raised such a Diversitie of Apprehensions in the Brethren of our Church, about the Conveniencie of my *Ordination at this Time*, that there was like to bee some Division thereby occasioned; I humbly besought of God, *That if my Life were a real Prejudice unto His Interest, or a necessary Occasion of Strife and Sin, Hee would please to take mee out of the World.*

But the Design of Satan, to embarass the Concerns of my Settlement, were soon disappointed, by a most uniting Work of God upon the Spirits of the people.

20 d. 2 m. K. James II. being this Day, *proclaimed* in *Boston*, and all people hereabouts generally attending the Solemnities of the *Proclamation*, I withdrew from the Noises of the World, and spent the Day in Humiliations, and Supplications, before the Lord: particularly to deprecate the Confusions with which the Protestant Religion and Interest, were threatned by the Accession of that Prince unto the Throne; especially in our own unhappy Colony.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The charter had been vacated and Colonel Percy Kirke named as his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor-General over the now royal province of Massachusetts, with almost unrestricted authority.

<sup>2</sup> Intelligence of the death of Charles II and the succession of James II reached Boston, by a ship from Newcastle, April 14. "News came to us as we were busy

Two Persons visited mee, in the morning; one of whom related unto mee his own Purpose to spend this Day, as a *Fast*, without knowing what I had purposed. Hereupon I invited *them* to join with *mee*, in the Devotions of the Day before mee; and they did so.

In the Pauses between our several prayers, I preached unto my two Friends, three Sermons, each of them about an Hour long apiece, on a Text, which was the very first, that on the opening of my Bible, for a Subject of Meditation, came to sight; namely, Psal. 109. 19, 20.<sup>1</sup> which proved wonderfully suitable.

In the close, wee made unto each other a *Promise*, that wee would, within a few Dayes at most, sett apart some Time, to bee spent in pondering that Quæstion, *What Special Service shall wee do for the Lord Jesus Christ, in Case Hee deliver His people, here, (or in England) from the Distresses now upon them!* And that wee will turn the Results of our Considerations into *Engagements*; whereof wee will keep written Memorials by us!

22 d. 2 m. As I was walking and thinking, alone, retired into our Meeting-house this Day, my Soul was after an unusual Manner transported, in a Thought, that I did above all Things ~~desire~~ desire to *glorify God*, and show forth His Vertues and His Praises forever; and, *that* I should bee sure, never to have this Happiness deny'd unto mee; and, *that* therefore now Nothing should ever make mee miserable.

opening the Nominations just before Dinner; it much startled the Governour [Simon Bradstreet] and all of us." Two days later commands were received to proclaim the King. Sewall, *Diary*, i. 69. See also page 70 in the same volume and *Mass. Col. Rec.*, v. 474, for ceremonies attending the proclamation. The new King on his accession promised to "preserve this Government both in Church and State as it is now by law established," but he was at heart intent upon establishing Catholicism, and was much feared by the dissenters.

<sup>1</sup> "Let it be unto him as a garment which covereth him, and for a girdle wherewith he is girded continually. Let this be the reward of mine adversaries from the Lord, and of them that speak evil against my soul."

Oh! what a Challenge can I now give, unto all my Enemies, to do their worst upon mee!

25 d. 2 m. This Afternoon I gave myself, and all that can any way bee mine, unto the Blessed God; resting assured, that Hee would accept of mee, and employ my All, in His delightful Service. Wherefore now I am happy. World without End.

27 d. 2 m. A kind Redeemer, is continually, I find, carrying on my *Conformitie* to Himself, strengthening my Faith in God under weighty Concernments; weaning mee from all the Delights of this World; filling mee with perpetual Thoughts of the Things that are not seen; making mee contented under all Afflictions, yea, joyful in them, and thankful for them, and causing of mee to long for my Dissolution.

Bless the Lord, O my Soul, forever!

2 d. 3 m. [May.] A DESIGN. O my Soul; give Glory to thy everglorious Lord, by being like *Noah*, like *Lot*, like *Joshua* and *Caleb*, for an Abstinence from the Sins of the Time and Place, wherein thou livest.

And for thy Assistance herein, bee careful to single out, now and then, a Season, (on a Lord's-Day Noon) wherein to consider, *What are the special Sins of this Time and Place?* and upon a Discovery thereof, lett thy Cautions bee quickened.

3 d. 3 m. *Lord's-Day*. My Heart, is this Day very much melted, in thinking,

If on the one Side, there should bee profered unto mee, all that can bee desired of *this World's Good*, attended with the *degrading Misery* of living only to *myself*, in the Midst of all;

If on the other side, there should bee profered unto mee the *Happiness* of bringing very much *Glory* unto the Lord Jesus Christ, even in a Life of many and bitter *Afflictions*;

I should, with an unspeakably strong Bent of Soul, choose the *latter*. And so, I assuredly infer, that I shall not miss of *so great Salvation!*<sup>1</sup>

4 d. 3 m. Because my *Ordination* is to bee performed the next Week, and because a *Parliament* is this very Day to sitt in *England*, I now applied myself unto the Exercises of a secret FAST before the Lord.

The Lord having assured mee, that all *Controversie* between Him and my Soul, was done away, I solemnly thus renewed and subjected His Covenant and gave up myself unto Him.

#### The COVENANT.

I renounce all the Vanities, and cursed Idols, and evil Course of *this World*.

I Engage, That I will ever have the Great *God*, my best *Good*, my last *End*, and my only *Lord*.

That I will ever bee rendring of *Acknowledgments* unto the Lord *Jesus Christ*, in all the *Relations* which Hee bears unto mee.

That I will ever bee studying, what is my *Dutie* in these Things; and wherein I find myself to fall short, I will ever make it my *Grief*, my *Shame*; and for *Pardon* betake myself unto the *Blood of the everlasting Covenant*.

Now, humbly imploring the *Grace* of the *Mediator*, to bee *sufficient* for mee, I do, as a further Solemnitie, hereunto *subscribe* my Name, with both *Hand* and *Heart*.

COTTON MATHER.

Hereupon, I committed into the Hands of the Lord *Jesus Christ* the Affayrs of my future *Ministry*. Declar-

<sup>1</sup> "Sabbath May 3rd, a letter read from the N[orth] Church wherein Mr Willard and Messengers desired to be sent in order to ordain Mr. Cotton Mather, Pastor of that Church, signed, Increase Mather, at the desire and order of the Church. The Governour and self with the Deacons, nominated to goe." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 71. On May 11, Sewall "accompanied Mr. [Joshua] Moodey to Mr. [John] Eliot's to persuade Mr. Benjamin [Eliot] to go to the Ordination of Mr. Cotton Mather, in which I hope we have prevailed; the mentioning of it drew Tears from the good Father so as to hinder his Speech." *Diary*, I. 75. Benjamin Eliot assisted his father for many years in the church in Roxbury, but was never ordained. He died October 15, 1687, before his father, the "Apostle to the Indians." Sewall adds that Benjamin Eliot had "not been at Town these many years."

ing unto His Majesty, that I had received from Him, a *Call* unto a *Work*, wherein I expected, that I should meet with no *external Advantage*, but *Sorrow*, and *Sickness*, and *Obloquy*; nevertheless, out of *Love* to Him, who hath done marvellous Things for mee, I would undertake it, and *feed* His *Sheep*, and His *Lambs*.

The Lord having assured mee, that Hee would bee with mee; and particularly in my approaching *Ordination*; I promised unto *Him*,

1. That I would ever endeavour to bee a *faithful Pastor* unto those, over whom Hee should sett mee.

2. That I would endeavour to bee very *humble*, under whatever *Enlargements*, Hee should vouchsafe unto mee.

3. That I never would retain upon my Spirit any Resentments of any *Wrong* or *Sleight*, which any of the Church might heretofore have ill-treated mee withal.

At length coming to sollicit the Lord, for the Deliverance of His People, in this *cloudy Day*, I did, according to my late Promise, now engage, that if the Lord would mercifully work Deliverance,

1. I would bee a *Servant* of the Lords forever; and alwayes *reserve*, often *revolve*, sometimes *renew*, my *written Covenant* so to bee.

2. I would labour to bee *contented* with whatever *Condition*, the Lord shall carve unto mee.

3. I would, as my *Capacitie* for it growes, unto my utmost pursue the Welfare of all the Churches in this Land.

4. I would promote the Publication of a good *Book*, whereby the Souls of many in the Countrey may bee edified.<sup>1</sup>

5. I would essay to visit the *Families*, of the Flock, belonging unto mee; and seek the Salvation of the lost Souls in them.

<sup>1</sup> His first published sermon or treatise was that on *The Call of the Gospel applied unto all Men in general*, preached before the execution of James Morgan.

Diverse Times this week, have I been overwhelmed, with melancholy Apprehensions of my *Unfitness* for the weighty Work now before mee, and of the *Likelihood* that the supporting Presence of God may bee denied unto mee. Woful have been the Disorders of my Soul, thro' these Apprehensions!

But then, I have poured out my Soul unto the Lord and Hee hath given mee glorious Visions of His *Power*, His *Goodness*, and His *Truth*; and Hee hath helped mee, with a weeping Faith, to rest assured, that Hee will *surely do mee Good*, and *never leave mee, nor forsake mee*.

13 d. 3 m. THIS DAY is appointed (*Because Thou, O Lord, art stronger than I, and hast prevailed!*) for my ORDINATION, to the Office of a *Pastor* over the *North Church* in *Boston*.

In the Morning while I was alone, meditating on the *Work*, which the *Call* of the Lord Jesus Christ hath now putt mee upon, and of the *Supports* and *Rewards* which Hee has therein ensured unto mee, I was diverse Times melted into *Tears*; and the *Spirit* of my Glorious Master gave mee such rapturous *Touches* and *Prospects*, as that I was forced most unwillingly to shake them off; they would have been too hard for mee, and I would not have others take notice of any Effects thereby left upon mee.

With a Soul, inexpressibly irradiated from on High, I went into one of the vastest Congregations that has ever been seen in these parts of the World; where I prayed about an Hour and a Quarter, and preached (on Joh. 21.17.)<sup>1</sup> about an Hour and a three quarters; With such Assistences from Heaven, as exceeded all that my *poor Faith* could have imagined.

In the Afternoon, my Father having prayed and preached

<sup>1</sup> "He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep."

(on Act. 13.2.),<sup>1</sup> the *Ordination* was performed, with a more than ordinary Solemnitie, producing a greater Number of moved Hearts and weeping Eyes, than perhaps have been at any Time here seen together.

My Father, with Mr. *Allen* and Mr. *Willard*, the other two Ministers in the Town, imposed *Hands* on mee. My Father gave mee my charge: (which I have transcribed at the Beginning of my Bible): And good old Mr. *Eliot* gave mee, the *right Hand of Fellowship*.<sup>2</sup>

The CHARGE given to mee at my Ordination to the Office of Pastor over the Second-Church, in Boston.

Whereas you upon whom wee impose our Hands, are called to the Work of the Ministry, and to the Office of a Pastor in this Church of Christ, wee charge you before God and the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Presence of elect Angels, that you take heed to the Ministry which you have received in the Lord, to fulfill it, and that you feed the whole Flock of God over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseer; that you study to shew yourself approved of God and a Workman that need not bee ashamed; that you give yourself to Reading and to Meditation, to Exhortation and to Doctrine; and that you endeavour to show yourself an Example of the Beleevers, in Faith, in Spirit, in Purity, in Charity, and in Conversation.

And if You keep this Charge, wee pronounce unto you that the Lord of Hosts will give you a Place among His Holy Angels that stand by, and are Witnesses of this Dayes-Solemnity, and of your being thus solemnly sett apart to the special Service of God, and of Jesus Christ; And if you do thus, when the Lord Jesus shall appear, you shall appear with Him in glory. Hee, who is the cheef Shepherd will then give unto you a Crown of Glory which shall never fade away.<sup>3</sup>

16 d. 3 m. DESIGNS. I am now in a *Station*, wherein I am to do more for my Lord Jesus Christ, than ever.

<sup>1</sup> "As they ministered to the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." Sewall records that the father spoke in his sermon of "Aaron's Garments being put on Eleazer, intimating he knew not but that God might now call him out of the world." *Diary*, I. 76.

<sup>2</sup> He called Mather "a Lover of Jesus Christ." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 76.

<sup>3</sup> The charge is written on a slip which has been attached to the page of the Diary by wafers.

As I have not hitherto recorded all my *Designs* to glorify the Lord, so, as my *Work* increases, I suspect I shall have less *Time* to do it, than heretofore.

Yett some of my Contrivances now and then, I would *write*, that so I may suggest unto some other Persons, a few Methods of honouring the Redeemer; (except I should see cause, before I dy, to throw all these Papers into the Fire!)

At this Time, I think on these Things.

I. It should bee my care, that on the Close of every Satureday, the *Sabbath* find mee engaged, in some fixed *Meditation* on the Lord JESUS CHRIST. Oh! That I might *know* Him, *love* Him, *serve* Him, now more than ever! My affectionate *Thoughts* in this way upon *Him*, will very much befriend mee, in my doing so. And besides, my *præparations* for His Day, will hereby bee very much assisted.

II. I would, on some Dayes, lay myself under a *Penaltie*, that thro' the whole Day I will not speak *one Word*, of which I will not bee able to say, *that I directly transgressed not any plain Commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ by speaking it; and, that, unto the best of my Apprehension I had cause for speaking of it.*

III. I would frequently use for study a great Part of my Sermons, *kneeling*. That is, thus: I will have my *Table-Book* of *Slate*<sup>1</sup> lying before mee, When I am going to compose a *Sermon*; and kneeling at my chair, I would earnestly call upon the eternal *Spirit*, that Hee would assist mee in what I am about. If I do it, in a *settled Prayer*, I would after the Prayer is over, still remain in my Posture, for some Time, noting down what *Hints* occur to mee, fitt

<sup>1</sup> One of the record books of the Second Church, known as No. 2 in Mr. Brown's memorandum, is of pocket size, with thick oiled card-board leaves alternating with leaves of usual writing paper. These card boards were the "book of slate," for they could be used again and again. The book was given to Mather by his brother Samuel, October 16, 1682.

for my Improvement. If I do it with *Ejaculations*, I would intermingle my *Writing* with my *Prayer*, so far, and so long, as may be convenient.<sup>1</sup>

23 d. 3 m. DESIGNS. When our Lord Jesus Christ, was entring upon His public Ministry, very sore *Temptations* assaulted Him. It may be, now I am lately ordained, I shall not want my *Temptations*. To prevent my dishonouring of God under them,

1. I would Immediately go read a profitable *Book* or two, concerning *Temptations*.

2. I would now and then sett apart a Time to think,

*What is the Temptation wherewith I am now most of all endangered?*

25 d. 3 m. This Day I sett apart for *secret Thanksgivings* unto God. I spent the Day, most of it, retired in our Meeting-house; *Meditating* on the Lord's various Mercies to mee, and *mentioning* of those Mercies on my Knees before Him; and singing Psalms agreeable.

Moreover, in the Beginning of the Day I took singular Pains to celebrate and magnify the Lord, for those Things wherein I am not so nearly concerned, as particular Favours to myself; namely, His Attributes, and Perfections, and His wondrous Works in Creation and Providence.

Yea, I blessed Him for Afflictions also. I then contrived, how to glorify the Lord. particularly, by Strengthening the Hands of our *Tithing-Men*, to promote *Reformation*. And by reviving our *young Men's Meetings* on the Sabbath-Evening, which are fallen under some Decay.

And by studying to *speak*, with more Exactness, Watchfulness, Fruitfulness.

7 d. 4 m [June.] My dear Friend, Mr. *Shepard* of

<sup>1</sup> On May 22 a private fast was held at Judge Sewall's, both Mathers taking part. *Diary*, I. 76.

*Charlestown*, being taken suddenly ill, I preached for him, in the forenoon.<sup>1</sup>

At Noon, hee said unto mee, *My Hopes are built on the free Mercy of God, and the rich Merit of Christ, and I do beleeve, that if I am taken out of the World, I shall only change my Place; I shall neither change my Company nor change my Communion: And as for you, Syr, I beg the Lord Jesus to be with you, unto the End of the World.*

At Night, unto the Consternation of mee, and all his Friends, hee dyed.<sup>2</sup>

On this Day, I baptised the first Child that ever I washed in the Name of the Glorious Trinitie. It was, *Hannah* the Daughter of *John Green*.

On 28 *d. 4 m.* was the first Time of my Administring the *Lord's-Supper*, which I did, after I had preached on *Joh. 3. 16.*<sup>3</sup> with comfortable Assistances from Heaven.

30 *d. 4 m.* This Day, I sett apart for *secret Thanksgivings* before the Lord.

In the former Part of the Day, I sang, I read, I thought, and on my Knees, I mentioned, such Occasions to *speake well of God*, as I had heretofore took Notice of.

In the Afternoon, I thanked the Lord,

1. For His gracious Works on my *Heart*.
2. For my *Improvement* in the *Ministry* of His Gospel.
3. For my *Acceptance* among His People.
4. For the *Success* of my Labours, become very manifold and visible.

<sup>1</sup> From Sewall's entry under June 9, it would seem that the afternoon sermon was preached by Nathaniel Gookin. *Diary*, I. 82.

<sup>2</sup> This was Thomas Shepard, the younger, who had, on May 5, 1680, succeeded his father in the pulpit and was regarded as a worthy son of an honored father. He was only twenty-seven at his death. He was buried on June 9. "It seems there were some Verses; but none pinned on the Herse. Scholars went before the Herse." See Sewall, *Diary*, I. 81, 82. Mather wrote an appropriate sketch of him in the *Magnalia*, Bk. IV. 201, and the text of a sermon is given on page 120, *post*.

<sup>3</sup> "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

5. For my *free Utterance*.

6. For my *large Library*

And in Thankfulness to the Lord, I invigorated my Design to *visit the Families of the Flock*.

2 d. 5 m. [July.] This Day, was the first, of my preaching the Countrey-Lecture,<sup>1</sup> wherein the Lord gave mee extraordinary Assistance. (I discoursed, on 2. Cor. 5. 5.)<sup>2</sup>

About the Beginning of this Month, I began one of the most holy and useful *Practises*, of all that ever the Good Spirit of the Lord has taught mee, in the whole Course of my Life. This was,

A Course of *Reading the Scriptures*, with such a devout Attention, as to fetch at least one *Observation*, and one *Supplication*, a *Note* and a *Wish*, out of every *Verse* in all the Bible.

I have a Prospect of, who can tell how much, *Truth*, and *Grace*, to pass thro' my Soul, in thus waiting upon God!

And I give more Thanks unto the Lord, for teaching mee, this *Way of living*, than if Hee had bestowed the greatest earthly Revenues upon mee.

The Method, which I thus used in *Reading*, I also took up for *Singing*; and thus tis, that the *Singing* of Psalms, becomes to mee, a more delicious, entertaining, profitable Exercise, than tis, perhaps to many of them that practise it.

The Rest of this month, and the most of the Next, brought not with it, much that was remarkable.

I went on, in such Methods of serving my Lord, as have been already here and there described.

And I took a Voyage to *Plymouth*, where I spent a couple of *Sabbaths*.

25 d. 6 m. [August.] I spent this Day in secret *Humilia-*

<sup>1</sup> "In his Father's Turn, who keeps at Cambridge." Sewall, *Diary*, i. 85.

<sup>2</sup> "Now he that hath wrought us for the selfsame thing, is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit."

*tions*, and *Supplications*; especially, to seek for the Guidance and Blessing of God, in what concerns the change of my Condition in the World, from single, to married; whereto, I have now many Invitations.

7 d. 7 m. [September.] There is a young Gentleman, Mr. *Daniel Royse*, for whose everlasting Happiness, I have used many Endeavours. But unto all the rest, I now added this.

I prevailed with him, to bee with mee, all this Day in my Study; and I spent the Day, in *Prayer* with *Fasting*, for His eternal Welfare. I intermingled the Devotions of the Day, with as entertaining a Varitie of Discourses upon Divine Matters as I could: I also putt him upon bearing a part in these Devotions; and having drawn up in Writing, a solemn *Covenant*, I left Him not, until his conquered Heart and Hand, most affectionately *subscribed* it, and so hee bound himself unto the Service of the Lord.

This gentleman, afterwards joined unto our church and lived and died, a serious Christian.<sup>1</sup>

This Day has been painfully laid out, by mee, for the gaining of *one* precious and immortal Soul, unto the Lord Jesus Christ; and I trust that I have prospered in it.

How willing should I bee, to employ no small Part of my Life, after this rate!

About this Time, the Calamities and Confusions of the English Nation,<sup>2</sup> caused mee to order myself to bee called up, an Hour earlier in Mornings, than I use to Rise; that I might retire for *Sighs*, and *Prayers*, and *Psalms*, to bee employed for the distress'd Churches of God.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin. Sewall, under date January 31, 1685-86, notes, "Mr. Royse taken in and baptised in the North Church." The name was Daniel Royce.

<sup>2</sup> The news of Argyll's capture and death, and of Monmouth's rising were now known in Boston. The victory of the King over Monmouth at Sedgemoor, on July 6, the capture and execution of Monmouth, were not known until September 22. The letters from Nathaniel Mather to Increase Mather, written from Ireland in these years, contain much that would give occasion to anxieties.

<sup>4</sup> *Collections*, VIII. 56.

And I made a VOW:

That whenever I received certain Tidings, of the Lord's appearing to scatter our Foes and our Fears I will, within a Fortnight after, at furthest, keep a *Day of Thanksgiving* unto Him; wherein also I would make it my Business to contrive what *other Acknowledgments*, I should make unto Him, for His Benefits.

Several have been my *Designs*, in the two Months that are past; but *these* among the rest:

I. Whenever I pray with any *sick Person*, I would bee at pains to do what good I can, upon the Souls of them, that attend in the Room, where I give the Visit.

II. I would on *Lord's Day* Mornings, have my rising Thoughts often employed on this Quæstion, *What Service may I do for the Lord Jesus Christ, as I am a Pastor to a Flock of His?*

III. Oh! That while I am dressing myself in any Morning, I may bee frequently thinking, *What special Service is there to bee done by mee, for the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Day ensuing.*

IV. When I have heard a *Sermon* preached, I would, as I go out of the Assembly send up an *Ejaculation* to Heaven, *that the Truths newly delivered may have an happy and a lasting Effect upon mee!*

V. What Service may I do for the Lord Jesus Christ, as I am an *Overseer of Harvard-College?* I may suggest unto my Father, who is the *Rector* of it, many profitable Things. Especially, as to settling the Students in good Principles.

VI. When I understand that any Person belonging to my Flock, is in any peculiar *Affliction* or *Temptation*, I would of my own Accord, seek an Opportunitie, to assist them.

17 d. 8 m. [October.]<sup>1</sup> This Day, which was a *Fast* in

<sup>1</sup> Mather prayed at the Artillery Meeting, Monday, October 5. Sewall, *Diary*, I. 99.

my Study, was a Day full of Sweetness and Heaven; and Assurances, that I am a *pardon'd* and shall be a *blessed* Man. One of my Errands to Heaven was, *Guidance about the Change of my Condition.*

18 d. 8 m *Lord's Day.* At the *Lord's-Table*, I did, as the Pastor of the Church, in the Name of my Father, then present, and myself, profess, *that if our Death were needful to ensure the Salvation of any Soul present, wee would bee willing to dy immediately: and that, however wee brought all of them in our Arms unto the Saviour of Souls, that there might not bee one Child of Perdition among them all.*

24 d. 8 m. DESIGNS. I. Lett mee do my part, in obtaining of the Ministers in this Town, that wee may together in private have our Dayes for *Prayer with Fast-ing*; which ourselves, our Flocks our whole distressed Land may fare the better for.

II. Never bee at Rest, while our Island here, the North part of *Boston*, is without a good *Schoolmaster*, and a flourishing *School*.

III. My Father has præpared a little Book, about *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and *the Day of Judgment*.<sup>1</sup> Lett mee promote and assist the Publication of it; and with no small Expençe, endeavour to scatter it into Multitudes of Houses.

7 d. 9 m [November.] This DAY, was devoted unto secret *Humiliations* and *Supplications*, before the God of Heaven.

Having this Day, obtained and received, a joyful Assurance, that none of my *former Iniquities* would bee *remembered* against mee, I sett myself to beg the Smiles of God upon mee, in the Ordering of my single or married Estate, unto His Glory.

I acknowledged unto the Lord, my own Unworthiness of any good Thing, especially of the *good Thing*, which is

<sup>1</sup> *The Greatest Sinners Exhorted and Encouraged*, Boston, 1686.

found by them that obtain *favour of the Lord*: I professed, that I would study to do nothing hereabout, that should bee *Displeasing* unto Him: I declared, that I desired Nothing in this World, which might prejudice my *Glorifying* of Himself: I said, that if Hee saw any thing would *hinder* mee from *honouring* of Him, I should bee glad, if Hee would *hinder* mee from *having* of that, whatever my misguided Appetites, might plead unto the contrary: I said, that if Hee would have mee to embrace a *Cœlibacy*, I would evermore take a Contentment in it, as that which would capacitate mee to serve my *Parents*, and His *People*, to whom I owe my All. Nevertheless, to this I subjoined, that since my Inclinations and Invitations did now seem to recommend a married Estate unto mee, I begg'd of Him, that *Hee would lead mee in the Way wherein I should go*; and I VOW'd unto Him, that if Hee would prevent all Obstructions, of my desirable Settlement in a married Relation, unto one who shall bee a Blessing to mee, in that Work, which my Hand finds to do, I will TWICE at least, EVERY YEAR, join with her, in keeping a *Day of Thanksgiving*, privately unto Himself: except His Providence at any Time, give a sufficient Cause, for the Omission of it.

In this month, I had these among other, *DESIGNS*.

I. The Apostles advice to a Young Minister, was *Exercise thyself unto Godliness*.<sup>1</sup>

I would now Read over Mr. *Swinnock's* fine Discourses,<sup>2</sup> on this Art; and bestow my particular *Ejaculations* upon every Article, as I go along.

II. Tis observable, that the *Want of Mortification in a Minister, procures a sad Unsuccessfulness unto his Ministry*. That I may not bee, as alas, I fear, I am, a doleful Instance hereof, lett mee immediately read over Dr. *Owens* Holy

<sup>1</sup> 1 Tim. 4, 7.

<sup>2</sup> George Swincock (1627-1673), a non-conformist divine. He wrote much, and a good part was printed.

Treatise of *Mortification*,<sup>1</sup> and endeavour to apply and follow the Directions in it.

III. When I *hear* a Sermon, it shall bee a Custome with mee, to attend every *Head*, and every *Text*, mentioned by the Preacher, with some *Ejaculation* to Heaven, pertinent thereunto.

Oh! Blessed bee the Lord, for teaching mee, this Way of *hearing* His word, and *moulding* my Heart according to that Word!

IV. I would have by mee, a *Catalogue* of all the *Communicants* belonging unto our church,<sup>2</sup> and in my secret Prayers, I would sometimes go over this Catalogue, by Parcels at a Time, upon my Knees; praying for the most *suitable* Blessings I can think of, to bee bestow'd on each Person, by Name distinctly mentioned.

12 d. 10 m. [December.] In a præparation for the *Lord's Supper*, I came at last unto these Passages before the Lord.

"Lord, I am willing to part with all that thou wouldest have mee to forego, for an Interest in the Lord Jesus Christ. I am willing to forego my *Righteousnesses*; and I do confess unto Thee, that after all that I have done, or can do, for Thee, if Thou shouldest break mee sore in the Place of Dragons forever, I could not say, there were any Injustice in thy Proceedings. I am willing to forego my *Corruptions* too; and I do profess unto Thee that I wish every Sin were made bitter unto my Soul; I wish I may choose Thee only for my Best Good and my last end; and never do or bee any thing, but glorify Thee forever."

The last Week of this Month, I *preached* on *Lord's-Day*, *Munday*, *Tuesday*, *Wednesday*,<sup>3</sup> *Thursday*, in the same week.

<sup>1</sup> John Owen (1616-1683), *Of the Mortification of Sin in Believers*, 1668.

<sup>2</sup> Such a list, but in the writing of Increase Mather, is in Record Book, No. 3 of the Second Church. There were sixty-nine brethren and one hundred and seven sisters.

<sup>3</sup> "Mr. Cotton Mather Preaches forenoon, mentions the Notion Mede has about America's Peopling." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 115. Nathaniel Mather, uncle of

Yea, several weeks, I have in *one week* preached *five Times* and once, I preach'd *five Times* in *two Dayes*, which came together. So that it cannot bee expected, that I should have much Liesure, to record much in my private Papers.

But among my DESIGNS, I would particularly enter these.

I. In *perusing* my Sermons before I preach them, I would ever make my doing of that, an Exercise of Devotion; by endeavouring to fetch an *Ejaculation*, out of every Head, and every Text produced in them.

II. In *preaching* of my Sermons, lett my active Mind bestow upon my Hearers, *ejaculatory prayers*, like those which I have employ'd for myself, in the revolving of them.

III. When I understand, that any of my Flock do not walk so as to *adorn the Doctrine of God* their Saviour, I would with a very particular and peculiar Concernment for them, often cry unto God, on the behalf of those Persons by Name; that they may *glorify the Lord*.

23 d. 11 m. [January, 1685-86.] This Day I spent, in the Services of a secret FAST. Especially for the Smiles of Heaven upon mee, to direct mee about the change of my *single Estate*.

This Day, with Anguish of Soul, in the Sense of my own Sinfulness, and Filthiness, I cast myself prostrate, on my *Study-floor* with my mouth in the Dust. Here, I lamented unto the Lord, my *Follies*, which might have an Influence to deprive mee of the Blessing which I was now pursuing. I judg'd, I loath'd, I hated myself, because of those *accursed Things* and besought the Forgiveness thereof, thro' the *Blood of the Covenant*. I then begg'd of the Most High, that Hee would, notwithstanding all my Miscarriages,

Cotton, had a poor opinion of Mede's works. "It is easy to discern all along his other writings that there was a secret rottenness that influenced his glosses and interpretations of Scriptures, and indeed this is it that makes his books so acceptable with many of our prelati-cally clergy; yea, very many of his admired notions are only covers for some such sore." 4 *Collections*, VIII. 8.

bestow upon mee, a *Companion for my Life*, by whose Prudence, Vertue, good Nature, I might, while I am alive in this World, bee assisted in the Service of my Master, and whose company I might also at length have in the Heaven of Heavens forever. I pleaded that *Marriage* was His Ordinance; and that Hee had promised, no *good Thing* should bee withheld from mee. I said unto Him; that I *cast* the whole *Burden* of the Care, about this Affayr, upon *Him*; *Expecting*, that Hee would mercifully divert my *Inclinations*, from this matter, if it would prove *displeasing* to Him, or *Disadvantageous* to myself; *entreating*, that if it may bee left for mee to proceed Hee would please to direct my *Choice*, and all my *Steps*, and overrule the Hearts of my Friends, and of *Her* unto whom I may make my Addresses, to favour what I prosecute: and in His due Time, so settle mee, as to give mee rich Demonstrations of His loving Kindness; *engaging* herewithal, that I would then more than ever glorify Him, and spend my Time, in making of blessed *Matches* between the Son of God, and the Souls of Men.

27 d. 11 m. This Day, I kept in my Study, as a Day of secret THANKSGIVING, unto that Gracious God, *whose I am*, and, *whom I serve*.

The Forenoon, I spent,

I. In acknowledging of my own *Vileness* before God, whereby I have become, after an aggravated Manner, *unworthy* of all that *Goodness and Mercy*, which has *follow'd mee all my Dayes*.

II. In acknowledging of those *Glories*, which belong unto the *Great God*, as Hee is infinitely *excellent in Himself*, and as Hee is the *Creator* and the *Governour*, of all the World; and unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as Hee is one *altogether lovely*.

In these Exercises, my Heart was rapt into those heavenly Frames, which would have turned a Dungeon into a Paradise.

In the Afternoon, I went over the *former Kindnesses* of God unto myself, in my Thoughts, my Psalms, my Praises.

But I more emphatically single out *three Things*, wherein I have seen the Loving-kindness of God.

1. Answers to *Petitions*.

2. Rescues from *Temptations*.

3. Those *Afflictions*, by means whereof, I have enjoy'd both.

I assay'd then to Bless the Lord, for those Favours wherewith I am at present, on every side surrounded.

1. My *Life* and *Health*.

2. My Accomplishments in any Points of *Learning*.

3. My exceedingly-well-furnished *Library*.

4. My Improvement in the Ministry of the *Gospel*.

5. My peaceable *Settlement*, in a place of great Opportunities.

6. My Deliverance from the Chains upon my *Utterance*.

7. My *Success* in my public and private Labours.

8. My *Acceptance* and *Interest*, among the People of God.

9. My Enjoyment of my *Father*, notwithstanding my many Dangers of loosing him.

10. The notable Growth and Peace of the *Flock*, whereof I am the *Pastor*.

11. The Continuance of New England's *precious and pleasant Things*.

Having employ'd my Admirations and Adorations upon the Grace, from whence these Things do come unto mee; I then came to consider the *Free-grace* of God unto mee in,

1. The *Gift* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, unto the World.

2. The *Offer* of the Lord *Jesus Christ* unto *myself* in particular.

3. The *Sense* of my Need of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, which God has given mee.

4. The *Union* with the Lord Jesus Christ, which the *Holy Spirit* has brought mee unto.

5. All the *Operations* of God, upon my Soul, whereby Hee is every Day making mee more *meet for the Inheritance of the Saints in Light*.

I concluded the Day, with considering, *What shall I render to the Lord?*

I then gave my *Self*, my whole *Self*, all my powers, Members, Interests, and Capacities, which, I owned, was the least that I owned, unto the Lord.

In particular, I added,

That since I ow'd all my good Things, unto the *Compassion* of God,

I would always bee contriving, *how to honour Him*; and immediately procure some *Testimony*, against some common and growing Evils, which offended Him, in our Land.

And since it was the *Mediation* of the Lord Jesus Christ unto which I own'd the Procurement of all,

I would quickly preach a Sermon, in the biggest Auditory of this COUNTRY, the Scope whereof should bee, to magnify the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and invite the Minds of men, unto an assiduous Contemplation of His *glories*.

I did it, on Isa. 33. 17.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the other *DESIGNS*, which I had this Month were these.

I. Alas, tis because I have an *hard Heart*, that I do so little *Good*, in the World. And what shall I do for it? Among other Things, I will go read some savoury *Book*, the Tendencia whereof shall bee, to represent the *Signs* and

<sup>1</sup> This line is written in the margin. "Thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off." Sewall says of this sermon that it was "somewhat disgusted for some expressions; as sweet sented hands of Christ, Lord High Treasurer of Æthiopia, Ribband of Humility which was sorry for, because of the excellency and seasonableness of the subject, and otherwise well handled. Doctrine, 'Tis a matchless priviledg to behold Christ in his Beauty.'" *Diary*, I. 119.

*Cures of an hard Heart, with a serious Harkening to what, God the Lord shall thereby speak unto mee.*

II. O, that the Time, which the Ministers have together every week, after the *Lecture*, were spent unto more universal Edification! Can I do nothing to promote it?

III. The glorious *Assurances*, which I have enjoyed and uttered, very many Times, for now some years together, about the Lord's Appearing to deliver His People from impending Desolations, are now answered. That Monster *Kirk*,<sup>1</sup> who was coming to New England, with a Regiment of *Red-Coats*, to sacrifice the best Lives among us, is diverted from coming hither, by the happy Death of that greater Monster K. *Charles II.* And with K. *James II.* things are operating towards such a Liberty for the *Dissenters*, as may, for ought I know, begin the *Resurrection of our Lord's Witnesses*: it being just three years and an half since their Congregations were all dissipated, and a *Thanksgiving* celebrated thro' a wicked Nation for it.<sup>2</sup>

Wherefore, lett mee now, procure as many *Dayes of Praise* as I can, among the Meetings with whom I have had so many *Dayes of Prayer*, on these Occasions.

IV. I would endeavour to make my *Prayers* at the *Lord's Table* an *Engine*, for the cure of whatever *Distempers* in our *Church*, at any time occur to Observation. I would therefore observe, the *Disorders*, the *Vanities*, the *Corruptions*, which my Flock is most in danger of, and I would, in the most ingenious Methods I can use, labour to spoil

<sup>1</sup> Percy Kirke. "Kirke, a short-tempered, rough-spoken, dissolute soldier, was no doubt harsh and unscrupulous, but the accounts of his atrocities are fictitious or exaggerated," Chichester, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxi. 215. No good word was ever said for Kirke in New England, but even Edward Randolph thought him a most unfit person to be sent to America. See Toppam, *Edward Randolph* (Prince Society).

<sup>2</sup> Nothing could have been further from the truth than this expectation. The king was working to restore Catholicism, and to that end had an understanding with France. His efforts to introduce an irresponsible despotism caused all his other plans to fail, and drove him from the throne.

them, with my *Prayers* over my poor Sheep, when wee are at the Holy Supper, *lying down, in the green Pastures.*

6 d. 12 m [*February.*] A DESIGN. It will cost mee very bitter Toyls and Pains, yett perhaps I may bee very serviceable in it; if I procure to myself an exact Account of those *Evil Humours*, which this place is at any Time, under the observable Dominion of. And, whereas those *Divels* may bee cast out by *Fasting and Prayer*, sett apart still a Day of *secret Prayer*, with *Fasting*, on the Occasion of each of them; to *deprecate* my own Guiltiness therein, and *supplicate* for such Effusions of the Spirit from on High, as may redress, remove, and banish such *Distempers* from the Place.<sup>1</sup>

In the Winter of this Year, I putt in execution, a couple of DESIGNS, wherein the Favour of God, was very Great unto mee.

I. I sett upon Visiting all the *Families* of our Church, taking sometimes *one* and sometimes *two*, Afternoons in a Week for that purpose.

I still sent aforehand unto the *Families*, that I intended at such a Time to visit them, and when I came unto them, I essay'd with as handsome and as pungent *Addresses* as I was able, to treat every Person particularly about their everlasting Interests; and the young People I still asked some *Questions* of the *Catechism*, from the *Answers* whereof I made as lively Applications unto them as I could, for the engaging of them unto the Service of God.

I enjoy'd a most wonderful Presence of God with mee, in this Undertaking; and seldome left a *Family*, without many *Tears* of Devotion dropt by all sorts of Persons in it.

<sup>1</sup> He may refer to the beginnings of the witchcraft outbreak. In January Sewall heard of a "Maid at Woburn who tis feared is possessed by an evil Spirit." But Mr. Willard preached a sermon on February 7, seeming "very sensible of the Countries Danger as to Changes." There was certainly enough in what was passing in England to awaken sad forebodings. What was reported to be roving in the fields may be gathered from Sewall, *Diary*, I. 122.

I could seldome dispatch more than *three* or *four* Families in an *Afternoon*; and the work was as *laborious* as any in all my Ministry. But I dispatch'd more than *fifty* Families, in two or three Months; promising to the Lord, that when Hee had carried mee thro' my Undertaking, I would keep a Day of Thanksgiving to Him, on that Occasion.

II. I singled out a Number of Students, who were *Graduates*, and *capable*; and these mett at my Study in the Forenoon of every *Thursday*.

Here, in the several Common-place-Heads in *Divinitie*, where any notable *Controversie* had been managed in the Church of God, wee had a solemn Disputation, on the *controverted Quæstion*; in which Disputation I was alwayes the Moderator, and still concluded with a Discourse which by Argument established the *Truth*, defended by the *Respondent*.

But, because, upon every Head of *Divinitie*, there were multitudes of *Quæstions*, not so worthy of a solemn Disputation, *these* I laboriously gathered up; and giving them to the Societie, at some of our meetings, wee came all præpared with *brief*, but *strong* and *prov'd*, Answers to them, which wee accordingly delivered in our Order.

Thus, wee resolved upon going thro' a *Body of Divinitie*. And it is incredible, how much wee advantaged ourselves by these Exercises.

#### APPENDIX.

I will take this place to relate the most of the Subjects which with my good God's Direction and Assurance I have taken unto this Time in my public Ministry principally insisted on.<sup>1</sup> As for my *private sermons* the *subjects* therein handled, I have not præsaved. My first public Sermons, (for having laid aside my own Thoughts of being a *Physician*, my two first Sermons from Luc. 4. 18 were on

<sup>1</sup> In this place Mather has probably given an account of more than one year's service, for, in one instance, he gives the date of the discourse as June, 1684, and again speaks of some as having been delivered about his twenty-first year.

the Lord Jesus Christ as the *Physician* of our Souls) They were to recommend the Lord Jesus Christ, unto the Faith of my Hearers, (twice from such Texts as Cant. 5. 17.) and to show the Meaning of *Beleeving* (from such Texts as Act. 16. 30. and (twice) 1. Joh. 3. 23.), and the Nature and Vileness of *Unbeleef* (from such Texts, as Luc. 14. 18. and (twice) Joh. 16. 9.). Pressing therewithal, the Worth of the *Soul*, as well as of the *Saviour*, from Math. 16. 26. and the Difficulty of being saved, on Math. 7. 14. Two Sermons I preached, at *Dorchester*, on Isa. 3. 10, 11. Two, at *Dedham* from Act 16. 30, 31 Afterwards I distinctly handled, *five* Discourses, and Assertions of the Gospel: that wee *want* a *Saviour* (from Rom, 5. 6.); that the Lord Jesus Christ is a *Mighty Saviour*, (from Isa. 63. 1.); and *only* Saviour, (from Act. 4. 12.); an *offered* Saviour, (from Isa. 65. 1.); and infallibly bestowing *Salvaçon* on the Beleever (from Marc. 16. 16.). On a public Thanksgiving I preached, on 1. Thess. 5. 18. *giving thanks in all Things*. From hence, I passed on, to describe the several *Works*, by which the Holy Spirit *prepared* men for the Lord Jesus, touching with one whole Sermon, upon *Election*, as the foundaçon of all, from 1. Thes. 5. 9. And the *Vocation* in three Sermons on Rom. 8. 36. On a public Fast, I handled, Ezek, 9. 4. the *Mark*— I describ'd the *Præparation*, in general, with two Sermons from Luc. 1. 17. Then in particular, insisted on *Conviction*, in two Sermons, from Psal. 51. 3. And on another, Psal. 122. 6. On *Contrition* in three Sermons, from Act. 2. 37. On *Separation* from Sin, in two sermons from Hos. 14. 3. And on another, Amos 6. 6. On *Denial* of one's own *Righteousness* in three Sermon, Phil. 3. 9, and of one's own *Strength* in two Sermons, from Isa. 40. 29, and of one's own *Will*, in Two Sermons from Act. 9. 6. And on another, Gen. 22. 14. Having thus, with some faint Imitation of *John Baptist*, endeavoured, the *Præparation* of my Hearers for the Lord Jesus Christ; I then gave them a

solemn *Invitation* to Him (and I hope, with many of them it was a successful one) from Math. 11. 28. On which I preached no less than ten Sermons; adding one, on Joh. 5. 6. and one from Isa. 1. 3. about *Consideration*. And a couple, from Act. 16. 14. Once I preached at the Old Church, on Mark. 1. 40. While I was doing this Work, there were several other Subjects whereon I did, as it were with a *Parenthesis*, ever now and then, more occasionally discourse, for the Advancement of Godliness, in my Neighbourhood. *e.g.* on Math. 6. 33. in four Sermons; on Jer. 13. 27. in two Sermons; On Eccl. 9. 10. in three Sermons; and three or four Sermons on Tim. 1. 15; one on Math. 5. 29, 30; one on Psal. 119. 6. On a public Thanksgiving I handled, Gen. 32. 10.

After this, I was willing to give my Hearers a Scheme of all *practical Religion*, with the *Motives* of it; and for that End, I gave them about half a score Sermons, on Psal. 73. 28. Tacking them, with a Discourse, on Isa. 55. 3. *Hear and Your Souls shall Live*. And with two or three Discourses, on Jam. 1. 5. and one on Psal. 119. 5. Because also, I observed many Christians to bee much exercised with spiritual Troubles, I preached several Sermons on Cant. 5. 6. and 1. Pet. 1. 8.

Moreover, because, it was, now a Time of much *Trouble* among the people of God abroad, and all things look'd as if a black Night were coming on ourselves, I preached several Sermons on Psal. 46. 2.

I then singled out those two Pillars of Religion, to insist largely upon: in Heb 11. 6. and added many Sermons about the Sin of *Apostasy* from such things, as I hop'd many by these Discourses had been perswaded unto; on Heb. 10. 38. Thrice I preached at the Old Church, on Joh. 6. 37. and once on Psal. 119. 60. And thrice at the South church on Isa. 1. 18.

To pursue further the Interests of Religion; I preached

a Couple of Sermons upon the Duty of *Consideration*; from Ezek. 18. 28. and then singled out four main Subjects of *Consideration*; as first the *End* for which wee were made, in two Sermons, from Isa. 43. 21; the *Account*, unto which wee must bee call'd, in two Sermons, from Eccl. 12. 14; the *Hell* of the Wicked and the *Heaven* of the Godly; in nine Sermons from Math. 25. 46. On a public Fast, 5 d. 4 m. 1684, I handled Exod. 32. 10. *Moses* at Prayer. I preached these many Sermons when I was about twenty years old; all of which, one of my Scholars afterwards transcribed, having the Title of, *Consideranda*, by Mee left upon them. Some worthy and aged Christians, perswaded mee to publish them; but I did it not. I also twice preached on Ps. 26. 8. the Godly man's Love to *Ordinances*. On another public Fast, Neh. 9. 15 [17]. *God ready to pardon*. In a *sickly* Time I preached on Isa. 33. 24. *The Inhabitant not sick*.

For the further Advancement of *Religion*, I thought of one Way more, to recommend it; even in the greatest Instances. Wherefore, I first, show'd how far an *Hypocrite* might go in Religion in two Sermons, from Act 8. 23. And then pressed the Duty of *Self-Examination*, in two Sermons, from 2. Cor. 13. 5. And thereupon, I discoursed on thirteen Several *Marks* of Godliness, — as, *effectual Calling*, from 2. Pet. 1. 10; a *new Creature*, from 2. Cor. 5. 17; an *Illumination*; from Heb. 10. 32; *God* preferred, from Psal. 73. 25; *Christ* prized from 1. Pet. 2. 7; *Sin* mortified; from Psal. 18. 23; *Afflictions* entertained, from Psal. 119. 71; the *Omniscience* of God realized, from 1. Thess. 2. 4; a Respect to the *Name* of God, from Isa. 26. 8; the *Leadings* of the Spirit, from Rom. 8. 14; *good Resolutions*, from Job. 13. 15; *Growth in Grace*, from Joh. 15. 2; lastly, *good Sorrowes*, and *good Desires*; from Marc. 9. 24.

I preached three Sermons on Isa. 1. 3. *The Ingratitude* in Irreligion. In a public Fast, 22 d. 8 m. 1684, I handled,

Jer. 31. 18. *Turn thou mee.* On another Jon. 2. 11[9]. *Salvation* belonging to the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

And, (before the underlining, last mentioned) that *Religion* might bee yett more advanced; I preached a Sermon, on Psal. 31. 19, the general Intention, and Advantage of the *Fear of God*; with two Sermons, on the Good of *Desiring* it; from Neh. 1. 11; and one on the Evil of *refusing* it; from Jer. 6. 16. I then handled, the *Fear of God*, as attended with an Interest in *Christ*, from Mal. 4. 2. in three Sermons; the Guardianship of *Angels*, from Psal. 34. 7. in three Sermons; *Life*, from Prov. 19. 23; *Health*, from Prov. 3. 7, 8; *Honour*, from Prov. 22. 4; *Riches*, from Ps. 111. 5; *Welfare* in an *evil Day*, from Psal. 33. 18, 19. The *Forgiveness of Sin*, from Psal. 103. 11, 12, in three Sermons; the *Audience of Prayer*, from Psal. 145. 19; *Benefit* by Afflictions, from Psal. 112. 1, 4, in two Sermons, the *Knowledge of God*, from Psal. 25. 14; the *Comfort of the Holy Spirit*, from Act. 9. 31; good Circumstances in the *Day of Judgment*, from Rev. 11. 18, in two Sermons. *everlasting Happiness*, from Prov. 14. 27, in two Sermons. I proceeded then to urge, a solemn *Consecration* of ourselves to the *Fear of God*; from Psal. 119. 38, in two Sermons; an *Eminency* in the *Fear of God*; from Neh. 7. 2; a *Constancy* in the *Fear of God*, from Deut. 4. 10; the *Company* of them that *fear* God, from Psal. 119. 63; the *daily Exercise* of the *Fear of God*; from Prov. 23. 17; an *immediate Engagement*, unto the *Fear of God*; from Josh. 24. 14. With that great Motive to the *Fear of God*; the Divine *Omniscience*; from Jer. 23. 24. Two Sermons I added, for the Cure of *Care*, from Psal. 37. 5. And a Sermon, on 2. Chron. 1. 7. *Solomon's choice*.

I preached also four Sermons on Jam. 2. 23. *Friendship* with God. A Sermon, on Joh. 12. 26, at the Death

<sup>1</sup> These items were written in the margin. The "underlining, last mentioned" refers to "good *Desires*," at the end of the paragraph preceding.

of Mr. *Shepard*.<sup>1</sup> Two Sermons on Job. 6. 44, *The Drawings* of the Father. A sermon on Prov. 14. 32, *Hope* in the *Death*, for the *Death* of a worthy Neighbour. On Psal. 90. 12. *Numbring* our Dayes. On Psal. 116. 4. *Soul-Deliverance*. Three Sermons, on 2. Cor. 5. 20. *Reconciliation*. On *sacramental* Occasions, Cant. 5. 2. and 1. Cor. 11. 28. and Joh. 22, 28.

After these things, I preached four Sermons on Phil. 1. 21. *Christ* our Life; one, on Act. 26, 28, *almost Perswaded*, and three on Joh. 13. 15 *Christ* our *Exemple*. And then I sett myself, to handle and propose the *Exemple* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in many Articles. The Imitation of Him, in His *Childhood*; from Ps. 22. 9. and in His *Youth*, from Ps. 110. 3, three Sermons. And three in particular Instances.

<sup>1</sup> See page 102 *supra*.

1686.

THE XXIV<sup>TH</sup> YEAR.

R. *Gamaliel*,<sup>1</sup> on his Wedding-Day, at Night, said over his Phylacteries; his Disciples said unto him, *Sir, hast not thou taught us, that a Bridegroom is free from saying over his Phylacteries the first Night?* Hee saith unto them, *I will not hearken unto you, to lay from mee the yoke of the Kingdome of Heaven, no, not one Hour.*

THE XXIV<sup>TH</sup> YEAR OF MY AGE.

12 d. 12 m. 1685. This Day, thro' the good Hand of God upon mee, I finish the *Twenty-third* Year of my Age.

And this Day, I gave one of my first Visits, unto a young *Gentlewoman*, the Daughter of worthy, pious, and credible Parents, in *Charlestown*; unto an Acquaintance with whom, the Wonderful Providence of God, in Answer to many Prayers, directed mee.<sup>2</sup>

I propounded unto myself, the Methods, the divine and sacred *Methods*, wherein the glorious Lord Jesus Christ, engaged our immortal Souls unto Himself; and I studied how to make my Addresses unto my Friend analogous unto *those*. But, alas, *wherewithal shall a young Man cleanse his Way?*

Moreover, for a whole Quarter of a year, now ensuing, I think, I did lett scarce *one Week* pass mee, without a *Day*

<sup>1</sup> Rabbi Gamaliel, a Pharisee and Jewish doctor of the law living at Jerusalem in the first century, and the preceptor of Saint Paul. He died about 88 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> In the margin is written: "ABIGAIL, the Happy Daughter of JOHN, and KATHARIN PHILIPS."

of *Prayer* unto the Lord: for the good Success of the Affayr wherein I was engaged: and lest any Unholiness might gain upon my Heart. And, I beleeve, never any sinful Man, saw more sensible *Answers to Prayer*, than poor I did, in this matter.

While I was in this conversation, even in the month of *March*, 1686, there befell mee, an unexpected Thing, which was the occasion of my being *shown unto Israel*. A poor condemned Malefactor<sup>1</sup> did on March 6. Saturday, beg of mee, to preach a suitable Sermon for him on the Day following. Accordingly, tho' I should have spent the whole Sabbath at *Charlstown*, my Father answered that Engagement for mee, in the former Part of the Day. So, in our Congregation at *Boston*, I preached, that Morning to a vast Concourse of People, with a great Assistance of Heaven, on Isa. 45. 22.<sup>2</sup> Administring also the *Lord's-Supper*, in the room of my absent Father.<sup>3</sup> But in the Afternoon, I went myself over to *Charlstown*, and, tho' excessively tired, I again preached there. Now, it pleased God, that the people, throughout the Countrey, very greedily desired the Publication of my poor Sermon; and so, in the Midst, between my *Father* and Mr. *Moodeyes*, (which three, were the *three last* of them that the Malefactor heard) my mean Sermon came abroad; and I, a *sorry Youth*, in conjunction with *two* of the venerablest Men in the Land, had an Opportunitie, most *publickly* to invite men, unto such *Closures with the Lord Jesus Christ*, as I myself had *privately* been practising for many years.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Morgan, condemned to die for murder. On the same day (March 6) he acknowledged the sinfulness of his life and the justness of the Court's sentence, and desired longer time to live, which was denied.

<sup>2</sup> "Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else."

<sup>3</sup> See Sewall, *Diary*, I. 125; *Magnalia*, Bk. vi. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *A Sermon Occasioned by the Execution of James Morgan*, preached at Boston by Increase Mather, March 11, 1685, Boston, 1686; followed by *The Call of the Gospel*, by Cotton Mather; and *An Exhortation*, by Joshua Moodey.

The Book sold exceedingly; and I, hope did a World of Good. It is entitled, *THE CALL OF THE GOSPEL*.

There has been since, a second Edition of the Book, with a Copy of my Discourse with the poor Malefactor walking to his Execution added at the End.<sup>1</sup>

About this Time also, I endeavoured the Service of the Church, by procuring an Impression of my Father's Discourses, about *The Glory of the Lord Jesus Christ*. And, by my poor means also, a Book of another Minister in the Town, about *Buying the Truth*,<sup>2</sup> came to see the Light. In this Time, namely, on

6 d. 1 m. [March.] I thus managed a SELF-EXAMINATION.

O My Soul!

Q. 1. How art thou affected unto all *Creatures*?

It answers, I never found any *Happiness* in them.

I reckon them, to bee all so many *Lies*, filled with *Vanitie* and *Vexation*.

I cannot bear the *Thoughts* of being putt off with a *Portion* in them.

I lothe in myself the irregular Appetites of my *carnal Mind* after them; desiring nothing more than the Cure of those Distempers in mee.

Q. 2. How art thou affected, unto *God*, the great God!

It answers, I count, that His *loving Kindness is better than Life*; His Favour will make Amends for the most afflicted Condition in the World.

I count that His *Commandments are all holy, and just, and good*, wishing for nothing more, than that my *Wayes may bee directed* unto the *Keeping* of them.

I count, that His *Glory*, most righteously challenges all

<sup>1</sup> The same sermons, Boston, 1687, followed, on pp. 115-124, by Cotton Mather's Discourse of the Minister with James Morgan on the Way to his Execution. This paragraph is written in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> *Heavenly Merchandize; Or The Purchasing of Truth Recommended*, by Samuel Willard. Boston, 1686.

that I am, or have, or can; being in a most raging Disquietment of Soul, until I see *this*, as the *chief End*, swallowing up my All.

Q. 3. How art thou affected unto the Lord *Jesus Christ*, the Dearest Lord?

It answers, I count Him to bee *precious*, and *altogether lovely*. I count, nothing too desirable, to bee parted withal, for an *Interest* in Him.

I count all His *Offices* and *Kindnesses*, and every Part of His *great Salvation*, to bee the welcomest Things imaginable. O lett *Him* bee mine, and *mee* bee His; *this, this, this*, is *all my salvation*, and *all my Desire!*

20. d 1. m. On *this* which was one of the *Dayes of Prayer* kept by mee, in my Study, I particularly addressed the God of Heaven, that I might have a *comfortable Habitation* provided for mee, and that the Lord, my glorious Master, would afford mee, all Conveniencies, without the Distresses and the Temptations, which *Poverty* does expose unto.

In the prosecuting of this Request, I professed unto the Lord, that I count myself *unworthy* of the least Bitt of Bread; that I must own, I have given way to the Lusts, whereof *Penury* is the just punishment; that nevertheless, I putt my Trust in the Lord *Jesus Christ*, *whose I am*, and *whom I serve* continually, for a liberal Supply, of all Necessities. I professed herewithal, that if the Lord would give mee to find much *Kindness*, from the People, that I am labouring among, it should bee a strong Engagement unto mee, to do the *Duties* of my Place; but that tho' I mett with never so much of Sorrow, and Hardship, and *Unkindness*, I would yett endeavour to bee as *diligent*, in serving Him, and them, as if I had mett with None at all.

I never yett spoke one Word unto my Church, about my *Salary*. I never made any Agreement, or Overture with them about it, or ask'd them *to do for mee*. But I cast that

Matter, upon the Care of my glorious Lord Jesus Christ, in whose *Work*, I am employ'd.

Tis not unfit in this place also to bee inserted; that the neighbouring Ministers, did a little before this Time, take up a Custome, to keep (with their Wives) whole *Dayes of Prayer* together, at each other's Houses.

And tho' I were a young Man, yett Owner of neither Wife nor House, nevertheless, they did mee the Honour, to *meet* and *fast*, at my Study, on 21 d. 2 m. [April] when I preached unto them, on Gen. 32. 26.

About this Time also, having seen a poor *young Minister*<sup>1</sup> terribly stigmatized for his Misdemeanours, by a Council, whereof I was myself a Member, I thought;

*What if God should single mee out now to bee so publickly loaded with Shame for Sin?*

To this my Soul, with a wonderful Transport, gave this Answer;

“*Ah! Lord; If I must bee filled with utmost Confusion, and bee made the Gazing-stock of the World, yett, if I may procure thereby, more of a Reputation unto the Wayes, and the Truths, and the Worship, and the Kingdome, of the ever-dearest Lord Jesus Christ, I submitt myself; here I am, lett the Lord to do to mee what seemeth Him good; I will take pleasure in His Glory, tho' I become a Vessel wherein Hee will have no Pleasure. Yett I do beleeve, O Lord, I beleeve, that Thou wilt make mee a Vessel of Honour, unto Thyself.*”

I confessed unto the Lord, that my Sins had made mee worthy to bee left unto the sorest, vilest, blackest Blemishes in my *Reputation*; but I was afeared, that I desired a spotless Credit, meerly for the sake of my being in a better Capacitie to serve the Lord, Jesus Christ. Hereupon, I

<sup>1</sup>Probably Rev. Thomas Cheever, of Malden. See Corey, *History of Malden*, 267. The Council, of which Cotton Mather was a member, gave its decision April 7. Sewall, *Diary*, II. 21.\*

said before the Lord, that if *His Honour* would not be impaired by *my Reproche*, but promoted and advanced by it, I was content that my Name should be made as *odious* as Hee would please to have it made in the World. But while I was thinking so, the Lord gloriously told mee, *that Hee would honour mee, and sett mee on High because I had known His Name.*

One Day this Month, I likewise had Opportunities to write, this Remark:

I have some Cause to think, that there are Persons in this Place, who have a very *low* and *mean* Opinion of mee, and perhaps an undue *Prejudice* against mee. But I find my Heart strangely filled with *kind, loving, tender* Affections towards those very Persons: I feel a sensible *Pitty* and *Candour* in mee, extending itself towards them. *Thanks be to God, for this unspeakable Gift.* I rejoice in such a Smile of Heaven, upon my Soul, more than in the good Will of all the Creatures in the World. And while I am thus affected, I find another delightful Temper, which the *good Spirit of God* has now at last, raised mee unto. I find a *Joy*, at the Respect, which other Persons receive at the Hands of *God* or *Man*; even as if it were bestowed upon myself.

These Words I once also had before the Lord:

“O Lord, of all the Plagues in the World, I beseech Thee, do not suffer *this* to come upon mee, that I should be a *Vessel of Dishonour* to thee, or that I should cause thy *Religion* to be in any wise evil-spoken of. Now, that I may not behave myself unsuitably to so great a Favour as this, I purpose, in thy strength, to be exceedingly tender, careful, just and kind about the *Reputation* of all other Persons; never uttering any reprocheful Thing of any one whatsoever, unless it be not only *true* in itself, but also *proper* and *useful* to be mentioned.”

On Tuesday, 4 d. 3 m. [May], I was *married*, and the good Providence of God caused my Wedding to be attended

with many Circumstances of Respect and Honour, above most that have ever been in these parts of the World.<sup>1</sup>

In the Morning of my *Wedding-Day*, the Lord filled my Soul, while secretly at prayer before Him, with cœlestial and unutterable *Satisfactions*, flowing from the *sealed Assurances* of His *Love* unto mee. And my Heart was particularly melted into Tears, upon my further Assurances that in my *married Estate*, Hee had reserves of rich and great Blessings for mee.

After this, going over to *Charlstown*, and having some Liesure-Time there, before the Arrival of the Neighbouring Ministers, and other persons of Qualitie, expected, I carried my *Bible* with mee, into the garden; where I singled out, the story of the *Wedding* in the *second* Chapter of *John*, and fetched for myself, one *Observation*, and one *Supplication*, out of every Verse in that Story: In the doing whereof, I received further Assurances from the Spirit of my Heavenly Lord, *that I was Blessed, and should bee Blessed by Him forever.*

The next Sabbath, I preached at *Charlstown* on Psal. 119. 14, *Whose portion is in this Life*; being myself under the Fear of being putt of, with a *Portion* here; now I had received so good an one, *in*, as well as *with*, my Consort.

The next *Sabbath* after that, I preached at *Boston*, on Psal. 119. 14 [24?], *Divine Delights*.

One Passage which I took the Liberty to use, in that Sermon, I will in this place transcribe: "Oh! that the God of Heaven would effectually perswade every Person here, every Day without fail, to read a Portion in the *Bible*. But, I wish that you would read it, not customarily, but with suitable *Observations*, and *Applications*, and *Ejaculations*, during the whole Exercise. I freely profess unto

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Cotton Mather married Mrs. [Abigail] Phillips before Major Richards (Mr. Russell and Capt. Hutchinson also present.) 'Tis said was a great Wedding, but Eliakim not bidden." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 136.

you, for my own Part, that all the *Delights* which I have ever enjoy'd for these three and twenty years in the World, are not comparable to those, which a *Chapter* in the *Bible* has thus brought unto mee." <sup>1</sup>

Several Months after this, I resided at the House of my *Father-in-Law*, with my dearest Consort, in *Charlstown*; (going over on the Lord's-Days to preach at *Boston*.)

And here, besides my Studies to bee serviceable unto every Soul in the Family, whereto I was now become related, there occur'd little *new*, to bee remark'd, in the Steps of my Life.

The Methods of glorifying the Lord, heretofore contrived and mentioned, had little *new*, added unto them.

But, one Thing I will mention.

As the Effect of a *Contrivance* and an *Experience*, where to I was myself now attaining, I did, in a Sermon, on 2. Pet. 1. 4. utter these Passages:

"Let it bee a main Part of your Business, every Day, to bee *applying* of the *Promises*. There are certain *Promises*, that are of continual use, in the *Christian's daily Walk*: and for my own Part, I wish that I may not willingly lett many Hours of a Day pass mee, without some *delightful Reflections* on several of them.

"Every Day, you will have Occasion, for a *Promise* of a *Supply* for all your Wants, in the Day. Such an one is that, in Phil. 4. 19. *God will supply all your Needs*.

"Every Day, you will have occasion for a *Promise* of *Grace*, to manage the Day for the Glory of God. Such an one is that in Zech. 10. 12. *I will strengthen them in the Lord, they shall walk up and down in His Name; saith the Lord*.

"Every Day, you will have occasion for a *Promise* of a growing *Victory* over Sin. Such an one is that in Mic. 7. 19. *Hee will subdue our Iniquities*.

"Every Day, you should have a *Promise* of *Success* in your Under-

<sup>1</sup> Mather makes no mention of the landing of Randolph on May 14, 1686, bringing with him the judgment against the Massachusetts charter, and of the ceremonies which closed the charter government of the Colony. See Sewall, *Diary*, I. 137.

takings. There is one in Psal. 1. 3. *Whatsoever hee doth, shall prosper.*

“Every Day, you should have a *Promise of Protection* from your Dangers. There is one in Psal. 91. 10. *No Evil shall befall thee.*

“Every Day, you should have a *Promise of Council* in your Difficulties. It is to be found, in Psal. 32. 8. *I will instruct thee, and I will teach thee, in the way, which thou shouldest go.*

“Every Day, twere worth the while you should have a *Promise*, of not being the *Worse*, by whatever happens to you. You have it in Rom. 8. 28. *All things shall work together for good.*

“Every Day, you can't be without a *Promise of eternal Happiness*, in case you are taken out of the World. Here it is, in Luc. 12. 32. *It is your Father's good pleasure, to give you the Kingdome.*

“Oh! Be almost every Hour of the Day, glancing at such *Promises* as those. 'Tis *Heaven upon Earth*, to be doing so!”

But the *Methods of Religion*, which the Spirit of the Lord has heretofore taught mee, were the most, that now, for some considerable while, I contented myself withal. And I wish that thro' my slothful and carnal Disposition, some of *those* also had not begun to wither with mee.

At length, returning to *Boston*, I took an *House*, wherein my Father lived, in the years 1677, and 78. and wherein my more *childish Age* had made many Hundreds of *Prayers* unto the God of Heaven. I could not but observe the Providence of God, in ordering my *Comforts* now, in those very Rooms, where I had many years before, sought Him with my *Prayers*.

In the beginning of *September*, I dreamt that in a Room with other Gentlemen there was my friend Mr. *Shepard* of *Charlstown*, whom yett in my sleep, I knew to be *dead*. I dreamt that being somewhat shy of him, on that account, I was contriving to slip out of the Room; whereupon Hee nimble coming up with mee, took mee by the Hand, and said, *Syr, you need not be so shie of mee, for you shall quickly be as I am, and where I am.* I was presently taken, with a Fit of my *Ephialtes*,<sup>1</sup> which almost killed mee. But I was

<sup>1</sup> A nightmare.

immediately upon this, arrested with so violent a *cold*, as threatened mee with a mortal *Feavour*.

In this my Illness, the Lord overcame for mee, the *Fears* of Death; I apprehended not such Ghastliness therein, as heretofore; I could not but say, that I felt in my own Soul, the *Forecasts* and *Earnests* of *life eternal*.

But in the Week following my Disease was mercifully removed, sooner than I expected.

Being now settled in a Family of my own, where I am surrounded with all the Blessings of Goodness, I did, On 11 d. 7 m. [September], sett apart a Day, to bee spent in secret Thanksgiving unto God.

The *former* part of the Day, I did, with some Raptures of Soul, employ in these Exercises.

I *pray'd*, as usually, at my Entrance into my study. I *read*, a Portion in the Word of God. I *read*, and *prayed* and *praised*, with my Family. After this, I assay'd on my knees to confess my own *Unworthiness* of the least Mercy, before the Lord. Hereupon, I laid out a large Measure of Time, in considering some Collections of Texts which represent the *Glory* of God, in His *Nature*, *Trinitie* and *Attributes*, and wonderful Works of *Creation* and *Providence*; and the *Glory* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in His *Natures*, *Person*, *Offices*, *Life*, *Death*, *Resurrection* and *Exaltation*: still dwelling upon the *Scriptures* that exhibited these things unto mee, with innumerable *Ejaculations* and multiplied *Hosannahs* and *Hallelujahs*, magnifying the most High, till Failure of Strength engaged mee to break off.

The *latter* Part of the Day, was given to such Exercises as these,

I *sang* what was pertinent. On my knees, I acknowledge unto the Lord, His *old Mercies*, as I could call them to mind; and His Kindnesses also, in my *present*, *Life*, *Health*, *Improvement*, *Learning*, *Library*, *Utterance*, *Reputation*, *Settlement*, and the like; and in the Welfare of my *Friends*, of our

*church*, and of the *Land*. Afterwards, on my knees again I blessed the God in Heaven, for *two Dispensations* of His, which I have always been under; namely His *Hearing* of my *Supplications*, and His *Keeping* of mee from *Temptations*. I blessed Him also, for His bestowing on mee, a *good Thing*, a *Meet Help*, an extremely desireable Companion for my *Joyes* and *Griefs*, and *setting the Desolate in a Family*. I blessed Him, lastly, for *spiritual* and *eternal Blessings*; for which, I hope, my Spirit shall bless Him, throughout everlasting Ages.

In fine, I thought upon some, *Returns of Gratitude*, and I sang my Hymn of *high Attainments*; and concluded with *Prayer*.

The Returns then thought upon were these.

I. One of the Services most nearly now incumbent on mee, is, to study what I can, that the *Soul* of my dear *Consort*, may bee saved with spiritual and eternal Salvation. To this End, besides what may bee done, by Conference and Exemple, I would use daily Prayer, *with* her, as well as *for* her, in Retirements.

II. And I would bee at some further Pains, in helping my gracious and honoured *Father-in-law*, to bee very serviceable in His Generation. I would not only, ask his Acceptance of some very savoury *Books*, which may have this Tendencie; but also spend some Time with him, in contriving how to glorify God.

Moreover, about this Time, for the Service of God in my Neighbourhood, I began this Custome.

I lett it bee known, unto some of the Neighbours who wanted it, that I was willing to entertain them, for an Hour on the Lord's-Day Evenings, with *Prayers* and *Psalms* and a Repetition of the *Sermons* preached in the Day. Whereupon, there was indeed such an unexpected Resort unto my House, that there was ordinarily near an hundred People at a Time, (and more than one Room could hold) who cheer-

fully attended these Exercises. I hope, the *Sabbath* was better spent among Scores of People, and the Souls of many were *awakened* and *edified* by this my laborious Undertaking.

I continued this Custome until being left altogether alone in my public Labours, for the Sabbath, I had no longer Strength to continue it.<sup>1</sup>

There happened another Thing to mee, in the Summer now running, which had in it something, that I had Reason to think upon.

Sermons, at the *Artillery-Elections*, in this countrey, have been things of considerable Observation. I was near being chosen to preach one, at the *Artillery Election*, in *Boston*, the last Spring, but I took some Satisfaction, I hope, in being overlookt, as to that Choice. Nevertheless, a very unexpected Thing of that kind, befel mee, before the Summer was out: For the Artillery-Company of *Middlesex* this year, did a new Thing, in ordering their Anniversary Solemnities to bee at *Charlstown*, and not at *Cambridge*; and they did another new Thing, in choosing, as they never did before or since, a Minister not belonging unto their own County, to bee their Preacher; and this was my poor self. So, on 13 *d. 7 m.* I preached, at *Charlstown*, unto a very great Assembly, a Sermon which was afterwards printed, under the Title of MILITARY DUTIES.<sup>2</sup> And thus, having had a little while ago, an Opportunitie, to print, for the *Publicans*, I had now the further Part of the signaling Advantage that *John Baptist* had, in an Opportunitie, to tell the *Souldiers* also, *what they are to do*.

On 11 *d. 9 m.*<sup>3</sup> I sett apart another Day, for *secret Thanksgivings*, before the Lord.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> His text was Ps. 144. 1, and he made a "very good discourse," according to Sewall. "The Artillery Company had like to have been broken up; the animosity so high between Charlestown and Cambridge Men about the Place of Training. Were fain at last to vote the old Officers to stand for next year, in general." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 151. The sermon was printed by Richard Pierce.

<sup>3</sup> A blot has covered the month, but I believe it to be the ninth.

I devoted the Time, especially unto three Things; besides the usual religious Exercises of every Day.

I. I endeavoured in *Prayer* both in my Retirement and in my Family, to magnify the great God!

The Expressions of His *Goodness*, which Hee hath [<sup>1</sup>] ved mee withal. In the *former* part of the Day, I celebrated the *old Mercies* of God unto mee; the Mercies of my *Parentage*, the Mercies of my *Vocation*; the Mercies of my *Præservation*, and the Mercies of my *Employment*, and *Improvement*. In the latter Part of the Day, I took Notice of the *Mercies* which I am *at present* surrounded with: particularly my *spiritual* Mercies, my *Ministry* Mercies, and my *family* Mercies. To which Exercises, I annexed the singing of *Psalms*, and Hymns, agreeable.

2. I went from Room to Room in my *House*, deliberately looking upon the distinct Parcels of the *Estate*, whereof I am now become the Owner, or as I should rather say, the *Steward*. And with a ravished Soul, I gave every Thing back to God, variously *contriving*, and so *declaring*, *how all that I have should bee made serviceable unto His Glory*.

3. I meditated, upon my usual Quæstion, *What shall I now do for God?*

Which I thus answered:

I. The *Common-Prayer-Worship* now being sett up in this Country,<sup>2</sup> I would procure and assist the Publication

<sup>1</sup> A blot.

<sup>2</sup> The service was introduced by Randolph, and confirmed by Andros, who sought to obtain the existing church buildings for holding the services; but the ministers, Increase Mather among them, protested, and the Town House was used. Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, the first Episcopal minister settled in New England, was selected by the Lord Bishop of London, and recommended to the inhabitants by the Privy Council for a "kinde entertainment and sutable maintenance." He was a graduate of Oxford, and Dunton thought him an "extraordinary good preacher." He held service in the Town House, and drew many to him from curiosity, a Church of England assembly being a decided novelty in the Province. The treatment accorded to him was not wholly what the Privy Council could accept. Some called him Baal's priest, and some of the ministers of the town speaking in their pulpits, called the prayers of the service "leeks, garlic and trash." See *Edward Randolph* (Prince Society), *Andros Tracts*, and Winsor, *Memorial*

of a Discourse written by my Father, that shall enlighten the *rising Generation*, in the *Unlawfulness* of that Worship, and antidote them against Apostasy from the Principles of our First Settlement.

II. And I would prosecute the Publication of the like *Testimony* against several other Superstitions that are now creeping in, upon the *rising Generation*.

I have mett with little else this Year, that I have had Heart or Time, to record. Only one.

8 d. 11 m. [January.] I kept a secret FAST before the Lord,

Especially to implore this Favour of God, that whereas, I suppose, my dear consort may bee now with Child, the Infant conceived by her may bee an *Holy Thing*, and For [1] by the blessed Spirit of God, and that the Lord would carry her to and thro' the Time of her Travel.

I also prosecuted these DESIGNS.

I. As I would show all the Kindness that I can, unto the *French Refugees* arrived in this Countrey, so I would earnestly recommend it unto their Ministers to awaken that People unto a greater Observation of the *Lord's Day*; by the Neglect whereof they had given too much of Scandal.<sup>2</sup>

*History of Boston*, I. 200. Increase Mather's book was *A Brief Discourse concerning the Unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship*, but was issued without his name.

Mather represented the strong feeling among the churches of Boston against the Church of England. The abuse and protest were not confined to pamphlets, the clergyman was openly affronted and threats made of tearing down the newly built church, of converting it into a school, or of turning it over to the French Protestants. Palmer, *An Impartial Account of the State of New England*, 33. The unknown writer of *New England's Faction Discovered* (1690), knew that Cotton Mather was responsible for the printing and publishing of this, to him, "most scandalous Pamphlet," and Cotton and others were bound over to answer charges of favoring faction and rebellion, when the "revolution" in New England intervened. *Andros Tracts*, II. 211.

<sup>1</sup> Obscured by a blot.

<sup>2</sup> The Edict of Nantes had been revoked October 17, 1685, and brought to an end the hope of enjoying any religious freedom in France. By 1684 more than two thirds of the French Protestant churches had been closed, and the revo-

II. I will perswade several Gentlemen belonging unto our Congregation, to combine into a *private Meeting*, Wherein they shall, once a Fortnight, seek the Face and hear the Word of God, in their several Families together; as they ly in Order; and as at every other Meeting, I will carry on their Exercises, thus I will endeavour to make this an Opportunitie, for mentaining of Love, and all the other Instances of Religion, in the Members of the Meeting.

(They had their first Meeting at my House.)

III. Several *religious Families* there are among us, not yett joined unto any of the *private Meetings* in our Neighbourhood; I would therefore address them, to gett into this way of their Edification.

IV. I plainly see, that from the *public Prayers* which I make in our Congregation, my Hearers take Exemple, for their own *private Prayers*. Oh! then, lett mee therein bee so affectionate, so argumentative, so instructive, as intending to sett an Exemple for their Devotions.

V. When any offer themselves unto the Communion of our Church, I would with much Fervency and Frequency, implore the Directions of Heaven about it, before I do admitt them.

(I have seen a marvellous Providence of God, by strange Accidents, hindring the Irruptions of Communicants into our Church, that afterwards proved unsound; in Answer to such Prayers and Cares.)

VI. Before my *Morning Prayers*, I would still read a

cation of the Edict withdrew the last shadow of protection. Although emigration of laymen was prohibited, the movement out of France was immense, and a part found refuge in America. They came to Massachusetts by way of the West Indies, in a most wretched and destitute condition. See Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, II. 250.

In his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 20, Mather asserts that the "late *French Persecution* is perhaps the horriblest that ever was in the World: And as the Devil of *Mascon* seems before to have meant it in his out-cries upon the *Miseries preparing for the poor Hugonots!* Thus it has been all acted by a singular Fury of the old Dragon inspiring of his Emissaries."

Chapter or Part of a Chapter, in my Family, and compose my Prayers out of it.

But before my *Evening-Prayers*, I would single out some Text of Scripture, and make a short Meditation upon it. In this Way, I may go thro' a Body of Divinitie; and whole Chapters of the Bible; if God spare my Life.

(I did so; and sometimes I also read in the *Evenings*, from some Treatise; that I judged suitable.)

And thus, the good Hand of God brings mee, to the End of my *twenty-fourth* Year.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>“We shall do well to remember the situation in which he found himself at the age of twenty-five. Full of traditional belief in the Divine authority of his professional work, he was left, by the absence of his father on the most important public business ever yet confided to a native of New England, in full charge of one of the greatest churches in America. There is no reason to doubt that, according to the standard of his time, he was a scholar unapproached by any one of his age: that is, he had read more books than anybody else, he was reading more day by day, and he was already launched in that career of authorship which made him at last the most voluminous of American writers. And the state of public affairs, bringing theocracy and democracy for the moment into complete accord, and throwing political as well as spiritual leadership once more—and for the last time—chiefly into the hands of the clergy, gave his words and actions such public authority as he never enjoyed again. All the while, too, there is every reason to believe that his ecstatic prayers and fastings kept him in what he never doubted was direct communication with the angels of God.” Wendell, *Cotton Mather*, 79.

Swallow in his *Diary*, I. 342, makes the following minute of a sermon by Mather. “March 19, 1690-1. Mr. C. Mather preaches the Lecture from Mat. 24., and appoint his portion with the Hypocrites: In his proem said, *Totus mundus agit histrionem*. Said one sign of a hypocrit was for a man to strain at a Gnat and swallow a Camel. Sign in's Throat discovered him; To be zealous against an innocent fashion, taken up and used by the best of men; and yet make no Conscience of being guilty of great Immoralities. Tis supposed means wearing of Perriwigs: said would deny themselves in any thing but parting with an opportunity to do God service; that so might not offend good Christians. Meaning, I suppose, was fain to wear a Perriwig for his health. I expected not to hear a vindication of Perriwigs in Boston Pulpit by Mr. Mather; however, not from that Text.”

Mather's MS. Record of the Second Church, II. begins with an entry for December 8, 1689. This record is chiefly composed of admissions, baptisms, and dismissals; but there are occasional entries of discipline and church business. The following will bring the record to the beginning of 1692:

“2 d. 12 m. [February, 1689-90.] The Church this Day, having voted a Letter to my Father, desired Major Richards, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Foster, Mr. Clark, to join with myself, in signing it.

## TO INCREASE MATHER.

[Return to N. E.]

MAY 17, 1690.

SIR, — Tis not a little Trouble unto mee, to find your so speedy and sudden an Inclination in you, to such a Dishonourable Thing, as, *Your not Returning to N. E.*, where you have such measures of Respect and Esteem, as no person in this part of America, ever had before you; and where the Sleights, which you have thought cast upon you are but so *Imaginary*.

"25 d. 3 m. [May, 1690.] This Day, at the Lord's Table, I endeavoured to furnish every Communicant with my *Companion for Communicants*. [Printed in 1690, by S. Green for B. Harris.]

"14 d. 2 m. [April, 1691.] At a Church meeting, voted, that Captn. *Daniel Turel*, and Lieut. *Richard Way* be desired and empowered, they or either of them, in the Name of the Church, to look after the Arrears due to this Church, on account of the Legacy of 12lb per Annum, bequeathed by Captn. *Scarlet* Deceased; and to prosecute the Executors of *John Jacob* deceased, for those Arrears.

"Voted, that Major *John Richards*, Mr. *Adam Winthrop*, Mr. *John Foster*, do in the name of this Church, make and sign an Instrument, enabling Mr. *Turel* and Mr. *Way* to act as Attorneys for the Church in the Affayr above mentioned.

"Voted, that Lieut. *Way*, Mr. *Gill*, Mr. *Rober*, and Mr. *Barnard*, bee desired to take the Care of seating Persons in the Meeting-house.

"Voted, that the Pastor bee desired to take what care hee shall judge proper, in choosing and settling fitt persons, for the Inspection of the Children in the Meeting-house.

"Voted, that Mr. *Turel*, Mr. *Barnard*, Mr. *Goodwin*, bee a Committee to inspect the condition of the Meeting-house, as to any want of Repairs in it, and act accordingly.

"19 d. 3 m. [May.] At a Church meeting, voted, that Major *Richards*, Mr. *Winthrop*, Mr. *Foster*, Mr. *Coleman*, Mr. *Keach*, Mr. *Greenough*, Mr. *Howard*, bee a Committee, with Mr. *Turel* and Mr. *Way*, to act for the Church in the further prosecution of the Recovery of what is due to the Church from the Estate of *John Jacob* deceased.

"28 d. 4 m. [June.] Mr. *Robert Howard* and Mr. *Robert Lurst* having the last Week, given public Scandal, by Words and Blows in a Quarrel between them, this day they had their Confession and Repentance readd unto the whole Congregation.

"30 d. 4 m. At a Church Meeting, voted, that the Committee chosen on 19 d. 3 m. to act for the Church, in recovering of what is due to the Church from the Estate of *John Jacob* deceased, continue to act in that Affayr, and in disposing to the best Advantage, what has been by Law recovered.

"8 d. 9 m. [November.] This Day our Congregation made a Collection of about forty four pounds for the Releef of the poor Inhabitants in our Frontier Towns in the East.

"7 d. 12 m. [February 1691 92.] This Day, our Congregation gathered sixty

Last February, there went hence, Dr. *Oaks* and Dr. *Cook*, our Agents, to assist Sir Ashurst, and yourself, in what Concerns the affays of this poor Countrey. If *they* are arriv'd, I suppose you have long ere this, received satisfaction in those Matters, which I perceived touch you with much Displeasure. If *they* have miscarried, wee are the most miserable people in the world; which, God of His mercy prevent!<sup>1</sup>

two pounds, odd shillings, for the Redemption of our Captives in the hands of the Indians.

"3d. 2 m. [April, 1692.] Elizabeth Durham having an Infant born within five Months after shee was married, made a most pœnitent and ingenuous Confession, and was reconciled unto the Church."

Mather's *Companion for Communicants*, printed in 1690, contains advertisement of three earlier issues by him: 1. *The Wonderful Works of God Commemorated*: in a Thanksgiving Sermon on December 19, 1689. With a Postscript giving an Account of the Childrens Prophesies, which has lately happened in France. To which is added, a Sermon preached to the Convention of the Massachusetts-Colony: With a Narrative of several Prodigies which New England hath of late had the Alarms of Heaven in.

2. *Speedy Repentance urged*: A Sermon preached at Boston, Decemb. 29, 1689. In the Hearing and at the Request of one Hugh Stone, under a just Sentence of Death, for a tragical and horrible Murder. With certain Memorable Providences relating to some other Murders, and some great Instances of Repentance which have been seen among us.

3. *The Present State of New England*, considered in a Discourse on the Necessities and advantages of a Publick Spirit in every man; especially at such a time as this. Made at the Lecture in Boston, March 20, 1690, upon the News of an Invasion by bloody Indians and French men begun upon us. All three were printed in 1690, the first two at a shilling each (bound), the last, at sixpence ("sticht").

<sup>1</sup> The Diary for the years 1687-1689 is, unfortunately, wanting. Although the record can give little satisfaction upon matters of fact, and is too closely confined to expressing his own state of feeling in "piety," the lost years were for Cotton of some political activity. The measures taken by Sir Edmund Andros and Edward Randolph aroused the opposition of those who had been contented in exercising the powers of government under the old charter, and they had no more active opponents than the Mathers. In April, 1688, Increase went to England, to see what could be done to obtain the recall of Andros and the restoration of the charter. Shortly after occurred the revolution in England, and a like "revolution" was effected in New England, the chief instruments of the Andros government being seized and, after a long imprisonment, sent to England. Of the part taken by Cotton Mather we have two accounts. That by his son is naturally partial, and the style of writing used by Samuel, does not inspire confidence in his accuracy or discretion. When intelligence of William's passage from Holland to England reached Boston, in April, 1689:

"The principal Gentlemen in *Boston* met with Mr. Mather to consult what was best to be done; and they all agreed, if possible, that they would extinguish

This distressed, Enfeebled, ruined Countrey, have hitherto designed nothing but your Honour; they celebrate you as *Their Deliverer*; and have all along Resolved, not only, the Repayment of our Debts, which our Affays in your Hands have made; but also such a Requital of all your pains for us, as would have been proper, when you should have arrived here, in the way of Receiving it. Per-

all Essays in our People to an *Insurrection*; but that if the Country People to the Northward by any violent Motions push'd on the Matter so far as to make a *Revolution* unavoidable, *Then* to prevent the shedding of *Blood* by an un-governed Multitude, some of the Gentlemen present would appear at the Head of what Action should be done; and a *Declaration* was prepared accordingly." On April 18th the opportunity came. "'Twas then Mr. Mather appeared. He was the Instrument of preventing the Excesses into which *the Wrath of Man* is too ready to run; He came and like a Nestor or Ulisses reasoned down the Passions of the Populace: had he lisped a Syllable for it, perhaps the People would by sudden *Council of War* have try'd, judg'd and hang'd those ill Men, who would have treated him otherwise. Nevertheless he set himself both *publickly* and *privately* to hinder the Peoples proceeding any further than to reserve the Criminals for the Justice of the English Parliament." *Life of Cotton Mather*, 43.

A less partial, but a better informed writer, Robert Calef, states, that on the seizure of Andros it was confidently believed that the old government, that under the old charter, would be reassumed, and the old officers restored to their places. That was the general opinion, but the refusal of some again to take office made necessary some other plan. Calef says: "It has been an observation of long continuance *that matters of State seldom prosper, when managed by the Clergy*. Among the opposers of the reassuming few were so strenuous as some of the Ministers, and among the Ministers none more vehement than Mr. *Cotton Mather*, Pastor of the *North Church* in *Boston*, who has charged them as they would answer it another day to reassume. Among his Arguments against it, one was that it would be to put a slight upon his Father, who, he said, was in *England*, labouring for a compleat Restoration of Charter Privileges, not doubting, but they would be speedily obtain'd. Any man that knows *New England* cannot but be sensible, that such Discourses from such Men, have always been very prevalent. And hence it was that even those that would think themselves wronged, if they were not numbred among the best Friends to *New England*, and to its Charter, would not so much as stoop to take it up, when there was really nothing to hinder them from the Enjoyment thereof." The Assembly, after seven weeks of anarchy, proposed that the old officers again take the places from which they had been thrust by the revocation of the charter, but a Declaration prepared for the occasion expressly stated that these officers would not have it understood that they did reassume charter-Government, an assertion that amazed the people, and disappointed the Deputies, "who if these had not promised so to act, had taken other care, and put in those that would." *More Wonders of the Invisible World*. It is safe to assume that the reservation that proved so disappointing was largely the work of Cotton Mather. It was then that the Assembly appointed a member from each House to go to England, and the choice fell upon Thomas Oakes and Elisha Cooke.

haps our Delays have been *Imprudent*, and *Ungrateful* Things; but place them in a true Light, and you will see that they have been purely *Necessary*. Nor have wee foreborn to give you and our Friends with you, those *Assurances*, which you ought rather to complain for the *miscarrying*, than the *not-sending* of.<sup>1</sup>

But, have you indeed come to Resolutions of seeing N. E. no more? I am sorry for the Countrey the Colledge, your own church, all which Languishes for want of you. I am sorry for your Family, which cannot but bee Exposed unto miserable Inconveniencies, in Transportation. I am sorry for myself, who am Left alone, in the midst of more cares, Fears, Anxieties, than, I beleeve any one person in these Territories; and who have just now been within a few minutes of Death, by a very dangerous Feavour, the Reliques whereof are yett upon mee. But I am sorry for my dear Father too, who is, *Entred into Temptation*, and will find snares in his Resolutions. May the God of Heaven direct you; and prevent Every *Step*, which may not bee for the Honour of His Blessed Name!

I confess, that I write with a most Ill boding Jealousy, that I shall never see you again in this Evil world; and it overwhelms mee into Tears, which cannot bee dry'd up, unless by this Consideration, That you will shortly find among the Spirits of Just men made perfect,

Your Son,

C. M.

To JOHN COTTON

BOSTON. 14 d. 7 m., 1691.

Rev'd Sir, — The Short and Long, and the Truth, of our Intelligence from England is, That the K. the Last Day hee was at Whitehal, declar'd his Pleasure and Purpose, that N. E. should have Charter Priviledges Restored; Nevertheless (said hee) "I think it will bee for the welfare of that people, if I send over a General, or a Governour, to unite the Territory, and inspect the Militia of it. However (added hee) I will not send any person, but one that shall bee acceptable to that people, and Recommended by their Agents here." This notwithstanding, the Clerk of the Council made a false

<sup>1</sup> "Some Friends of mine in *England* who were very willing I should spend the remainder of My days amongst them, told me, that they had bin informed that the People of *New England* were always ungrateful to their Publick Servants, and that altho' they knew I had with Industry and Fidelity served them to the utmost of my Capacity, they doubted, whether they would be sensible of it or no." Increase Mather's statement, prefixed to *Great Blessing of Primitive Counsellours*.

Entry of the Kings Order, as if wee were to bee settled Like Barbados, etc., at which our Tories there grew mighty brisk.<sup>1</sup> But before the month was out, they grew down in the mouth. The clerk's forgery was discovered, and by Order, our Charter was finished (tho not yett sealed) by which our Colony, unto which the Eastern parts are added, have power to choose D. Governour and Assistants and all General Officers, on the Last Wednesday, of every *May*; only the K. Reserves to himself, the Liberty of sending a General, for all the united Colonies; who nevertheless, will have no power to do any thing in our Colony without the Concurrence of our own Magistrates; nor can any Lawes,

<sup>1</sup> Mather appears to have unaccountably confused two incidents in this struggle for a charter. On April 30, 1691, the King stated that he believed it would be for the good of his subjects in New England to be under a governor appointed by himself; "nevertheless, that he would have the Agents of *New England* Nominate a Person that should be agreeable to the Temper and Inclinations of the people there; only that, at this time, it was necessary that a Military Man should be set over them; and that this notwithstanding, he should have Charter-Priviledges Restored and Confirmed to them." On the next day he left for Holland, and an Order of Council was drawn up intimating "that it was the King's Pleasure to have a Governour of his own Appointing sent to New-England, who should have a Negative Voice in all Acts of Government: and that the *Massachusetts Colony* should be settled on the same Foundation with *Barbadoes &c.* And that a Charter should be prepared accordingly." Mather protested that this was not what the King intended, and appealed to the King, but received no reply. The Attorney General prepared the draught of a Charter, which was accepted, by the King. Sir William Phips was named Governor, and William Stoughton, deputy. *Andros Tracts*, II. 279 ff.

The "forgery" by a clerk may relate to an earlier incident, published in 1688: "Besides this, Mr. *Increase Mather*, with two *New-England* Gentlemen, presented a Petition and humble Proposals to the King, wherein they prayed, that the Right which they had had in their Estates before the Government was changed, might be confirmed; and that no Laws might be made or money Raised, without an Assembly, with sundry other particulars; which the King referred to a Committee for Foreign plantations, who ordered them into the hands of the Attourney-General to make his report. The Clerk, *William Blathwait* sent to the Attourney General a Copy, wherein the Essential Proposal of an Assembly was wholly left out; and being spoke to about it, he said the Earl of *Sunderland* blotted out that with his own hand. Likewise a Soliciter in this Cause related that the said Earl of *Sunderland* affirmed to him, that it was by *his* Advice that the King had given a Commission to Sir *Edmond Andross* to raise moneys without an *Assembly*, and that he knew the King would never consent to an Alteration, nor would he propose it to His Majesty." *Increase Mather, Narrative of the Miseries of New England*, 9. The mention of Barbadoes is explained by John Palmer's assertion that "*Barbados, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, and Virginia* have their Assemblies: but it is not *sui juris*, 'tis from the grace and Favour of the *Crown*, signified by *Letters Patents under the Broad Seal.*" *Impartial Account of the State of New England*, 19.

bee made, or Taxes Levied, without a General Court. There are several Additional Priviledges in this charter which make it better than our old one; and our friends in England express much Satisfaction in it. *This is now Like to bee our settlement; but I suppose, Plymouth, which is so wonderfully Sottish, as to take no Care of itself, is Like to bee thrown in as a Province, which the Governour may have particular Instructions about.*<sup>1</sup> The [King] you know choosing our Magistrates for the first year, most of our old ones, are pitch'd on; some New ones are added, whose Names tis needless to mention; and Mr. Stoughton will bee the first D. Governour. The Governour of the whole I suppose, I know, but, *multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque Labra.*

I suppose, per my next, I shall send you, my *Little Flocks guarded against Grievous Wolves.*<sup>2</sup> Heaven guard us all, from all sorts of them. Remember mee, to my Relations with you, and pray for, Sir, Your kinsman and servt.

MATHER.<sup>3</sup>

To JOHN COTTON.

BOSTON, Augt. 5, 1692.

REVEREND SIR, — Our Good God is working of Miracles. Five Witches were Lately Executed, impudently demanding of God, a Miraculous Vindicaçon of their Innocency. Immediately upon this, Our God Miraculously sent in Five Andover-Witches, who made a most ample, surprising, amazing Confession, of all their Villainies and declared the Five newly executed to have been of their Company; discovering many more; but all agreeing in Burroughs being their Ringleader, who, I suppose, this Day receives his Trial at Salem, whither a Vast Concourse of people is gone; My Father, this morning among the Rest. Since those, there have come in other Confessors; yea, they come in daily. About this prodigious matter my Soul has been Refreshed with some Little short of Miraculous Answers of prayer; which are not to bee written; but they comfort mee with a prospect of an hopeful Issue.

The whole Town yesterday, turned the Lecture into a Fast, kept in our meeting-house; God give a Good Return. But in the morning wee were Entertained with the horrible Tidings of the Late Earth-

<sup>1</sup> It had been proposed to annex Plymouth to New York.

<sup>2</sup> This was an attack upon the "modern teachers of the misled Quakers," and contained "just Reflections upon the extream Ignorance and Wickedness of George Keith." It was printed by Benjamin Harris and John Allen, 1691.

<sup>3</sup> This is the original letter endorsed by Cotton.

quake at Jamaica, on the 7th of June Last. When, on a fair Day, the sea suddenly swell'd, and the Earth shook, and broke in many places; and in a Minutes time, the Rich Town of Port-Royal, the *Tyrius* of the whole English America, but a very Sodom for Wickedness, was immediately swallow'd up, and the sea came Rolling over the Town. No less than seventeen hundred souls of that one Town, are missing; besides other Incredible Devastations all over the Island, where Houses are Demolished, Mountains overturned, Rocks Rent, and all manner of Destruction inflicted. The N[on] C[onformist] Minister there, scap'd wonderfully with his Life. Some of our poor N. E. people are Lost in the Ruines, and others have their Bones broke. Forty Vessels, were sunk, namely all whose Cables did not break; but no N. E. ones. Behold, an Accident speaking to all our English America.

I Live in Pains, and want your prayers. Bestow them, dear Sir, on Your

C. MATHER.

What a filthy stir do they keep at Taunton, about their military Affayrs: whereof you and I bear most of the blame! Is it Reasonable?

1692

THE XXX<sup>TH</sup> YEAR.

Foelix Conversatio, in quâ inimici nullam reperiunt occasionem, nisi fortè in Legitimis Dei. *Hieron.*

Si Amatur, quomodò infirmatur! *Aug.*

It was the Popish Malice, to upbraid *Calvin* with his Diseases. *You may see* (said they) *what hee is by his Diseases!*

THE XXX<sup>TH</sup> YEAR OF MY AGE.

1692.

This Year, finds mee, in my public Ministry, handling the *Miracles* of our Lord Jesus Christ; on the Histories whereof, I still gave my Hearers, a Variety of Reflections, by way of brief *Observation*, and *Application*. But, who can tell what *miraculous* Things, I may see, before this Year bee out!

In the Beginning of this Year, my Heart being, after a poor Manner, sett upon the Designs of *Reformation*.<sup>1</sup> I obtained a Vote of our neighbouring Ministers mett at *Cambridge*:

“Recommending it as very advisable, that the several *Churches*, having in an Instrument, proper for that Purpose, made a *Catalogue* of such Things, as can indisputably bee found amiss among them, do, with all Seriousness, and

<sup>1</sup> “Some admirable Designs about the *Reformation* of Manners, have lately been on foot in the English Nation in pursuance of the most excellent Admonitions which have been given for it, by the Letters of their Majesties. . . . There has been started a *Proposal* for the well-affected people in every Parish, to enter into orderly *Societies*.” *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 64.

Solemnitie, pass their *Votes*, that they count such Things to bee offensive Evils, and renouncing all Dependence on their own Strength, to avoid such Evils, they humbly ask the Help of the Divine Grace, to assist them, in watching against the said Evils, both in themselves and in one another. And that the *Communicants*, do often reflect upon those their *Acknowledgments* and *Protestations*, as perpetual Monitors, unto them, to prevent the Miscarriages, wherewith too many Professors are too easily overtaken."

Accordingly, letters, reporting this Advice, were now sent, thro' a considerable Part of the Land. But so monstrous was the *Sleepiness* upon our Churches, (and Pastors,) that few of them, did any thing, in pursuance of this Advice.

However, I resolved, that *their* Lethargy, should bee no Excuse for mine. Wherefore having prepared my Church, by a solemn and public FAST, (when I twice preached on Rom. 13. 11.),<sup>1</sup> I drew up an Instrument, of *Acknowledgments* and *Protestations*, wherein, renewing our *Covenant*, wee declared against sixteen common Evils, which were Transgressions of it.<sup>2</sup>

That I might make this *Instrument* the more easy, unto the dullest Capacitie among them, I did, after a Speech, at the *Lord's Table*, weave it, all into my *Prayer* before the Lord.

So, on, 10 d. 2 m. [April.] Having first preached unto them, on Jer. 44. 10. They solemnly *voted* it.<sup>3</sup> And then,

<sup>1</sup> "And that knowing the time, that it is high time to awake out of sleep."

<sup>2</sup> See *Mather to Richards*, February 13, 1692, in 4 *Collections*, VIII. 390.

<sup>3</sup> "10 d. 2 m [April] This day, our Church unanimously signify'd their Acceptance of an Instrument, which I laid before them, as containing the Acknowledgments and Protestations of their souls, and a Recognition of their Obligations, by their Covenant, laid upon them, for the revival of practical Godliness among us.

"And the day after, I sent a little Book to the Press; at the End whereof, I publish a copy of that Instrument, to bee putt into the hands of every Communicant in the Church." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

The "Acknowledgments" occupy pp. 66-71. They glance at current disturbances as follows: "And being also awakened, by the most heavy Judgements

printing it, with my two *Fast-Sermons*, (which I called, A MIDNIGHT CRY) I found a way, to convey the little Book, into the Hand of every one of our *Communicants*.<sup>1</sup>

And now in my Prayers; with my Church, the Lord moved mee to utter my Perswasion and Assurance that some great Mercy was near to *this Flock* of His.

29 d. 2 m. 1692. This Day I spent in secret *Humiliations* and *Supplications* before the Lord; upon the many Occasions, which His Providence had given for them: but the many continuing *Iniquities* and *Calamities* of the *Coun-trey*, were the cheef Things, that brought mee on my Knees.

When I was crying to God this Day, that Hee would fill mee with His *Holy Spirit*, and make mee a Man of an *excellent Spirit*, and help mee to *glorify* Him, in *bringing forth of much Fruit*, I had my Heart melted with a *glorious Assurance*, that it would bee so.

I sett myself to recount the abasing Circumstances of the *Land*; and my Soul mourned over them. I wrestled with my God, that Hee would *awaken* these Churches, to

of Heaven, under which this country has been Weltring and Wasting for many later years, to suspect lest in the Hearts and Lives of *US* in particular, there may be found some of those *ACCURSED THINGS*, which have brought upon the Land, such a Long Variety of Sore Calamity:" etc. Sensualities in eating, drinking and recreation, and extravagancies in apparel, profanation of the Sabbath, dishonesty and other sins are mentioned. He seems to have sent the paper in its first form to John Richards. 4 *Collections*, VIII. 390.

<sup>1</sup>"That the whole World has been generally Asleep for some Thousands of Years, and that particular *Professors* of Religion in this Age of the World are ordinarily *Asleep* all their Dayes, I should therein but utter, A Truth, as horrible, as notorious. As for You, my Dear Charge, the *Office* which I sustain towards you, is that of a WATCHMAN; and in the discharge of that Office, I have here put into your hands, another perpetual *INSTRUMENT* for your *AWAKENING*, lest when our Lord comes, He find you Sleeping! I have not Published it with so much presumption as to propound therein the Direction of any other Churches. But I have ordered a *Small Impression*, that I may fulfil my promise of providing for every one of *you*, a Copy of this your *Monitor*; so that perhaps I may say of this Book, as the Philosopher did of his, 'Tis Published, but scarce made Publick.'" *Prefatory letter to the Church in the North-part of Boston*. He describes his action in a letter to John Richards, December 14, 1692, in 4 *Collections*, VIII. 397.

do some *remarkable Thing* in returning to Him; I also beg'd of Him, that Hee would accept of Service at my hands, and make a singular Use of mee, in the *Awakening* of my people; I pray'd Him therefore particularly to smile upon my little Book, entitled, *A Midnight Cry*, which is just now coming out of the Press.

This Day, I likewise obtained of God, that Hee would make use of mee, as of a *John*, to bee an Herald of the Lord's Kingdome now approaching. and *the Voice crying in the Wilderness*, for Preparation thereunto. And I also implored the Assistance of God, unto my undertaking to write a Book (now in my Thoughts) accommodated unto the Designs of Religion, among the *Husbandmen* in this Country.

But my Prayers did especially insist upon the horrible *Enchantments*, and *Possessions*, broke forth upon *Salem Village*; things of a most prodigious Aspect.<sup>1</sup> A good Issue to those things, and my own Direction and Protection thereabout, I did especially petition for.

My *Health*, has been lamentably broken for diverse Years,<sup>2</sup> partly by my excessive Toyle, in the public and private Exercises of my Calling, but cheefly, I fear, by my Sins against the *God of my Health*; whence tis, that I have been put many Times to preach, when I had been fitter to have been in my Bed, and, when that by Sickness I have been almost utterly disabled for all preparatory Study, yett I have delivered long and hard Sermons, with great Assistances to great Congregations, and come easier out of the Pulpit, than I went into it.

But, now Illness and Vapour, with an aguish Indis-

<sup>1</sup> Sewall, *Diary*, i. 358. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*.

<sup>2</sup> In apologizing for his unfruitfulness, Mather wrote in the introduction to his *Companion for Communicants*: "My Readers must remember that these Things are but my Blossoms, which I do the more vigorously put forth, because whether I consider the Doubtful State of my Health, now twice in less than a Twelve Month attack'd with very Fiery Feavers," etc.

position, growes upon mee, at such a rate, that indeed, I live in exceeding Misery: and I can see nothing but a *speedy Death* approaching.

*Blessed bee God, that I can dy!*

*But the Time for Favour was now come; the sett Time was come!*

I am now to receive the Answers of so many *Prayers* as had been employ'd for my absent Parent; and for the Deliverance and Settlement, of my poor Country, for which hee had been employ'd, in so long an Agencie.<sup>1</sup>

Wee have not our former *Charter*, but wee have a *better* in the Room of it. One which much better suits our Circumstances. And instead, of my being made a Sacrifice to wicked *Rulers*, all the *Councillours* of the Province, are of my own Father's Nomination; and my *Father-in-Law*, with several *related* unto mee, and several *Brethren* of my own church, are among them. The *Governour* of the Province is not my *Enemy*, but one whom I baptised, namely *Sir William Phips*, and one of my own Flock,<sup>2</sup> and one of my dearest Friends.

On 14 d. 3 m. [May.] *Saturday-Evening*. My Father arrived, unto mee, with all of these Mercies.<sup>3</sup>

My only Brother then also arrived well improved in his education.<sup>4</sup>

*Oh! what shall, I render to the Lord, for all His Benefits!*

<sup>1</sup> "Three Years are now passed, since our Merciful God, by a wonderful Turn, rescued this People from the Hands of those, who declared us, *A People fit only to be Rooted off the Face of the Earth*, and who might have been in Forwardness enough to accomplish, *That Rooting Business.*" *A Midnight Cry* (1692), 63.

<sup>2</sup> Admitted and baptized March 23, 1690. It should be remembered that until the recall of the charter only a church-member could be a freeman. Elizabeth and Sarah Mather were admitted upon the same day. Mather gives an account of the Phips's incidents in his *Life of Phips*, *Magnalia*, Bk. II. 46, and shows how he came to be selected Governor under the new charter.

<sup>3</sup> "Sir William arrives in the Nonsuch Frigate: Candles are lighted before He gets into Townhouse. Eight Companies wait on Him to his house, and then on Mr. [Increase] Mather to his. Made no volleys because 'twas Saterdag night." *Diary*, I. 360.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence was written in the margin.

On this occasion, tho' I was then ill, and had but a few minutes of Time also, for my Study, I did on the *Lord's-Day Morning*, preach very largely with a very sensible Assistance of Heaven, upon Math. 14. 15, Our Lords *passing over the Water*.

Thus have I seen, the wonderful Effects of *Prayer* and *Faith*; and now, *I will call upon the Lord, as long as I Live*.

A Great and General Assembly was now called; and it was a Time, on that account, whereof it might bee said of the Inhabitants of this Province as of the Romans, on another Occasion. *They had never seen a greater Day*. By the Providence of God, it then fell unto me, to preach unto this Assembly; which I did, on 2. Chron. 12. 12, bearing as full a *Testimony*, as I was able, unto all those things, wherein I say the Interests of my Countrey.<sup>1</sup> Among other things, I ran the Hazard of much Reproch by testifying in that Sermon, against the *Persecution* of erroneous and conscientious Dissenters, by the *civil Magistrate*. I feared, that the *Zeal* of my Countrey had formerly had in it more *Fire* than should have been; especially, when the mad *Quakers* were sent unto the *Gallowes*, that should have been kept rather in a *Bedlam*.<sup>2</sup> I did therefore on this great Occasion bear my *Testimony*; hoping, that if the General Assembly now thank'd mee for it, *their* doing so, would bee accepted both by God and Man. I think, I am the only *Minister* Living in the Land, that have testified against the *Suppression* of *Hæresy*, by *Persecution*. And I hope, the Lord will own mee with a more singular Success, in the Suppression of *Hæresy* by Endeavours more *spiritual* and *evangelical*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Court appointed a day of solemn Thanksgiving for the safe arrival of Phips and Increase Mather. *Magnalia*, Book II.

<sup>2</sup> "Let not the *Tares* of *Will-Worship*, of *Arminianism* and of *Serpentine Quakerism*, be nourished in our Churches." *A Midnight Cry* (1692), 61.

<sup>3</sup> From "Among other things" etc., to this point was written in the margin, and presumably an afterthought.

I received the Thanks of the Assembly; and gave my Sermon unto the Bookseller,<sup>1</sup> (with another, on Prov. 17. 27). So the Book was published, under the Title of, OPTANDA; or, GOOD MEN DESCRIBED, and, GOOD THINGS PROPOUNDED.

In my public Ministry, I now largely handled, the Description of the *Day of Judgment*, in the twenty-fifth Chapter of *Matthew*.

In the Spring of this Year, I preached, on the Lecture, to the Countrey, a Sermon upon *Temptations*; and now, behold, my poor Countrey entred quickly *into Temptation*.

The Rest of the Summer, was a very doleful Time, unto the whole Countrey.

The *Divels*, after a most præternatural Manner, by the dreadful Judgment of Heaven took a *bodily Possession*, of many people, in *Salem*, and the adjacent places; and the Houses of the poor People, began to bee filled with the horrid Cries of Persons tormented by *evil Spirits*. There seem'd an execrable *Witchcraft*, in the Foundation of this wonderful Affliction, and many Persons, of diverse Characters, were accused, apprehended, prosecuted, upon the *Visions* of the Afflicted.

For my own part, I was alwayes afraid of proceeding to convict and condemn any Person, as a *Confæderate* with afflicting Dæmons, upon so feeble an Evidence, as a *spectral Representation*.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, I ever testified against it, both publickly and *privately*; and in my *Letters* to the *Judges*, I particularly, besought them, that they would by

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Benjamin Harris.

<sup>2</sup> "It was the Result of a Discourse, lately held at a Meeting of some very Pious and Learned Ministers among us, *That the Devils nay sometimes have a permission to Represent an Innocent Person, as Tormenting such as are under Diabolical Molestations: But that such things are Rare and Extraordinary; especially when such matters come before Civil Judicature.*" From "Enchantments Encountered," prefixed to *Wonders of the Invisible World*. Mather treats of these specters and spectral evidences in *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 50. His letter to Richards, one of the judges in the trials, is in 4 *Collections*, VIII. 391. Pure specter testimony is treated in that letter.

no means admitt it; and when a considerable *Assembly of Ministers* gave in their *Advice* about that Matter, I not only concurred with their Advice, but it was *I* who drew it up.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, on the other side, I saw in most of the *Judges*, a most charming Instance of *Prudence* and *Patience*, and I knew their exemplary *Pietie*, and the *Agony* of Soul with which they sought the Direction of Heaven; above most other People, whom I generally saw enchanted into a raging, railing, scandalous and unreasonable Disposition, as the Distress increased upon us: For this Cause tho' I could not allow the *Principles*, that some of the Judges had espoused, yett I could not but speak honourably of their *Persons*, on all Occasions; and my *Compassion*, upon the Sight of their *Difficulties*, raised by my Journeyes to *Salem*, the chief Seat of these diabolical Vexations, caused mee yett more to do so.<sup>2</sup> And meerly, as far as I can learn, for this Reason, the mad people thro' the Countrey, under a fascination on their *Spirits*, æqual to what our *Energumens* had on their *Bodies*, reviled mee, as if I had been the Doer of all the hard Things, that were done, in the Prosecution of the *Witchcraft*.

In this *Evil-Time*, I offered, at the beginning, that if the *possessed* People, might bee scattered far asunder, I would singly provide for six of them; and wee would see whether

<sup>1</sup> This paper is printed in *Magnalia*, Book II. 63, where with characteristic indirection it is stated to have been prepared at the desire of the ministers "by Mr. Mather, the younger, as I have been informed."

<sup>2</sup> On August 19th five unfortunates were executed at Salem for witchcraft, "a very great number of Spectators being present. Mr. Cotton Mather was there, Mr. Sims, Hale, Noyes, Chiever, &c. All of them said they were innocent, Carrier and all. Mr. Mather says they all died by a Righteous Sentence." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 363. Of the judges he said in *Enchantments Encountred*: "Such of them as I have the Honour of a Personal Acquaintance with, are Men of an excellent Spirit; and as at first they went about the work for which they were Commissioned, with a very great aversion, so they have still been under Heart-breaking Sollicitudes, how they might therein best serve both God and Man." See also *Magnalia*, Book II. 61.

without more bitter methods, *Prayer with Fasting* would not putt an End unto these heavy Trials:<sup>1</sup> But my offer (which none of my Revilers, would have been so courageous or so charitable, as to have made) was not accepted.

However, for a great part of the Summer, I did every *Week*, (mostly) spend a Day by myself, in the Exercises of a sacred FAST, before the Lord. On these Dayes (whereof I have kept no Record) I cried unto the Lord, not only for my own Preservation, from the Malice and Power of the *evil Angels*, but also, for a *good Issue* of the Calamities wherein Hee had permitted the *evil Angels* to ensnare this miserable Countrey.

I also besought the Lord, that Hee would please to accept mee, direct mee, prosper mee, in publishing such *Testimonies* for Him, as were proper, and would bee serviceable unto His Interests, on this occasion.

Moreover, the *Prison* being filled with Persons committed on Suspicion of *Witchcraft*, I went and preached unto the Persons in Prison, (on Act. 24. 25.) with a special Help from the *Spirit* of the Lord.

That a right Use, might bee made, of the stupendous and prodigious Things, which had been happening among us, I now composed and published my Book, entituled, THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD:<sup>2</sup> in the Preface whereof, I could say, "None but the *Father who sees in secret*, knowes the heart-breaking Exercises, wherewith I have composed, what is now going to bee exposed; lest I should, in any *one Thing*, miss of doing my designed Service for His Glory, and for His People: But I am now somewhat comfortably assured of *His* favourable Acceptance; and *I will not fear; what can a Satan do unto mee.*"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mather mentions this offer in the *Magnalia*, Book II. 62, as made by "one particular person (whom I have cause to know)."

<sup>2</sup> "Diverse Times reprinted at London." *Written in margin.*

<sup>3</sup> "I have indeed set myself to countertermine the whole PLOT of the Devil,

When this Book was printed, many besotted People would not imagine any other, but that my Father's, *Cases of Conscience, about Witchcraft*,<sup>1</sup> which came abroad just after it, were in opposition to it; which caused him, in the Postscript of his *Cases*, to say,

“Some have taken up a Notion, that the Book newly published by my *Son*, is contradictory to this of *mine*. Tis strange, that such Imaginations should enter into the Minds of Men; I perused, and approved, *that Book*, before it was printed, and nothing but my Relation to him, hinderd mee, from recommending it unto the world.”

Tis not proper for mee to recite on this occasion, what encouraging Letters I received from some reverend Persons, about that reviled Book; and how one Sais, *I think never Book came out more seasonably; and I give Thanks to our gracious God, for His Assistance of you, both in Matter and Manner; and how another sais, I solemnly profess, without the least Adulation, I never mett with an humane Author in my Life, that spake more solidly and thoroughly to the Subject hee handled; and if every one that reads it, do not close with it, I shall fear gross Ignorance, inveterate Prejudice, or a pœnal Stroke of God, the Cause thereof.* The Shield given by the Lievt. Governour, of the Province, under which, that

against *New-England*, in every branch of it, as far as one of my *darkness* can comprehend such a *Work of Darkness*. I may add, that I have herein also aimed at the Information and Satisfaction of Good Men in another Country, a thousand Leagues off, where I have, it may be, more, or however, more considerable Friends, than in my own: And I do what I can to have that Country, now, as well as always, in the best Terms with my own. But while I am doing these things, I have been driven a little to do something likewise for myself; I mean, by taking off the false Reports, and hard Censures about my Opinion in these Matters, the *Parter's Portions* which my *pursuit of Peace* has procured me among the *Keen*. My hitherto unvaried Thoughts are here published; and I believe, they will be owned by most of the Ministers of God in these Colonies; nor can amends be well made me, for the wrong done me, by other sorts of *Representations*.” The Author's Defence in *Wonders of the Invisible World*.

<sup>1</sup> Willard contributed an “Epistle.” The book was prepared at the request of the ministers of the Province. *Magnalia*, Book II. 63.

Book is walk'd abroad, is enough, and, I confess, too much.<sup>1</sup>

I mention, these vindicating Passages, only for some Ease of my own Mind, under the many *buffeting Temptations*, which attended the Publication of that Book.

(Upon the severest Examination, and the solemnest Supplication, I still think, that for the main, I have, *written Right*.)<sup>2</sup>

The greatest part of the ensuing Winter, brought with it unto mee, little that was remarkable.

My winter Ministry, was chiefly upon the Prayer of *Jonas*.

It has been my usual Practice every morning, to render my Thanks unto the good God, for, my *Life* and the *Comforts* of it; particularly for my Health, and my Living, and for the Life of my Father, and (afterwards) for the Companion of my Life. Then, for my *Work* and the *Supports* of it; particularly, for my Free speech, my large Library, and my unblemished Reputation. But last, and most, For the L[ord] Jesus Christ, and His Benefits. At last, I thought *Singing* the best way of *Speaking*, these my praises; and so I cast them into this little *Hymn*.

*Health, Bread, with Life, my God mee sends,  
My Consort, Father, Friends;  
Employment, with Free Speech and Fame,  
And Books to feed the Same.*

For *This*, but most, for thy dear *Son*,  
My Thanks are now *begun*.  
Help mee, Good God, to *love* and *praise*,  
And *serve* thee all my *Dayes*.

<sup>1</sup> William Stoughton, whose letter is prefixed to the volume. It is cast in the highly complimentary mould. Mather returned the compliment by saying in *Enchantments Encountred* of Stoughton: "We are under the Influence of a LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR, who not only by being admirably accomplished both with Natural and Acquired Endowments, is fitted for the Service of Their Majesties, but also with an unspotted Fidelity applies himself to that Service." He is equally complimentary to the Governor and Councillors.

<sup>2</sup> Written at some later time.

Afterwards, I thus mended it.

Lord, bought by thy All-worthy Blood,  
*Life*, worthless I Receive:  
 Nourish'd with *Health*, and *Peace*, and *Food*,  
 Free from just *Plagues*, I live.

From thy *great Friendship* I enjoy  
*Friends* that my *Jewel*s are;<sup>1</sup>  
 Mee Thou dost in thy *Church* employ  
 And still accept my *Prayer*.<sup>2</sup>

CHRIST, His *Promise*, is mine;<sup>3</sup>  
 His *Angels* are my Guard.  
 I'll my long *Praises* therefore join,  
 With Thy good *Angels*, Lord.

I had filled my Countrey, with little BOOKS, in several whereof, I had, with a Variety of Entertainment, offered the *New-Covenant* formally drawn up, unto my Neighbours: hoping to engage them eternally unto the Lord, by their subscribing with *Heart* and *Hand*, unto that *Covenant*.<sup>4</sup> Now in the late horrid *Witchcraft*, the manner of the *Spectres* was to tender BOOKS unto the afflicted People; soliciting of them to subscribe unto a *League* with the *Divel* therein exhibited, and so become the *Servants* of the *Divel* forever; which when they refused, the *Spectres* would proceed then to wound them with Scalding, Burning, Pinching, Pricking, Twisting, Choaking, and a thousand præternatural Vexations.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Originally the line read, "*Friends* greatly dear to mee:"

<sup>2</sup> Originally written, "To *speak* and *write* for Thee."

<sup>3</sup> Originally, "Christ and his promises are mine."

<sup>4</sup> "Would we find a Covert from these *Vultures*? Let us then Hear'our Lord Jesus from Heaven Clocquing unto us, O that you would be gathered under my *Wings*! Well; When this is done, Then let us own the *Covenant*, which we are now come into, by joining ourselves to a particular *Church*, walking in the Order of the Gospel; at the doing whereof, according to that *Covenant* of God, We give up Ourselves unto the Lord, and in Him unto One Another. While others have had their Names Entred in the *Devils Book*; let our Names be found in the *Church Book*." *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 73.

<sup>5</sup> "Yea, more than One *Twenty* have *Confessed* that they have Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil show'd them, and Engaged in his Hellish Design of *Bewitch-*

Before I made any such Reflection myself, I heard this Reflection made by *others*, who were more considerate; That this Assault of the *evil Angels* upon the Countrey, was intended by *Hell*, as a particular Defiance, unto *my* poor Endeavours, to bring the Souls of men unto *Heaven*. When I more attentively considered this matter, it enflamed my Endeavours this Winter to do yett more, in a direct *opposition* unto the *Divel*. Wherefore I composed and published, a little Book, entituled, AWAKENINGS FOR THE UNREGENERATE.<sup>1</sup> Wherein, I sett the *Covenant of Grace*, yett more evangelically and explicitly before the Children of Men, and besought them, to *sign* it, in order to their everlasting Happiness. And, as a further *Opposition* unto the *Divel*, besides, diverse other Discourses about the Concerns of *Regeneration*, in that Book, I added a Discourse, about, *A Name written in the Book of Life*. Promising, that, for the two Years, next ensuing, if I lived, I would of those *Books*, buy from the *Book-seller*, after the rate of *two* a Week; and scatter them, in Places, where I might Judge, most of Good would be done by them.

*Remember mee, O God, concerning this also, and spare mee according to the Greatness of thy Mercy!*

(After, the *evil Angels* in a possessed young woman had reproched mee, for having never preached on that in Rev. 13. 8. I, to oppose them and yett not follow them, chose to preach, on Rev. 20. 15.)<sup>2</sup>

*ing, and Ruining our Land.*" From "Enchantments Encountred," prefixed to *Wonders of the Invisible World*.

<sup>1</sup> *Unum Necessarium*. Printed by Benjamin Harris for Duncan Campbell, 1693. In his preface Mather states that the volume is made up of notes of two or three sermons preached "almost seven years ago," and of two or three more since delivered.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin. The first text is: "And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." The second is: "And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire." Increase Mather believed that it "puts too much Respect upon a *Divil*, to Argue and Parley with him, on a Point which the Devil himself Believes and

## MEMORANDUM.

I observed That in the horrible Assaults made by the *Invisible World*, upon some scores of people, in the Enchantments and Possessions, which amazed the Countrey, the matter still urged upon the poor *Energumens*, with a thousand præternatural Torments, was, *to sign* (sett their Names and Hands) *unto a Book, by a Dæmon presented unto them.*<sup>1</sup>

Hereupon, I reckoned, that it would bee a convenient Contradiction unto this method of the *Divels*, for mee to subscribe unto GODS BOOK.

Wherefore, I took the BIBLES, which I most commonly used; and I wrote,

In ONE, at the Top of the first Leaf,

RECEIVED AS THE BOOK OF GOD AND OF LIFE, BY  
Cotton Mather.

At the End of the last Leaf,

EMBRACED AS THE WORD OF CHRIST AND SALVATION  
BY  
Cotton Mather.

In ANOTHER, at the Top of the first Leaf,

ENJOY'D AS THE UNERRING RULE OF BELEEF, AND  
PRACTICE, BY  
Cotton Mather.

At the End of the last Leaf,

RECEIVED AS THE WORD OF GOD, OF TRUTH, AND OF  
LIFE, BY  
Cotton Mather.

In a THIRD, At the End,

Trembles at," but flat contradiction was the better method. Wendell, *Cotton Mather*, 25.

<sup>1</sup>"'Tis well known, that the *Devils* make a Compact with some *Witches* to be the Masters of their Souls upon their Departure hence; and such *Witches* have been among our selves Convicted by so fair and full a process of *Law*, as would render the Dangers thereof worthy of no Reasonabler Company than that in *Bethlem*; and greater *Prodigies* than any that are in *Witchcraft* it self." *A Midnight Cry* (1692), 10. "The *Devil*, Exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small *Black man*, has decoy'd a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious creatures, to lift themselves in his horrid Service, by entering their Names in a *Book* by him tendred unto them." *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 49. See also p. 50.

RECEIVED AS THE BOOK OF GOD AND OF LIFE, BY  
Cotton Mather.

Approaching towards the Age of *Thirty*, tis Time for me to think upon the memorable Words, in *Chanute's* Memoires.

*Cum Natalis Dies Februariis admonuisset Ætatis numerandæ, et Tricesimo reperissem, invasit me subita mæstitia, et percussit admirantem, quomodo sine sensu Vitæ, ad ejus culmen pervenissem, quo Lux quælibet fit obscurior, et Dies nostri ad occasum inclinare incipiunt. Visa est mihi Rerum facies momento mutata; Et tunc primum me Hominem agnovi.*

The Hearty Wishes, of, *Cotton Mather.*

I have ever now and then gone to the Good God, with the most solemn Addresses, *that I may bee altogether delivered from Enchantments; that no Enchantment on my Mind, may hinder mee from seeing or doing any thing for the Glory of God, or dispose mee to any thing whereat God may bee displeas'd.* The Reason of this Wish, is, because I beleve that a real and proper *Enchantment*, of the *Divels*, do's *blind*, and *move* the Minds of the most of Men; even in Instances of every sort. But I remember, that much *Fasting* as well as *Prayer*, is necessary, to obtain a Rescue from *Enchantment*.

It has been one of my watchful Desires and Studies, to mention a *personal Quarrel*, with no person living in the World; but rather to deny myself of my Humour, my Esteem and any thing in the world. The Reason of this Wish, is because, no man can manage a *personal Quarrel* against another, without loosing abundance of precious *Time*, which might bee laid out, unto infinitely better purpose, in the Service of Christ and His Church; besides a deal of unavoidable Sin, which will insinuate itself into every *personal Quarrel*, thereby ones internal Peace is broken,

And one, likely to live, so little a *Time*, as I, had need throw away, as little of his *Time*, as ever hee can.

*Musculus*, just before hee Dyed, wrote the following verses.

Nil superest Vitæ; Frigus præcordia captat,  
Sed Tu, Christe, mihi vita perennis ades.  
Quid Trepidat, Anima? Ad sedes abitura quietis,  
En, tibi Ductor adest, Angelus ille-tuus.

Linque Domum hanc miseram, nunc in sua fata ruentem,  
Quam tibi fide Dei Dextera restituet.  
Peccasti? Scio: Sed Christus Credentibus in se  
Peccata Expurgat Sanguine cuncta sua.  
Horribilis Mors Est? Fateor: Sed proxima Vita est  
Ad quam te Christi Gratia certe vocat.  
Præsto est de Satana, peccato, et Morte triumphans  
Christus; Ad Hunc igitur, Laeta alacrisque migra.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Sewall's Diary it is learned that Mather preached October 27 from James, 1. 4.

From *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church* are taken the following entry:

"2 d. 5 m [July.] Jane Deuce, who had long lain under Admonition for the Sin of Drunkenness, this Day offered unto the Church, the Expressions of Repentance, and was received unto our Communion."

A letter from Mather to John Richards on baptism, dated December 14, 1692, is in 4 *Collections*, VIII. 397.

1692-93

THE XXXI<sup>ST</sup> YEAR.

(of a Forfeited Life.)

Cotton Mather

Anagram by Mr. Grindel Rawson,

*Not Heart mort.*<sup>1</sup>

THE XXXI<sup>ST</sup> YEAR OF MY AGE.

12 d. 12 m. [February.] *Lord's-Day.* 1692. This Day, having finished the *thirtieth* year of my Age thro' the wonderful Patience and Goodness of God; I preached unto my Congregation, as agreeable Things, as I could, upon Psal. 102. 24. *I said, O my God, take mee not away in the midst of my Dayes.*

After this, I sett myself, to preach over, the whole Epistle of *Jude*, as being a *rich* Portion of Scripture, *fit* for our Time and Place.<sup>2</sup> But I intermingled many occasional Texts.

About this Time, I had many wonderful Entertainments, from the *Invisible World*, in the Circumstances of a Young Woman, horribly *possessed* with *Divels*. The Damsel was cast into *my* cares, by the singular Providence of God; and accordingly besides my Cares to releeve her, to *advise* her,

<sup>1</sup> These three lines are not in Cotton Mather's writings.

<sup>2</sup> "The object of the epistle is declared to be an exhortation to the readers to 'contend earnestly for the faith,' on account of certain ungodly men whose lives are reprehensible, and whose teaching is a denial of 'the only Ruler and our Lord, Jesus Christ.' Examples of the destruction by divine judgment of those whose belief and life were false are deduced from the old Testament and Jewish apocalyptic, and directions are given as to the proper deportment of believers toward such persons." O. Cone in *Encyclopædia Biblica* (Cheyne), II. 2630.

to *observe* the prodigious things that befel her, (whereof I have written a *Narrative*) I procured some of my devout Neighbours, to join with mee in *praying* for her. Wee kept *Three* Successive Dayes, of Prayer with Fasting on her behalf; and *then* wee saw her Delivered; for which, wee kept a Time of solemn *Thanksgiving*. But after a while, her *Tormentors* returned, and her *Miseries* renewed; and my Neighbours being now either too *weary* or too *busy*, to do as afore, tho' they made much *Prayer* daily *with* her as well as *for* her, I did alone in my Study, *fast* and *pray* for her Deliverance. And, unto my Amazement, when I had kept my *third* Day for her, shee was finally and forever delivered from the hands of *evil Angels*; and I had afterwards the Satisfaction of seeing not only *her* so brought home unto the Lord, that shee was admitted unto our *Church*, but also many other, even some scores, of young People, awakened by the Picture of *Hell*, exhibited, in *her* Sufferings, to *flee from the Wrath to come*.<sup>1</sup>

1693.

Our Church, having hitherto extended a *Church-Watch* unto none but our *Communicants*, and confined *Baptism* unto *them* and *their* Children, I was desirous to bring the Church into a Posture more agreeable unto the Advice of our *Synod*, in the year, 1662.

My Method for it, was this. Having first, in a Sermon, at a Church-Meeting, declared my own *Perswasion* about this Matter, I permitted no public *Disputation* to follow upon it; but I employ'd fitt Hands, to carry an *Instrument*, containing my *Sentiments* and *Purposes*, unto the Brethren of the Church; who generally *signed*, a Desire and Address unto myself, thereto annexed that I would act accordingly. As for the few *Brethren*, who were disaffected unto my Pro-

<sup>1</sup> Compare with this the account of a not dissimilar experience related by James Fitch to Increase Mather in a letter dated July 1, 1684, printed in 4 *Collections*, VIII. 475.

ceedings, I carried it so peaceably, and obligingly, and yett resolutely towards them, that they patiently lett mee take my Way; and some of them told mee, they thought *I* did well, to do as I did; tho' *they* could not yett come to *see* as I did.

Thus, was our Church, quietly brought unto a Point, which heretofore cost no little Difficulty. But my Charge of such as now submitted themselves unto my *ecclesiastical Watch*, was exceedingly increased.

Lord, lett thy *Grace* bee sufficient for mee!

In the Spring of this year, I did ever now and then keep Dayes of secret *Humiliation* before the Lord; so many indeed, that I found myself not able well to keep exact *Records* of them all. I also kept one or two Dayes of *Thanksgiving* in my Study.

But on one of these Dayes, my special Errand unto the Lord, was this; that, whereas, His good *Angels*, did by *His Order*, many good *Offices* for His People, Hee would please to grant, unto mee, the Enjoyment of all those *angelical Kindnesses*, which use to bee done by *His Order*, for His *chosen Servants*; I requested only those Kindnesses, which the Word of God mentioned, as belonging to the *Heirs of Salvation*; but I requested, that I might receive these Kindnesses, in a Manner and Measure more *Transcendent*, than what the great *Corruptions* in the Generality of *good Men*, permitted them to bee made Partakers of.

Now that I might bee *qualify'd* for this Favour, I first entreated that I *may* not, and engaged that I *will* not, on the Score of any *angelical Communications*, forsake the Conduct of the Lords *written Word*, but apply myself more than ever to the assiduous, and reverent Contemplation of that *Word*.

I proceeded then to consider, what things would render mee singularly agreeable to the Holy *Angels* of God; and for my Assistance in those things I humbly implored the Grace of the Lord. It was now my Purpose,

To bee entirely devoted unto God, in all the Wayes of *dedicating Holiness*.

To bee continually *contriving* how to glorify God, in being eminently Serviceable.

To bee much in Studies upon the *Person*, but especially upon the *Kingdome*, of the Lord Jesus Christ which things the *Angels* desire to look into.

To render myself more *useful* unto my Neighbours in their Afflictions; not only relieving the *Poor*, but also the *Sick*; to which purpose, I would collect, at Leisure, a fit Number of most parable and effectual *Remedies* for all Diseases, and publish them unto the world; so, by my Hand, will bee done things that the *Angels* love to do.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, to *conceal* with all *prudent Secrecy* whatever *extraordinary Things*, I may perceive done for mee, by the *Angels*, who love *Secrecy* in their Administrations.

~~Now~~ I do now beleeve, that some *great Things* are to bee done for mee, by the *Angels* of God.

On *March 28*. Tuesday, between 4 and 5 A.M. God gave to my Wife, a safe Deliverance of a *Son*.<sup>2</sup> It was a child of a most *comely* and *heartly* Look, and all my Friends entertained his Birth, with very singular Expressions of Satisfaction. But the Child was attended with a very strange Disaster; for it had such an obstruction in the *Bowels*, as utterly hindred the Passage of its Ordure from it. Wee used all the Methods that could bee devised for its Ease; but nothing wee did, could save the Child from *Death*. It languished, in its Agonies, till Saturday, April. 1. about 10 h P.M. and so dy'd, *unbaptised*. There was a conjunction of many and heavy *Trials* in this Dispensaçon of God; but God enabled mee to bear them all, with an unexpected Measure of *Resignaçon*, unto His Holy Will. I did not suffer such a Discomposure in my Thoughts, as to hinder

<sup>1</sup> A suggestion of the *Angel of Bethesda*.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph.

mee, from preaching both parts of the Day following; in the Forenoon on Heb. 11. 17; in the Afternoon, on Job. 2. 10, and to exemplify unto my Congregation, a little of the *Faith, Patience, Thankfulness*, which I then preached unto them. On the Monday, the Child was buried, with a very numerous and honourable Attendance of my Neighbours; and on one of the Grave-stones, I wrote only that Epitaph, RESERVED FOR A GLORIOUS RESURRECTION.

When the Body of the Child was opened, wee found, that the lower End of the *Rectum Intestinum*, instead of being *Musculous*, as it should have been, was *Membranous*, and altogether closed up. I had great Reason to suspect a *Witchcraft*, in this præternatural Accident; because my Wife, a few weeks before her Deliverance, was affrighted with an horrible *Spectre*, in our Porch, which Fright caused her Bowels to turn within her; and the *Spectres* which both before and after, tormented a young Woman in our Neighbourhood, brag'd of their giving my Wife that Fright, in hopes, they said, of doing Mischief unto her *Infant* at least, if not unto the *Mother*: and besides all this, the Child was no sooner born, but a suspected Woman sent unto my Father, a Letter full of railing against myself, wherein shee told him, *Hee little knew, what might quickly befall some of his Posterity*. However I made little use of, and laid little Stress on, this Conjecture; desiring to submit unto the Will of my Heavenly Father without which, *Not a Sparrow falls unto the Ground*.

In the Summer of this Year, 1693. My Good God helped mee, to do some other little *Services*, for His dearest Name.<sup>1</sup>

I had often wished for an Opportunity, to bear my Testimonies, against the Sins of *Uncleanness*, wherein so

<sup>1</sup>“6 d. 6 m. [August.] This Day by a clear Vote of the Brethren, there were chosen to the office of Deacons in the Church, Mr. John Atwood, Mr. Obadiah Gill, Mr. John Barnard.” *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, 11.

many of my Generaçon do pollute themselves. A young Woman of *Haverhil*,<sup>1</sup> (and a *Negro* Woman also of this Town) were under sentence of Death, for the Murdering of their *Bastard-children*. Many and many a weary Hour, did I spend in the Prison, to serve the *Souls* of those miserable Creatures; and I had Opportunities in my own Congregation, to speak to them, and from them, to vast Multitudes of others. Their Execution, was ordered to have been, upon the Lecture of another; but by a very strange Providence, without any Seeking of *mine*, or any Respect to mee, (that I know of) the order for their *Execution* was altered and it fell on *my Lecture Day*. I did then with the special Assistance of Heaven, make and preach, a Sermon upon, Job. 36. 14. Whereat one of the greatest Assemblies, ever known in these parts of the World, was come together. I had obtained from the young Woman, a pathological *Instrument*, in Writing, wherein shee own'd *her own* miscarriages, and warn'd the *rising Generaçon* of *theirs*. Towards the close of my Sermon, I read that Instrument unto the Congregation; and made what *Use*, was proper of it. I accompany'd the Wretches, to their Execution; but extremely fear all our Labours were lost upon *them*: however sanctified unto many *others*. The Sermon was immediately printed; with another, which I had formerly uttered on the like Occasion; (entitled, WARNINGS FROM THE DEAD.) and it was greedily bought up;<sup>2</sup> I hope, to the Attainment of the Ends, which I had so long desired. T'was afterwards reprinted at London.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, a *Fast* was kept in the Old-Meeting-house,

<sup>1</sup> From Sewall the name of the unfortunate is learned — Elizabeth Emerson. *Diary*, I. 379. See also Chase, *History of Haverhill*, 145. It never seemed to occur to the legislators and churchmen of that day that the requirement of public confession and penance for sin against morality encouraged child murder. Rather than face the public exhibition of their fault, the mother made away with the child.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Bartholomew Green for Samuel Phillips, 1693.

<sup>3</sup> This line is written in the margin.

the Day after the Commencement;<sup>1</sup> occasion'd by an extreme *Drought* on these parts. I preached all the Day, and God inclined some of His People, to print the Sermons, They are abroad under the Titles, of, THE DAY AND THE WORK OF THE DAY.<sup>2</sup> Who am I, that God should thus use and read my poor Thoughts, for the Good of my whole Generation?

Moreover, the good People of *Reading*, saw cause, in *July*, to keep a Day of Prayer on the behalf of their young People; that the *rising Generation* of the place may bee made a praying and a pious Generation; and they chose a Time of my Direction for it. I went, and spent the Day with them, and preached unto a vast Assembly, on Psal. 119. 9. being entertained with a very extraordinary *Attention* and *Affection* in the Auditory, and, I hope, with *Successes* very comfortable.

And because I foresaw an inexpressible Deal, of Service, like to bee thereby done for the *Church* of God, not only *here*, but abroad in *Europe*, especially at the approaching *Reformation*, I formed a Design, to endeavour, THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY.<sup>3</sup> Laying my Design before the neighbouring Ministers, they encouraged it; and accordingly I sett myself to cry mightily unto the Lord, that if my *Undertaking* herein might bee for His Glory, Hee would grant mee His Countenance and Assistance in it. (However, I did not actually begin this Work, till the latter End of the year.)

In the Month of *July* a most pestilential Feaver, was brought among us, by the *Fleet* coming into our Harbour from the *West-Indies*.<sup>4</sup> It was a Distemper, which in less

<sup>1</sup> 6 d. 5 m. [July.]

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Benjamin Harris.

<sup>3</sup> The germ idea of the *Magnalia*.

<sup>4</sup> The Fleet-fever raged until the middle of September. Sewall records many deaths. *Diary*, I. 380. See Hutchinson, *History*, II. 71. Mather's statements in his *Magnalia* upon this visitation are contradictory to what is said above, and

than a Week's time usually carried off my Neighbours, with very direful Symptoms, of turning *Yellow*, vomiting and bleeding every way and so Dying; tho' for diverse Dayes after the first Decumbiture, the Disease did but as it were play with the Sick. God was pleased most mercifully to preserve *mee*, from this Pestilence; for I had undertaken one *Lord's-Day* morning, in Answer to a Desire, from some Commanders in the Army, to visit a considerable Party of the Souldiers lately arrived from their disastrous Expedition at Martinico, and now rendezvouzed on our Islands.<sup>1</sup> Had I proceeded, in this *rash undertaking* to go and *pray* and *preach*, among an *herd*, that were so infectious, in probability it would have cost mee my Life; as it proved mortal unto *others* that spent their Time among them: especially, while our Physicians had not yett learn'd the way of encountring the Distemper. But while I was on Board the Governour's *Barge*, in the Harbour, going down, I was taken so vehemently *sick*, that my Friends would not lett mee go any further. I was *well*, as soon as I came home, and in the Afternoon preached in my own Congregaçon, where the *Admiral*, and principal Commanders of the Fleet came to hear mee. Knowing the horrid *Atheism*, and *Wickedness* of these that were now come to bee my Hearers, I preached unto them, on Psal. 119. 59,<sup>2</sup> and my God, help'd mee in it. I beleeve, t'was a *Good Angel*, which there struck mee *sick*; and by the Ministration of those good and kind Spirits, I beleeve, I was afterwards, putt upon such Methods as God blessed for the Preservaçon of my Health.

misled Webster into placing greater reliance in the clergyman, than in the definite statements of Hutchinson. *Brief History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases*, I. 208.

<sup>1</sup> This fleet, with about two thousand soldiers on board, had come to Boston to take part in an attack upon Quebec. No orders had been given to prepare for its coming, and the epidemic swept off two thirds of the soldiers. It only remained to await a reinforcement from England, which never came. Sir Charles Wheeler was in command. See *Magnalia*, Book II. 71.

<sup>2</sup> "I thought on my ways, and turned my feet unto thy testimonies."

I endeavoured now to accommodate myself unto the humbling Dispensations of God among my Neighbour's by *humbling* myself under those Dispensations. I did sett myself by *Dayes of Prayers* kept secretly as well as Publickly, not only to obtain my *own Præservation*, but also to divert the Wrath of Heaven, from the *Neighbourhood*. I bore my Testimony as earnestly as I could, against the Views, that I judg'd among the Causes of the *Calamity*; (Especially when I preached on 1. Cor. 11. 30.) and such of those Vices, as call'd for the Correction of the Magistrate, I hope, I did effectually stirr up some of our *Justices* to prosecute. I took occasion also, to quicken and assist such *Præparations for Death*, as were in this dangerous Time, to bee press'd with more Vehemency, (especially, by preaching on Psal. 90. 12, and on Ps. 119. 19), and I essay'd further to recommend *Præservatives* from the Dangers of the Time; (especially, by preaching on Ps. 57. 1.) *Accept of mee, O my God!*

In these *dying Times*, I found the Grace of God helping mee, unto some singular Dispositions.

I was now more *willing* and *ready to dy*, than perhaps I had ever yett been, in all my Life. This World was grown more *little* to mee, and the World whereto I am going, was grown more *glorious*, more *sensible*, in my Apprehensions of it. My *Translation* from *this* World unto *that*, would have been with less *Convulsion* perhaps, than ever heretofore.

Moreover, I now took up Resolutions, with God's Help, to bee more diligent than ever, in that Expression of *pure Religion*, to *visit the Widow and the Orphan*. I designed, that every Week, I would ordinarily do something, at visiting the *headless Families* in my Flock, and praying with them and for them.

About this Time, the Lord accepted mee, and employed mee, to do a singular Service for my ungrateful Countrey, (besides other little Services which I have been doing for it continually). I wrote such a true and brief *Representation*

of the Countrey, with the Posture both of *Men* and of *Things* in it, as all the thinking Friends of the Countrey would have thought it worth a vast Sum of Money, if any one could have laid before the King, such a State of our affayrs. This *Representation* I directed unto the KING Himself; and using of certain particular Methods, with our Governour, it was, by the good Providence of Heaven convey'd with all the Secrecy desireable, unto the KING'S own Hand; who *read* it with much Satisfaction. and, I hope, formed from thence, in His own royal Mind, those Characters of the Countrey; whereof wee shall reap the good Effects for many a Day.

Among other Services, which I was desirous to do for my glorious Lord, about the latter End of the *Summer*, *this* was One. I considered with myself, that the Time of *Winter*, was a Time of *Leisure* with most of my Neighbours; here-upon, I contrived with myself how I might with as charming a Mixture of *Religion* and *Ingenuity*, as I could, invite my Neighbours, to improve the Leisure of the *Winter*, for the *Glory* of God, and their own spiritual and eternal *Advantage*. So I did with much Labour and Study, compose a Book, which I entituled, WINTER MEDITATIONS;<sup>1</sup> (and when *Winter* came, I published it.)

Towards the latter End of the Summer now running, I began one of the greatest Works, that ever I undertook in my Life.

With many cries unto the God of Heaven, that Hee would by His *good Spirit* Assist mee, in my Undertaking, and that Hee would employ His *good Angels* to supply mee from Time to Time, with Materials for it, I sett myself every Morning to write upon a Portion of *Scripture*, some *Illustration*, that should have in it, something of *Curiositie*. I considered, that all the Learning in the World might bee

<sup>1</sup> With a preface by Rev. John Higginson, dated October 5, 1693. The printer was Benjamin Harris.

made gloriously subservient unto the *Illustration* of the *Scripture*; and that no profess'd *Commentary* had hitherto given so much of *Illustration* unto it, as might bee given. I considered, that Multitudes of particular Texts, had, especially of later years, been most notably *illustrated*, in the scattered Books of learned Men, than in any of the ordinary Commentators; and I considered, that the Treasures of *Illustrations* for the Bible, dispersed in the Volumes of this Age, might bee fetch'd all together by a laborious Ingenuitie. Accordingly, resolving still to give the Church of God, such Displays of His blessed Word, as may bee more entertaining for the *Novelty* and *Raritie* of them, than any that have been hitherto seen together, in any *Exposition*; and yett such as may bee acceptable unto the most *Judicious* for the *demonstrative Truth* of them, and unto the most *Orthodox*, for the Regard had unto the *Analogy of Faith* in all; I now began my *great Work*. I thought, that after the Rate of *one Illustration* in a Day I might, if the Lord would spare my Life *one seven Years* more, have (without sensible Hardship) gotten together, a Number of *golden Keyes* for His precious Word, and learned, charming and curious *Notes* on His Word, far beyond any that had yett seen the Light; or, if I dy'd in the midst of my Work, yett *my Labour might not bee in vain in the Lord*; yett it would bee worth the while, tho' I furnished none but *myself*, with such Accomplishments for a *Minister of the New Testament*.<sup>1</sup>

(I have since found a marvellous Providence of Heaven,

<sup>1</sup> He wrought at it until his fifty-first year, when he published proposals for printing it, an indication of his belief that it was finished; but the delay in securing a publisher enabled him to add many more illustrations, and the son, Samuel, continued his efforts to find a publisher. The result in six folio volumes of manuscript material is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. No more futile labor has come down to us. It is a great indigested mass of material, drawn from many sources, and with no evidence of design or settled plan. Marking his industry, it also indicates the ill-regulated activity of Mather's labors, and his tendency to scatter rather than concentrate his energies. The *Biblia* is one of the most characteristic of the products of Mather's pen.

directing my Endeavours, thus to *make His Word run and bee glorified*; and the Lord, unquestionably by *angelical Operation*, throws into my Hands continually those Assistences for this Work, that oblige mee to thank His Name exceedingly, and go on *abounding in this Work of the Lord.*)

I purpose to entitle this work

### BIBLIA AMERICANA.

About a Week after the Beginning of *September*, being sollicitous to do some further Service, for the Name of God, I took a Journey to *Salem*. There, I not only sought a further Supply of my Furniture for my *Church-History*, but also endeavoured, that the complete *History* of the late *Witchcrafts and Possessions*, might not bee lost. I judg'd that the Preservaçon of that *History*, might in a while bee a singular Benefit unto the Church, and unto the World, which made mee sollicitous about it. Moreover, I was willing to preach the Word of God, unto the numerous Congregation at *Salem*; which I did, on both Parts of the Sabbath, not only with a most glorious Assistence of Heaven, but also with some Assurance of Good thereby to bee done among the People.<sup>1</sup> But I had one singular Unhappiness, which befel mee, in this Journey. I had largely written three Discourses, which I designed both to *preach* at *Salem*, and hereafter to *print*. These *Notes*, were before the Sabbath, *stolen* from mee, with such Circumstances, that I am somewhat satisfied, The Spectres, or Agents in the *invisible World*, were the *Robbers*. This Disaster, had like to have

<sup>1</sup> Salem church was passing through a serious crisis, arising from the protests made against Rev. Samuel Parris by some members of his congregation. The witchcraft troubles had broken out in Parris's household, and he had, among other indiscretions, gone to Abigail Williams and some others, whom he supposed to have "spectral sight," to be informed who in the town were witches, and who afflicted those claiming to be sufferers through witchcraft. The danger in such a method of obtaining evidence is too clear to require any comment. See Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 90.

disturbed my Designs for the Sabbath; but God helped mee to *remember* a great part of what I had written, and to *deliver* also many other Things, which else I had not now made use of. So that the Divel gott nothing!

Among other things which entertained mee at *Salem*, one was, a Discourse with one Mrs. *Carver*, who had been strangely visited with some *shining Spirits*, which were *good Angels*, in her opinion of them.

Shee intimated several things unto mee whereof some were to bee kept secret.<sup>1</sup> Shee also told mee, That a *new Storm* of *Witchcraft* would fall upon the Countrey; to chastise the Iniquity that was used in the wilful Smothering and Covering of *the Last*; and that many fierce Opposites to the Discovery of that *Witchcraft* would bee thereby convinced.

Unto my Surprise, when I came home, I found one of my Neighbours, horribly arrested by *evil Spirits*. I then beg'd of God, that Hee would help mee wisely to discharge my Duty upon this occasion, and avoid gratifying of the *evil Angels* in any of their Expectaçoens. I did then, concern myself to *use*, and *gett* as much *Prayer* as I could for the afflicted young Woman; and at the same time, to forbid, either her from *accusing* any of her Neighbours, or others from *enquiring* any thing of her. Nevertheless, a wicked Man, wrote a most lying *Libel* to revile my Conduct in these matters; which drove mee to the Blessed God, with my Supplications that Hee would wonderfully protect mee, as well from *unreasonable Men* acted by the Divels, as from the Divels themselves. I did at first, it may bee too much resent the Injuries of that *Libel*; but God brought *good* out of it; it occasioned the Multiplication of my *Prayers* before Him; it very much promoted the Works of *Humiliation* and *Mortification* in my Soul. Indeed, the Divel made that *Libel*, an Occasion of those *Paroxysms* in

<sup>1</sup> A line is here struck out.

the Town, that would have exceedingly gratify'd him, if God had not helped mee to forgive and forgett the Injuries done unto mee, and to bee deaf unto the Sollicitations of those that would have had mee so to have resented the Injuries of some few Persons, as to have deserted the *Lecture* at the Old Meeting house.

When the afflicted young woman had undergone *six Weeks* of præternatural Calamities and when God had helped mee to keep just *three Dayes of Prayer* on her behalf, I had the Pleasure of seeing the same Success, which I used to have, on my *third Fast*, for such *possessed People*, as have been cast into my cares. God gave her a glorious Deliverance; There markable Circumstances whereof, I have more fully related, in an History of the whole Business.<sup>1</sup>

As for my missing Notes, the possessed young Woman, of her own Accord, enquir'd whether I missed them not? Shee told mee, the *Spectres* brag'd in her hearing, that they had rob'd mee of them; shee added, *Bee n't concern'd; for they confess, they can't keep them alwayes from you; you shall have them all brought you again.* (They were Notes on Ps. 119. 19 and Ps. 90. 12 and Hag. 1. 7. 9. I was tender of them and often pray'd unto God, that they might bee return'd.)<sup>2</sup> On the fifth of *October* following, every Leaf of my Notes again came into my Hands, tho' they were in eighteen separate Quarters of Sheets. They were found drop't here and there, about the Streets of *Lyn*; but how they came to bee so drop't I cannot imagine; and I as much wonder at the Exactness of their Præservation.

It pleased God, that on October 3. my Daughter *Mary* was taken very dangerously sick of a *Feaver*, with a *Vomiting*, and with *Worms*. I was, by a strange Diversion upon

<sup>1</sup> The afflicted young lady was Margaret Rule, of whom Mather wrote an account which fell into the possession of Calef, who threatened to publish it. Mather became alarmed, threatened to arrest Calef for slander, called him "one of the worst of Lyars," and denounced him from the pulpit.

<sup>2</sup> The words in the parenthesis were written in the margin.

my Spirit hindred from importunate Prayers, for the Life of the sick Child; but at Length, on October 5. in the Evening, I had my Heart wonderfully melted in Prayers at my Father *Philips's* where the Child lay sick: I demanded not the Life of the Child, but I *resigned* it unto the Mercy of God, in Jesus Christ; with such rapturous *Assurances* of the Divine Love unto *mee* and *mine*, as would richly have *made Amends for the Death of more Children, if God had then called for them.* ~~So~~ I was unaccountably assured, not only that *this Child*, shall bee happy forever, but that I never should have *any Child*, except what should bee an *everlasting Temple* to the Spirit of God: Yea, *that I and mine should bee together in the Kingdome of God, World without End.*

About Six a clock in the Morning, following, it being the *sixth* Day of the Month, and the *sixth* Day of the Week, the Child near a Month short of *two* Years old, expired.

The next Day, it was buried in *Boston*, with an honourable Attendance at the Funeral.<sup>1</sup>

On one of the Grave-Stones, I wrote,

GONE, BUT NOT LOST.

On the Day following, was our Communion at the Lord's Table. I then administred the Sacrament, and before it, preached on Gen. 22. 12. *Now I know that thou fearest God:* Handling that Observation, *A good Man may by many Tokens come to know, that hee has in him the Fear of God; but a right Behaviour under afflictive Trials, is the Token that will more especially and eminently serve to make it known.* And, I hope, that I now so exemplify'd such a Behaviour, as not only to embolden my Approches to the *Supper* of the Lord, but also to direct and instruct my *Neighbourhood*, with what frame to encounter their Afflictions

On the Tuesday ensuing, namely on October 10, which was a Day of *military Diversions*, to the whole Town of

<sup>1</sup> The bearers were Pierpont, Willard, Jeremiah Allen, and Adam Winthrop. Sewall, *Diary*, i. 385.

*Boston*, I sett apart the Day, for prayer with Fasting in my Study. I then considered my many humbling Circumstances, both as to my *Sins*, and as to my *Sorrowes*; especially, in the Breaches made upon my Family; as also in the cursed *Reproches* with which this unworthy, ungodly, ungrateful People, do load not myself only, but both of my *Fathers* too.

On this Day, my God gave mee great Assurances, of His Purpose to bestow many *Blessings*; and particularly, that Hee would make *my Name* and the *Names* of both my *Father's* also, to become honourable among His People: that Hee will support us, comfort us, and at last, *requite us good*, for all the Evil wee meet withal.

On this Day, I also visited a possessed young Woman in the Neighbourhood, whose Distresses were not the least occasion of my being thus before the Lord.<sup>1</sup> I wrestled with God for her: and among other things, I pleaded, that God had made it my *Office* and *Business* to engage my Neighbours in the Service of the Lord Jesus Christ; and that this young Woman had expressed her Compliance with my Invitations unto that Service; only that the *evil Spirits* now hindred her from doing what shee had vowd: and therefore that I had a sort of *Right* to demand her Deliverance from these invading Divels, and to demand such a *Liberty* for her as might make her capable of glorifying my Glorious Lord; which I did accordingly. In the close of this Day, a wonderful *Spirit*, in White and bright Raiment, with a *Face unseen*, appeared unto this young woman, and bid her, count mee her *Father*, and regard mee and obey mee, as her *Father*; for hee said, the Lord had given her to mee; and shee should now within a few Dayes bee delivered.<sup>2</sup> It proved, accordingly.

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Rule.

<sup>2</sup> This is related in Mather's account of Margaret Rule, printed in Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 8. The "man in white" or the "white man" played a prominent part in the Salem tragedy.

Besides the other praying and pious Meetings, which I have been continually serving, in our Neighbourhood; a little after this Time, a company of poor *Negroes*, of their own Accord, addressed mee, for my Countenance, to a Design which they had, of erecting such a *Meeting* for the Welfare of their miserable Nation that were Servants among us. I allowed their Design and went one Evening and pray'd and preach'd (on Ps. 68. 31.<sup>1</sup>) with them; and gave them the following Orders, which I insert only for Curiosity of the Occasion.

Wee, the miserable Children of *Adam* and of *Noah*, thankfully admiring and accepting the *free Grace* of God, that offers to save us from our Miseries by the Lord Jesus Christ, freely resolve, with His Help to become the *Servants* of that Glorious Lord.

And that wee may bee assisted in the Service of our *Heavenly Master*, wee now join together in a Company, wherein the following *Rules* are to bee observed.

I. It shall be our Endeavour, to meet the *Evening* after the *Sabbath*; and *pray* together by Turns, one to begin, and another to conclude the Meeting; and between the two *Prayers*, a *Psalm* shall bee sung, and a *Sermon* repeated. This Way would wee spend the Evening, which wee observe too many of *our* Condition, to mispend unto the *Dishonour* of God, and the *Præjudice* of those to whom they do belong.

II. Our coming to the Meeting shall never be without the *Leave* of such as have Power over us: and wee will bee careful that our Meeting may begin and conclude, between the Hours of *seven* and *nine*; and that wee may not bee *unseasonably absent* from the Families whereto wee may pertain.

III. As wee will, with the Help of God, at all Times avoid all *wicked Company*, so, wee will receive none into our Meeting but such as have sensibly *reformed* their Lives, from all manner of Wickedness. And therefore, none shall bee admitted without the Knowledge and Consent of the *Minister* of God in this Place; unto whom wee will also carry every Person that seeks for an *Admission* among us, to bee by him, examined, instructed and exhorted.

<sup>1</sup> "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."

IV. Wee will, as often as may bee, obtain some wise and good Man, of the *English* in the Neighbourhood; and especially the *Officers* of the Church to look in upon us, and by their Presence and Council, do what they think fitting for us.

V. If any of our Number fall into the Sin of *Drunkenness*, or *Swearing*, or *Cursing* or *Lying*, or *Stealing*, or notorious *Disobedience* or *Unfaithfulness* to their Masters, wee will *admonish* him, of his Mis-carriage; and forbid his coming to the Meeting for at least *one Fort-night*; and except hee then come with great Signs and Hopes of his *Repentance*, wee will utterly exclude him, with blotting his *Name* out of our List.

VI. If any of our Society defile himself with *Fornication*, wee will give him our *Admonition*; and so debar him from the Meeting, at least *half a Year*; nor shall hee return to it, ever any more, without exemplary Testimonies of his becoming a *new Creature*.

VII. Wee will, as wee have Opportunity, sett ourselves, to do all the good Wee can to the other *Negro-Servants* in the Town; and if any of them should at unfit Hours bee abroad, much more, if any of them should *run away* from their Masters, wee will afford them *no Shelter*; but wee will do what in us *lies*, that they may bee discovered and punished: And if any of us, are found faulty in this Matter, they shall bee no longer *of us*.

VIII. None of our Association, shall bee *absent*, from our Meeting, without giving a *Reason* of the Absence; and if it bee found that any have pretended unto their *Owners*, that they came unto the Meeting, when they were otherwise and elsewhere employ'd, wee will faithfully *inform* their owners and also do what wee can to reclaim such a person, from all such evil Courses for the future.<sup>1</sup>

The Rest of the *Winter*, brought little with it, that was remarkable.<sup>2</sup>

I reviewed and revived, the *Orders* of our *young Men's*

<sup>1</sup> These "Rules" were printed as a broadside after 1706, with a ninth rule added: "IX. It shall be expected from every one in the society, that he learn the *Catechism*; And therefore, it shall be one of our usual Exercises, for one of us, to ask the *Questions*, and for all the rest in their order, to say the *Answers* in the *Catechism*; either the *New-English* Catechism, or the *Assemblies* Catechism, or the Catechism in the *Negro Christianized*." This last work, by Mather, was not printed until 1706.

<sup>2</sup> "31 d. 10 m. [December.] This Day our Congregation made a Collection of about Fifty Three Pounds, for the Redemption of two Persons, that were in Turkish Captivity." Cotton Mather's *MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

*Meetings*, and went and preached unto them: to prevent the Snares of *Satan*, which may threaten their welfare. (There is a copy thereof since printed, at the End of my Book of, *Early Religion*.<sup>1</sup>)

Considering, that there is a good Number of *poor* and *old* People, in our *Alms-house*, who can not often come to the public Worship of God, especially at this Time of the year, I went and spent an *Afternoon*, I pray'd, and I preach'd (on *Jam. 2. 5.*) among them; with the comfortable Assistance, and, I hope, Acceptance of Heaven.

And one memorable Providence, I must not forgett. A young Woman being arrested, possessed, afflicted by *evil Angels*, her Tormentors made *my* Image or Picture to appear before her,<sup>2</sup> and then made themselves Masters of her Tongue so far, that shee began in her Fits to complain that I threatened her and molested her, tho' when shee came out of them, shee own'd, that *they* could not so much as make *my dead Shape* do her any Harm, and that they putt a *Force* upon her Tongue in her Exclamations. Her greatest Out-cries when shee was *herself*, were, for *my poor Prayers* to bee concerned on her behalf.

Being hereupon extremely sensible, how much a malicious Town and Land, would insult over mee, if such a lying *Piece of a Story* should fly abroad, that the Divels in *my Shape* tormented the Neighbourhood, I was putt upon some Agonies, and singular Salleys and Efforts of Soul, in the *Resignation* of my *Name* unto the Lord; content that if Hee had no further service for my *Name*, it should bee torn to pieces with all the *Reproches* in the world. But I cried unto the Lord as for the Deliverance of my *Name*, from the Malice of Hell, so for the Deliverance of the young Woman, whom the Powers of Hell had now siezed upon. And

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin. *Early Religion* appeared from the press in 1694, printed by Benjamin Harris for Michael Perry.

<sup>2</sup> "A *Viper*, speedily and happily shaken off!" *Written in the margin.*

*behold!* Without any further *Noise*, the *possessed* Person, upon my praying by her, was delivered from her *Captivity*, on the *very same Day* that shee fell into it; and the whole *Plott of the Divel*, to reproach a poor Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, was *defeated*.

About the middle of *January*, my little and my only, *Katharin*, was taken so dangerously sick, that small Hope of her Life was left unto us. In my Distress, when I saw the Lord thus *quenching the Coal that was left* unto mee, and rending out of my Bosom one that had lived so long with mee, as to steal a *Room* there, and a *Lamb* that was indeed unto mee *as a Daughter*, I cast myself at the Feet of His Holy *Soveraignty*.

When I was going to resign the dying Child, in a *Prayer* for that purpose over it, I took the *Bible* in my Hand, resolving to seek and read first, some agreeable Portion of the Scripture.

The *first Place*; that accidentally fell under my View was, the Story of our Lords raising the *little Daughter* of the *Ruler of the Synagogue*, in the 8th Chapter of *Luke*. Amazed at the Pertinency of this Place, I readd it with *Tears*, and then with more *Tears* turn'd it into a *Prayer*; wherein I freely gave up this Child unto the Lord, assured that *it*, ~~and~~ and whatever Children Hee ever gave mee, should bee the *Temples* of His good *Spirit*, the *Subjects* of His *Kingdome*, and the *Vessels* of His *Glory* forever. But I also begg'd for the Life of the Child in this World; promising to the Lord, with His Help, That I would bring her up for Him; and that I would likewise assay to do some *special Service* quickly for the *rising Generation* in this Land.

Immediately, the Child fell into a critical and plentiful *bleeding*, and recovered from *that Hour*, unto the Admiration of us all.

*This Day*, to prepare my own Heart for all Events which threatned my Family, and express what should bee in the

Heart of others on such Events, I preached a Sermon on those words, *The Lord is able to give thee much more than this.*<sup>1</sup>

*Memorandum.* (Tho tis hardly worth remembring) Many Families of my Flock, residing on t'other side the water, putt themselves unto considerable Trouble, every *Lord's-Day*, to attend upon my Ministry. Now, tho' it would be a considerable Diminution of my *Auditory*, yett I have often called upon them, to gather and settle a *Church* among themselves, and offered them all the Assistance that I could possibly give them, in their doing so. At length, perceiving, that the Thing which hindred them, was, that it would bee too *great* an *Expence* for so *small* a *Village*, to maintain their Minister themselves I made them an Offer, that if they would furnish themselves with a worthy Minister, I would assist his Maintenance as far as I could, and even abate my own poor Salary for it. They wondred at the Generosity of these Tenders; and I glorified the Lord Jesus Christ, and His Gospel, by making them. Nevertheless they never Accepted them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. 25. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "19 d. 1 m. [March, 1694.] This Day, *Mary Cooly*, one by Covenant under ecclesiastical Inspection in this Church, having been convicted of living in *Adultery*, with many Aggravations of her Crime, and being so far from giving due Discoveries of Repentance, that she is fled from the Admonitions that should have brought her to Repentance, the Discipline of our Lord, whereto the Concurrence of our Brethren was the preceding *Lord's Day* expressed, was this Day attended. Though she were absent, yett, in the public Assembly, the Pastor, using many Words, relating thereto, both before and after, passed the following Censure:

"In the Name of the Glorious Lord Jesus Christ, I do declare that this unhappy M. C. is cutt off from the ecclesiastical Priviledges and Expectations, which pertain to such as are in Covenant with the Churches of God.

"I declare her to belong visibly unto the doleful and woful Kingdome of Satan, the Ruler of the Darkness of this World.

"I declare her to bee a Person whom wee cannot own, for a Disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, but one from whom the Disciples of our Lord are to withdraw, as from one that walks disorderly.

"And this first Sentence is now passed upon her, as a Repræsentation of a more dreadful Sentence to bee passed upon her in the Day when the Lord Jesus Christ shall judge the World; except it bee prevented by a seasonable Repentance:— which Repentance, God of his infinite Mercy bestow upon her.

"8 d. 2 m. [April.] Two young Women, belonging to our Communion, to

wit, Rebeckah Adams and Alice Pennel, having been guilty of consulting an ungodly Fortune-teller, in the Neighbourhood, with desires to be informed of some secret and future things, this Day in public made a pœnitent Acknowledgment of that Miscarriage, and so the Church was reconciled unto them.

“17 d. 4 m. [June.] Baptized my Abigail.

“25 d. 2 m. [April, 1695.] This Day a public Fast being observed through the Province, this Opportunitie was taken for the Ordination of the Deacons formerly elected by our Church. Accordingly in the Close of the Afternoon, after distinct Votes for them, Mr. John Atwood, Mr. Obadiah Gill, [and] Mr. John Barnard, were with solemn Imposition of Hands, from my Father and self, ordained unto the Office of Deacons in the Church.

“11 d. 6 m. [August.] This Day our Congregation made a Collection of about four score pounds, for three young Men in Turkish Slavery.” *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church, II.*

THE XXXIV<sup>TH</sup> YEAR,

Of a Life, Sweet'd away in horrible *Sin* and *Sloth*!

It was said of a certain Scotch Divine; *that hee did eat, and drink, and sleep, the Kingdome of Heaven.*

When shall my too *earthly Soul*, arrive to this Happiness!

The Jewes Report of *R. Zadok*, That hee did so mortify himself with *Fastings*, that hee was commonly called, חלשא *Chalsha*, that is *the weak*!

*Streposo* words upon *Stephen*. Act. 6. 8. *Stephen full of Faith and power did great wonders and miracles among the people.*

“Per *δυνάμεις* intelliguntur Incitationes et Impulsus spiritus Sancti, ex quibus poterant observare præsentiam et promptitudinem spiritus, ad perpetrationem Miraculorum. Vide phrasin scripturæ Jud. 14. 6. 19, et 15. 14. 1. Sam. 10. 10. Cum spiritus per hos volebat facere miraculum, non solebat Externo verbo promissionem edere; sed irruebat in eos. i. e. aliquo motu, et Incitatione aliqua, præsentiam et promptitudinem suam ad Miraculum ipsis insinuabat, et sic promissionem miraculi ipsis dabat. Cum Homines huic promissioni credebant et illius Fiducia miraculum edebant, fiebat Miraculum. Cum autem Ejusmodi Incitationes Spiritus non fiunt, etiamsi adfit Fides, Miracula tamen non fiunt.

*Observaticum.* When he said in the Old Testament, *The Spirit of the Lord came upon* these and those, tis in the New Testament still said, of what they then did, *They did*

*it by Faith.* It seems the *Spirit of the Lord*, still produced a particular and an extraordinary *Faith*, in those blessed *Hero's!*

### THE XXXIV<sup>TH</sup> YEAR OF MY AGE,

12 d. 12 m. [February.] This Day being thirty three of Age, compleat, I sett it apart, for secret Thanksgivings, unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST, the *God of my Life.*<sup>1</sup>

I made those Words of the Apostle the Rule of my Proceedings, in the Duties of the Day, Act. 26. 22.

*Having obtained Help of God, I continue to this Day.*

I considered, what *continuance* the *Help* of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, hath, to *this Day*, granted unto my *Life*, and the *comfortable Circumstances* of my *Life*; and then, what *Acknowledgment* I should make of the *Help* which I have had from the Lord JESUS CHRIST, in this *Continuance*.

My *Meditations*, I did make the Matter of my Confessions before the Lord; In part whereof, I did call my Consort also to bear her Part.

And having digested these Things into a *Sermon* proper for my Neighbours, I preached it in the Evening unto a *private Meeting* of *Christians*, with whom I spent the Evening.

On the Day following, I enjoyed, a singular presence of the Lord Jesus Christ with mee, after a lively and wrestling Faith for it; in preaching the Lecture, to a greater Assembly. I considered, that wee had many *poor* among us; and that, the Truths of the Gospel, would come with some very particular Accepts, upon them, to render them Acceptable, and profitable, if I should, as much as I could, accommodate them, unto the Condition of the *Poor*. So, I preached this Day, on Math. ii. 5. *The Poor have the Gospel preached*

<sup>1</sup> Sewall in his *Diary*, 1. 420, records an interesting incident in his own family, where his daughter Betty gave every evidence of a temporary insanity, due to reading the sermons of the day, and among them one of Mather's.

unto them: reserving a second Sermon, on that Subject, for my next Lecture.

22 d. 12 m. I sett apart this Day for secret PRAYER, with *Fasting* in my Study. And as I intended it for a Day of *Humiliation*, such an one the Lord made it unto mee. For the main Exercise with mee, that gave a Character to this Day, was, a Reflection, upon the manifold Filthiness of my Heart and Life, and the horrible Aggravations of that Filthiness, especially from the great Obligations to Sanctity, which I have sinned against. My Soul was exceedingly *humbled*, in my Confessions of my own Vileness before the Lord,<sup>1</sup> and I confessed, that if the Lord should not only expose to the whole World, all my Abominations hitherto committed, but also leave mee unto such an *infatuating Possession of Satan*, that I should commit those prodigious Things, which may make mee a terrible Exemple to all His Churches, like some that I have known, there would bee no less *Righteousness* than *Sovereignty* in such a Dispensation. Yett, lying at the Foot of that *Sovereignty*, I cryed unto God, that His Free-Grace would impute unto mee the perfect *Obedience* of my *Surety*, the Lord JESUS CHRIST, the *offer* whereof, with His Help, I now thankfully accepted: And I then further cryed unto Him, that Hee would yett accept mee to *serve* the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and grant that His *Holy Spirit*, tho' grieved by mee, may yett gloriously sieze mee, fill mee, use mee, and make mee a very holy, and a very useful Man. Many other Matters, I this Day also spread before the Lord, referring to my particular Opportunities of serving Him, in my Ministry. ~~And~~ And I fervently pleaded with Him, that *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, might speedily undergo, mighty and happy *Changes*, that should bee gloriously subservient unto His Interests; which Request, *will doubtless bee accomplished*.

<sup>1</sup> Sewall manifested the same intention, describing himself in his prayers as "beyond conception vile." *Diary*, I. 424.

After this Day, I continued full of such dejected and abasing Thoughts, of my own *extraordinary Vileness*, as did fill mee in the Day itself.

Oh! the Lord is laying of mee *low!*

So I wrote; and so it must come to pass. For

28 d. 12 m. *Friday.* Early this morning, my Daughter *Mehetabel*, dyed suddenly, in its nurses Arms; not known to bee dying, till it was dead; of some sudden stoppage by Wind; *the Wind passed over the Flower, and it was presently gone!*

The Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, helped mee, I hope, to a patient and cheerful Submission, under this Calamity: tho' I sensibly found, an Assault of Temptation from Satan, accompanying of it.

The Day following, the Child was interr'd, with an honourable *Funeral*: and on one of the Grave-Stones, in Faith of the *Resurrection*, I wrote, YOUR BONES SHALL FLOURISH LIKE AN HERB.<sup>1</sup>

And being in course, to compose a Sermon, for the Lord's-Day, on Luk. 2. 15. *The Angels were gone away from them into Heaven*; I found a singular Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ, in ordering it, that under this new Death upon my Family, I should have my Meditations called unto that Subject; *that there is a glorious Heaven, whereunto heavenly Spirits do go away, when they leave the Earth.* Four of mine, are now flown thither before mee!

On this occasion, I made and sang, this hymn, of Job. 1. 21.

I stript of *earthly*, Comforts am;

*Stript*, lett mee duely mourn:

*Naked* from *Earth* at first I came,

And *naked* I return.

What, but *Gifts* from above, were they?

GOD *gave* them unto mee.

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah LXVI. 14. Mather also uses the phrase in the opening paragraph of his life of Sir William Phips.

And now they *take* their flight away,  
*Taken* by GOD they bee.  
 The Name of my Great GOD, I will  
 Forever then adore;  
 Hee's *wise*, and *just*, and *sovereign* still,  
 And *good* forevermore.

*Memorandum.* This morning, in my study, praying for each of my Children by Name (as I use to do) I left the Name of my *Mehetabel* unmentioned. I wondred at this Omission, in myself and blam'd and chid myself, that I should bee so sottish, as having but *three* children to forgett *one* of them. Now, I had no sooner done my prayers, but the messenger gave mee to understand that the Child had been for above an Hour before, by its Death, gone beyond the reach or use, of our *Prayers*. (Alas, the Child was overlaid by the Nurse!)<sup>1</sup>

1696.

I considered, that the memorable *Changes* undergone, and *Actions* performed, in the *Life* of our late Governour, Sir *William Phips*, had very many Things in them, to display the glorious *Power*, and *Wisdome*, and *Grace*, of the Lord JESUS CHRIST. Wherefore I did, with much Elaboration, write the History thereof, and give it unto his Lady, that in Time convenient, it may bee sent unto *London*, to bee there published. I entituled, it, not without very good Reason, PIETAS IN PATRIAM: and how many wayes I have propounded unto myself, in this Composure,

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph was entered in the margin. The sentence in parenthesis was added at a later day — the parenthesis being Mather's.

Mather uses the same idea in many connections, and what his father had experienced he repeats as his own, or reads into his father's life what he believes to have been an experience of his own. Increase had "for diverse *Lords-Days* made the Death of that Miserable King [Philip], a Petition which in his *Public Prayers* he somewhat enlarged upon. But on one *Lords-Day* he quite forgot it; for which *Forgetfulness* I well *Remember*, that I heard him wondering at, and Blaming of, himself one Evening. However, he was more Satisfied, when a few Hours after, there came to Town the Tidings, That before *That Lords-Day*, the *Thing* was accomplished."

to serve my Lord Jesus Christ, it is needless for mee to mention.

It was published in *London*.<sup>1</sup>

21 d. 1 m. [*March*.] Tis high Time for mee to bee again, with the Exercises of a *secret Fast*, on my Knees before the Lord. Alas, I have *starved* my Soul, by making it a whole *Month*, since I was last engaged in such Devotions!

This Day, I devoted unto extraordinary Supplications in my Study. And after I had, with much Bitterness, humbled myself under the *Causes and the Tokens* of the Divine Displeasure against mee, the Lord not only *enabled* mee to rely on the *Suretiship* and *Sacrifice* of Jesus Christ, for my Peace with Heaven, but also *assured* mee of my Reconciliation: so that I said, *I may now dare to dy, whenever I am called thereunto!*

After I had spread many particular Concerns before the Lord, I concluded the Day, with a *Prayer*, which brought with it, the Rewards of the whole Day.

Being prostrate, in the Dust on my Study-floor, after many Fears of a sad, heavy, woful Heart, that the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, grieved by my Miscarriages, would forsake mee utterly, that Spirit of the Lord made an inexpressible Descent upon mee. A Stream of Tears gushed out of my Eyes, upon my Floor, while I had my Soul inexpressibly irradiated with Assurances, of especially two or three Things, bore in upon mee.

<sup>1</sup> Written in the margin.

It contained a brief prefatory letter signed by Nathaniel Mather, John Howe and Matthew Mead, in which brevity was made good by fulsome flattery of the author. He is described as "a person of such well known integrity, prudence and veracity, that there is not any cause to question the truth of what he here relates, and moreover this writing of his is adorned with a very grateful variety of learning, and doth contain such surprizing workings of Providence, as do well deserve due notice and observation." Follows a letter of Nathaniel Mather, dedicating the work to the Earl of Bellomont. Both letters are dated April 27, 1697, in which year the book was printed. It is included in the *Magnalia*, Bk. II. 35. The wife's name was Mary, widow of John Hull (not the mint-master) and daughter of Roger Spencer, of Saco.

Particularly, That the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, would more than ever, take Possession of my *Tongue*, and cause mee with a more free, and fit, and useful *Speech*, than ever to glorify Him.

And, That the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, would give mee a more exact *Understanding of the Times*, and help mee to *discern this Time*.

And, that there were mighty and happy Changes to bee speedily brought upon *England*, and *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, marvellously *lifting up a Standard*, against the impious *Men and Things*, that have come in upon those Kingdomes like a Flood.

I particularly besought the Lord, That I might bee helped by Him, to handle the Doctrine of *Grace*, in my Ministry, so as to glorify Him; and that His good Spirit would lead *mee unto all Truth*, about this Doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

This is a Request which I have also, in several *Dayes of Prayer*, formerly insisted on.<sup>1</sup>

Herewithal, it was a Perswasion, which I entertained from *Scripture*, but with *Wonder*, that I had my *own Angel*: That there is one good *Angel* of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is at present peculiarly My *Angel*. I now mourned, for the *Grief* which I had given unto that *Angel* of the Lord, when I have grieved the *Holy Spirit* of the Lord, by my Sins against the Lord; and I prayed, that I might by the *Holy Spirit* bee made more agreeable to this *Angel*, and so enjoy *his* very peculiar Ministration for my Good, in those Instances, which the infinite Wisdome of Heaven, should appoint it for.

On the Day following at the *Lord's Table*, the Spirit of my Lord Jesus Christ, gave mee a singular Satisfaction, of Soul, in my Reliance upon the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ alone, even, on the Merit, of the Obedience, which Hee yeilded unto God, as our *Surety*, for my Atone-

<sup>1</sup> These two paragraphs are written in the margin.

ment and Acceptance with the God of Heaven.<sup>1</sup> Moreover,

28 d. 1 m. I was again, engaged in the Exercises of a *secret* Fast, before the Lord, on the very same occasions, that I was this Day Se'nnight so employed.

I thought, that I could not obtain, and enjoy the Assistances of the *Holy Spirit*, necessary to the Discharge of my Ministry, and necessary for the several Conditions, and Relations, whereinto the Lord may bring mee, except, I bee much in *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, before the Lord. I soon loose that serious, that gracious, that generous, and that

<sup>1</sup>“23 d. 1 m [March.] The Brethren of the Church mett with us in the Meeting-house.

“Evidences of a threefold Crime committed by Mrs. Hanna Bishop, now absent at Rhode Island, were produced.

“1. That altho' her Husband had not been gone a Twelvemonth to sea, nor was there any Advice come of his Death, one way or another, yett shee made Overtures and Promises of Marriage with another Man, (one Mr. *Daniel Hodgson*), which, if they had been consummated, her Offence had, by the Law of the Province, been capital.

“2. That altho' shee were never legally and formally married unto the Man to whom shee made the Engagements of Marriage, yett shee declared herself willing to converse with him as her Husband.

“3. That in her Vowes of Marriage to the Man, shee declared with an Oath upon the Bible, that shee would never marry with any other Man, while hee was living on the Earth.

“These things were proved, by the Oathes of *William Smith*, and *Edward Davis*, taken before the Governor of *Rhode Island*, as is asserted in a Certificate by him signed.

“And by the Testimonies of *Mary Webster*, senior and junior, and *Sarah Buckmaster*, to whom the said *Bishop* owned all the premises.

“The Church hereupon agreed, that Mrs. *Bishop* should immediately bee written unto, advised of what is testified against her, suspended from the Communion, admonished to repert of the Crimes proved against her; and within two or three Months' time give the Satisfaction expected by the People of God: or else the Church would proceed then to cutt her off from the Communion of the Faithful.

“At the said Meeting, the Vote of the Church devolved on the three Deacons, Mr. *Atwood*, Mr. *Gill*, Mr. *Bernard*, the Care and Power of ordering the Seats in the Meeting-house.

“The Vote of the Church also then desired and empowered Lieut. *R. Way*, with the Assistance of the Deacons, to endeavour the Recovery of what is due to the Church on the Account of the Legacy of Capt. *Scarlet* deceased, by a due process of Law, with all convenient Expedition.” *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

watchful, and useful, Disposition of Mind, that I gain, by these Devotions, if I do for many Dayes intermitt them. To bee a *Christian*, and a *Minister* too, Oh! tis no easy Matter.

This Day was not altogether so full of Joy and Heaven and internal Irradiation, as my last; yett, I hope, it leaves a Savour upon my Soul.

One special Request, which I carried unto the Lord this Day, was for the Preservation, and Restoration, of the worthy Minister of *Salem*, that is Mr. *Noyes*,<sup>1</sup> who is dangerously ill.

In the following Week, there was a public *Fast* kept by the whole Province; namely on 2 d. 2 m. [*April*], *Thursday*.

I had made considerable Progress, in my preparation of my Sermon, for the *Fast*; but coming to understand, that my Subject, and my Discourse, happened odly, to bee very much the same with my Father's, I was putt upon other Studies. And there was a singular Providence in my being so; For it was resolved on *Wednesday*, that on the *Fast*, the Day following, there should bee a Collection for the Releef of the *Poor*, in this Time of extreme Scarcitie. To promote the Charity of such a Collection, I thought, would bee a very *angelical Service*; and if I took the words of an *Angel*, for my Text, I thought, my Assistances would not bee the less for my doing so. Accordingly, after a strange Impression on my Spirit, while I was in secret, on my Knees before Him, that the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, would bee sensibly and gloriously present in my Congregation, I did, on the *Fast*, preach (on Act. 10. 4. *Thy prayers and Alms are come up.*) for two Hours, more or less, unto a very great Assembly with very singular Help from Heaven. In Prayers also, I received and uttered Assurances, that the

<sup>1</sup>Nicholas Noyes, son of Nicholas Noyes, of Newbury, and nephew of Rev. James Noyes, the first minister of Newbury; ordained at Salem, November 14, 1683. He died December 13, 1717.

~~the~~ terrible *Famine*, this Day deprecated, should not overwhelm us. And my Proposals for the Succour of the Poor, were so prospered, that the highest Contributions in the other Assemblies of the Town, did not arise to near the Sum that was gathered in ours.<sup>1</sup>

*Memorandum*, In my Sermon, I uttered such words, as these, under a marvellous Impression upon my Spirit. *The Great God, is about the shaking of England, and the shaking of Scotland, and the shaking of Ireland; very tremendous will be the Shake, that the Lord is giving to the Kingdome, yea, the Lord will once more shake not the Earth only but the Heaven also.*

Tho' at this Time, wee knew nothing of the Matter, yett in a few weeks after this, wee heard, of the mighty *Shake*, that was now giving to the Kingdomes by the French Invasion and the plot of Killing the King.<sup>2</sup>

16 d. 2 m. [April.] The unusual Scarcity of provisions, already distressing, yett further threatening of this province, caused mee to draw up, as moving an Epistle, as I could, unto the Ministers of *Connecticut-Colony*, that they would prevail with the Government in that Colony, to remitt the *Embargo* which they have laid upon their Corn, unto our exceeding Detriment. This Letter of mine, the neighbouring Ministers, did sett their Hands unto; and I considered with myself, that the providing of *Corn*, for a poor People in a Wilderness, was to be like the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and His *Holy Angels*.

18 d. 2 m. I spent this Day, in the Exercises of a sacred and a secret Fast, on the same Occasions, that had invited mee, in some later weeks, to bee thus before the Lord. And the Direction of Heaven, which I want for my bearing some singular Testimonies unto the Lord *Jesus Christ*, at

<sup>1</sup> From the Church Record the amount of this collection is obtained — fifty-five pounds and odd money.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin.

the approaching Day of *Election* of Counsellors for the Province, to the Service of preaching whereat, the Lieut. Governour and Council have this week chosen mee. This was a further matter of Supplications, which I must bring to God, on such a Day.

☞ On this Day, prostrate in the Dust, on my Study-floor and melted into *Tears* of Joy, I Received fresh *Assurances*, that the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, would fill mee marvellously, and gloriously, and that Hee would quickly employ mee in *eminent Services* for His Interests.

Moreover, there being sore Degrees of the *terrible Famine* advanced upon us, I considered that it was my Duty, to bee much in *Fasting* before the Lord, that so I might procure *Food*, for my distressed Neighbours. There were three renowned in the Scripture, for *Fasting*; and the Lord made use of all those three, to be miraculous *Feeders* of other Men.

About this Time, I considered what special Truth, I might glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, by recommending to the Countrey, in this Time of *Scarcity*. And thereupon, I did, in the Countrey-Lecture, to a great Assembly, with a great Assistance, preach from those words, Math. 14. 17. *Wee have here but five Loaves*. And from the Miracle of our Lord's multiplying the *Loaves*, I press'd the Things, which I judged agreeable unto our present Circumstances. I saw, so much of the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, in ordering this peece of work for me, that I cannot leave it unremembered.

2 d. 3 m. [May.] *Saturday*. It is now a Fortnight, since I laid myself in the Dust, with in the Exercises of a *secret Fast* before the Lord. And such is the treacherous Wickedness of my Heart that if any longer Time, should pass mee, without such Exercises, I should loose very much of that *Walk in the Spirit* which I would alwayes maintain.

This Day, (the Occasions whereof, were the same with

the last,) I did exceedingly abhor myself before the Lord, for my extraordinary Vileness, and admire, that Hee did not reject mee, with Abhorrence forever. But, I received Assurance, that the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, is imputed unto mee, and that by this Righteousness, I am entitled unto the Favours of Heaven.

Afterwards prostrate on my Study-floor, when I was representing before the Lord, that I was employ'd in *great Work* for Him, whereunto I had no Sufficiency, and my Heart was often ready to sink, with Fear that I should not go well thro' *my Work*, which is also His, my Heart was after an ~~an~~ astonishing Manner, melted before the Lord, with a strange Assurance, which I received, even as if it had been spoken from Heaven unto mee, *that I shall certainly bee carried comfortably thro' every Article of Work, that shall hereafter occur unto mee, in my fulfilling of my Ministry: Yea* that I should bee supplied, with *Sense*, and with *Strength*, and with *Speech* too, (and a greater *Freedom* of it, thro' the Holy Spirit of Christ possessing the *Organs* of it, than ever I yett enjoyed:) In the uttering of which Assurance, my Tears ran down upon my Study-floor, with *Joy unspeakable and full of Glory*.

Moreover, it being a Time, of unusual scarcity for *Bread*, in this Place, I thought it my Duty, to make this one Occasion of my *Fasting*. I would fast, that my Neighbours might bee *fed*.

Now, I will take this Place, to Record the *great Experience*, which my poor Family has had, of the care which the Lord Jesus Christ, [showed] concerning us, in this Time of *Scarcity*. The *Supplies*, that Hee sent in unto us, were plentiful, and wonderful; and sometimes the *season* of them, just at the very Time, when I had been expressing what Charity I could, for the Releef of *others*, was very remarkable.

Remember, O my Soul: *the Eye of the Lord is upon them that Fear him: upon them that Hope in His Mercy;*

*to deliver their Soul from Death, and to keep them alive in Famine!*

16 d. 3 m. *Saturday*. I was again employ'd in the Exercises of a secret *Fast*, before the Lord; on the same Occasions, that have called for the like Humiliations, in some former Weeks.

In the Close of the Day, giving myself up to bee *possessed* by the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I might bee *employed* in great *Service* for Him, I had fresh Assurances of the Divine Favour to mee, in this blessed matter.

Moreover, a great scandal being reported of an aged Minister in the Town, whereby much Dishonour is like to arise unto the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confusion unto at least one of His Churches, I thought it my duty to Humble myself on this woful occasion, and cry mightily to God, that I also might not bee tempted, and that wee might bee all directed how to steer in the Difficulties hereby laid before us.

22 d. 3 m. *Friday*. Tho' it bee not a week since I was engaged in the Exercises of a secret *Fast* before the Lord, yett I saw myself surrounded with Occasions to devote this Day likewise to such Exercises; And the occasions were the same with the former: especially to obtain the presence of the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ with mee (whereto I resign myself) in the Services of next week, and the other hard Services, which I have before mee.

23 d. 3 m. *Saturday*. This Evening I mett with an Experience, which it may not bee unprofitable for mee, to remember.

I had been for about a Fortnight vext with an extraordinary *Heart-Burn*; and none of all the Common Medecines would remove it, tho' for the present some of them would a little releeve it. At last, it grew so much upon mee, this Evening, that I was almost ready to faint under it; but under my fainting Pain, this Reflection came into my

mind: there was this among the Sufferings and the Complaints, of our Lord Jesus Christ, *my Heart, like Wax, is melted in the Midst of my Bowels*. Hereupon, I beg'd of the Lord, that for the sake of the horrible *Heart-burn* undergone by my Saviour, I might bee delivered from the other and lesser *Heart-burn*, wherewith I was now incommoded. Immediately, it was darted into my Mind, that I had Sir *Philip Paris's* Plaister in my House, which was good for Inflammations; and laying this *Plaister* on, I was cured of my Malady.

After this, tho' I was humbled into this Feebleness, yett the Lord, in a few Dayes carried mee thro' many Services full of Difficulty. On the *Lord's-Day*, I preach'd unto a great Assembly, with such excessive Labours, that I was thereby yett more unfitted for the Labours of the approaching *Election*. On the Tuesday, I therefore abased myself before the Lord, and that I might keep myself under a lasting Abasement, I composed, what I have entituled, *The true Picture of Cotton Mather*, wherein I have, with *black*, but yett with *true*, Characters, described my own vile-ness at such a Rate, that it cannot bee look'd upon without Horror of Soul; but I resolve often to look upon it. On the Wednesday, came the opportunity for mee, to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, by my speaking to my *whole Countrey*; which I did, on 1. Sam. 7. 6. with such wonderful Assistences from Him, as answered all the *Prayers*, and exceeded all the *Hopes*, which had been about that matter.<sup>1</sup> The Day following I enjoy'd further Assistences from the Lord, in Discourses among the *Ministers* of the Province, about the important Matters that lay before us.

On the Lord's-Day ensuing, [May 31,] I did not propose to preach at all; but about an Hour before the forenoon Exercises, the illness on the Minister of the South-church,

<sup>1</sup> Sewall notes that it was a rainy day, so the text was appropriate.

in *Boston*, made the Deacons apply themselves unto mee, to carry on those Exercises, in their great Congregation.<sup>1</sup> And the Lord gave mee very singular Demonstrations of His Presence and Spirit with mee, in my doing so; which Hee likewise did, in my Managing some weighty Affayrs of *Church-Discipline* (admonishing a scandalous Offendor) in my own Congregation, in the Afternoon.<sup>2</sup> And hee continued still to do so, in my Lecture, when I gave the second part of my *Election-Sermon*, to the Great and General Assembly, the *Thursday* following. When, in Prayer also, before that vast Congregation, my wrestling and melted Heart, expressed a strange Faith, on the Lord Jesus Christ that wonderful Reliefs would bee sent in unto us, against the *Famine* that was now distressing us.

*Memorandum.* The Night following, there arrived, a little Fleet of Corn, and Floure, to us, which were fear'd to have miscarried.

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Willard is so faint with his Flux, that [he] is not able to come abroad, and so there is a disappointment of the Lord's Supper, which should otherwise have been celebrated this day. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches, exhorts us to examine ourselves, whether we were prepared for that Ordinance. And said that Humiliation for the disappointment, and mourning after Christ, God might make as profitable to us as the Ordinance." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 427.

<sup>2</sup> "This Day the Case of *James Fowl* was laid before the Church. Hee was Clerk of a trained Company in the Town, under Oath for the faithful Discharge of his Trust. Nevertheless, hee several Times wanted his Complement of Men upon the Watch, even when hee might have had it and it was offered unto him. But that hee might conceal the Unfaithfulness, hee ordered the Halberts to bee hid, and the two Persons (when there should have been four) upon the Watch, to tell the Grand Rounds that their Fellowes had gone out.

"For the Proof whereof, there were produced, five single Testimonies: All of which had been sworn before the Committee of the Militia, who had proceeded thereupon to censure him.

"Great Pains had been taken with him to bring him unto a Sight and Sense of his Miscarriages. But hee would not own himself to have been guilty of any Thing, but on a bidding his defective Number of Men on the Watch to tell the Grand Rounds that the rest were out.

"The Church therefore agreed, that hee should bee laid under a solemn Admonition, and therewithal bee suspended from the Communion until satisfactory Fruits of that Admonition should bee produceed.

"The Pastor did accordingly now dispence the Admonition, which the Church concurred unto." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

7 d. 4 m. [June.] *Lords-Day.* This Day, in a very great Congregation, praying for some of our Neighbours, that are in Captivity among the *Turks of Zallee*, from whence as to any humane Prospect, *Redemption ceaseth forever*, I received and uttered, my Assurance that the Lord Jesus Christ, had some wonderful Thing, to do for the Deliverance of some of our Captives.<sup>1</sup>

Yea, several Times on the Lord's Dayes, before vast Assemblies, my public Prayers, have uttered this Assurance. O my sinful Soul, mark the Event!

~~For~~ For I shall certainly see these poor Captives, wonderfully delivered, in Circumstances, that shall particularly furnish *mee*,<sup>2</sup> with Opportunities, to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ exceedingly.

(In the Forty first year of my Life, this thing is wonderfully accomplished.)<sup>3</sup>

13 d. 4 m. This Day, I sett apart, for the Exercises of a *secret Fast* before the Lord; tho' I once this Week already, performed the afternoon Exercises of a *private Fast*, preaching and praying among the Faithful in our Neighbourhood; and I preached and prayed with another Meeting, the last Evening.

One thing for which I *fasted*, was that I might obtain *Bread* for my Neighbours.

But Supplies from the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, for my whole Ministry, were the special Desires, which I now presented before the Lord.

And the Manuscripts, which I have designed for the Press, here, or in London, I did solemnly commit into the Hands of the L[ord] Jesus Christ.

This Day, was not a Day of much Rapture to mee. Yett in the Close of the Day, I had some joyful Assurances,

<sup>1</sup> These prisoners called for much compassion and prayer on the part of the New Englanders. See 4 *Collections*, VIII. 360.

<sup>2</sup> "Poor mee" had been originally written.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin. The parenthesis is Mather's.

that the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, would yett fit mee for and use mee in eminent Services for Him.<sup>1</sup>

5 d. 5 m. [July.] *Lords-Day.* Several Times of late, when wrestling with the Lord, for such a wonderful Thing, I have received and uttered, a strong Perswasion, that some very *overturning Dispensations* of Heaven, will quickly befall the *French Empire*, and that such a mighty *Revolution* will happen quickly in that Kingdome, as to render the Almighty Power of the Lord Jesus Christ, illustrious forever. But this Day, in a great Congregation, the Perswasion grew into a *full Assurance*, as I was representing this Matter before the Lord, and His People accordingly heard mee declare as much among them.

*I will wait for the Lord, my God will hear mee!*

8 d. 5 m. The people of *Watertown* having had a *Strife* above half an hundred years old among them, about the Place of their *Meeting-house*, and the *Strife* being of late grown into an Extremity,<sup>2</sup> poor I was chosen, to give them a Sermon, on a Day of *Humiliation*, kept among them on this Occasion. Accordingly, this Day I visited them; and after my earnest Resignations of myself unto the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, for His Directions and Assistences, in the hard Services before mee, I did this Day, with a great Help from Heaven, preach unto the two Congregations of *Watertown* assembling in one Meeting-house, on Jam. 3. 16. *Where strife is, there is Confusion and every evil Work.* The Issue, I must now humbly leave unto the Lord.

<sup>1</sup> "14 d. 4 m. [June.] This Day was read unto the Church, a most poenitent and expressive Letter of Mrs. *Hannah Bishop* unto us: wherein, tho' she might have insisted on great Extenuations of her Miscarriage, shee rather wholly confined herself unto the Language of the deepest Repentance. Moreover, as a further Effect of the Admonition that wee sent unto her, shee did herself personally appear before the Church and acknowledge what shee had written. Hereupon, the Church voted, Satisfaction, and shee was restored unto the Communion." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II. See p. 189 n, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Two years had passed since Sewall and others had given a decision intended to heal all differences. Sewall, *Letter Book*, I. 141. 6 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I.

11 d. 5 m. *Saturday*. My having been laboriously employ'd at a *public Fast* three Dayes ago, will not now excuse mee from a *secret* one. The many Causes for *Humiliation* and *Supplication*, which attend mee, do cause mee to sett apart this *Day*, for *secret Prayers* before the Lord.

~~10~~ This Day, as I was crying unto my Lord Jesus Christ, and lying before Him, with Agonies of Desire, that whereas there were quickly very *great Things* to be done for His Name and Church in the World, Hee would please to accept of such a loathsome Wretch as I am, and employ mee to *do some of those Things*; And pleading, that it was doubtless a lawful Thing for mee to desire this Favour; for indeed, I had chosen it, as my chief Happiness, *to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ*, and I would relinquish every Thing, overlook every Thing, for the sake of this *one Thing*: I was melted into a Flood of Tears, which ran down my Face; the *Spirit* of my Lord Jesus Christ assured mee, that Hee would grant mee, that which I thus desired of Him.

18 d. 5 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of another *secret Fast* before the Lord. And I will recite the Occasions, with the Proceedings of it.

Having first confessed and bewayled, my manifold *Sinfulness* before [the] Lord, (wherein, my Meditations in course, on Psal. 130. 3. for my Sermon to Morrow, were some Assistance unto mee,) and obtained the Hope of Pardon, thro' the Lord Jesus Christ. I sett myself to consider, That, altho' in my Devotions I had still remembred the *Churches* and *Interests* of my Lord Jesus Christ, abroad in the World, yett I had not arrived unto a due *Enlarge-ment* of Soul, in my doing so.

Wherefore I now lamented before the Lord, the *Private-ness* and *Selfishness* of Spirit, which in my former Devotion had attended mee; and I resolved, that I, as poor and as vile, as I am, would now become a *Remembrancer* unto the Lord, for no less than whole *Peoples*, Nations, and King-

domes. I apprehended with myself that if I would thus lay to Heart the *Concerns* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the State of whole *Peoples*, and Continue, with extraordinary Supplications crying to Heaven, for mercy to them, I should bee more *Angelically* disposed and employed, than I have been heretofore; and I should prepare myself also for very *extensive Services* to bee done by mee; and I should enjoy unutterable *Communications* from the Holy Ghost then Delighting in mee; yea, and perhaps, *Manifestations* of what the Lord is *going to do in the Earth*.

This Day, from the Dust, where I lay prostrate, before the Lord, I lifted up my Cries;

For the coming of the *Kingdome* of my Lord Jesus Christ; and my Acquaintance with the *Characters* and *Approches* of it.

For the Conversion of the *Jewish Nation*, and for my own having the Happiness, at some Time or other, to baptise a *Jew*, that should by my Ministry, bee brought home unto the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

For a mighty, and speedy, *Revolution* upon the *French Empire*; and the Raising up of eminent Persons to *preach* the pure Gospel in it.

For the overturning, overturning, overturning of such Things, as are displeasing to the Lord Jesus Christ, in the *British Dominions*.

For the Directing of matters in the next *General Court* of this Province; and the Salvation of the Province, from *Sword*, and *Want*, as well as other Confusions.

In my Cries to Heaven, about the Matters, my Spirit was rewarded and comforted, with some inexpressible Irradiations; and in some Things, I arrived unto joyful Assurances, that the Lord had heard my Supplications.

☞ In the conclusion of the Day, a rapturous, trium-

<sup>1</sup> In 1702 Mr. Bradstreet, of Charlestown, baptised Simon, a Jew, for whose conversion he was instrumental. Sewall, *Diary*, II. 65.

phant, weeping *Faith*, caused mee, as I lay prostrate in the Dust on my Study-Floor, to conclude, that the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, should yett fill mee wonderfully.

This Day, an honest Man of *Salem*, gave mee a Visit, at the very Time, when the Lord was entertaining of mee, with some of my cheef Employments and Enjoyments in the Day. When I came out of my Study to him, hee odly gott mee into his Arms, and pray'd mee, to lett him serve mee; but hee fell a Discoursing, how prone wee all are to *spiritual Pride*, and what need wee all have to watch against it; and what poor, sorry, silly, *earthen Vessels*, the best of us are, after the *best* that God has done for us, or wee for him. Now hee not knowing in the least, how I had been engaged this Day, I could not but wonder at these Discourses, and ponder with myself, whether the *Good Angels* of the Lord Jesus Christ, might not have a particular Design in them.

23 d. 5 m. *Thursday*. This Day, was a general Fast thro' the Province.

A proper Exercise for such a Day, is for mee to think, what particular Points of *Reformation* are to bee now, in the Strength of Christ, resolved upon?

I answer myself: *Many*. But especially these,

1. Oh! when shall I *rise earlier*; that my Lord Jesus Christ may have more of my *morning Hours*!

2. I must bee exacter, in my Hours for *Family-Devotions*, and add unto the *Methods of Christianity* in them.

3. Something more of Care, must I take, to educate my little *Daughter*, for the Lord.

4. I have not said enough unto my *Servants* to bespeak Religion from them.

5. The *Children* in our Congregation, are not sufficiently inspected, in the Times of our public Exercises.

6. I grow too slack, in *pastoral Visits* of my Neighbours. Lord, help mee!

26 d. 5 m. *Lord's Day.* ~~16~~ This Day, while I was at Prayer, before my Sermon, in a great Assembly of People, I received a strange Assurance; it was with a *strong Hand of the Lord* bore in upon mee, and I could not butt utter it, before the Congregation; that the Almighty Arm of the Lord Jesus Christ, was going to do a strange work in *France*, and bring such a wonderful *Revolution* upon that Kingdome, that men *would not beleeve it tho' it were declared unto them.*

30 d. 5 m. Understanding that many, especially of our young People gave themselves a *Liberty*, to do Things not of *good Report*, especially, in using the scandalous *Games of Lottery.* I sett myself, in the Lecture, to bear my Testimony, against their Miscarriages, with a Sermon, on Act. 16. 2. *One well-reported of.*

And about this Time, I published, my late sermon to the General Assembly, under the Title of, THINGS FOR A DISTRESS'D PEOPLE TO THINK UPON.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, hoping thereby to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, I annexed an History of the late *Miracles* wrought by His Almighty Hand: as well as of the Deliverance lately granted unto the three Kingdomes, and all the English Dominions from the French Invasion.<sup>2</sup>

5 d. 6 m. [*August.*] The Lord Jesus Christ enabled mee, to travel about thirteen miles, and preach the Lecture to a great Congregation at *Redding*, with more than ordinary Assistences (from Luc. 2. 10.), and return home in the Evening. So great a Restoration of *Strength* am I favoured withal! And shall I not love my Lord Jesus Christ, with all my *Strength*, and study to lay out my *Strength* for His Glory!

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, for Duncan Campbell, 1696.

<sup>2</sup> "2 d. 6 m. [*August.*] This Day *James Fowle*, tendering a poenitent Confession of the Miscarriages for which the Censures of the Church had been upon him, was restored unto the Communion of the Church." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II. See p. 169 n, *supra*.

12 d. 6 m. ~~16~~ I kept this Day, as a *private Fast*, with some of my Neighbours, on the public Accounts: (and I did something that way, the next week also:) but in the Prayers of this Day, my Assurance was wonderfully renewed, and expressed, of a *marvellous Revolution hastning on the French Empire*.

*Memorandum.* About fifteen years ago, I bought a *Spanish Indian*, and bestowed him for a *Servant*, on my Father.<sup>1</sup> About three Years ago, *Sir William Phips*, our Governour, bestowed a *Spanish Indian* for a *Servant* on myself. My *Servant* affecting the Sea, I permitted him, to go to Sea; and being an ingenuous Fellow, I gave him an Instrument for his Freedom, if hee serv'd mee till the End of the year 1697. Two years ago, the *French* took him, and I lost him. The Loss occasion'd mee to make a cheerful Resignation, unto the Will of God. But I was hereupon perswaded and often expressed my Perswasion, that my *Servant* would bee return'd unto mee. In the Beginning of the year, an English *Man of War*, by taking the vessel, wherein my *Servant* was, retook him. Nevertheless, the *Captain* of the *Man of War*, being a Fellow, that had no Principles of Honour or Honesty in him, I could, by no means recover my servant out of his hands, who intended to make a perpetual *Slave* of him. So, I gave over my Endeavours to recover him; chiefly troubled for the Condition of the *poor Servant*. But then, a strange Conjunction of Circumstances fell out, that the churlish *Captain* was compelled without any Consideration, but what I should please, to *restore* Him. And my *Servant* being so strangely returned, I sett myself to make him a *Servant* of the Lord.

2 d. 7 m. [*September.*] This Day, I sett apart for Prayer, with Fasting, in my Study.

Among such Matters of Supplication, as I this Day pre-

<sup>1</sup> See under June 19, 1681, p. 22, *supra*.

sented before the Lord, (such as I have heretofore address'd Heaven withal) one was, for the special Favours of the Lord Jesus Christ unto mee, with the Ministry of His good Angels, in a Journey to *Salem*, and *Ipswich*, which I have the next week before mee.

6 d. 7 m. *Lords-Day*. In the Forenoon, this Day, the Lord inclined mee, in our great Congregation, to putt into our public Prayers the *particular Name*, of an honest, and an aged *Neighbour*, like to perish in an horrible Captivity, without hope of *Redemption*; And in the Afternoon, that very *Neighbour*, was by a surprising *Providence*, brought home in safety to us; whereof much Notice was taken by the people of God in the Place.

9 d. 7 m. I spent good part of this Day, with other Ministers of the Town, in Prayer. And the Lord exceedingly irradiated my Soul, by His Good Spirit, especially when praying for that Spirit: and when saying, "Lord, wee know, wee that are Parents feel it so, that if one of our Children should come and say unto us, *Father, there is one thing that would make us perfectly and forever Happy, and it is a thing that you can do for us, by speaking of one Word; will you please to do it?* Wee could sooner dy, than deny that thing unto them. Now the Hearts of the kindest *Fathers* on Earth, are Stones, and Flints, in comparison of thy more fatherly Compassions. Wherefore wee now come, and say unto thee, *Father, there is one Thing, that would make us wonderfully happy; one Word of thine can do this Thing for us; yea, and wee are sure, tis infinitely pleasing unto thee, that wee should ask for this Thing; Tis, that thou wouldst please to bestow thy Holy Spirit upon us!*"

11 d. 7 m. A Great *Storm* seem'd breeding in the Weather; but being in Distress about my *Journey*, I wholly left it with my Lord Jesus Christ. So I undertook my Journey to *Salem*, and the storm strangely held off, till my Return, which was above a week after.

At *Salem*, on the Lord's-Day (13 d. 7 m.) I preached both parts of the Day, *the Gospel to the Poor* (on Math. 11. 5.), with great Assistences. On Tuesday [15th], I went as far as *Ipswich*, accompanied with many Friends; and on Thursday, preached the Lecture there, (on Luc. 1. 50.) with yett greater Assistences. On Friday [18th], I returned unto *Salem*, and on Saturday, unto *Boston*. A Journey, full of Comfort, of Mercy, and of Service, and more than answering all my prayers concerning it.

In the Beginning of the following Week, I preached on *Lord's-Day*, on *Tuesday* [22d], on *Wednesday*, and on *Thursday*; and on the *Thursday*, I preached unto the General Assembly of the Province, upon Rev. 2. 5. the Way to prevent the Removal of our *Golden Candlesticks*. In interweaving into my Discourse, the Condition of the Land, and especially of many particular *Churches* in the Land; and in testifying particularly unto the *Purity* of Churches, that wee profess, in opposition to the English *Will-worship*; and in petitioning for the Safety of the *Colledge* (whose Charter, the Representatives voted immediately after the Sermon, to restore) from whence all our Churches were to bee supplied; I enjoy'd the special Assistences of Heaven.

2 d. 8 m. [October.] *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a secret Fast in my Study. Especially to obtain Mercy for this Land in its deplorable Circumstances, and a mighty Revolution upon the Kingdomes of Great *Britain* and upon the *French* Empire. As well as to obtain the special Assistences of Grace for the various Concerns of my Ministry; and the safety of my many particular Friends now going to sea, and my affayrs with them.

The Lord left mee not altogether without some Impressions upon my Mind, of my Acceptance with Him, and Hee did particularly renew my weeping Assurances and Evidences, that His *Holy Spirit* would yett more gloriously take possession of mee.

Moreover, I find in myself, a strong Inclination to learn the *Spanish* Language, and in that Language transmitt Catechisms, and Confessions, and other vehicles of the Protestant-Religion, into the *Spanish* Indies. Who can tell whether the *Time* for our Lord's taking Possession of those Countreyes, even the *sett Time* for it, bee not *come*? This Matter I now solemnly pray'd over; beseeching the Lord, that Hee would accept of my Service in it; and I have, of late often done so!

It may bee, I shall find, that this thing is of the Lord!

10 d. 8 m. Altho' I did this Week, spend some Time, with certain Christians keeping a Day of Prayer for Captives in the Hands of cruel Enemies, (and, I uttered a *Particular Faith*, for a wonderful Deliverance of some Captives; which perhaps, might have some Answer, in the Newes that came the Day following, of several Persons, escaped out of the Hands of the Indians; tho' this must not bee all the Answer:) Nevertheless, I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a secret Fast in my study: and the occasions of my doing so, were the very same, upon which I was the last week, in this way before the Lord. Much Deadness was upon my sinful, slothful, woful Heart, in all the Exercises of the Day.

☞ This Day, With Reflection, renewing and reviving, the Cares of my Mind about the Government of my Speech, I do here insert the following *Rules*, which I have hitherto in part observed, that I may observe them, yett more watchfully and exactly, before the Lord; and I give up all my *speaking* Powers and organs unto the Holy Spirit of my Lord Jesus Christ, that being possessed by Him, I may be by Him assisted unto the Observation of the *Rules*, thus imposed.

I. May I not affect *Loquacitie*, in my Discourses, but contrary thereunto, affect much *Deliberation*. The *Gravitie*

and the *Discretion*, accompanying such a Caution, will bee of more Consequence to mee, in all Companies, than the Reputation of *Wit* which by a greater *Volubility* of Tongue, might easily bee acquired: And, *in many words, there wants not sin.*

II. May I studiously decline to utter any thing, that I may foresee, will be *useless*, and much more, every Thing that may bee *hurtful*, and *sinful*, to bee uttered. It must bee my Ambition, every where to speak *usefully*, and only those things, that some one may bee the *better* or the *wiser* for.

III. May I, with all the *Contrivance* imaginable, improve Opportunities, to say something or other, that may particularly sett off, some *Glory* of my Lord JESUS CHRIST. I would every where contrive, if it bee possible to lett fall some Sentence or other, whereby some high Thoughts, of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, may bee produced in them that hear mee.<sup>1</sup>

17 d. 8 m. *Saturday*. This Day I was again engaged, as I was this Day se'nnight, in the Exercises of a secret Fast before the Lord.

☞ And the Lord assured my weeping Faith, That being possessed by the Holy Spirit of my Lord Jesus Christ, I shall bee employ'd in great Service for Him, which is the *one Thing*, that I desire above every Thing else.

☞ I have this Day also, wrestled with the Lord, until I have obtained it, that a mighty Convulsion shall bee given to the *French Empire*; and that *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, shall bee speedily Illuminated, with glorious Anticipations of the *Kingdome of God*. Moreover, a Revolution upon the *Turkish Empire*, which is now attempted by Troubles in *Asia*, I cryed unto the Lord for; that so wee may have another good Symptom of the Approach of the

<sup>1</sup> On this day he went to Cambridge, and Sewall notes: "Mr. Cotton Mather took off Mr. Chauncy and Oakes's Epitaphs as I read them to him." *Diary*, I. 435.

Time, when the *Kingdomes of this world shall become the Kingdomes of our Lord and of His Christ.*<sup>1</sup>

Tis the Apprehension of *mighty Changes* at hand, that Causes mee to bee thus extraordinarily before the Lord. I would by extraordinary Devotions, *prepare* for those Changes and obtain from the Lord Jesus Christ, the Mercy of being eminently *serviceable* in them.

30 d. 8 m. I sett apart this Day for the Duties of a secret Thanksgiving.

I endeavoured this Day, to peruse the Records of Mercies, which I have made on former Dayes of *Thanksgiving*; and I studied in this, as well as in the other Exercises of the Day, to find in some contrary *Suff'rings* of my Lord JESUS CHRIST, the Reason of all the *Mercies* and *Comforts* wherewith I have been favoured.

I also enumerated before the Lord, the Heads of His Mercies, to mee, as they are mentioned in my Book of, *Winter-Meditations*.

After which, I did yett again, in another Action, recapitulate the special Mercies of the Lord JESUS CHRIST unto mee, in that Method, a *Work*, full of Mercies; an *House* full of Mercies; a *Church*, full of Mercies.

Hereto I added, my Acknowledgments of the Mercies, which this *Land*, and the whole *English Nation*, have of late received from the Lord.

And that my Heart might bee kept in Tune, I did all the Day long, multiply *Hallelujahs* unto my Lord Jesus Christ, with *Ejaculations* fetch'd out of *numberless Occasions*, in almost every Thing that I encountred withal.

<sup>1</sup> Increase Mather drew conclusions from the Turks. "Your last, about the downfall of the Turks, and theyr hastening towards a period is great neues. The Lord perfect that great work. If he that was to last for a year, a month, a day and an hour [Rev. ix. 15] bee the Turkish Empire, which began in 1300, then he passes away about 1691, and then woe to Babylon. And the ruine of the Turkes by intestine Jarrs is a paralell to the Lord's dealings of old with such kind of Enemies to His people." *Joshua Moody to Samuel Nowell* November 19, 1688. 4 *Collections*, VIII, 371.

In the close of the Day, I gave Thanks to my Lord JESUS CHRIST, for spiritual and eternal Blessings; but in a special manner for *His making use of mee to serve His Name*; and I earnestly cryed unto Him, giving up myself to the possession of His *Holy Spirit*, that I may enjoy yett much more of this *matchless Mercy*. Herewithal, I gave Thanks to my Lord JESUS CHRIST, for the Ministry of His good *Angels*, which Hee had granted unto such a miserable and contemptible Wretch as I am, and for the manifold Benefit, which I have received by their Ministry; And whereas I have, by His Gift *My own Angel*, I call'd upon that *Angel* (in imitation of the 103d Psalm) to join with mee, in glorifying of my Lord Jesus Christ exceedingly.

In this Day, I sang many *Hymns*, in praise of my most precious Lord Jesus Christ. And, as an Expression of my Thankfulness unto Him, I sent a Token of several *peeces of Eight*, unto a poor Man, a Preacher in my Neighbourhood, who, I hope, is a good Man, however hee bee not of my Perswasion, but a froward *Anabaptist*.<sup>1</sup>

I also sett myself, to consider, *what services I might now further do, for my dear Lord JESUS CHRIST*; and I resolved upon several *Services*, the mention whereof, I shall make, if at all, not here, but as they come to bee performed.

15 d. 9 m. [November.] Observing the Death of some young Men, in our Neighbourhood, by Sicknes contracted in an unsuccessful Expedition lately attempted, I took occasion to preach unto a very vast Assembly of young People, on Psal. 78. 63. *The Fire consumed their young Men*. And I sett before our young Folks, as lively as I could, the Judgments which had been upon their Generation, and the Methods to escape those Judgments.

<sup>1</sup> It is safe to assume that Mather uses this term in no special sense, but merely to designate one who believed on baptism otherwise than he did. The word is now almost wholly applied to the anabaptists of Germany and elsewhere at the period of the Reformation.

Lord! prosper this one Endeavour more.<sup>1</sup>

About this Time, I took a Discourse which I had uttered at the Lecture of Boston, the last Spring; on Luk. 13. 35. Expressing the Use, that *All* should make of the terrible Disasters wherewith *some* are afflicted. Unto this I added a *Collection* of terrible and barbarous Things undergone by some of our *English Captives* in the Hands of the *Eastern Indians*. And I annexed hereunto, a memorable *Narrative* of a good Woman, who relates in a very Instructive Manner, the Story of her own *Captivity* and *Deliverance*. I thought, that by exposing these things to the Public, I might very much promote the *general Repentance*, which ought to be the Effect of the Divine Dispensations, hitherto not enough regarded by the Generality of our people; and therewithal give a Testimony to the *Justice* and *Goodness* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yea, I could not easily contrive, a more significant Way, to pursue these Ends; not only, in respect of the *Nature* of the Book itself, which is *historical* as well as *theological*; but also, in respect of its coming into all Corners of the Countrey, and being read with a greedy Attention; which, by an *Advertisement*<sup>2</sup> of it in the *Almanack*, was further accommodated. So, I published it, under the Title, of, GREAT EXEMPLES OF JUDGMENT AND MERCY.

28 d. 9 m. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer, with Fasting, in my Study: on such Accounts as have caused mee formerly to be thus engaged.

Nothing extraordinary occurred in the Actions of the Day.

<sup>1</sup> 15 d. 9 m. [November.] This Day upon the Testimony of many Witnesses, Mr. William Coleman was convicted of Revelling and of Drunkenness, with a scandalous Company routed by the Watch and other Officers about the Middle of the Night, between the 9th and the 10th Instant.

"The Revelling hee confessed; the Drunkenness he denied. In the whole he showed such Insensibility (and the Church was also satisfied, that hee had of late in other Instances abandoned himself to a disorderly Life), that the Church now agreed for his being laid under the Censure of an Admonition; which was now accordingly dispensed unto him." *Colton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> In Tulley, 1697.

The General Court now sitting, a Committee of the *Representatives* apply'd themselves unto the Ministers in this Town, to furnish the General Court with some Thoughts, that might have some effectual Tendency towards the *Reformation* of the Land. The Ministers desired mee to draw up an Instrument (which I did,) wherein there was an impartial Recapitulation of the Sins, whereby the Divine Anger has been provoked against the Countrey; with a call to Humiliation for those Sins, and *one Day* particularly indicated for that purpose; whereto there was annexed, something both directing and exciting, all that have any power, whether civil or sacred, in their Hands, to use it, for the *Reformation* of a Land, now upon the Brink of Ruine.

This Instrument, was read and pass'd in the House of *Representatives*; but, thro' some unhappy Influence, they added an Article unto it, which was not of my Composure; and that Article gave such Offence unto the *Councillors*, that the whole Instrument there met with Opposition, and *all* come to *Nothing*.<sup>1</sup>

☞ Yett I was perswaded, that I should shortly have some singular Opportunity, to publish the Articles of this Instrument, unto my Countrey, with some special Advantages.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Dec'r 2. 1696. Now about Capt. Byfield brings in a long Bill from the deputys for a Fast and Reformation, written by Mr. Cotton Mather, to which a Streamer was added expressing that Partiality in Courts of Justice was obvious: with a vote on it that 500 should be printed, should be read; and sent up for Concurrence: 'twas deny'd; and our Bill for a Fast was sent down; Dept's deny'd that. Gov'r told them the way was unusual, they had taken, sending out a Committee, calling the Ministers, voting all, and never letting the Council know: that it pertain'd principally to the Gov'r and Council to set forth such orders with a motion from them. A while after Capt. Byfield came in, and said 'twas no new thing, and they had taken no wrong step. Little was said to him. It seems this message is enter'd in their Booke. The Council were exceedingly grieved to be thus roughly treated." See Sewall, *Diary*, I. 439, 440, where the "streamer" and the accepted proclamation are printed. It was on the fast day thus appointed that Judge Sewall, who had sat in judicature in Salem, handed to Mr. Willard his famous "bill," of confession and contrition for his part in the witchcraft persecutions.

<sup>2</sup> "About Dec'r 18, Mr. Mather, Allen, Willard, C. Mather give in a paper

20 d. 10 m. [December.] *Lords-Day*. This Day, there being a violent *Storm* arisen,<sup>1</sup> I laid aside the Discourse, which I had prepared for my Congregation and with plentiful Assistences from the Lord Jesus Christ. I discoursed on the Lord Jesus Christ as a *Refuge from the Storms of the Wrath of God*. (My Text was Isa. 25. 4.)

Before the Sermon, as I was praying in the great Congregation, it was very strongly imprinted on my Mind, that I must pray for some of our *sea-faring* Friends, who might at this Instant, bee in Distress, upon our *Coast*. I did so with much *Particularitie* and with a *Particular Faith* for mercy to bee vouchsafed unto some such distressed Neighbours.

Now, within a few Minutes, after the Prayer was ended the Congregation heard several great Guns fired, by a vessel in the Bay, wanting *Help*; and Heaven sent that *Help* unto the poor People aboard, that the vessel thro' extreme Dangers, gott safely in.

26 d. 10 m. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a secret Fast in my Study, on such occasions, as were offered, in my own exceeding Sinfulness, Unwatchfulness, and Unfruitfulness: and my want of Divine Assistance for the Discharge of my Ministry: and such likewise, as I saw, in the Condition of my Family, (my Consort not having many Weeks to go ere her Travel bee expected:) and in the Confusion, either distressing, or threatening of the Land, (especially the unsettlement of the Colledge:) and in the State of the Church abroad.

This Day, I was exceedingly refreshed, with Tidings arriving from *England*, concerning the *Signs* of a quick and subscribed by them, shewing their dislike of our draught for the Colledge Charter and desiring that their Names might not be entered therein. One chief reason was their appointing the Gov'r and Council for Visitor." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 441. This provision was in the act of June 4, 1697, incorporating Harvard College, and led to its being disallowed by the Crown. *Province Laws*, I. 290.

<sup>1</sup> "A very great Snow is on the ground," Sewall records under December 21. *Diary*, I. 442.

a great Fall coming on the *Turkish Empire*;<sup>1</sup> and concerning the *Hopes* of a speedy Peace with *France*,<sup>2</sup> and the Restoration of the *Protestants* unto their ancient Liberties, in that Kingdome.

On the Day following, I administred the *Lord's Supper*. But there being a mighty *Snow* upon the Ground, I diverted from the Subject, which I intended; and suddenly composed a Discourse, on, Psal. 68. 14. *Shee was white as the Snow in Salmon*. In the Close of this Discourse, urging upon my own particular Church, that wee would earnestly endeavour to become a Church, as *white* as the *Snow*, I lett fall these words; *I do verily beleeve, and I do this Day openly foretell; (tis with some Grief and pain of Soul, that I foretel it!) that there are Church-Members among us, whom the Lord Jesus Christ, will terribly give up, to such Blindness of Mind, and Hardness of Heart, that they will ere long bee brought forth; such horrible Scandals will they fall into, that they shall bee brought forth, as ripe for Church-Censures to bee dispensed unto them.*

Within a few Months, this was terribly accomplished, in several Instances.<sup>3</sup>

2d. 11 m. [January.] *Saturday*. This Day I was again before the Lord employ'd in Exercises of a *secret Fast*, for such Reason as caused mee the last Week thus to wait upon Him.

And very good was this Day unto mee.

I had assured unto mee, the Pardon of all my Sins, thro' the Righteousness of my Lord Jesus Christ.

☞ And, with a Flood of Tears, it was told mee, from the Lord, that His Holy Spirit, would mercifully and marvellously take a particular Possession of my *speaking Organs*, and Cause mee with a free, fitt, useful Speech, to glorify Him exceedingly.

<sup>1</sup> See Sewall, *Letter Book*, I. 173.

<sup>2</sup> News had come, by way of Rhode Island, that the King of France was dead or dying.

<sup>3</sup> Written in the margin.

I petitioned for Assistance from Heaven, to all the Concerns of my Ministry.

I had in my Prayers, particularly a strange Perswasion,<sup>1</sup> that I should ere long have a notable Accession, made unto the Treasures of my *Library*. I wonder what should bee the meaning of *this*.

I cry'd, That my poor Countrey might not bee overwhelmed in Ruines; but, that if Ruines must come I may bee advised of them, and I and mine preserved from them.

And I spread before the Lord, the Condition of His Churches abroad. I pray'd for the *Reformation*, to bee wonderfully revived, and advanced. Especially, in Great *Britain*, and in *France*. And I pray'd, that the poor *Vaudois* may not bee ruin'd by the Peace now made between *France* and *Savoy*. I pray'd likewise for further Mortifications upon the *Turkish* Empire; wherein wee may see signs of the Kingdome of God approaching.

I was also, afraid lest there were secret and horrid Sinners, in our church; and I cry'd unto the Lord, that none of their Sins (for all which I humbled myself) might bee laid unto my Charge, and give unto the *Angels of Death*, an Advantage against mee, I pleaded, the *great Sacrifice for the Congregation*.

14 d. 11 m. This Day, being a general FAST, throughout the province, the Lord mercifully carried mee thro' the Duties of it.

And I am willing, in this place to insert, the Articles of *Confession*, which I then publickly insisted on.

In a growing *Apostasy* from that religious Disposition, that signalized the first Planting of these Colonies, wee have sinned exceedingly.

The Spirit of *this World*, hath brought an epidemical Death upon the Spirit, and *Power of Godliness*.

<sup>1</sup> "See the 43d year, of these memoirs," is written in the margin.

The glorious *Gospel* of our Lord Jesus Christ, here enjoy'd with much *Plenty* as well as *Purity*, hath not been *thankfully* and *fruitfully* entertained with such as have heard the *joyful Sound*.

The *Covenant of Grace* hath been by Multitudes not submitted unto, and of them that have submitted unto it, Multitudes have not walked according to the sacred *Obligations* thereof.

The unreasonable Vices of rash and vain *Swearing*, with hellish *Cursing*, in the Mouths of many, have rendred them guilty Sinners.

A Flood of excessive *Drinking*, hath begun to drown very much of *Christianity*, yea, and of *Civility* itself, in many places.

Some *English*, by selling of strong Drink unto the *Indians*, have not only prejudiced among them the Successes of the *Word of Life*, but also been the faulty and bloody Occasions of *Death* unto them.

A *Vanity of Apparel*, hath been affected by many persons, who have been so *vain*, as to *glory in their Shame*.

*Wicked Sorceries* have been practised in the Land, and yett in the Troubles from the *Divels*, thereby brought in among us, those Errors, on both Hands, were committed, which wee have Cause to bewayl with much Abasement of Soul before the Lord.

The *Lord's-Day* of sacred Rest, hath been disturbed with so many Profanations, that wee may not wonder if the Land see no *Rest*.

The woful Decay of good *Family-Discipline*, hath opened the Flood-gates, for Evils, innumerable, and almost irremediable.

*Magistrates, Ministers*, and others that have served the *Public*, have been but great *Sufferers* by their *Services*, and mett with unrighteous Discouragements.

Some that have belonged unto this Countrey, have perpetrated very detestable *Pyracies*, in other Parts of the World.

Wee have in former Years, used *unjustifiable Hardships*, upon some that have conscientiously dissented from our Perswasions in Religion.

With scandalous *Contentions*, and *Animosities*, wee have been inflamed one against another.

The Sins of *Uncleanness*, in many and the grossest Instances have defiled the Land.

The *Joy of Harvest*, hath been filled with Folly and Lewdness, and forgotten the glad Service of God, whom wee should have served in the *Abundance of all things*.

Much *Fraud* hath been used in the Dealings of Many, and the *Spirit of Oppression* hath made a Cry.

*Falshood* and *Slander*, hath been continually carrying of *Darts* thro' the Land.

And the Succession and amazing Judgments of God upon us, for our thus trespassing have not reclaimed us, but wee have *gone on still in our Trespases*.

I thought the Lord, in my public Prayer assured mee, that *New England* should not yett bee utterly given up unto Desolation, until more of the dear Servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, bee fetched away from the midst of us.

15 d. 11 m. Being afflicted last Night, with discouraging Thoughts as if unavoidable *Marks*, of the *Divine Displeasure* must overtake my *Family*, for my not appearing with *Vigor* enough to stop the proceedings of the Judges, when the Inextricable Storm from the *Invisible World* assaulted the Countrey, I did this morning, in prayer with my Family, putt my Family into the Merciful Hands of the Lord.<sup>1</sup> And, with Tears, I received ~~me~~ Assurance of the Lord, that Marks of His Indignation should not follow my Family, but that having the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ pleading for us, *Goodness* and *Mercy* should follow us, and the signal *Salvation* of the Lord.

23 d. 11 m. I attempted, this Day, the Exercises of a secret FAST before the Lord. But so extremely cold was the weather, that in a warm Room, on a great Fire, the Juices forced out at the End of short Billets of Wood, by the Heat of the Flame, on which they were laid, yett froze into Ice, at their coming out. This Extremity of the Cold caused mee to desist from the purpose, which I was upon; because I saw it impossible to serve the Lord, without such Distraction, as was inconvenient.<sup>2</sup>

29 d. 11 m. Spreading the Condition of my Family

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the public avowal of Sewall, as expressed in the "bill" he handed to Mr. Willard to be read in the church, may have quickened this course in Mather. See Sewall, *Diary*, I. 445.

<sup>2</sup> See Hutchinson, *History*, II. 101.

before the Lord, Hee said unto my tearful Faith, and then with such a Faith I also said it, unto the Lord, that Hee will bless my *Family*; that my *Consort* shall have an easy, and an Happy *Travail* and the Circumstances of it, shall fall out seasonably, that our *Servant* under a painful Fever, which almost all the Spectators conclude beyond Hope of Recovery, shall yett have more Time granted unto her to serve the Lord.

30 d. 11 m. *Saturday*. The *Angel of Death*, stands with a drawn Sword over my sinful Family; my Consort is every Hour expecting her *Travail*, in Circumstances none of the safest; one of my Servants lies dangerously, and they think, desperately ill, and miserably tormented with a *rheumatic Fever*.

To deprecate the Effects of the Divine Displeasure, I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a secret FAST before the Lord. I confessed and bewayled my manifold *Sinfulness*, and fled unto the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, my Surety, for my Atonement. I spred the Case of my Family before the Lord; The Lord assured mee, of *Salvations* coming to my Family.

*Memorandum*. This Day, my little Daughter *Nibby*, fell directly upon the *Fire*, and yett by a wonderful Providence of Heaven, was pull'd out without the least scorch upon Hands or Face, to damnify her.

4 d. 12 m. [*February*.] This Day, was a Public Thanksgiving; and on this Day the Lord helped mee, with the rest of our Congregation, to make a liberal *Contribution*<sup>1</sup> for the *Propagation of the Gospel* unto the dark Places in our Borders. In the year past, I have been employ'd many Wayes, for the Direction and Encouragement, of that work; (tho' I am far from being the Cheef in it!) and the Lord prospers it.

And I now wrote, a *circular Letter*, unto the Ministers,

<sup>1</sup> Sixty pounds say the Church Records.

in the Province, (which others also signed) for the further Prosecution of this matter.

7 d. 12 m. *Lord's-Day*. Is not the *Lord good unto the Soul that waits for Him*. Oh! how great is the Goodness of God, unto those who putt their Trust in Him!

This Morning, a little after one a clock, my Consort had an easy, and an happy, Travail, and all the Circumstances of it, fell out most seasonably. Shee was delivered, of a *Daughter*; a very hearty and comely Infant; which this Day also, my Father baptised. I gave her the Name of *Hannah*, with my Desires, that shee may bee a *gracious* Child, and imitate those of her Name, which are commemorated in the Oracles of God.

My sick Servant also did recover wonderfully.

10 d. 12 m. The people of *Charl[e]stown*, being about the Choice of a Minister, I earnestly advised 'em, That they would not affront the Lord Jesus Christ, by doing so important a Matter, without first making their solemn Addresses unto Him, for Direction. Wherefore they sett apart this Day for those Addresses; and tho' I did not preach with them, as they desired mee, but I desired, and obtained, an elder and abler person to do it, yett I went over and pray'd with them; and enjoy'd the special Presence of the Holy Spirit of Christ, with mee, in doing so.

My Studies and Subjects, for my public Ministry, in the year past, have been some of them, already mentioned. The Rest were such as these.

I had begun to handle, the Paragraphs of the Gospel preached by the *Angels of Heaven*, to the *Shepherds of Bethlehem*. This year found mee, at Luk. 2. 12.

I went on, till I arrived at Ver. 20. on 17 d. 3 m. whereon I made a sacramental Discourse, as I had also done on 14. 15.

I concluded my seventeen Sermons, on that portion of Scripture, with a Discourse, on the Visit unto our Lord made by the Magicians, of *Kedemah* [East], at the Invitation of the Glory, which they saw of the Angels thus appearing (as a star) over *Bethlehem*. on Math. 2. 12.

And added another Sermon, on Math. 21. 19. about the Danger of *Unfruitfulness* under such a Gospel. (7 d. 4 m.)

This Year also found mee preaching, on 2. Cor. 5. 14. the *Love of Christ* constraining: which I handled in three Sermons.

I then considering it, as a Time wherein wee were brought into *Depths* of Iniquity and Calamity preached over the whole 130th Psalm. I began it, 28 d. 4 m. and finish't it, 18 d. 8 m. with *nine Sermons*. Afterwards, I preached *nine Sermons*, on the Sum of the Gospel, in the three Last Verses, of the 52d. Chapter of Isaiah, Begun 8 d. 9 m. Finished 7 d. 12 m.

On sacramental Occasions, I preached, three Sermons on, Joh. 14. 6. Christ, the *Way, Truth, Life*.

And on 1. Tim. 3. 16. The *great Mystery*, one sermon. Another on *God Manifest in the Flesh*. A Third on *Justified in the Spirit*. And on 1. Pet. 1. 3 [2]. The *Sprinkling of Christ*.

On other Lord's-Dayes, these were the Subjects of my Sermons.

Having on a public Fast, handled the Prayers, and Alms of *Cornelius*, I did on the Lord's-day following handle from Act. 11. 15. The *Repentance* which was the Effect of the Gospel preach'd unto him. (5 d. 2 m.)

I preached on Psal. 37. 16. The Betterness of the *little* that a righteous man enjoys. (In a Time of *Scarcity*, 3 d. 3 m.)

On Ezek. 7. 26. *Mischief* upon *Mischief*, (when many of our vessels, and Neighbours, one after another had miscarried at Sea. 21 d. 4 m.)

On Hos. 2. 8, 9. The Cause, why wee loose our *temporal Blessings*. (Upon Losses multiplied. 26 d. 8 m.)

On Prov. 18. 10. The *strong Tower*, (when the Town alarmed from the French, was fortifying 23 d. 6 m.)

On Luk. 16. 2. The Account of *Stewardship*. (20 d. 7 m.)

On Psal. 6. 9. The Nature, Meaning, and Signs, of a *Particular Faith*, in Prayer. (On the Occasion of meeting with many strange Instances of it. 3 d. 8 m.)

On Prov. 23. 26. Giving the *Heart* unto God. (25 d. 8 m.)

On Psal. 78. 63. *Young men* consumed. (On a dreadful Instance of the divine Judgment agt. the young people of N. E. 15 d. 9 m.)<sup>1</sup>

On Prov. 27. 1. presuming on *To Morrow*. (When many *sudden Deaths* had lately happened. 6 d. 10 m.)

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph was struck out.

My monthly Lectures, besides those already mentioned, in the former pages, were

On Joh. 15. 8. bearing *much Fruit*. (When there was an Auditory of Ministers, at the Commencement. 2 d. 5 m.)

On 2. Chron. 32. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, select Clauses, in each of those Verses. (When the Town was at Work upon their Fortifications. 27 d. 6 m.)

On Prov. 19. 11. For the Cure of *Anger*. (Having had Advice of angry Disturbances, frequently happening, where there is more than ordinary reason to watch against rash Anger. 22 d. 8 m.)

On Prov. 5. 11. The Thoughts of Men, *at the Last*. (19 d. 9 m.)

On Luc. 10. 42. The *one Thing needful* (17 d. 10 m.)

When there was a public Fast, 23 d. 5 m., I preached on, Job. 42. 2. Christ, *able to do every Thing*. And another, 14 d. 11 m. I preach'd on Num. 14. 19. *Pardon* to be desired for a perishing people.

When there was a public Thanksgiving. One for Deliverance of the Nation from the late Plot, 18 d. 4 m. I preached on Psal. 102. 16. The *glorious Times at Hand*.

Another, 4 d. 12 m. for the Mercies of the year, on Lam. 3. 22. Mercies that wee are not consumed.

1697

THE XXXV<sup>TH</sup> YEAR

Terret me Tota Vita Mea; num apparet mihi, aut peccatum, aut tota sterilitas. *Anselm.*

*Tully*, in his Second Book, *De Natura Deorum*, saies, *Nemo Vir Magnus sine aliquo Afflatu Divino unquam fuit.* [II. lxvi.]

THE XXXV<sup>TH</sup> YEAR OF MY AGE

12 d. 12 m. [February.] 1696-7. Friday. Being this Day thirty four Years old, I sett apart this Day, for a *Thanksgiving*, to bee offered unto God, in my Retirements; from a sense of the great Obligations unto *Thankfulness* which my Life, hath now, for thirty four Years together, been filled withal.

In the former Part of the Day, tho' I mett with much Interruption, by Company that visited mee, I did several Things, to express my Praises unto God in my Lord Jesus Christ.

I paraphrased, improved and applied, the whole *Hundred and Third* Psalms, on my Knees before the Lord.

I deliberately read over a *Catalogue* of the Divine Dispersations towards mee from the Beginning; particularly Blessing of God, on each Article.

I distinctly perused, what I have recorded, in *the Year past*; with grateful Reflections on each Paragraph.

And I sang such Things as were suitable.

In the latter Part of the Day I largely acknowledged unto the Lord, the more special Instances, wherein His Favours had been bestow'd upon mee. The Heads enu-

merated in my *Winter Meditations*, were those, which I chiefly regarded in these Acknowledgments.

But unto each of these Things, I annexed a threefold Amplification.

First, I confessed, that I had observed, many in the world, *lesser Sinners* than myself, labouring under the *contrary Miseries*.

Secondly, I ascribed still unto some such *Sufferings* of my Lord Jesus Christ, the *Purchase* of my Deliverance from *Sufferings*, in my several *Enjoyments*.

Thirdly, I owned, from such *Parallels*, as the *Scriptures of Truth* afforded mee, the Agency of the good *Angels*, employ'd by the Lord of Heaven, to convey unto mee, the *Enjoyments*, wherein I am rejoicing.

Then I sang suitable Things.

But in the Evening, tho' I were so spent with the foregoing Exercises, that I thought I had not Strength to proceed any further, I laid myself prostrate on my Study-floor before the Lord.

And there did the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, after a wonderful Manner, irradiate my mind, and quicken mee, and rejoice mee, with wondrous Assurances, that Hee would possess mee, and employ mee, and grant mee to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ exceedingly. Yea, the *good Angels* of that Holy Spirit, were so near unto mee, in my rapturous Praises of my Lord-Redeemer, that the *Prælibations* of Heaven which I enjoy'd in this Matter, are *not fitt here to be uttered*.

But perceiving that it was now a Time with mee, wherein I might obtain, even what I would, of the Lord, I took this Time to cry unto Him, that the *Spirit of Reformation*, may mightily come down upon the Nations of *Europe*, and that a mighty *Revolution*, upon *France*, and upon *Great Britain*, particularly, may accompany it. It will be so! *This poor Man cried, and the Lord heard his Cry*, for this glorious Matter.

18 d. 12 m. Considering, That the people of *Connecticut* Colony were the last year bless'd with a plentiful Harvest, while the Harvest so failed in several Parts of this Province, as to expose the Poor in some Towns to no small Difficulties; and understanding, that some of the good People in *Connecticut*, would liberally and bountifully express their Thankfulness to God, in Charity to our Poor, if they were call'd upon: I wrote as vigorous a *Letter* as I could, unto the Governour there, for the procuring of this Matter; and the Ministers hereabouts, were so kind, as to sign the Letter.<sup>1</sup>

I since understand, that this *Letter* was read in all the Churches, of that Colony; who thereupon, made a very liberal Collection of many Hundreds of Bushels of corn, for the Releef of the *Poor*, in the *Northern Towns* of this Province.<sup>2</sup>

20 d. 12 m. I sett apart this Day, for *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, in my Study. My Administration of the *Eucharist*, on the Morrow, with a Sermon on, *Christ seen of Angels*, causes mee this Day, to bee at particular Pains that I may come to enjoy, first the *Heart*, and then the *Tongue* of *Angels*.

The Concerns of my *Ministry*, and of my *Family*, I this Day, spread particularly before the Lord. But these were not all; for I sett myself, to wrestle with the Lord, prostrate in the Dust before Him, on the behalf, of *whole Nations*. I cried importunately, unto the Lord, for the *Reformation*, to bee revived, and perfected, not only in *Great Britain*, but in *France* also, with a mighty *Revolution*. The *Angels* of my Lord Jesus Christ, are going to do a strange Work, on the Nations of *Europe*!

And, when I was thus prostrate in the Dust before the Lord, my Heart being poured out in Tears, received wonderful Assurances from Heaven, that the Spirit of my Lord

<sup>1</sup> See Sewall, *Letter Book*, I. 183, 184.

<sup>2</sup> Written in the margin against this paragraph.

Jesus Christ, shall fill mee, and use mee to *glorify* Him; and that His *Angels* have wonderful Things to do for mee!

21 d. 12 m. *Lords-Day*. At the Lord's Table, it was a Perswasion powerfully produced in my Mind, that I should ere long bee with the *innumerable Company of Holy Angels*, and that when they came to call for mee, I should go away, *easily* and joyfully, and that my *Offspring* which I leave in this evil World, shall bee the Servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, who will, as a most merciful *Father*, take such care of them that they shall *want for no good Thing*.

(About this Time,)

That I might render my *pastoral Visits*, the more significant, I published my Sermon, on Prov. 5. 11. which I entituled, THE THOUGHTS OF A DYING MAN, wherein I do, with all possible Pungency and Fervency, sett before my Neighbours, the Advice of what they will think, and choose, AT THE LAST, when they come to *dy*, and bespeak their Consent unto the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Covenant of *Grace*.<sup>1</sup> It was my Purpose, every Week, to leave this Book, in several visited Families, at my Neighbours.

27 d. 12 m. Being under Apprehensions, that the Lord Jesus Christ, is going to do Great Things in the World, yea, that *the Kingdome of God is at Hand*, I think it necessary for mee, to imitate the Holy *Daniel*, in *extraordinary Supplications*.

Wherefore, I sett apart this Day, as I did this Day Se'nnight, for the Exercise of a *secret Fast*, before the Lord.

In repairing to, and relying on, the *Righteousness* of my Lord Jesus Christ, for my Acceptance with God, His Holy Spirit raised mee, unto very evangelical Satisfactions.

My Heart expanded, in a fervent Importunity, for the cure of those *Distempers* in my Soul, Pride, Sloth, Envy, Selfishness, Sensuality, Earthly-mindedness, which rendred

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, for Joseph Wheeler.

me unfit for the *Kingdome* of God, or for any eminent *Service* to that Kingdome. I pleaded, that nothing but the Almighty and infinite *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, could cure the *Lusts*, which disordered my Soul; nevertheless, the *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ, hath purchased the Favours of His good *Spirit* for mee, whereon I now placed my Dependence, for the Communication thereof.

The bereaved Condition of some Churches in this Wilderness, and the divided Condition of one, (that at *Watertown*,) I made a large Article of my Petitions.

The whole State of the Land, in danger of a *French Invasion* the ensuing Summer, as well as of my own Church, which has been wounded by the *Death* of considerable Persons belonging thereunto, I particularly spread before the Lord.

In the close of the Day, when I lay prostrate on my Floor, in the Dust, before the Lord, I obtained fresh and sweet Assurances from Him, that altho' I have been the most loathsome Creature in the world, yett His *Holy Spirit*, would with sovereign and glorious Grace, take Possession of mee; and accept mee, and employ mee, to glorify His Name, exceedingly. And I successfully renewed my Cries unto the Lord, that Hee would Visit *France*, and Great *Britain*, speedily, with a mighty *Revolution*.

This Day I took up a Resolution, with the Help of Christ, that I would every Day spend some Time extraordinary, in Supplications, like those of *Daniel*, the *Man of Desires*, for the Captivity of the Church to bee hastned unto its Period.

This Resolution, perhaps, I may speedily shape, into further Exactness of Contrivance.

Considering that there is doubtless a great *Revolution*, and the great *Reformation* at hand, I judg'd it would bee a Thing, on many Accounts profitable, for mee, to single out a *select Number* of Christians, whose Appetites are strong to

bee informed about the *Characters* and *Approaches* of the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, and entertain them at my Study, in fitt Seasons, with Discourses, and Researches, of those Matters, which the *Holy Angels* themselves *desire to look into*. After the other Passages, with which I may nourish them, and they may sharpen mee, in their Visits to mee, I may conclude still, with a *Prayer*, for the Hastening of the *glorious Things that are spoken about the City of God*.

I began the year 97, with putting this Design in execution; and I found in it an unspeakable Consolation.<sup>1</sup>

20 d. 6 m. [August.] *Friday*. This Day I sett apart, for the Exercises of a secret THANKSGIVING before the Lord.

In the former Part of the Day, when I was on my Knees confessing the Glories of God, in my Lord JESUS CHRIST, after I had requested and obtained the Irradiations of His Holy Spirit for that Service, I received an Heart-melting Assurance from the Lord, that inasmuch as my Heart was

<sup>1</sup> "April 8, 1697. Mr. Cotton Mather gives notice that the Lecture hereafter is to begin at Eleven of the Clock, an hour sooner than formerly. Reprov'd the Towns people that attended no better; fear'd twould be an omen of our not enjoying the Lecture long, if did not amend." Sewall, *Diary*, i. 452.

"4 d. 2 m. [April.] *Abigail Day* received the Censure of an Admonition, for 1. Untruths uttered in her Speeches on many Occasions. 2. Expressions full of scandalous Discontent and Impatience under her Afflictions.

"Especially, saying of laudable Diet in the Alms-house, where she is lodged, that she would thank neither God nor Man for such Victuals.

"3. Defaming the Man who keeps the Alms-house, as if hee had several Times made Attempts upon her Chastity.

"Her Pœnitence for the two former Heads of Scandal appeared somewhat, but not enough.

"Shee still insisted on the Truth of what shee hath said, in the third, though blaming her imprudent divulgation.

"The Man asserts his Innocency, and shee has no proof to support her Charge of his Guilt.

"This Day also our Church voted a Letter of Admonition to the Church of *Charlstown*, for betraying the Liberties of the Churches, in their late putting into the Hands of the whole Inhabitants, the Choice of a Minister.

"15 d. 6 m. [August.] This Day *Mary Dutson*, having been convicted of stealing in five or six horrid Instances, and of lying very many Times on the Occasion thereof, had the Sentence of Excommunication passed upon her." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II. See note to July 1, 1705.

become desirous to *Praise* Him, Hee would never send mee down to that miserable World, where they do not *praise*, but *hate* Him, and *curse* Him, and *blaspheme* Him forever: No, but Hee would grant mee a State of eternal Blessedness, wherein I shall carry on the blessed Work of *praising* Him, which I was now beginning to do.

An Heavenly Disposition of Soul this Day came upon mee, in many Exercises of the Day.

But the more special Matter of *Thankfulness*, for which I intended this Day, was the USE, which the infinite Grace of Heaven, has made of MEE, the most filthy Sinner out of Hell, to *glorify my Lord JESUS CHRIST*.

In the Prosecution of Design, to glorify the sovereign Grace of God, in this Matter, I first confessed and bewayled, my own horrible Sinfulness, by which I have deserved forever to bee rejected from the Service of the Lord. I then solemnly declared unto the Lord, that I made *Choice* of this, as my *chief Happiness*, to bee a Servant of my Lord JESUS CHRIST, and an Instrument of His Glory. Therewith I magnified, the *Favour* of the Lord unto mee, in those Operations of His *Holy Spirit* upon mee, by which Hee has brought mee to such a *Choice*.

Afterwards, I gave Thanks unto the Lord, for the *Good* which Hee gave mee to do, when I was but a *Child* and a *Youth*.

For His giving mee *this Grace*, to *preach the unsearchable Riches of Christ*; and making mee a Preacher of the Gospel, when I was, of all Persons, not only the most *unworthy*, but also the most *unlikely*, to bee so improved.

For His upholding mee, now *seventeen Years* together, in the Work of the Ministry, notwithstanding my many Difficulties, Temptations, and Weaknesses.

For His employing mee, in so eminent a Place; the most considerable Town, in all *New England*; when I have been in myself one of the most inconsiderable Wretches in the Land.

For His granting mee continually to dispense His Truths, unto as *great Auditories* in my own Congregation, as one Man can well speak to; and calling mee to Dispensations ever now and then, upon the most *solemn Occasions*, that the Countrey could have afforded.

For His making, both my publick and my private Endeavours, remarkably Profitable, unto the Souls of *Multitudes*.

For His favouring mee, with the *Liberty of the Press*, and publishing more of my Composures than any Man's, that ever was in *America*, while I am yett a young Man: and making my Studies, to bee readd, and priz'd, and serviceable, not only all over these *American Colonies*, but in *Europe* also.

For some Significancy which Hee has now given among His People, and the Eye, which His Churches have upon mee. The *Comforts*, and *Supports*, which I have enjoy'd, while the Lord hath been making *Use* of mee, I then thankfully acknowledged; and the *Mercy* of God, and the *Purchase* of Christ, from which I have had them.

Especially, my *Life*, my *Health*; my *Speech*; my *Library*; my *Dwelling-House*; my *Salary*: And my *Consort*, with my *Children*; and my *unblemished Reputation*; and such Deliverances granted unto the *Countrey*, that my Opportunities to bee serviceable have not been overwhelmed, in the Ruines of it.

In the Evening, I retired into our empty Church, and there, I essay'd with greater Elevations of Soul, in this Retirement, for to give myself up unto the Spirit of my Lord Jesus Christ, that Hee may glorify Himself, in making yett a *greater Use* of mee than ever.

I cast myself prostrate on the Floor of my Pulpitt; and gave Thanks unto the Lord, for the *Use* which Hee had made of mee, in that very Pulpitt.

And I offered up my Praises unto my Lord Jesus Christ,

for His good *Angels*, and their Ministry; and for *My Angel*, and all the Love and Care, wherewith hee has treated mee: and I concluded, with a joyful Assurance, that hee had yett more *good Offices* to do for mee, and that hee would gloriously join with mee, in my serving of our Glorious Lord JESUS CHRIST.

But one special Article of my *Thanksgivings*, this Day was, the singular Favour of the Lord unto mee, in upholding, and assisting of mee, to finish my CHURCH-HISTORY.

And now, because it will more particularly express the Favour of Heaven unto mee, in this Matter,

I will in this Place, transcribe a few Lines, in my Introduction to that History.

A Varietie of other Employments, hath kept mee, in continual Hurries, I had almost said, like those of the *ninth Sphere*, for the few Months, in which this Work hath been *Digesting*. It was a *Thing* well-thought by the wise Designers of *Chelsey-Colledge*, wherein able *Historians* were one sort of Persons to bee maintained; that the *Romanists* do in one Point condemn the *Protestants*; for among the *Romanists*, they don't burden their *Professors* with any *parochial Encumbrances*; but among the *Protestants*, the very same *individual Man*, must preach, catechise, administer the Sacraments, visit the Afflicted, and manage all the parts of Church-Discipline; and if any *Books*, for the service of *Religion*, bee written, Persons thus *extremely encumbred* must bee the *Writers*. Now, of all the Churches under Heaven, there are none that expect so much Varietie of Service from their Pastors, as those of *New England*; and of all the Churches in *New England*, there are none that require more, than those in *Boston*, the *Metropolis* of the *English America*; whereof one is, by the Lord Jesus Christ, committed unto the Care of the unworthy Hand, by which this *History* is compiled. Constant *Sermons*, usually more than once, and perhaps three or four Times in a Week, and all the other Duties of a *pastoral Watchfulness*, a very large *Flock* hath all this while demanded of mee; nor hath my *Station* left mee free from Obligations to spend very much Time, in the *evangelical Service* of *others* also. It would have been a great *Sin* in mee, to have *omitted* or *abated* my just Cares, to *fulfill my Ministry* in these Things, and in a Manner *give myself wholly* to them. All the Time, I have had for

my *Church-history*, hath been perhaps only or chiefly *that*, which I might have taken else, for less profitable Recreations; and it hath all been done by *Snatches*. Nor have I spent *thirty Years* in shaping this my *History*, as *Diodorus Siculus* did for *his*, (and yett, both *Bodinus* and *Sigonius* Complain of the  $\Sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  attending it!) but I wish I could have enjoyed entirely for this Work, *one Quarter* of the little more than *two Years*, which have rolled away, since I began it; whereas I have been forced sometimes wholly to throw by the *Work*, whole *Months* together, and then resume it, but by a *stolen Hour* or two in a Day, not without some hazard of incurring the Title, which *Coryat* putt upon his *History* of his Travels, *Crudities hastily gobbled up in five Months*. Our English *Martyrologer*, counted it a sufficient *Apology*, for what *Meannesses* might bee found in the first Edition of his *Acts and Monuments*, that it was *hastily rashed up in about fourteen Months*: and I may Apologize for this Collection of our *Acts and Monuments*, that I should have been glad if in the little more than two Years, which have ran out, since I entred upon it, I could have had one half of *about fourteen Months*, to have entirely devoted thereunto. But, besides the Time, which the *daily Services*, of *my own* first, and then of many *other Churches*, have necessarily called for, I have lost abundance of precious *Time*, thro' the feeble and broken State of my *Health*, which hath unfitted mee for *hard Study*: I can do nothing to Purpose at *Lucubrations*. And yett, in this *Time* also, of the two or three Years last past, I have not been excused from the further Diversion of Publishing (tho' not so many as they say *Mercurius Trismegistus* did, yett) more than a *Score* of other *Books*, upon a copious Varietie of other Subjects, besides the composing of several more, that are not yett published. Nor is this neither, all the *Task*, that I have in this while had lying upon mee; for, when I applied my Mind, unto *this way* of serving the Lord JESUS CHRIST, in my Generation, I sett upon *another*, and a *greater*, which hath had, I suppose, more of my *Thought* and *Hope* than *this*, and wherein there hath passed mee, *Nulla dies sine Linea*. I considered, that all sort of *Learning*, might bee made gloriously subservient unto the *Illustration* of the *Sacred Scripture*, and that no *professed Commentaries* had hitherto given a thousandth Part of so much *Illustration* unto it, as might bee given. I considered, that Multitudes of *particular Texts*, had, especially of later Years, been more notably *illustrated*, in the *scattered Books* of learned Men, than in any of the *ordinary Commentators*. And, I considered, that the *Treasures* of *Illustration* for the Bible, dispersed in many hundred Volumes, might bee fetched all

together, by a *Labour*, that would resolve to *conquer all Things*; and that all the *Improvements*, which the *later Ages* have made in the Sciences, might bee also, with an inexpressible Pleasure, call'd in, to assist the *Illustration* of the *Holy Oracles*, at a Rate that hath not been attempted in the *vulgar Annotations*; and that a common Degree of *Sense*, would help a Person, who should converse much with these Things, to attempt sometimes also an *Illustration* of his own, which might expect some Attention. Certainly, it will not bee ungrateful unto good Men, to have innumerable *Antiquities*, Jewish, Chaldee, Græcian, and Roman, brought home unto us, with a *sweet Light* reflected from them, on the *Word*, which is our *Light*: or, to have all the *typical Men and Things*, in our *Book of Mysteries*, accommodated with their *Antitypes*; or, To have the *Histories* of all Ages, coming in with punctual and surprising *Fulfilments*, of the *Divine Prophecies*, as far as they have been hitherto fulfilled; and not meer *Conjectures*, but even mathematical and incontestable *Demonstrations* given of *Expositions*, upon the *Prophecies* that yett remain to bee accomplished; or, to have in *one Heap*, Thousands of those *remarkable Discoveries of the deep Thing of the Spirit of God*, whereof *one*, or *two*, or a few sometimes, have been, with good Success, accounted *Materials* enough to advance one into *Authorism*; or, to have the delicious *Curiosities* of *Grotius*, and *Bochart*, and *Mede*, and *Lightfoot*, and *Selden*, and *Spencer*, and many more *Giants* in Knowledge, all sett upon *one Table*. At *more* than all this, our *Essay* is levelled; if it bee not anticipated with that Epitaph, *Magnis tamen excidit ausis*. Designing accordingly, to give the Church of God, such Displayes of His blessed Word, as may bee more entertaining for the *Raritie* and *Noveltie* of them, than any that have hitherto been seen together in any *Exposition*; and yett such as may bee acceptable unto the most *judicious* for the *demonstrative Truth* of them, and unto the most *orthodox*, for the Regard had unto the *Analogy of Faith* in all, I have now, in a few Months, gott ready an huge Number of *golden Keyes*, to open the *Pandects* of Heaven, and some Thousands of charming and singular Notes, by the *new Help* whereof, the *Word of CHRIST* may run and bee glorified. If the *God of my Life*, will please to spare my *Life*, (my yett *sinful*, and *slothful*, and thereby *forfeited* Life!) as many years longer, as the *barren Fig-tree* had in the Parable, I may make unto the Church of God, an humble Tender of our BIBLIA AMERICANA, a Volumn enriched with better Things, than all the *Plate* of the *Indies*; yett not I, but the Grace of Christ with mee.

I allotted, *Friday*, 27 d. 6 m. for a Journey first unto *Salem*, and then unto *Ipswich*. All the former Part of the Week, I was under sickly Disorders; yett I preached, on *Wednesday*, and on *Thursday*, as well as on the *Lord's-Day*. The Afternoon before my Journey, there was a violent Storm, that threatened a Disappointment of my Designs; but I resigned all unto the Lord; concluding, that since I was going abroad into the Countrey, to preach the *Glories* of my Lord JESUS CHRIST, I would ascribe unto Him, the particular Glory of the *good Weather*, if I might enjoy such a Favour. The Weather cleared up immediately; my lost Health and Strength returned; I had a most comfortable Journey, and it was made the more comfortable, by the Company of some young Gentlemen, who by dutifully waiting on mee, gave mee an Opportunitie to study how I might effectually recommend the Service of Christ unto them. Wherever I came, I was received with much undeserved Respect and Honour; and besides my private Opportunities to entertain and edify my Friends, I had public Opportunities to preach unto vast Assemblies, at *Salem*, twice the *Lord's-Day* on CHRIST, *seen by Angels*, and, *preached unto the Gentiles*; and at *Ipswich* once, the (*Thursday*) on *glorifying of God, by bringing forth much Fruit*. At last, I began to feel myself coming under the Calamity, of, *Loss of Time*. I therefore on the ensuing *Friday*, made my Journey home. Storms were gathering and expected, two Dayes, before I gott home; I submitted unto the Lord cheerfully under this Inconvenience; but the Lord unto my Surprise, kept off the Rain, unto the End of my comfortable Journey.

Weary with my Journey, I thought myself excused from the Severities of a secret *Fast*, on the Day ensuing, when yett I did spend no small part of the Day, in Præparations, for the *Eucharist*; which on the Morrow, I was to administer. And in the Administration of it, when the Time arrived, I enjoy'd

rapturous Communications from Heaven; tis my great unhappiness, that I have Time to write no more of these things.

12 d. 7 m. [*September.*] *Lords-Day.* This Day, at Noon, in my Study, pouring out my Prayers, that my Lord Jesus Christ, may shortly bee more known and served than ever, throughout *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and that the *Angels* of the Lord Jesus Christ, may bring a wondrous Convulsion on the *French Empire*; I received a wonderful Assurance from the Lord, that it shall bee so.

18 d. 7 m. *Saturday.* I did this Day, in the Exercises of a *Secret Fast*, exceedingly abhor, and abase, myself before the Lord, for the incredible Vilenesses of my Life, and admire His Grace, in that Hee had not utterly rejected mee from serving Him, and permitted Satan to præcipitate mee, into scandalous Miscarriages, that should render mee the Astonishment of all His Churches.

I likewise cried unto the Lord, for His Mercies, to my Family, my Flock, the Countrey, the Colledge, and several miserably disordered Churches among us.

One special Design of my Humiliations this Day, was, to præpare mee for good Advice, in the Fleet hourly expected from *England*; even the Advice, that the Lord has there accepted and employed more of my poor Composures, to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ. Such, and comfortable Advice, I shall receive!

In the Close of the Day, as I lay prostrate on my Study-floor, exceedingly judging myself, as the most lothsome Wretch in the world, I received from Heaven, in a Manner, *which I may not utter*, a wonderful Assurance, that my Sins are all pardoned, by the infinite Grace of God imputing to mee the Righteousness of my Lord Jesus Christ; and, that I shall bee employed in great Services, by which my Lord Jesus Christ shall bee glorified; and, that the *Angel* of my Lord Jesus Christ, shall bee inexpressibly helpful to mee, in the Work of the Lord.

19 d. 7 m. *Lord's-Day.* On this *Lord's-day*, at Noon, in my Study, *I was in the Spirit.* I cast myself prostrate in the *Dust*, on my Study-floor, to lift up a Cry from thence, for *Zion in the Dust.* The *Spirit* of the Lord came near unto mee; doubtless, the *Angel* of the Lord made mee sensible of his Approaches. I was wondrously Irradiated. My Lord Jesus Christ, shall yett bee more known, in the vast Regions of *America*; and by the means of poor, vile sinful *mee*, Hee shall bee so. Great *Britain* shall undergo a strange Revolution and Reformation; and sinful *I* shall bee concerned in it. *France* will quickly feel mighty Impressions from the Almighty Hand of my Lord Jesus Christ: and I shall on that Occasion sing His glorious Praises. Nor was this all, that was then told mee from Heaven: but I forbear the rest.

24 d. 7 m. This Day, discoursing with a worthy Minister, who lay dangerously sick, I said unto him, "To *praise Christ*, in the midst of Myriads of *Angels in Heaven*, may in some Respects bee as good as to *preach Christ*, in the midst of Hundreds of *Mortals on Earth.* Hee replied; *Its true.* I added, (for our Discourse was managed with a certain serious and sacred *Hilaritie*;) But, Syr, have you prepared a *Song*? Have you thought, what to say, when you arrive among the blessed *Angels*? Hee replied: *Why, pray, what do you intend to say?* I answer'd; I'l say, *Behold, O yee Holy Spirits, the most wretched and lothesome Sinner, that ever arrived among you: but it is our Glorious Christ, that hath brought mee hither.* I'l say, *Syrs, here is one come among you, that was the most abominable Sinner that ever was in the World, and yett I have as good a Righteousness as any of you.* I'l say, *Oh! yee Illustrious Angels, if you don't wonderfully glorifie the Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, in fetching so vile a Sinner into these Mansions, you'l never do it!"*

I mention this Passage, for some Reasons, that I need not mention.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>" 26 d. 7 m. [September.] Baptised Vines Elicut, a Youth about 12 Years of

2 d. 8 m. [October.] Saturday. I spent this Day in the Exercises of a secret Fast, *hungring* and *thirsting* for *Righteousness*.

God gave mee some comfortable Tokens of His Presence with mee, this Day.

Especially, in the Close of the Day; when, from the Dust, where I lay prostrate, I cried unto the Lord, that Hee would accept mee, and employ mee, in eminent Services for my Lord Jesus Christ; and grant mee a special Assistance from His *Good Angel* in my Services. With Tears, I received Assurance of my being heard in these Petitions!

One singular Errand, upon which I went unto Heaven, this Day, was, to bee informed, whether I should glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, by writing a Treatise, on, *The Great Mystery of Godliness*, in the several *Articles* of it; (1. Tim. 3. 16.) and bearing a Testimony to the great Points of the *Christian Religion*.

I must attempt it, and the Lord, and His good Angel, will bee with mee, in my Attempt.

9 d. 8 m. Much of my Time, has been spent abroad, this Week, out of Town; where, tho' I did endeavour to do service, (especially, at miserable *Watertown*, bringing the People in the east part of that poor Town, to sign an Instrument, wherein they confessed the Errors of their late Actions, and promised, by the Help of Christ, a regular Behaviour; and otherwise helping the Council that mett there;) yett I am very uneasy at my spending my Time, thus uncomfortably, and (in Comparison of what might have been) unprofitably.

Moreover, the Afternoon of yesterday I was with the Ministers of the Town, praying for one of our Number, who continues ill.

Age, presented by a Woman of the Old Church (one *Cable*), who had brought him up in the Knowledge and for the Service of Christ, and promised still to do so." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, 11.

This was one Occasion, why I could not so well sett apart, this present Saturday, for a secret *Fast*, in my study; as I would have done.

But, yett, in the Evening of this Day, being under extreme Anguish of mind, from the terrible and amazing Circumstances, of my poor Uncle at *Plymouth*, (condemned the last Week, to Silence, by the just Sentence of a Council,)<sup>1</sup> I was afraid, lest the Lord should bring His dreadful Judgments upon *mee* also, for my sins against Him, and leave mee to things that might horribly wound *His* Name and Work in *mine*, and bee the horrible Astonishment of all His *Churches*. Under this melancholy Fear, I cast myself prostrate on my Study-Floor before the Lord; and as I was there confessing my Sins, and accepting the Sacrifice and Righteousness of my Lord Jesus Christ, God from Heaven, wonderfully *touched* my Soul, and melting mee into Tears, Hee assured mee, that *Hee had pardoned my Sins, and that Hee would glorify His infinite and sovereign Grace, in employing mee to serve my Lord Jesus Christ exceedingly.*

13 d. 8 m. This Day, I rode unto *Dedham*, not without a sensible Protection, from the good Angels upon mee, once when my headstrong Horse broke the Chap of his Bridle, and another Time, when my Horse fell down with mee, so as to lame himself, and not hurt mee at all, and a third Time, when I, with the Gentleman that bore mee Company, were just mistaking our way, and a Friend unknown to us, just then in sight of us, informed us of our Mistake. My Errand was, To preach the *unsearchable Riches of Christ*; a Subject whereof the Angels are the glad Students, and would bee glad to bee the Preachers. As I was beginning my Sermon, an inexpressible Satisfaction filled my Soul,

<sup>1</sup> Rev. John Cotton, whom the church was advised to dismiss with as much charity as the rule would admit. "This was for his Notorious Breaches of the Seventh Commandment, and undue Carriage in chusing Elders. Thus Christs words are fulfilled, Unsavoury Salt is cast to the Dunghill. A most awfull Instance." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 460, 472.

in Thoughts, of the Divine Favour, which accepted mee in the Holy Service of *glorifying my Lord Jesus Christ*. I was therewithal assured, That the Spirit and the Angel of my Lord Jesus Christ, would assist mee wonderfully: And it was with mee, even beyond my Assurance.

16 d. 8 m. *Saturday*. This Day, I sett apart, for the Duties of a secret FAST. Inexpressible *Self-Abhorrence*, for my abominable Sinfulness before the Holy Lord, was the Design, and the very Spirit of my Devotions this Day. The deplorable Condition of my fallen *Uncle*, was that which God sanctified for my Awakening unto such a *Strain* in my Devotions.

And yett, in the Close of the Day, when I was prostrate in the Dust, on my Study-floor before the Lord, I received a new, a strong, a wonderful Assurance from Heaven (melting mee into Tears of Joy!) that my Sins are all pardoned thro' the Blood of Christ, and that notwithstanding all my horrid Sinfulness, I shall bee employ'd in great Services for His Name. Whereupon, I resolv'd, that inasmuch as the Grace of Heaven was never more magnified, than in pardoning and employing so vile a Wretch as I am, I would sett myself to glorify *Free-Grace*, by preaching and writing the Doctrines, the Riches, and the Glories of it, with all possible Application.

21 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. The General Assembly was now sitting, and I had this Day an Opportunity to address my whole Countrey in one Assembly I considered, that my Lord JESUS CHRIST, as the great *Sacrifice for the Congregation*, had never been enough preach'd and pris'd, and us'd in this Land. Wee urg'd *Reformation*, without beginning at those Exercises of our *Faith*, which are to rely upon that great *Sacrifice*, for Grace to reform what is amiss, and so for Help in and from all of our Distresses. Wherefore this Day, I did, in my Lecture, to a vast Assembly, preach on Lev. 4. 21. *A Sin-Offering for the Congregation*; and show my People,

how to glorify my Lord JESUS CHRIST, by acting Faith on Him, as a *Sin-Offering*, for our Public Atonement and Salvation. I concluded my Sermon, with telling, *the Elders of the Land*, that they should not stirr out of place, till the Exhortation was putt in Execution. I call'd upon them, to stand up, and join with mee, in the Cries, that wee would proceed then to lift up unto the Lord.<sup>1</sup> So, I made a Prayer, wherein (the General-Assembly standing up to say, *Amen*, unto it,) I spread before God, the great *Sacrifice* of our Lord Jesus Christ, for our Deliverances.

After this, I thought, that wee should ere long understand of *great Salvations* this year vouchsafed unto this Land, notwithstanding our great Unworthiness and Unfruitfulness. And I was therefore exceedingly desirous, to lay before the People of this Land, my Advice of that *great Sacrifice*, to whom all the Glory of our *great Salvation* will bee due; and bespeak for my Lord Jesus Christ, the Glory of it all. I ask'd of the Lord, that Hee would allow, and assist mee, to publish unto my People, my late Meditations of the *great Sacrifice*: And immediately, it came into my mind, that I had in my Hand, an excellent *Letter*, full of divine Rarities, lately written from a Prison in *France*, by a pious Confessor of the *reformed Religion*, once dwelling in my Neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup> The Translating and Publishing of this *Letter*, I saw, would bee a very charming way to *do good*, throughout all this Countrey, and to diffuse the *Spirit of Christianitie* wonderfully. Accordingly, I agreeably joined this *Letter*, unto my *Sermon*, to render it the more taking, and gave it the Title of, A PRESENT FROM A FAR COUNTRY TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW ENGLAND. The Book-seller gladly accepted it, and published it; But herewithal, that I might watchfully lay hold on all Opportunities to bee

<sup>1</sup> "Satterday, Oct'r 30, 1697. Several Acts are published; particularly that against Atheisme and Blasphemie." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 462.

<sup>2</sup> "One *Elias Nean*" written in the margin. See under May 2, 1699, *infra*.

serviceable, I composed and inserted a Discourse in the *French Tongue*, addressed unto the *French Church* in this Town, advising them as prudently as I was able, to *reform* Things, that are amiss among them.

☞ I do in this Place also record it, that tho' there bee no Humane Probability, or Possibility, of Deliverance for that blessed Confessor *Nean*, now perishing in the French Dungeons, yett I cannot forbear crying to God for his Deliverance, and carrying his Condition before the Lord. These Prayers will not bee lost!

30 d. 8 m. *Saturday*. This Day I spent in the Exercises of a secret FAST, for the same *Reasons*, and with the same *Requests* that have occasioned my being several Times thus of late before the Lord.

Nothing remarkable occur'd in the Day.

But in the Close of the Day, the Lord marvellously renewed my *Assurances*, that Hee will Accept mee, and employ mee, to glorify my Lord JESUS CHRIST exceedingly.

But then this Thought, was with inexpressible Joy sett home upon my mind, that since my Heart was exceedingly sett upon promoting and advancing the *Glory* of the Lord Jesus Christ in this World, God will certainly grant mee the *Sight* of that *Glory* in another, and a better World; I shall certainly bee *with Him, where Hee is, to behold His Glory*: and therefore I shall bee happy throughout eternal Ages.

This Consolation was renew'd unto mee, the Day following, in Administring the *Supper* of the Lord.

7 d. 9 m. [*November.*] *Lords-Day*. I took my little Daughter, *Katy*, into my Study; and there I told my Child, that I am to *dy* shortly, and shee must, when I am *Dead*, Remember every Thing, that I said unto her.

I sett before her, the sinful and woful Condition of her *Nature*, and I charg'd her, to *pray in secret Places*, every Day, without ceasing, that God for the Sake of Jesus Christ

would give her a *New Heart*, and *pardon* Her Sins, and make her a *Servant* of His.

I gave her to understand, that when I am taken from her, shee must look to meet with more humbling *Afflictions* than shee does, now shee has a careful and a tender *Father* to provide for her; but, if shee would *pray* constantly, God in the Lord Jesus Christ, would bee a *Father* to her, and make all *Afflictions* work together for her Good.

I signified unto her, That the People of God, would much observe how shee carried herself, and that I had written a Book, about, *Ungodly Children*, in the Conclusion whereof I say, that this Book will bee a terrible Witness against my own Children, if any of them should not bee *Godly*.

At length, with many Tears, both on my Part, and hers, I told my Child, that God had from Heaven assured mee, and the good Angels of God had satisfied mee, *that shee shall bee brought Home unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and bee one of His forever*. I bid her use this, as an Encouragement unto her Supplications unto the Lord, for His Grace. But I therewithal told her, that if shee did not now, in her Childhood seek the Lord, and give herself up unto Him, some dreadful Afflictions must befall her, that so her Father's Faith, may come at its Accomplishments.

I thereupon made the Child kneel down by mee; and I poured out my Cries unto the Lord, that Hee would lay His Hands upon her, and bless her and save her, and make her a *Temple* of His Glory. It will bee so; It will be so!

I write this, the more particularly, that the Child may hereafter have the Benefit of reading it.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Memorandum.*

This Week, I understand, that my poor Servant is happily and gloriously delivered, from the deplorable Cir-

<sup>1</sup> She was born September 1, 1689, and was, therefore, in her ninth year at this time.

cumstances which occasion'd my *beseeking the Lord Thrice*, for her Deliverance.

Moreover, tis as I said, *a great Salvation* has this Year been granted unto this *Land*. Wee have with a *plentiful Harvest*, been saved from the *terrible Famine*, when a few Dayes of Drought more, would have rendred it irresistible.<sup>1</sup> A great Body of *Indians*, with *French*, were on their way, to make a Descent on our Frontiers; but our Army happily must meet 'em, and beat 'em, and save the Lives of Hundreds. A formidable Squadron of about fifteen French Men of War, were coming to this Town, and would, no doubt, have laid it very desolate: but when they were a little Way off, the *Angel of the Lord went forth*, and smote 'em with such a wasting Sickness, that the Loss of their Men by it, enfeebled 'em, so as to make 'em desert the Enterprise.

11 d. 9 m. This Day, was a Day of public *Thanksgiving* throughout the Province for our Deliverance, from the Calamities, which in the Summer past, sorely threatned our Desolation. I remembred my Purposes; and glorified my Lord *Jesus Christ*, as the Author of our Deliverance.

The whole Day, I filled with the *Hallelujahs* of occasional *Ejaculations*, besides the more solemn Exercises of the Day.

And having my Spirit, by means hereof raised up into Heaven, I received a Perswasion from thence, that there will immediately bee a great Revolution upon *England*, in favour of the Reformation, and the Church and cause of my Lord *Jesus Christ*.<sup>2</sup>

27 d. 9 m. Having sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a secret FAST, in my Study, I did, at the Close of the Day, prostrate on my Study-floor, joyfully receive these Assurances from Heaven.

<sup>1</sup> Sewall mentions a drought which much afflicted them, but towns not far distant had a sufficiency of rain. *Letter Book*, I. 187.

<sup>2</sup> A paragraph follows which has been struck out.

That notwithstanding my horrible Sinfulness and Filthiness, there will bee a Triumph of the Divine *Grace*, in employing mee to do special Services for the Name of my Lord Jesus Christ.

That the Spirit of my Lord Jesus Christ, will bee mightily present with mee, in my writing a Book which I have now begun, for the Illustration, and the Demonstration of the *Christian Religion*.

That there are good Newes coming to mee from *England*; and such particularly, as will give mee Encouragement, about the future Publication of my *Church-History*.

That *France*, is quickly to undergo a mighty *Revolution*.

28 d. 9 m. *Lord's-Day*. At Noon, in my Study, crying to Heaven, that I might bee employ'd in glorifying my Lord Jesus Christ, I had my Heart strangely carried into a *Particular Faith*, that I have yett some special and Notable Thing to do, by means whereof my Lord Jesus Christ shall bee more known throughout my own Countrey; even throughout the Churches of this Wilderness

4 d. 10 m. [*December.*] *Saturday*. Horrible Crimes, are by strange Dispensations of Heaven, discovered in some Communicants of my Church, especially one very *criminal Adulteress*.<sup>1</sup>

I thought it my Duty to humble myself, extraordinarily before the Lord on this Occasion, lest the Lord should bee offended at *mee*, for the Iniquities of those that are under *my Charge*.

I therefore sett apart this Day, for Prayer with *Fasting* in my Study, that I might obtain the Pardon of all my own vile Sinfulness, which the Sins of others led mee to reflect upon: and I obtained it.

But one special Errand, upon which I went unto Heaven was, that I might procure speedy and wondrous Rebukes

<sup>1</sup> See p. 244 n, *infra*.

of God, upon our *Indian Salvages*, in the *East*; in which, the Lord has heard mee!

I also besought the Lord, that I might bee prepared for merciful Tidings, to arrive unto mee, from *England*.

9 d. 10 m. *Thursday*. In the Evening of this day, the select Company of Christians with whom I once a Fortnight privately preach and pray, upon the Approaches of the *Kingdome* of our Lord Jesus Christ, heard mee discoursing to them, on 1. Thess. 5. 3. Whence I observed, *that men shall talk much of PEACE, and look much for PEACE, in the World, when the second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, is going to be ushered in, with a sudden Destruction on the Kingdome of Antichrist.*

Immediately after the finishing of our Exercises, Word is brought in unto us, that Ships arrived from *England*, bring the Tidings of a *Peace* proclaimed among the Nations of *Europe*. And of such an Overthrow given to the *Turk*, as looks Like the *second wo passing away*.

10 d. 10 m. This day, I not only understand, that the Life of Sir *Wm. Phips*, is published in *London*; but also another of my Composures, very particularly circumstanced. Considering, that the late Calamities fill the English Nation with *poor People*, I sent over, in Manuscript the last year, my Discourses entitled, *Gospel for the Poor*. The Ship was taken, and so I gave over the Manuscript for lost; which occasioned my printing of it, in this Countrey. Nevertheless, this day I receive a Letter from a Bookseller in *London*, which has this Passage in it.

“Sir *Henry Ashurst*, some weeks since, putt a manuscript of yours into my Hand, entitled, *Gospel for the Poor*; but hee being most of the Summer in the Countrey, wee have not concluded on the Terms; but when hee comes to Town, I question not, but wee shall agree; and you will have some sent you.”

Sir *Henry Ashurst* himself also writes to mee; *I have it, and it will bee printed.*

Oh! what shall I render to the Lord, for the care that Hee takes, and the Use that Hee makes of my poor Labours!

11 d. 10 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a *secret Fast*, on the same Occasions, that I did so, this day Se'nnight.

And the Lord, added the last Night, one Occasion more for mee to abound in Exercises, that may prepare mee for Death, and ripen mee for Heaven; Inasmuch as the Newes of the Death of my worthy Uncle, Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, a Minister of great Note in *London*, then arrived unto mee. Hee dyed, July 26.<sup>1</sup>

12 d. 10 m. [No entry.]

16 d. 10 m. *Thursday*. On the last Lord's-day, dyed a worthy and a noted Minister in this Town; my dear Friend, Mr. *John Baily*.

His last words were, *Oh! my Lord Jesus Christ is altogether lovely! All our Praises of Him here, are poor and low Things! His glorious Angels are come for mee!*

Before hee was taken sick, hee had, under a Presage of his Life and Work drawing to an End, begun to study a Sermon on Psal. 31. 5. *Into thy Hands I commend My Spirit*. But hee never had opportunity to finish, or utter, what hee had studied. God call'd him from the Study, to the Practice of it.

When hee lay a dying, hee ask'd of mee, that I would

<sup>1</sup> He was born in England March 20, 1630, but graduated at Harvard College in 1647, and then returned to England. After many experiences he was at the time of his death pastor of a dissenting congregation in London. Sewall says: "Mr. Cotton Mather was at the Townhouse Chamber pretty merry and pleasant: but was made sad by Col. Hutchinsons telling him of the death of his Unkle Mr. N. Mather, a very worthy Friend of New England." *Diary*, I. 465.

"This Day, Mrs. *Sarah Cock*, having been convicted by her own Confession to diverse Persons, together with several corroborating Evidences, of Adultery, three Weeks ago, and of telling diverse gross Lyes to cover her Adultery, shee had the Censure of Excommunication passed upon her." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

preach this Text, after his Death. And the Providence of Heaven, does now strangely order the *Funeral* of this good Man, to bee on the Day of my *Lecture*. A vast Assembly now came together, and preaching to them on the Text so remarkably circumstanced, there was the more of a *pungency* on the Truths which I delivered. Into the Sermon, I interwove many *Memorables* of the Person deceased, which also proved a profitable and an acceptable Entertainment.<sup>1</sup>

The Publication of this Discourse was much Desired; so I gave it unto the Book-sellers. It is entitled, A GOOD MAN, MAKING A GOOD END.<sup>2</sup>

And by perusing of my dear Friend's *Diaries*, I had the Opportunity of transcribing into it, abundance of most useful Passages. *Who am I, that the Lord should make this Use of mee?*

And at this Time also, arrives unto my Sight, the History, which I had written of the *Life* of Sir *William Phips*; printed at *London*, with very considerable Names recommending of it, and its (unworthy) Author. Here I see a further Answer of my poor Prayers. Our base *Tories*, are in much Anguish at this Book; but it will certainly prove a great Service unto the Lord Jesus Christ.

26 d. 10 m. *Saturday*. I spent this Day, in the Exercises of a secret Fast before the Lord.

One special Action of this Day, was, my getting, an hopeful young Gentleman, Mr. *R. Whittingham*, to visit mee at my study, and my praying with him, there, in such Terms as effectually to pursue my Designs of engaging him unto the eternal Service of Christ, and therewithal obtaining the

<sup>1</sup> Sewall notes that it was a very cold day. The text of the funeral sermon was Psalm 31. 5. Bayley died about three o'clock in the afternoon of December 12, "just the time he should have stood up to preach for Mr. Willard," and after much pain and illness by the Gout and other distempers. *Diary*, I. 465, 466.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by B. Green and John Allen.

Favour of God unto him, in a Voyage to *England* now before him.<sup>1</sup>

In this Action, I enjoy'd special Communications from Heaven, assuring mee, of a Blessing for my Friend, whom I thus carried unto the Lord.

But in the other Duties of the Day, an unhappy Darkness, and Coldness attended mee, which made mee fear, that I had grieved the Holy Spirit of God. I must consider, *wherein?* And seeking a Pardon thro' the Blood of Christ, reform it.

However, on the Day following, at the Lord's Table, the Holy Spirit of God came upon mee, in my last Prayer, and perswaded mee and assured mee, *that my Sins are forgiven mee.*

*Memorandum.* While my Book, entitled, *A Good Man making a Good End*, is in the Press, one thing happens, that in part answers the *Faith*, which I recorded, (28 d. 9 m.) a month ago. The Bookseller desires mee to add unto that Book; (which will bee greedily read throughout all *New England!*) and I add unto it, my Discourse had a while since, at our Lecture, on Act. 11. 26. which I entitled, *The Character of a Christian*. This discourse describes, the Respect unto CHRIST, which is essential unto *Christianity*, and the Glory which every true *Christian* payes unto CHRIST. So will my Lord Jesus CHRIST, bee *more known throughout my Country!*

*Memorandum.* On 7 d. 11 m. [January.] Arrives to mee, a Book in *Folio*, this year published in *London*, which professes itself to bee a Collection of *Remarkable Providences*. I find myself often quoted in this Book; yea, very often; and very large Paragraphs from several Books of mine transcribed into it. And I find, the Names and Lives of

<sup>1</sup> Richard Whittingham was admitted to the Second Church, February 20, 1697-98.

Nonconformists, therein much magnified, tho' the Book bee written by a Conformist.

This gives mee a very encouraging Prospect, that the Publication of my *Church-History* may now bee seasonable.

And the Restoration of Peace, makes a more easy Passage for it into *Europe*.

Yea, To my Surprise, I find an Advertisement of it, at the End of the Book, which thus arrives unto mee.

Behold, the Faith which Irradiated mee, the last *November*, answered!

8 d. 11 m. [*January*.] *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a secret Fast before the Lord.

One special Design of my Supplications, was, to obtain the Direction of Heaven about my *Church-History*; the Time and Way of my sending it into *Europe*, and the Methods of its Publication. I think, I am assured, that my Supplications are heard, in this matter.

The Rest of this Month prov'd a Time of much Calamity to mee.

Epidemical and Pestilential *Colds*, at once came upon this whole Town, and most of the neighbouring Plantations. These *Colds* prov'd mortal to many, and grievous to most: nor can any man living remember such a Time as was hereby brought upon us.<sup>1</sup> I had my Share in it. A sore *Cough*, lacerated my Breast; and a periodical *Headache*, with *Fever*, did every morning, for a long time together, distress mee, with exquisite Miseryes. I was confined for almost a whole Month; and sometimes my Distemper threatned my Dissolution.

The Prospect of approaching *Death*, gave mee an Opportunity, to tast the Consolations of God. When I thought, of being within a Fortnight, among the *Angels*, of Heaven, (which I was assured that I should bee, at my Departure

<sup>1</sup> This winter appears to have been of exceptional severity, with deep snows and bitter cold.

hence) it caused mee, to fall into Tears of Joy. And, yett, such a sweet contradiction there is in Christianity! I resolved, out of Respect unto the Service which I desire to do, for the Name of my Lord Jesus Christ, that I would keep out of those blessed Hands, yett for a while, if I could, by using the best means for my Recovery. The Lord my Healer, at length blessed those means, but not until I had first præpared myself, by these Considerations.

That I may come out of my *Sickness*, as *Gold out of the Fire*:

I. I must effectually learn this Lesson, that this *present World*, which unhappy Maladies ever now and then recurring, render such an *evil World*, is not my *Home*. And I must *think* more on, and *long* more for, the *glorious World*, which my Lord Jesus Christ has purchased.

II. I must enquire after *Sin*, as the *Cause of Sickness*. And, as I must infer what a *bitter Thing*, all *Sin* in general is, from the *Bitterness*, which I tast in the *Effect* of it; so, I must enquire, whether, a *malignant Cold*, bee not the very distemper of my Soul; a *cold Indisposition* to Religion, accompanied with sinful Malignity.

III. I must ascribe unto the Lord *Jesus Christ*, the Glory of my *Deliverance* out of *Sickness*. When Hee bore *my Sins*, on the Cross, then Hee bore *my Sicknesses*. Hee has by His obedience, made *Atonement* for the *Sins*, for which, God might *make mee sick in smiting mee*. His *Death*, is the Price of *my Health*. And therefore when *my Health*, shall bee restored, I must sett myself, with more Vigour than ever, to *glorify* my Lord Jesus Christ, *by bringing forth much Fruit unto Him*.

When the first Lord's-day of my going abroad arrived; 6 d. 12 m. [*February*.] I had a very particular Experiment.

At noon, I found myself very ill, that I thought it impossible for mee, to do any public Service in the After-

noon: so very ill, that thro' Faintness I could not well rise out of my Chair, to pray for the Assistences of Heaven to my public Service, as I use to do.<sup>1</sup> In my Anguish, taking the Bible, I turned unto those Passages, in Dan. iv. 8. 10, 18. *I was left alone; there remained no Strength in mee, my Comeliness in mee was turned into Corruption; I retained no strength. And behold, an Hand touched mee, which sett mee on my Knees. Straightway there remained no Strength in mee, neither Breath left in mee: Then there came again and touched mee, the Appearance of a Man, and hee strengthened mee.* Hereupon I cryed unto the Lord, that Hee would send *His Angel*, (and *my Angel*) to touch mee. And behold, when the Time came for my going forth, I received a new Strength; and the longer I continued in the public Exercises, the more did my Strength seem to return unto mee. I went thro' the Exercises, with a very singular Assistance of Heaven, and pray'd and preach'd and baptis'd, and managed other Church-matters, for the best Part of three Hours together. My Sermon was, on Psal. 103. 3, *Hee healeth all thy Diseases.* And my Design, to show, *how the Lord Jesus Christ, the God of Heaven, is to bee considered and acknowledged as healing all the Diseases of His people on Earth.*

In the Beginning of the Following Week, I went thro' a great Variety of Work. But my concern to recover the Time I had lost in my Sickness, and glorify my Lord Jesus Christ being managed with too indiscrete an Intemperance, I was cast into a Fitt of the Cholic, which held mee for diverse Hours.

But God *look'd on my Affliction and my Pain, and forgave my Sin*, and heard my Supplications in the Name of my L[ord] Jesus Christ. I found speedy Releef. And Hee gave

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Wigglesworth preach'd Jan'y 23, from those words. Who can stand before his Cold? Then by reason of his own and peoples sickness, three Sabbaths passed without publick worship. Feb. 20, a very cold day. He preached from those words; He sends forth his word and thaws them; which began 21 and especially 22, and has thaw'd much and yet moderately." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 471.

mee an Opportunity, with a great Assistance, to preach unto a great Assembly, on the *Thursday-Lecture*. Where, considering how almost all the Town had been sick, I sett myself to direct the best Improvement of it, that I could, with a Discourse, on Isa. 33. 24. *The Inhabitant shall not say, I am sick; but the People bee forgiven their Iniquity.*

The Subjects handled in my publick Ministry (besides those which the former Pages, have on special occasions mentioned.) for the year, thus expired, were these.

I have preached, four and twenty Sermons, (usually every other Lords-day,) on the 53d chapter of *Isaiah*. Two Sermons more, will finish my Design upon the Chapter.

I reserved myself (as formerly) a Liberty, for the most part, every other Lord's-day, to discourse on such occasional Subjects, as I might see, would bee most edifying for my Congregation.

21 d. 1. m. [March.] I discoursed; on Jam. 2. 20. *Good Works*; justifying our *Faith*.

4 d. 2 m. [April.] On, Joh. 6. 70. Diabolical *Hypocrites*, in the purest *Societies*. (When a Censure was passed in the Church.)

2 d. 3 m. [May.] On, Luk. 14. 27. *The Cross*. (Afflictions being multiplied.)

30 d. 3 m. On Luk. 13. 6. The Lord looking for *Fruit*.

13 d. 4 m. [June.] On Prov. 28. 14. *Fearing alwayes*. (When most fearful things had happened, in some that after much Reputation for Godliness, had yett killed themselves, even with prænatural Assistences, as it should seem, from Dæmons in the Tragedy.)

27 d. 4 m. On Prov. 28. 14. *Hardness of Heart*.

25 d. 5 m. [July.] On Psal. 94. 22. *Christ a Rock for our Shelter*. (When a formidable Invasion from the French, was expected.)

1 d. 6 m. [August.] On Hos. 10. 12. *The Rain of Righteousness*. (In a Time of sore Drought.)

22 d. 6 m. On, Psal. 102. 23. 24. *Wonderful works of God, seen by those that go to Sea*. (When a great Fleet of my Neighbours, were going to sea.)

19 d. 7 m. [September.] On Luk. 10. 34. *The merciful and plentiful care, taken by Christ, in His Church, for the Welfare of Souls, wounded by Sin*.

3 d. 8 m. [October.] On, Eph. 3. 8. *The unsearchable Riches of Christ*. (My Neighbours being impoverished with many Losses.)

17 d. 8 m. On, Rom. 1. 26. Sin punished with Sin. (On some sad Instances of it.)

14 d. 9 m. [November.] On 2. Tim. 3. 5. A Form of Godliness, without the Power of it. (Beholding it sadly every where exemplified.)

28 d. 9 m. On Gen. 28. 17. The Reverence to be paid unto God in Places, that are signalized with His special Presence. (Because I saw it exceedingly wanting.)

12 d. 10 m. [December.] On Math. 8. 12. The children of the Kingdome cast out. (When there was a tragical Instance of one, cast out of our Church.)

On sacramental Occasions, I discoursed,

21 d. 12 m. [February.] From, 1. Tim. 3. 16. Christ, *seen by Angels.*

19 d. 2 m. [April.] Then, *Preached unto the Gentiles.*

5 d. 7 m. [September.] Then, *Beleev'd on in the World.*

31 d. 8 m. [October.] Then, *Received up into Glory.*

26 d. 10 m. [December.] From, Math. 9. 2. The Wayes wherein wee have the Forgiveness of Sin declar'd and assur'd.

In my Lectures, I discoursed,

10 d. 1 m. [March.] and 7 d. 2 m. [April.] From Math. 8. 24, 25, 26. What's to be done, when wee see ourselves on the very Point of Perishing. (Which wee then were.)

3 d. 4 m. [June.] From, Hab. 2. 13. The use to be made of signal and wondrous Disappointments, blasting our most hopeful Affairs. (Which wee see all the World over.)

26 d. 6 m. [July.] From Rev. 19. 6. The Satisfaction to be had in the Reign of Christ, under all Changes. (When I look'd for a Peace.)

7 m. [August.] From, Act. 11. 25. The Character of a Christian.

18 d. 9 m. [November.] From, Phil. 2. 12. Working out Salvation with Fear. (Composed, *Raptim, Die frigidissimo.*)

13 d. 11 m. [January.] From, 2. Tim. 3. 9. The Power of Godliness. On a General Fast, 13 d. 3 m. [May.] From, Num. 14. 19. *Mercy*, the best plea. On a general Thanksgiving, 11 d. 9 m. [November.] From Psal. 136. 23. Remembrance in our *low Estate.*

The Jewes tell us, of R. *Joshua ben Ananiah*, that his Face was Black, by reason of his *Fastings*. Why is his Name called Ashur! (1. Chron. 4. 5.) *Because his Face was Black by Fastings.*

1697-98

THE XXXVI<sup>TH</sup> YEAR.

*Ego Sic Semper et ubique Vixi tanquam ultimum Diem, nunquam rediturum, Consumerem.* EUMOLP.

C. M. Can't say so!

*Discupio Solvi, Tecumque, O Christe, Manere: Portio fac Regni, sim quotacunque Tui.* BEZA.

C. M. would say so!

*Cætera Vitia, in Peccatis; superbia in recte factis, Maxime est timenda.* AUG.

Lett C. M. amidst his few recte Facta, (if they bee such!) take the Caution.

*In Operibus sit abundantia mea; Divitijs per me hevt abundet quisquis voluerit.* MELANCH.

C. M. heartily subscribes to This!

THE XXXVI<sup>TH</sup> YEAR OF MY AGE.

12 d. 12 m. 1697. This Day, thro' the Forbearance of God, I am *thirty five* Years old. When I behold, how extremely foolish, and carnal, I still am, and how little Service I have done for my Lord Jesus Christ, at this Age, my Spirit sinks with Astonishment! Lord! I am astonished, that thou hast Suffer'd such a *barren Tree*, to stand thus long, among thy People.

I would have spent this Day, in the Exercises of a proper Devotion; only, having the Feebleness of my late Sicknesse yett upon mee, I durst not further enfeeble myself, lest I should become indisposed, for the Labours of the *Lord's-day*, which is to-morrow.

However, I did spend some Time-extraordinary, in confessing and bewayling the *Sins* of the Year past, and giving Thanks for the *Mercies* of the year; and in Supplications, that in the ensuing Year, I may enjoy the gracious Presence of God with mee.

18 d. 12 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Duties of a *secret Fast*, before the Lord: that I might obtain from Him, those Measures of *Sanctity*, which the Lord Jesus Christ, has purchased for His chosen Servants; and that I might bee favoured in special Endeavours to serve the Name of my Lord Jesus Christ, wherein I am now engaged. (And for Direction about my *Church History*.)

I renewed, my Acceptance of the Lord, in the Covenants of Grace, resigning myself unto Him, with Tears of Joy.

22 d. 12 m. I did, this Winter, with many Cries to Heaven about it, undertake to write a Book of Essays, for the Illustration, and the Demonstration of the *Christian Religion*. This Day, I finish that Book, which I entituled, THE CONFIRMED CHRISTIAN: *Beholding the Triumphs of Christianity, over all its Adversaries*.

And it is now Time for mee to observe, that I have enjoy'd a wonderful Assistance from Heaven, in the writing of it. Altho' I have been full of other *Employments*, and have lost more than a little Time thro' *Sickness*, and *Sloth* and *Sleep* do shamefully prevail upon mee, yett, in a few Weeks' Time, I have now composed this *Treatise*, which does consist of about *four and twenty* Sheets. And my Meditations have had a strange Supply sent in unto them, with Circumstances, that have argued a *particular Care of Heaven*, about the *Work*, wherein I am engaged. If this *Book* bee published, I shall do more Service to the Interests of my Lord *Jesus Christ*, than ever in my Life. But I must send it unto *London*, for its Publication; and therefore I am waiting upon the Lord, unto whom the *Book* is devoted,

for the Direction of His Providence, about what remains to be done, for its coming into Light.

As I was finishing this Work, some of my Neighbours, (and some, from whom I little expected any such Respect,) call for the Discourse, which I lately uttered, at *Boston-Lecture*, after that a great part of the Town, as well as myself, had recovered from our late Illness. Accordingly in a Peece of a Day or two, I fitted the Discourse for the Press, and gave it unto the Bookseller. It is entitled, *MENS SANA IN CORPORE SANO. or, a Discourse upon Recovery from Sickness.*<sup>1</sup> O my Lord Jesus Christ! I am astonish'd, I am astonish'd, at thy Favours, in thus employing the most unworthy Sinner in the World.

1698.

4 d. 1 m. [March.] Friday. I was this Day (as this Day fortnight) engaged in the Duties of a secret *Fast*, before the Lord.

God helped mee, this Day, with tearful Agonies, to cry unto Him, for the Pardon of the Sins, which I bitterly confessed before Him; and lay hold on the offered Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, for my *Justification*; and plead the Merits of His Blood, that I may be *purified* from all Iniquity, and *sanctified* with a great Measure of Grace bestowed upon mee.

In the Close of the Day, as I lay prostrate on my Study floor, in the Dust, before the Lord, the Spirit and the Angel of the Lord came nigh unto mee; and so as I cannot utter, assured mee, *That I shall serve my Lord Jesus Christ, yett exceedingly*; and, more particularly, that I am quickly to do a *special Service* of great Consequence for the Name of my Lord Jesus Christ, which, as yett I know not what it is.

And, putting those two Composures, my *Church-History*,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1698.

and my *Confirmed Christian*, into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, it was told mee from Heaven, That they shall bee carried safe to *England*, and there employed for the Service of my glorious Lord.

The Rest of the Beginning of this Month, brought with it, little that was remarkable; besides multiplied Experiences, of strange *Dejections*, and sad *Buffetings* upon my Mind, just when I have been going to do some *special Service* for the Lord Jesus Christ in my public Ministry, and then a more than common *Assistance* and *Enlargement*, in the Service itself, when the Opportunities for it arrived.

The Arrival of a *public Fast*, the Middle of this Month, released mee, from my Intentions of a *secret* one.

20 d. 1 m. *Lord's-Day*. This Day after my *public Labours*, retiring into My Study, at the Evening, I there cast myself prostrate in the Dust, on my Floor before the Lord. And there, a *wonderful Thought* with an *Heavenly Force*, came into my Mind; That *God loved my Lord Jesus Christ* infinitely, and had given Worlds unto Him, and made Him the Lord of all; and, that I had, thro' the Efficacy of His Grace upon mee, my Heart exceedingly sett upon the *glorifying of my Lord Jesus Christ* and was entirely devoted unto Him. Hereupon, an *unutterable Joy* fill'd my Mind, from *Assurance*, that God, for the Sake of my Lord Jesus Christ, had *great Things* to do for mee; that Hee would even *delight* in mee, and delight in *using* mee, and use mee in *eminent Services* for Him, who is dearer to mee, than all Things. Yea, it was told mee, from the World, whereto I am going, that the *Angels* of my Lord Jesus Christ, had marvellous *Offices of Good-Will* to do for mee, and that they would, on the Score of my Lord Jesus Christ, *love* mee, *help* mee, *teach* mee, bee *nigh* mee, bee *with* mee, fetch mee to bee with *Them* forever.

*Memorandum*. I was a little comforted with a Word spoken to mee, by a Gentleman, a Lawyer, who came a few

months ago out of *England*, and who since hee came had sett himself a little to observe the People of *New England*:

“Mr. *Mather*, (said hee) I can tell you this; All the men that have any Vertue or any Reason in them, I find, love you, and value you, and honour you; but all the base People, who are scandalous for Vice and Wickedness, hate you, and can’t give you a good Word.”

1 d. 2 m. [April.] Friday. I poured out my Prayers this Day, with Fasting, in my Study, before the Lord; crying to Heaven, for the Pardon of my Sins, the Support of my Ministry, the Welfare of my Family, the Deliverance of my Countrey from the Invasions of the Salvages, and of the whole Protestant Religion and Interest, from the threat’ning Circumstances, whereinto the *scandalous Peace* [of Ryswick] lately concluded, has involved it.

But one special Request, which I this Day made unto Heaven was; For the gracious Presence of the Lord Jesus Christ with mee, in my Design, on my Lecture the next week, to relate and improve the *History* of the Divine Dispensations, towards this Town; whereof I am a Native.

In the close of the Day, Heaven showred upon my Mind, unutterable Satisfactions, as I lay in the Dust, before the Lord, *that I shall yett glorify my Lord Jesus Christ exceedingly.*

7 d. 2 m. Thursday. The Lord having *helped* mee, beyond my expectation in præparing a Discourse for the Lecture, Hee yett more gloriously *helped* mee, in uttering of it, unto a vast Assembly of His People.

I first laid my sinful Mouth, in the Dust on my Study-floor before the Lord, where I cast myself, in my Supplications for His Assistence and Acceptance, as utterly unworthy thereof. But the Lord, made my sinful Mouth, to become this Day, the Trumpett of His glory; and the Hearts of the Inhabitants, of the Town, were strangely moved, by what was delivered among them.

A Copy of the Discourse, was much desired; I gave it unto the Bookseller; entitling it, THE BOSTONIAN EBENEZER. And I added another unto it, entitled, HOUSEHOLD RELIGION.<sup>1</sup>

After my Lecture, I was taken ill: and tho' I preached on the Lord's-day following, with much Help from Heaven, yett in the Beginning of the Week, my Illness grew into a *Feavour*. But the Time of my Departure is not yett come! The Lord broke my *Feavour*, in the Beginning, with seasonable Applications. Towards the End of the Week, I could return to my Studies; and then tho' I had not Strength, to spend a *Day* in Prayer, with *Fasting*, as I would have done, to præpare for the *Eucharist*, which on the *Lord's-day*, I administred, yett the Lord accepted my feeble Præparations.

In my Self-Examination, my Soul sallied forth, to these

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips, 1698. No better example of Mather's "historical" writing need be sought than this volume of what he specifically names "The History of Boston, related and improved." Though the "metropolis of America," Boston was, in its early days, proverbially called "Lost Town, for the mean and sad circumstances of it." Terrible famines had stared the town in the face; four times had it been visited by the small-pox. "How often have there been Bills desiring Prayers for more than an Hundred Sick on one Day in one of our Assemblies? In *one Twelve-month* about one *Thousand* of our Neighbours have one way or other been carried unto their long Home: And yet we are after all, many more than *Seven Thousand* Souls of us at this Hour living on the Spot." Ten times had fire wrought great destruction, but more than a thousand houses composed the town at the time he was speaking. Most wonderful of all, the place had in the last year been preserved from an attack by the French. Leaving such matters he turns to questions of churches and public morals, and found much to suggest and to condemn. Among the disturbing features of the times was the danger of sending the young men to other lands, where their morals could be corrupted. Such a place was Port Royal in Jamaica, recently visited by an earthquake. It was noted that "just before the *Earthquake* the People were violently and scandalously set upon going to *Fortune-Tellers* upon all Occasions: much notice was taken of this *Impiety* generally prevailing among the People: But none of those wretched *Fortune-Tellers* could foresee or forestal the direful *Catastrophe*. I have heard that there are *Fortune-Tellers* in this Town sometimes consulted by some of the sinful Inhabitants. I wish the town could be made too Hot for these *Dangerous Transgressors*." The tract may be seen in the *Magnalia*, Bk. I. 30.

three HIGH ACTS of Beleeving, and Repenting, and Loving.

I. *Lord*, I am so satisfied in the infinite Glory and Greatness of my Lord *Jesus Christ*, and of thy infinite Regard unto Him, that I wholly give up myself unto that Illustrious Lord, and I pitch upon it, as my cheef Happiness, *to serve Him forever.*

II. *Lord*, I am in such ill Terms with my *Sin*, that I most heartily give Thanks unto thee, for all the most bitter and humbling Dispensations of thy *Providence* towards mee, that have had any Tendency to *mortify* it.

III. *Lord*, I will bee alwayes at *Work* for Thee, for thy People, and bee so far from thinking much of any *Work* which I may do for them, that whatever *Sufferings* do befall mee, for the sake of that *Work*, I will *rejoice* in the *Sufferings* exceedingly.

My many Studies, and Labours, with the Distempers of a slothful Soul, hindred mee now from setting apart so many whole *Dayes*, for secret Communion with Heaven, by *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, as I should have had: And my Spirit, I soon felt suffer for the want of these *Dayes*.<sup>1</sup>

3 d. 3 m. [*May*.] This Day, my little Daughter *Hannah*, was taken very dangerously sick of a Feavour, with Convulsions, to such a Degree, that there was little Hope of her Life. My Lecture, with other Fatigues, coming this Week upon mee, I could not *Fast* and *Pray*, as I would have done. Yett I pray'd, and cry'd unto Heaven, for the Child, and openly and publickly, as well as privately, made this an Opportunity, to glorify the Lord *Jesus Christ*, by the

<sup>1</sup> "17 d. 2 m. [*April*.] This Day, *Abiel Loresen*, having been convicted of Disorders in her House, and of Untruths, and of a very indiscreet Action, in going and lodging aboard a Frigate, she publickly made a pœnitent Confession of her Miscarriages, and the Church accepted her Confession.

"Moreover *Abigail Day*, having while she was yett under the Censure of the *Admonition* a Year since passed upon her, fallen into the Crime of Fornication, the highest Censure of *Excommunication* upon her was this Day in the Church publickly proceeded unto." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

cheerful Resignation thereof unto Him. Now, behold, the Event! *Resigned* Enjoyments, will bee still *enjoy'd*. While I was Joyfully, and yett mournfully giving up the Infant unto the Lord, the Lord raised my Heart at last, unto something of a *particular Faith*, for its being restored unto mee. And, unto my Amazement, it came to pass accordingly.

Moreover, having written, with exceeding Pains, an *Idæa* and *History*, of the *Reformation*, especially in the *English Nation*, and of the Obstructions which it has mett withal, all still asserted with Passages quoted from the Writings of *conformable* Divines in the Church of *England*; whereto, I have added, some Conjectures, of a *Reformation* and *Revolution* at hand, exceeding that in the former Century: I now sent the Manuscript, (*Anonymous*) by the Hand of my Brother-in-Law, to a Bookseller in *London*; and, if it bee published, I have a secret Hope, that it will much affect the Affayrs of the Church, in the Changes that are approaching. In this Treatise, because I distinguish the Friends of the *Reformation*, by the Name of *Eleutherians*, (while I call its Foes, *Idumæans*,) for the Causes there assigned, I therefore entituled the Book, ELEUTHERIA.<sup>1</sup> Lord! Accept and prosper this my poor Endeavour to serve Thee!

*Memorandum*; This Morning, when I was in Distress, whether I should send my Manuscript unto *London*, or no, I went unto my *Family-Prayer*; and reading (as usually in Mornings,) a Paragraph of the Scripture, to bee turn'd into Prayer, that which came of Course to bee read, was, 2. Sam. 7. in which those words occurring, *Go, do all that is in thine Heart, for the Lord is with thee*. I felt a strange Force on my Mind, assuring mee, that my Action should bee prospered.

13 d. 3 m. Friday. I am now returned unto my dear

<sup>1</sup>The word was originally applied to Zeus as protector of political freedom. It also meant a deliverer. The more usual form of Idumæa is Edom, whence Edomites. See p. 280, *infra*.

Exercises of *Praying* with *Fasting*, in Secret before the Lord. Besides my own manifold Sinfulness, there are more *Scandals*, committed by some in my Church, that call for my deepest Humiliation; which accordingly I therefore endeavoured. And I carried my Ministry, and the Things I have written, or design to write, for the Churches, and my Family, and Friends, and Church, and Colledge, and Countrey, and our Churches, especially our *distempered* Ones, and the English Nation, and the Protestant Interest, especially in *France*, unto the everglorious Hearer of Prayer.

In the following Week, I considered, that wee had many of our poor Friends, fallen into the Hands of the *Turks* and *Moors*, and languishing under an horrible Slavery in *Zallee*. And, I considered, that it might bee a thing very serviceable unto the Souls of those poor Slaves, to write unto them some agreeable Meditations.

Wherefore, I wrote unto these distressed People, a Letter, to establish them in the *Christian Faith*, and comfort them under their terrible Calamities, and counsil them, how to make such an use of their Calamities, as to præpare them for the Salvation of God. I took some care, to print many Copies of this large Letter, that so it might bee, by diverse Opportunities, the more certainly conveyed unto them.

I Entituled it; A PASTORAL LETTER, TO THE ENGLISH CAPTIVES IN AFRICA.<sup>1</sup>

(Afterwards I understood, that the Lord blessed this *Pastoral Letter* wonderfully to the Captives; yea, it proved the Præparation and the Introduction unto their Deliverance.)<sup>2</sup>

20 d. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1698.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin. Sewall distributed some of those letters. *Letter Book*, i. 200.

Fasting, in secret before the Lord, on the same Occasions, and with the same Petitions, that I had this Day se'nnight.

Moreover, another of my Flock, is to bee censured the next Lord's-day, for the Crime of *Adultery*; and one, whom I had formerly, with many Cries to Heaven, rescued from the Hands of evil Angels, which had a *bodily Possession* of her.<sup>1</sup>

I was desirous to humble myself, exceedingly before the Lord, for the Scandals of my Flock; lest the Lord should bee offended at *mee* for them. I therefore bewayled *my own Sins* in the sight of Heaven, with Hopes of Pardon thro' the Lord Jesus Christ; and so I præpared for that *sad Action*, wherein, I, who myself am a vile Sinner, must bee employ'd, for to pass a dreadful *Censure* on one, for sinning against the God of Heaven.

When the Time, for the Action, on the Lord's-day, arrived, I enjoyed an extraordinary Presence of His therein; after I had, into a vast Congregation, preached, on Hos. 9. 15. *For the Wickedness of their Doings, I will drive them out of my House.*

29 d. 3 m. *Lord's-Day.* Tis now a Time, for mee to recapitulate the astonishing Answers, which my Lord Jesus Christ, begins to give unto my *Particular Faith*, about the State of His People, abroad in the World.

I read of poor Beleevers, who, *thro' Faith subdued Kingdoms.* My Lord Jesus Christ, is going to *subdue Kingdomes*; and Hee hath informed, inclined, and assisted the *Particular Faith*, of a vile Sinner, in a Corner of *America*, to foresee, and putt on that Work of His.

I have secretly, yea, publickly, declared, that the Lord Jesus Christ, would speedily bring about a wondrous *Revo-*

<sup>1</sup> "22 d. 3 m. [May.] Mercy Marshal, being found guilty of Adultery, had the highest Censure of Excommunication this day passed upon her." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

*lution*, whereby Hee shall come to bee own'd and serv'd in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Well, in *Scotland*, the Reformation of the Church, is the last year accomplished, unto the Satisfaction of them that breathed after it. In *England*, the King, upon the unanimous Address of the Parliament, has emitted an excellent Proclamation, for the suppression of all *Profaneness*, yea, and, for the punishing of them, who publish Doctrines, derogatory to the Person, and Office, and Glory of *Christ*: and the Effect of that and other Things has appeared in a sudden and wondrous *Alteration*, upon the whole *Face* of the Kingdome: a notable *Reformation* is commenced!

I have again, and again, received Assurances from the Lord, which I have sometimes also in a convenient Manner uttered, that the Lord was going to do an astonishing Work in *France*, for the Reviving of His *holy Religion* there. Behold, the whole Principality of *Orange*, which is in the Bowels of *France*, has had an astonishing work done upon it: Its *Pastors* being restored, the *holy Religion* of Christ is restored with them, and the poor *Protestants*, who had been *dragoon'd*<sup>1</sup> into a sad Apostasy, are all, with Transports of Joy, recovered.

Breefly, I have many Years ago published it, as my Opinion, that the *Antichrist*<sup>2</sup> entred his *last Half-Time*, at the *Half-Reformation* in the former Century, and that about an hundred and eighty years from thence, would bring us to a *new Reformation*, vastly exceeding the former. Now, I live to see in 1697. greater Tendencies to the *new Reforma-*

<sup>1</sup> A form of persecution directed by Louis XIV against French Protestants, in which dragoons were quartered upon the persecuted.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious to note that "the earliest indications of a thoroughly scientific, historical and critical handling" of the question of Antichrist are to be found in a work by Ludovicus Alcasar, *Vestigatis arcani sensus in Apocal.*, printed at Antwerp in 1614. In Mather's day the subject was treated literally, and as vaguely and briefly indicated in certain passages of Scripture, notably in Revelations. In reality the Antichrist rests upon an original body of tradition of which Scripture contains only a small part. See Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica, sub verbo*.

tion, than there were to bee seen in 1517. for the *Half-Reformation*, then begun.<sup>1</sup>

O my Lord Jesus Christ, accept of mee, the vilest of Men, to do some *great Things* for thee, in the approaching *Reformation*. Thou wilt accept of mee! But, oh! make mee a very holy, prayerful, watchful, and prudent Man, that I may bee *fitt for my Master's Use*.

This Day, both in my Study, and in the Public, I did, in Imitation of the Angels, in the first Chapter of *Zechariah*, present this Report, before the Lord; *that much of the Earth sitts still, and is at Rest*; thro' the Peace lately ratified among the Nations of *Europe*; only *Jerusalem* is yett in its Ruines; the *French Churches* are dissipated, the *Hungarian Churches* are desolated, the *Piemontese Churches* are again afflicted: And I cried unto Heaven, for a marvellous Redemption to bee wrought for them.<sup>2</sup> It will bee done! It will shortly and surely bee done!

10 d. 4 m. [June.] Friday. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercise of a secret Fast: On the same Occasions, that I had on diverse late Weeks for my doing so.

I was favoured with some Satisfactions, and Entertainments of an heavenly Importance, in the Duties of the Day; and my Interviewes with Heaven, left a Savour on my Spirit.

Yea, At the Close of the Day, lying prostrate in the Dust before the Lord; *Quum non sine mærore ac Dolore Animi, hanc peccatorum meorum Aggravationem, coram Deo recitaveram, quod illius Angeli boni et sancti, cum Dolore quodam, atrocita mea peccata observassent; et, Quum horum omnium Delictorum, per Gloriosissimi Jesu Christi Sanguinem, Fide Apprehensum, impetraveram Condonationem; Hoc mihi vide-*

<sup>1</sup> Luther's theses were published at Wittenberg in 1517 and mark the commencement of the reformation that renounced mediæval doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> "There is no doubt but the Prayers and Tears of the Massachusetts being skilfully directed will in the manner of a Warlike Ram have a very considerable Efficacy in shaking and shattering Anti-christian Walls at the greatest distance." Sewall, *Letter Book*, I. 198.

*batur a Cælo persuasum, et infusum, quod Cælestis quidam charissimi mei Salvatoris Angelus, non Solum invisibili suo Auxilio me in Operibus sui ac mei Domini sustentaverit, sed aliquando, (ante meum obitum), cum Domino nostro visum fuerit, mihi se visibiler exhibuerit, ut Insignia quædam, de Ecclesia, et Rebus novissimis, patefaciat.*

*A Diabolicis Illusionibus, libera, et protege, Indignissimum Tuum Servum, Oro te, mi Redemptor!*

*Latine hæc scribo, ne chara mea Conjux, has Chartas aliquando inspiciens, intelligat.*

Moreover, the Lord is furnishing of mee, with one special Opportunity, for the Exercise of His Graces, under a Trial of a very particular Importance. There is a sort of a *Sad-ducee* in this Town; a man,<sup>1</sup> who makes little Conscience of lying; and one whom no Reason will divert from his malicious Purposes. This man, out of Enmity to mee, for my public Asserting of such Truths, as the Scripture has taught us, about the Existence and Influence of the *Invisible World*, hath often abused mee, with venemous *Reproaches*, and most palpable *Injuries*. I have hitherto taken little Notice of his Libels and Slanders; but this Contempt enrages him. I understand, that hee apprehends the shortest way to deliver People, from the *Beleef* of the Doctrines which not I only, but all the Ministers of Christ in the World, have hitherto mentained, will bee, to show the World, what an *ill Man* I am. To this End, I understand, hee hath written a Volumn of invented and notorious *Lies*, and also searched a large Part of the *Books* which I have published, and with false Quotations of little Scraps here and there from them, endeavoured for to cavil at them. This Volumn hee is, as I understand, sending to *England*, that it may bee printed there.<sup>2</sup> And now, I thought it, high Time for mee to look about mee.

<sup>1</sup> Some words in the ms. have been carefully obliterated at this point.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Calef is intended, whose *More Wonders of the Invisible World* appeared in London in 1700. His name and book will be mentioned later in this *Diary*.

Wherefore, in my Supplications, I first of all declared unto the Lord, that I freely *Forgave* this miserable Man, all the Wrongs which hee did unto mee, and I pray'd the Lord also to *forgive* him, and to do him good even as to my own Soul. But then, I pleaded with the Lord, that the *Design* of this Man, was to hurt my precious *Opportunities* of glorifying my Glorious Lord Jesus Christ; and I could not but cry unto the Lord, that Hee would rescue my *Opportunities* of serving my Lord Jesus Christ, from the Attempts of this Man to damnify them. I submitted my *Name* unto the Disposals of the Lord, owning my Deserts to have it vilified, and begging His Help to bear it prudently and patiently, if it must bee vilified. But yett I earnestly besought the Lord, that for the Sake of the *Calumnies* which my Lord Jesus Christ once did suffer for mee, I might bee delivered from such *Calumnies* as might unfitt mee to serve Him. So, I putt over, my *calumnious Adversary*, into the Hands of the *Righteous God*, unto whom I made my *Appeal* against him. In those Hands, I left my Adversary, as not having any other to *Appeal* unto.

And I now beleeve, That the *Holy Angels* of my Lord Jesus Christ, whose Operations this impious Man denies, (which is one great Cause of his Enmity against mee!) will do a *wonderful Thing* on this occasion!

23 d. 4 m. It was my Custome for many years, to *write Notes* of Sermons, as I heard them. Two or three Years ago, I left it off, cheefly, because I write so much otherwise, that I found myself too much *tired* with this Action. My Soul, I now find, suffers by my omitting it. I do not hear Sermons with such *Attention*, and such *Affection*, and such numberless *Ejaculations* to Heaven, since I left off writing after the Preachers, as I did before. Wherefore, I now resolved, that I would revive my old Custome; and tho' perhaps I may hear many Sermons, wherein I shall see sufficient *Meannesses*, yett I will use to fix my Mind in

hearing, with taking Minutes of what I hear; and keep working my Mind all the while, even more than ever, into the *Frame* of the Truths delivered, and *praying* or *praising* for such Things, as the Truths give mee Occasion to think upon.

24 *d.* 4 *m.* *Friday.* I sett apart this Day, for a secret and a solemn THANKSGIVING unto the Lord.

In the former part of the Day, I endeavoured, especially two Things, after I had begun the Day, with my usual Devotions, and with imploring the Assistance of Heaven for what was before mee;

First, I did with Bitterness of Soul, confess before the Lord, the many and horrid *Sins*, by which I had rendred myself, not only unworthy, of His Favours, but also most worthy of the dreadfulest Judgments, that can bee inflicted.

Next, I enumerated the more *special Mercies* of Heaven, wherewith I am at this Time surrounded. Particularly,

I. My spiritual Salvations, in the Lord Jesus Christ, and my Title to the Promises of the Covenant of Grace.

II. My Employment, in the sacred Ministry of my Lord Jesus Christ.

III. My precious Opportunities, even such as no man in my Countrey, ever had before mee, to glorify the Lord; both in preaching to vast Assemblies of His People,<sup>1</sup> and in printing, if I mistake not, at least threescore Books.

IV. My recovered Health, with a Freedome, from terrible Diseases which do render the Lives of many uneasy to them.

V. My Family, my Consort, my Children, and my desireable Relations, both præsaved and restored unto mee.

VI. My Salary, and the comfortable Provision made for mee, in my Habitation, above what many other and better Servants of God enjoy.

<sup>1</sup> Increase Mather stated the ordinary attendance at this time in his congregation to be fifteen hundred souls. Sewall, *Diary*, I. 493.

VII. My unblemished Reputation, in spite of all the Malice of Earth and Hell against mee.

These Things, I thankfully acknowledged unto the Lord.

My *Family-Devotions* I also subordinated unto the Design I was now upon.

And I intermingled *Psalms* and *Hymns*, that were agreeable.

And, that I might keep in Tune, I essay'd from all sorts of Objects, all the Day long, in the Intervals of my other Exercises, to mix numberless *Ejaculations* of Thanksgiving to the Lord.

In the Afternoon, I sett myself, (with intermixed Psalms).

I. To consider the wonderful Perfections of the Great God, and His Works of Creation, and of Providence; and celebrate His Glories therein display'd.

II. To consider the marvellous Excellencies of my Lord, Jesus Christ, and magnify the Greatness of my Lord-Redeemer.

III. To consider, the Kindness of Heaven to mee, in the Ministry of the good ANGELS, and upon the Account thereof, to offer up my Praises, unto *their* Lord, and *mine*.

IV. To consider, what I should *render to the Lord, for all His Benefits*.

Hereupon, I gave myself unto the Lord, and resolv'd upon being more fruitful (with His Help,) in my whole Conversation; in my Study, my House, my Flock.

And that my *Purposes* might bee the better *digested*, I thought, I would usually spend some Time, on the *Lord's-Day* after I come home to my *Study*, as I ly on my *Couch*, tired with my *publick Labours*, to contrive into shape, the Methods of my glorifying the Lord Jesus Christ.

26 d. 4 m. *Lord's-Day*. Considering with myself, that the King, upon the Advice and Address, of the House of Commons, hath with a Proclamation, as with a great Voice

from Heaven, called upon the Nation, to *reform* its Vices;<sup>1</sup> and, that our Governour at *N. York*, and our Lieut. Governour in this Province, have proclaimed for the like *Reformation* here; I thought, it would bee a Service, well-becoming the Ministers of the Gospel, to sett an Edge upon these holy Essayes. I resolved therefore, That I would on my next Lecture, preach to the Countrey, a Sermon upon the *Zeal*, with which wee should all endeavour to do, what is thus called for.

I did it the Thursday following, with the Special Assistance of Heaven.

8 d. 5 m. [July.] *Friday*. This Day, I devoted unto the Exercises of a *secret Fast*. The Occasions, and Exercises, were the same, that I have had, on other such Dayes, lately observed. Only, I had the Addition of another sad Humiliation, in that a *new Scandal* is broke forth in our Church. One, whom all had thought well concerning, is lately convicted of horrid Stealing and Lying, and seems too impœnitent.<sup>2</sup> For this Cause, I thought myself concerned, exceedingly to humble myself before God, and obtain His Mercy thro' His Christ, that neither I, nor my Church, may suffer His Holy Displeasure, for the Sins found in any of our Communion. I also implored the Presence of the *Holy Spirit* of Christ with mee, in the Censure, wherewith I purpose the next Lord's-day, to *shutt the Leper out of the Camp*, in a just Sentence, awfully representing the last *Judgment* of God. And what I now implored, I then enjoyed.

But, in my Prayers at the Table of the Lord, on that Lord's-day, I received a special and wonderful Assurance from Heaven, *that a Marvellous thing for the Glory of the Lord*

<sup>1</sup> Dated February 24, 1697-98. It is summarised in the notable list of English Broad-sides prepared for the Earl of Crawford, i. 507.

<sup>2</sup> "10 d. 5 m. [July.] *Joanna Jones*, having been found guilty of stealing and lying, in many instances, and not agreeably pœnitent, had the Censure of Excommunication this Day passed upon her." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, 11.

*Jesus Christ, will shortly bee done in my Church, which the Lord is now in a strange manner purifying and præparing for it.*

22 d. 5 m. Friday. I sett apart this Day also, for the Exercises of a *secret Fast*, as a Fortnight ago.

The distressed Case of some Contentions,<sup>1</sup> and other apostatising Churches among us, was one special Matter of my Supplications before the Lord.

This Day, when I was pouring out my Prayers unto the Lord, I mentioned the *Prolongation of my Life*, to enjoy and improve more Opportunities, of glorifying Him. In my Prayers, I humbly represented unto the Lord, that there were two Objections against *Dying*, which *Flesh* would bee ready to make; but thro' *His Grace* I had conquered them. First, my *Flesh* pleaded, that the *Comforts of Earth*, were too agreeable Things, to bee easily forsaken. But my Faith is perswaded and satisfied, that the *Delights of Heaven* are sweeter than the *Comforts of Earth*; and I can freely leave all the Entertainments of this evil World, that I may bee with Christ, where to bee, is *by far the best of all*. Secondly, my *Flesh* pleaded, What will become of my poor *Offspring*, when I am gone? But my *Faith* is perswaded and satisfied, that God will bee a *Father* to my *fatherless Offspring*; and my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have served, without seeking, as many others would have done, to enrich myself, with a Portion for my Children, will marvellously become such a Guardian to my *Orphans*, that they *shall never want any good Thing*. My Mind being on these two Accounts, thus easy, and *ready to dy*, I then besought of the Lord, nevertheless, that Hee would yett spare my Life, to work for Him, a little more, among His People.

<sup>1</sup>One of these "contentions" may be gathered from the joint letter from Increase and Cotton Mather to the Church in Charlestown on its receiving Rev. Simon Bradstreet to be its pastor. The Mathers objected that he believed the church covenant to be a human invention. Bradstreet was not ordained at Charlestown till October 26, 1698, succeeding Rev. Charles Morton. 4 *Collections*, VIII. 119. Sewall, *Diary*, I. 448.

Some of my cheef Desires this day before the Lord were, that I might bee fill'd with Grace, and that all my filthy Lusts, might bee extinguished by the Power of His Grace and Spirit.

But, I had also special Petitions to Heaven about the *Manuscripts*, which I have sent into *England*; and the *Angels* of Heaven have once and again revived mee, with strange Assurances, that the Lord hath accepted, and prospered my Composures, and will give them, among His People, a considerable Operation.

In the Beginning of the Month of *August*, I travelled unto *Sudbury*, with other Ministers and Messengers of Churches, where a *Council* assembled, at the Desire of some aggrieved Brethren, to rectify the Male-Administrations of the Church there. Here the Lord made use of mee, to draw up the Advice of the Council, and publickly to address the Church, with several Speeches, which I thought their Circumstances called for.

The Fatigues of this Journey hindred mee, from keeping a Day of *Prayer* with *Fasting*, in my Study as otherwise I might have done this Week.

Nevertheless, I enjoyed a special Presence of the Lord Jesus Christ with mee, in the Exercises of the following *Lord's-Day*. And, whereas, one of the last Times I was at the *Lord's-Table*, I made my particular Applications unto the Lord Jesus Christ, in the way of *sacramental Communion*, to obtain from Him, the Cure of that one Distemper, *an Heart wandring with impertinent Thoughts, in religious Exercises*, I must now record, that I have seen an extraordinary Success, of my Faiths making those Applications. On this *Lord's-day* particularly, I know not, that one sentence passed mee, in all the five Prayers made by Father, or, one Head or Text, of all the long Sermon preached by him in the Forenoon, but what my Heart accompanied with some agreeable *Ejaculation*. And my own Services

in the Afternoon, were under the special Operations of Heaven.

In the Month of *August*, I sett myself to consider on some further and special Services for the Name of my Lord Jesus Christ. And I foresaw a very comprehensive one to be done, first, in collecting and improving the *observable Dispensations* of God, which have occurred, in the long *War*,<sup>1</sup> which wee have had with our *Indian Salvages*, and uttering my Observations, in a Sermon or Two, at our Countrey-Lecture: And, then, in composing as agreeable an History of our *Indian-War* as I can, and incorporating into it, as charming and useful Entertainments for the Countrey, as I may think upon: so, resigning myself up to the Conduct of the Spirit of Grace, I sett about the Service thus before mee; hoping within a few Weeks time, in the midst of my other Undertakings, to dispatch it, for the Glory of my Heavenly Lord.

The Work, being accomplished, I putt upon it the Title of DECENNIVM LUCTUOSUM.<sup>2</sup> It is filled with a great Variety of Things, contrived as well as I can together, for the Glory of my Lord Jesus Christ, and the Welfare of His People, throughout the Land.

O my God, I exceedingly give Thanks to thy Name, for the Help thou hast given mee, in dispatching this Work!

2 d. 7 m. [*September.*] *Friday*. I spent this Day, in the Exercises of a *secret Fast*; carrying to the Lord, the Affairs of my own Soul, my Ministry, my Family, my Flock, His Churches, and the particular Services, I have before mee, especially in a Journey to *Salem* and *Ipswich*, the next week. *My God will hear mee.*

4 d. 7 m. *Lord's-Day*. I considered with myself, that there are many Miserables, at this Time, in our *Prison*;

<sup>1</sup> The war had lasted for about ten years.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in 1699, by B. Green and J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips. It contains (p. 199) his sermon at Boston Lecture, September 27, 1698.

and that their Circumstances, would afford unto a Minister, an Opportunity to speak very pungent things unto them. So, albeit, I preached, and administred the *Eucharist*, in the former Part of the Day, yett after our afternoon Exercises were over, I visited the *Prison*. There I pray'd with the poor Creatures, and preach'd unto them, on Psal. 142. 7. *Bring my Soul out of Prison*. They heard mee, with Floods of Tears: Who can tell, but that I have this day found an *Onesimus*? Who can tell, but some Wretches, by running into *Prison*, may run into the Arms of Christ, and His victorious Grace!

On September 5. I travelled unto *Salem*, with a good Hand of Heaven upon mee. On the next Day, I Travelled. with a Council of five Churches, to *Chebacco*; where the Day following, the Lord made some use of poor mee, among other of His more able Servants, to help the Case laid before us; and indeed, Hee appeared wonderfully, in the very Article of our Extremity, when wee were upon the very Point of cutting off a disorderly Church, from the Communion of the Faithful, to subdue, and alter the Spirits, with which wee were concerned, and bring things to a comfortable Issue. On the Thursday, I preached the Lecture at *Ipswich*. On the Friday, I returned unto *Salem*. And on the Lord's Day I preached both Forenoon and Afternoon, at *Salem*. The Lord gave mee aforehand, a Particular Faith, for His assisting, accepting, and prospering my Labours at *Salem*; and His Presence was mightily with mee, in my Labours, giving mee therewithal, a marvellous Ground of Hope, that thro' His Hand with mee, many are this Day there turned unto the Lord.

On the Day following I returned Home, unto an House fill'd with the Mercies of the Lord.

Finding, that whenever I go abroad, the *Curiosity* and *Vanity* of the people discovers itself, in their *great Flocking* to hear mee; with no little Expectation; it still causes mee

aforehand, exceedingly to *humble* myself before the Lord, and cry from the Dust unto Him, that the *fond Expectation* of the *People*, may not bee chastised, upon *myself*, in His leaving of *mee* to any Inconvenience. By this Method, I not only am in a comfortable Measure kept from the foolish *Taste* of *popular Applause* in my own Heart, but also from the humbling Dispensations of Heaven, whereto the Fondness of the People might otherwise expose mee.

One Day, while I was at *Salem*, I retired into the Burying-place, and att the Grave of my dear younger Brother<sup>1</sup> there, I could not but fall down on my knees before the Lord; with Praises to His Name, for granting the *Life* of my dead Brother to bee writt, and spread, and read, among His People, and bee very serviceable: and for sparing mee, a barren Wretch, to survive these many years, upon the Earth, to serve His People, in several Parts of the World. I then considered, what if I were speedily to bee called away by *Death*, after my *younger Brother*? I found my Spirit, gloriously triumphing in the Thoughts of going by Death, to bee with the Lord Jesus Christ, and among His *Angels*. But when I further Thought, of *staying* to glorify Him, tho' in the midst of many *Temptations*, among His People here, I did, at present, because of my *Age*, prefer *this*; and request it of the Lord.<sup>2</sup>

28 d. 7 m. *Wednesday*. The Lord of my Life, and of my *Health*, how mercifully hath Hee, in Answer to many Prayers, restored my *Health*! *Four Dayes* this Week, I preach, and yett I do not sink under it. One of these Dayes, was *this Day*; wherein, I rode, it may bee fourteen

<sup>1</sup>Nathaniel.

<sup>2</sup>"18 d. 7 m. [September.] Voted by the Church, that whereas the Land on which the late Enlargement of the Meeting House now stands, is unjustly apprehended by a certain person or two, to have been originally an High-way left for them, and they complain accordingly, the Deacons (with the Elders) are now desired and empowered by the Church to do all that they shall judge necessary to bee done for the comfortable Issue of that Affayr." *Colton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

Miles in the Morning, even to *Reading*, and rode Home, a shorter Way, of about a dozen Miles, in the Evening; and preached at *Reading*, unto a great Auditory, gathered from all the Towns in the Neighbourhood.

In my Journey, going out, I received a remarkable *Deliverance*. Riding over a *Bridge*, one of the *rotten Poles* upon it broke; and my Horse broke thro' and broke in, and *sunk down* to his very *Breast*. I chose rather to keep the *Saddle*, than go off into the *River*; and the *Horse*, to the Astonishment of my Company *rose* again, (tearing off a *Shooe* in his Rising,) and leaped over, with mee safe upon him. How happily do the *Creatures* all serve us, while wee are serving, their and our Lord, the Blessed *Jesus!*

1 d. 8 m. [October.] *Saturday*. I endeavoured the Duties of a *secret Fast*, this Day, before the Lord. The Occasions of it, were such as I have mentioned for the like Duties, in some former Weeks. In the Duties, there occur'd some Things, I could gladly have written. But, alas, my Employments do so thrust in upon mee, that I miss writing Multitudes of Passages, which it would bee comfortable and profitable afterwards to reflect upon.

13 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. This Day, I received of Mr. [Joseph] *Baxter*, the Pastor of the Church in *Medfield*, the following Account, written by himself.

“*Joan Ellis*, a very Godly Widow, about fourscore years of Age, was deprived of her *Hearing*, to her great Grief, and Sorrow. Shee became so Deaf, that it was very Difficult, for any to Discourse with her; and shee could hear *Nothing*, when shee went unto the House of God. Whereupon shee was exceedingly troubled and distressed, that shee could not enjoy the Benefit of the public Ordinances. Nevertheless shee was all that while, constant in her Attendance, thereupon: but was afraid, that God was angry with her, because of his thus dealing with her. At this Time, shee hearing of a Book of Mr. *Mathers*, wherein hee gives an Account of some *Miracles*, wrought lately by the Lord Jesus Christ, was exceedingly revived at the Hearing thereof; *believing* that Christ was able to work a *Miracle* on *her*, as well as on

*others*; (for she thought, that shee was now so old, that shee could not hear again, unless a *Miracle* was wrought). So that shee could not bee satisfied, without seeing of the *Book*, but went presently and borrowed it. And there, viewing what Christ had done of late, did exceedingly magnify, and admire, the Power and Goodness of Christ, and did earnestly Desire, that Hee would make known His Power on her: Thinking on the Words of the Leper, *If Thou wilt, thou canst make mee clean*; and of the Centurion, *Speak the Word, and my Servant shall bee Healed*. Shee *beleevd*, that Christ could, and would, give her, her *Hearing*, and upon this, shee had her *Hearing* suddenly restored unto her: and to this Day can *hear* very well, and doth with great Comfort attend upon the public Ordinances of Christ, but is very much afraid, that shee is not thankful enough unto the Lord Jesus Christ, for so great a Mercy."

26 d. 8 m. This Day, at *Charlestown*, was the public Ordination of a Pastor, which was accomplished with no little Difficulty, thro' his Averseness, to conform unto the Orders of our Churches.

The Messengers of the Churches, with their unanimous Vote, calling mee, to give him the *Right Hand of their Fellowship*; I perform'd it in the public Assembly, with such undeserved Assistences of the Lord, that I afterwards heard it said, there were hardly any there, but what either wept or trembled in the Action. Alas, I was one of the most shallow, and sinful Creatures, (my very Soul beleeves it!) in the Assembly: yett the Lord helped *mee*, (and the more *His Glory*!) to signify in some lively Terms, unto the Minister then ordained, first, what Sort of Churches, they were, into the Services whereof hee was now accepted; (particularly, that they were not only like to the primitive, in the Instances, which I specified, but also that they were some of the soundest Parts of the Church of *England*;) And then, what Service tis, that they expected from him: (intimating in several Instances, how hee should acquitt himself, so as to please, our Glorious Lord;) Hereupon, I gave my Hand unto him, in the Name of our churches, expressing what this Rite intended. And, so, I addressed the Church, also; in

my Address taking some Notice of the Days of Temptation which had been among them; and, (knowing them, to have had an horribly railing sort of People among them,) I did, without quoting the Words of it, leave the *first* of *James*, and the *twenty sixth*, among them, to bee considered, if ever they should grow out of Frame any more. Many more Things, were then uttered, which need not here bee inserted.

28 d. 8 m. The Printer, wanting something to fill the last Leaf of his Almanack, for the year, 1699, came unto mee, to furnish him. I could not but see, a special opportunity given mee, to send some serviceable Admonition, into every Corner of the Land. I took my Opportunity, and wrote a few pungent Lines, concerning the Changes, which may bee coming as a *Snare upon the Earth*; and advising every particular Person however, to consider, whether in this Year, there may not come upon himself, the *greatest Change* that ever befel him; even that of his own *Mortality*.

Who knowes, what good may bee done, by such a seemingly trivial, but extensive way, as that of the *Almanack*!<sup>1</sup>

29 d. 8 m. I spent this Day, in the Duties of a *secret Fast* before the Lord.

The Occasions and Exercises of this Day, differed little, from those that I have kept in the former part of the Year.

But the Lord, irradiates my mind, with Assurances, that I have Tidings coming from *England*, of His accepting my poor Composures to serve His People there, and ordering some of them, to bee published.

*My Soul, wait thou, upon God!*

Moreover, a miserable young Woman, being this Day condemned to dy, for murdering her base-born Child, I pray'd unto the Lord, that *her* Condition might bee so ordered in His providence, as to give *mee* a special Opportunity of glorifying my Lord Jesus Christ, on that Occasion.

<sup>1</sup>In Tully, 1699. The printer was B. Green.

T'wil doubtless bee so! The Lord from Heaven satisfied my mind, that it will bee so.

On the Day following, the condemned prisoner was brought unto our Congregation; and a special Assistance of Heaven, was granted mee, in my sermon, which I adapted unto that Occasion, as well as unto the more desirable Occasion of the *Eucharist*, which I then administred.<sup>1</sup>

My poor Uncle *Cotton*, being reconciled unto the Church at *Plymouth*, is by the Agent of the destitute Flock at *Carolina*, now invited thither! Hee not only told mee, that just before this most unexpected Invitation was brought unto him, hee had kept three Dayes together in Prayer with Fasting before the Lord, that the Lord would look upon him in his desolate Condition; but hee also, now lying wind-bound in this Town, sett apart (as hee tells mee) such another Day (5 *d.* 9 *m.*), in the Close whereof, hee came to mee, in my Study, with Desires that I would pray with him, and committ unto the Lord, him, and the great Concern of this Voyage. I did so.<sup>2</sup> *Memorandum.* The particular Articles, in the Testimonies (which were single ones) against my Uncle, being this Day laid before my Uncle, hee very peremptorily denies the most, and the worst of them.

About this Time, a Friend of mine going to *London*, I sent by him, to bee published, three Discourses, one, about, *Heart work*, another, about the Stewardship of *Talents*, a third, about *ejaculatory Prayer*. The Book I entituled, **THE SERIOUS CHRISTIAN**.<sup>3</sup> May the Lord prosper it!

11 *d.* 9 *m.* [*November.*] *Friday.* Because my mind is touch'd from Heaven, with particular Assurances, that I

<sup>1</sup> Sarah Threeneedles was the sufferer, and Thomas Savage, Jun., shopkeeper, was charged by her of the fault. Sewall says "Fifth-day, Nov'r 17th. Very fair serene wether; Mr. Cotton Mather preaches at the South-Meetinghouse: Sarah Threeneedles is an Auditor; is a very vast Assembly, and the street full of such as could not get in." *Diary*, I. 486.

<sup>2</sup> Three lines were struck out here.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in London, 1699.

shall quickly hear happy Tidings from *England*, of the Lord's Accepting my poor Composures to glorify Him there, and that I shall here also have some further and special Opportunities to glorify Him, I made it my Study to præpare for these wonderful Salvations of the Lord: And therefore, I sett apart this Day, for the Exercise of a secret THANKS-GIVING, in my Study, before Him. The *Methods* of Devotion, which I used this Day, were much the same that I have observed on some other Dayes like this. But the *Delights* and *Raptures*, whereto the Lord raised my Soul, in these Methods, were beyond, what I have ordinarily enjoy'd. The Holy Lord has this Day dealt familiarly with mee; I have this Day gone into the Suburbs of *Heaven*; the *Spirit* of my Lord has carried mee thither, and has told mee glorious Things; yea, *Heaven* has come near unto mee, and fill'd mee with *Joy unspeakeable and Full of Glory*. I cannot utter, I may not utter, the Communications of Heaven, whereto I have been this Day admitted: but this I will say, *I have tasted that the Lord is gracious*.

My Exercises and Enjoyments, left mee very faint. Indisposing Illness came upon mee. And that I might bee, the more effectually *Buffeted*, the Providence of the most High, ordered some Things to befall mee in and from my Neighbourhood, which had a more than ordinary Measure of Temptacōn and Vexacōn in them. I saw the holy Hand of the Lord in these Things, to abase mee, under and after His matchless Favours.

13 d. 9 m. *Lord's-Day*. This Day, I baptised four Negro's; and the Lord helped mee, to make this Action, a special Occasion of my glorifying Him: especially, with what I then spoke unto the rest of that Nation.<sup>1</sup>

17 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. Now I feel that there is a *God*,

<sup>1</sup> Samuel, a negro servant of Robert Howard, Katharine, a negro woman, wife of Thomas, chair-maker, and two infant children of Samuel. The names are obtained from the MS. church records.

and there is a *Christ*, and there is an *Holy Spirit*, and there are glorious *Angels*, and I am a Servant of the Lord, and a Fellow-servant with His *Angels!*

The Execution of the miserable Malefactor, was ordered for to have been the last Week, upon the Lecture of another. I wondred then what would become of my *Particular Faith*, of her condition being so ordered in the Providence of God, that it should furnish mee, with a *special Opportunity* to glorify Him. While I was entirely resigning to the wisdom of Heaven, all such Matters, the *Judges*, wholly without my seeking, altered and allow'd her Execution to fall on the Day of *my Lecture*. The *General Court* then sitting, ordered the Lecture to bee held in a larger and a stronger House, than that *old* one, where tis usually kept. For my own part, I was weak, and faint, and spent; but I humbly gave myself up to the *Spirit* of my Heavenly Lord and Hee assured mee, that Hee would send His *good Angel* to strengthen mee. The greatest Assembly, ever in this Countrey preach'd unto, was now come together; It may bee four or five thousand Souls. I could not gett unto the *Pulpit*, but by climbing over *Pues* and *Heads*: and there the Spirit of my dearest Lord came upon mee. I preached with a more than ordinary Assistance, and enlarged, and uttered the most awakening Things, for near two Hours together. My Strength and Voice failed not; but when it was near failing, a silent Look to Heaven strangely renew'd it. In the whole I found Prayer answered, and Hope exceeded, and Faith encouraged, and the Lord using *mee*, the vilest in all that great Assembly, to glorify Him.

Oh! what shall I render to the Lord!

The Sermon, I gave to the Bookseller; and annexed thereunto, an History of *Criminals* executed in this Land, and effectually, an Account of their dying Speeches, and of my own Discourses with them in their last Hours; hoping to warn others against Vice, by an History thus accomo-

dated unto the purpose. I entituled the Book, *PILLARS OF SALT*.<sup>1</sup>

26 d. 9 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a *secret Fast*, without any thing extraordinary occurring in it.

But only there was one special Article of my Supplications this Day, whereupon I would see some *Remark*, to see what may bee the *Event* thereof.

A Ship, whereof my Brother-in-Law is Master, and wherein I have some considerable Interest, is hourly expected from *England*. Another Ship, that came some way in Company with this, arrived some Weeks ago; and some Circumstances occur, which make us afraid whether all bee well with it, or no. Many *Prayers* have I of late sent up to Heaven, on this Occasion; and I have thought, the Lord may delay the coming in of the Ship, on purpose that by the more *Prayers*, I may bee the better præpar'd for an *Harvest of Mercies* in it. This Day presenting my Supplications before the Lord, on this occasion, I had my mind irradiated with a strange Assurance from Heaven, that the Ship is well, and that it will shortly arrive, with some special Tokens of the divine Favour to mee. Thus much I express'd on my Knees before the Lord: *It will bee so!*

1 d. 10 m. [*December.*] And now, lett mee again bring in my Testimonies, that *Faith* is no *Fancy*, and that there is a special Operation of the Holy Spirit, perhaps, not without some Energy of His Holy Angels, to produce a *particular Faith*, in the Minds of those that humbly wait upon Him.

This day, the Ship, for whose Arrival, I had pray'd with so much *Faith*, safely arrived. And by this Ship, there comes to my Hand, my *Eleutheria*, or, *Idea of the Reformation, and History of Non-Conformity*, published at *London*, with Circumstances, which give mee to see, a

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1699.

special Care of the *Holy Angels* concerning it; and I beleeve, it will have some notable Effects in the English Nation.

15 *d. 10 m.* T'was now a Day of *Thanksgiving*, celebrated throughout the Province, for the Mercies of the year past.

In my Sermons, urging that the Inhabitants of this Town, in Gratitude for the Mercies that have preserved and supplied the Town, would labour more than ever, that the Lord may bee glorified in their *Families*, I found my own Heart more especially concerned upon this Article, relating to my own Family.

But this was not all the Effect, which the Mercies of God have had upon mee.

I will proceed now to relate another Matter.

I beleeve that the God of Heaven vouchsafes, especially to some of His faithful Servants, a more singular Conduct of His Providence, with the Management, and Ministry of His *Holy Angels*. And not altogether insensible of the Sweetness attending such a Life, I desire to have all the Affairs and Motions of my Life, more than ever, under that *singular Conduct* of Heaven.

It is therefore necessary that besides the Gravity, and Sanctity, and Trustfulness, of a *Conversation in Heaven*, there bee these two Things endeavoured.

First, I would with more Explicitness than ever, continually spread before the Lord, the *Concerns*, wherein from Time to Time, I may want His Direction, and Assistance. Now, for this purpose, I find it has been a Wrong unto mee, that I have so much confined these Representations of my Concerns, unto my more *stated Prayers*, at the Hours constantly recurring for them. Wherefore I would, for the Time to come, use at any Hour of the Day when a Case, or a Care, offers itself unto my Thoughts to make a brief Supplication to *Heaven* distinctly upon it. Thus I shall be going to *Heaven* continually, and have Opportunity, not

only to converse with the Commandments and Promises of God, and Righteousness of Christ, more fully on all Occasions; but also to have an high Respect ennobling all my *Concerns*. What an excellent way of living is this!

But, secondly, I would more exactly and curiously than ever, *observe* what is Remarkable, in the divine Dispensations towards mee. I would *observe* most of all, what *Answers of Prayer*, I receive; and I would *observe* the Efforts and Effects of a *Particular Faith*. And thus would I keep *waiting* upon God in Christ perpetually, and critically *eying* of Him.

Lord, help mee! <sup>1</sup>

18 d. 10 m. *Lord's-Day*. [No entry.]

24 d. 10 m. *Saturday*. I spent this Day in the Exercise of a secret FAST. The Occasions, were the same that I have had for some former such Dayes as these.

And my *Father-in-Law*, being by order of the General Assembly this Week sail'd unto the East-ward, on a difficult Work, in a dangerous Time, to fetch home our *Captives* in the Hands of the Indians, and see what is to be done about a *Peace* with the Salvages, I thought it my Duty, to carry the Concern of his Voyage, with special *Supplications* before the Lord.

*Memorandum*. This Day, as I was mentioning to the Lord, my Book, of, *The Confirmed Christian*, I received a strange Assurance from Heaven, that it hath been præ-served, and will be published, in *London*, and that it shall be very serviceable unto the Interests of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that I shall quickly have the Tidings thereof.

2 d. 11 m. [January.] *Monday*. This Day an uncomfortable Thing happened in my Family. My little Daughter *Nanny*, being in my study, with her two Sisters, when I was not there, fell into the *Fire*. The right Side of her *Face*

<sup>1</sup> Mather makes no mention of the request made that his father should remove to Cambridge, giving up his ministry in Boston. Sewall, *Diary*, 1. 487, 493.

especially, and her right *Hand* and *Arm*, were sorely *burned* in this Fall; and wee feared a terrible Event. Alas, for my *Sin*, the just God throwes *my Child* into the *Fire!*

I immediately sett myself before I slept, in the Evening to suit my *Family*, with *solemn Admonitions* on this Occasion: And I kept pouring out my Prayers to God, for His Mercies unto the Child, and the rest of the Family.

The *Friday* following, (which was the first Day, I could easily command.) I sett apart for the Exercises of a *secret Fast*, in my Study, under this Rebuke of Heaven. On this Day, I humbled myself before the Lord, for the *Sins*, which upon strictest Examination, I thought the humbling Dispensation of Providence now upon mee, obliged mee to consider; and I hoped, the Lord has, thro' the *Blood* of His own Son, *pardoned them all*. But then, I sett myself, to cry unto Heaven, for the Welfare of my *Children*, and my whole *Family*, on all accounts; and my cries are *heard, in the Holy Place of God*. Behold, what I have obtained!

I have this Day obtained *Mercy* for *all* my Children. And for the *scorched Child*, I have particularly obtained, that *shee* shall not only bee speedily and happily *Cured*, but shee shall bee *blessed* throughout eternal Ages. God will make her one of His *own Children*; God will distinguish her with *Marks* of His everlasting *Love*. The *Fire*, that hath wounded the Child, hath added a strong *Fire* and *Force* to the Zeal of my *Prayer* for her; and God has now raised my *Prayer* for her, to this Degree of a *Particular Faith* in her behalf. If this Writing of her poor Father, ever come to bee readd by her, lett her give Thanks to God, that ever Hee cast her into a *Fire*, which thus enflamed the Supplications of her Father for her.

But then, because nothing must befall mee, but what shall bee evidently serviceable unto the Interests of my Lord Jesus Christ, I besought the Lord, that Hee would show mee, what *Improvement* I should make of this *afflict-*

*ive Providence.* Hereupon I resolved, with the Help of Heaven,

To grow more *fruitful*, in my whole Conversation with my Family.

To have more of *Holiness*, especially in my Conversation with my dearest Consort: And therefore, not only to pray with her alone in my Study, every *Saturday Evening* as I have done hitherto, but much *oftener* than so.

To *preach* the next Lord's Day, upon the *Providence* of God, in the smallest Actions and Accidents, as Extended even to *Sparrowes*; and make as profitable Observations as I can thereupon.

To preach ere long, on the Duties of *Parents* and *Children*, with more forceable Inculcations. And see, whether there bee nothing further that I may do, to save the *Children* of my Flock, from falling into the unquenchable *Fire* of the Wrath of God.

This Day, I also spread such other Matters before the Lord as were proper Subjects for my Supplications.

About this Time, understanding that the way for our Communication with the *Spanish Indies*, opens more and more, I sett myself to learn the *Spanish Language*.<sup>1</sup> The Lord wonderfully prospered mee in this Undertaking; a few liesure Minutes in the Evening of every Day, in about a Fortnight, or three weeks Time, so accomplished mee, I could write very good Spanish. Accordingly, I composed a little Body of the *Protestant Religion*, in certain Articles, back'd with irresistible Sentences of Scripture. This I turn'd into the Spanish Tongue; and am now printing it,

<sup>1</sup>In August of this year intelligence had reached Boston of a revolt in New Spain against the Spanish rule, and of the crowning of the Viceroy of Mexico as King; but the revolt was "a sham." Sewall, *Diary*, I. 484, 485. Some weeks later the Scotch fleet bearing the Darien settlers reached the West Indies, and its success was sought by prayer and attention. Sewall wished it to be in part fulfilment of the latter part of the seventy-seventh Psalm, and the Company formed the subject of prayer in the South Church.

with a Design to send it by all the wayes that I can, into the several parts of the *Spanish America*; as not knowing, *how great a matter a little Fire may kindle*, or, whether the Time for our Lord Jesus Christ to have glorious Churches in *America*, bee not at hand. The Title of my Composure is, *La Religion Pura, En Doze palabras Fieles, dignas de ser recibidas de Todos.*

Oh! how happy shall I bee, if the God of Heaven will prosper, this my poor Endeavour to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ.

But these my Studies, in Conjunction with some other Inconveniencies, raised the Vapors of my *Spleen* into my *Head*. A grievous, painful, wasting *Head-ache* siezed mee. In a few Dayes, I was enfeebled with it, into deplorable Circumstances. I cryed, unto the Lord, that for the sake of what my Lord Jesus Christ endured in His Holy *Head*, I might receive some Ease of the Pains in my sinful one. Hee heard my cry; and by the method of *Cupping*, Hee sent mee Releef. I was disabled from going abroad on the Lord's-day, 22 d. 11 m. But according to my poor Strength, I spent part of it, at home, on my Knees, in Prayers, with Tears, lamenting my horrible Filthiness, Unthankfulness, and Unfruitfulness, and imploring pardon, thro' the Blood of Jesus.

I was able, on the Wednesday following, to Discourse unto a great Company of Christians, at my House, above an Hour, on the Apostles *Thorn in the Flesh*; which I find some of the Ancients, expound of a troublesome *Head-ache*.

Nevertheless, my Health is overthrown, and my *Spleen* especially so disordered, that *Satan* gets into it: And now my Mind, is horribly buffeted with *Temptations*, which tell mee, that being unable to do any further Service, and unworthy that God should help mee to do any, I shall fall into an *unserviceable old-Age*, before I am forty years old. It is impossible for mee, to express the sad Thoughts which

now distress mee, and confound mee, and how much I am unhinged with them. Lord, pittie thy poor Servant; and tho' I am exceedingly vile, yett, O lett mee not bee a *cast away!*

Under these grievous Buffetings, I had no Remedy, but earnest Cries to Heaven. I had not Health and Strength enough, in my frail Body, to sett apart whole *Dayes* for *Prayer* with *Fasting*, as otherwise I would have done. But I took only my daily Opportunities, to plead, the *Righteousness* of my Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered wonderful Temptation from Satan, without being betray'd into any *Sin*, for the pardon of all the Sin, which I discover under my *Temptation*; and for my obtaining from Heaven Assistence against all *Temptation*, and at length Deliverance from *Temptation*.

Some Light, at last, began to appear unto mee; and I begun to consider, whether these Buffetings from *Satan*, may not bee permitted by Heaven, to annoy mee, because I am about a special Peece of work, whereby the Kingdome of *Satan* may receive a more than ordinary Blow; or, that so I may bee præpared for some special Mercy or Service near unto mee!

My Public Ministry this Year has been thus managed.

1697. 13 d. 12 m. I preached, on Isa. 53. 12. Christ *numbred with Transgressors*.

20 d. 12 m. I preached, on Gen. 28. 21. *Choosing of the Lord for our God, in the Covenant of Grace*. And I administred the Eucharist.

27 d. 12 m. I preached, on Isa. 53. 12. Christ *Interceding for Transgressors*. (My Twenty Seventh, and last Sermon, on that evangelical Chapter, I concluded with solemn Obtestations of my Neighbours, to beware of sleighting the Christ, in the *Reports* of the Gospel, thus brought unto them.)

1698. 6 d. 1 m. As a general Application, of my Discourses on the Gospel of *Isaias*, I preached, on Eph. 6. 24. *The Sincere Love to the Lord Jesus Christ, which His Love disposes the Christian unto*.

10 d. 1 m. *Thursday*. I preach'd, on 2. Tim. 3. 5. *The Power of Godliness*, to a great Assembly, with a great Assistence.

13 d. 1 m. I preach'd on, 2 Thes. 3. 1. *The Word of the Lord, so Running as to be glorified.*

17 d. 1 m. *Thursday.* It was a general *Fast*, thro' the Province I preached on Isa. 43. 22. *Weariness of calling on God*, in them that are called, His People.

20 d. 1 m. I preached on, Luk. 10. 16. Some, who *despise* the Lord Jesus Christ, when they little *think* they do so.

27 d. 1 m. I began to preach on the Parable of the *Sower*. I preached on Math. 13. 3.

3 d. 2 m. I preached on Rom. 8. 13. The Gospel Mystery of *Mortification*: which I saw, much neglected, and little understood.

7 d. 2 m. *Thursday.* I preached on 1. Sam. 7. 12. and in a vast Assembly, with a great Assistance, I erected the *Ebenzers* of *Boston*.

10 d. 2 m. I preached, on Math. 13. 4. The Seed falling on the *high-way* Ground.

17 d. 2 m. I began to preach on the Song of *Simeon*, Luk. 2. 29. And I administered the Eucharist.

24 d. 2 m. I preached, on Math, 13. 5. 6. The *stony* Ground.

1 d. 3 m. I preached, on Tit. 2. 10 *Adorning the Doctrine of God our Saviour*, because, I saw many Professors of the Doctrine did not so.

5 d. 3 m. *Thursday.* At the Lecture, I discoursed, on 2. Pet. 2. 2. *The Way of Truth*, by reason of some *Evil spoken* of: because I saw many Occasions taken for its being so.

8 d. 3 m. I preached, on Math. 13. 7. The *thorny* Ground.

15 d. 3 m. I preached, on Psal. 141. 5. The christian Way of receiving *Reproofs*, (of all sorts:) because I saw it much neglected.

17 d. 3 m. *Tuesday.* I preached, the Lecture at *Roxbury*. On Math. 13. 3. A *Sower* going forth to *sow*. Their late *sowing Time*, rendred it agreeable.

22 d. 3 m. I preached, on Hos. 9. 15. Being *driven out of the House of God, for Wickedness*. On occasion of a Censure passed then in the Church.

29 d. 3 m. I preached, on, 1. Cor. 6. 9. *Bee not deceived*: What are the usual *Deceits* imposed on men, in the matters of eternal Happiness.

2 d. 4 m. *Thursday.* At the Lecture, (the General Assembly sitting) I discoursed, on Exod. 3. 2. The *burning Bush* not consumed.

5 d. 4 m. I preached, on Math. 13. 8. The *good* Ground.

12 d. 4 m. I preached, on Rev. 3. 1. Having a *Name to live*, and yett being *dead*: Because I saw horrible Instances of Hypocrisy dis-

covered in diverse members of our Church; (and this Day, I solemnly foretold the Discovery of more.)

19 d. 4 m. I preached, on Rom. 4. 20. *A strong Faith.*

26 d. 4 m. I preached, on Phil. 3. 19. *Earthly-mindedness*; which I fear'd, would bee the Ruine of a great Part of my Hearers, and now I solemnly warned them of it.

30 d. 4 m. *Thursday.* I preached, on Num. 25. 11. *Zealous Phinehas*; to sett an Edge upon the late Proclamations, about Reformation.

3 d. 5 m. I preached, on Rom. 8. 6. *Spiritual-Mindedness*, in opposition to the *Earthly-mindedness*, condemned this day se'nnight.

10 d. 5 m. I preached, on Num. 12. 14. *Lepers*, to bee shutt out of the *Camp*. (And I administered the Eucharist.) In the Afternoon, a Censure was pass'd in the Church.

17 d. 5 m. I began to preach on the eleventh Chapter to the *Hebrew's*; a rich Portion of Scripture; designing with the Leave and Help of Heaven, to proceed upon it.

24 d. 5 m. I preached, the second Time, on Heb. 11. 1. with special Assistences of Heaven.

28 d. 5 m. *Thursday.* I preached at the Lecture on Col. 3. 5. *Mortification*, the evangelical Mystery and Method of it; which I see too generally, neither understood, nor practised.

31 d. 5 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 2. *Faith* obtaining a *good Report*.

7 d. 6 m. I preached, on Math. 10. 16. *The Wisdome* of the Serpent, and the *Goodness* of the Dove, united.

14 d. 6 m. I preached, on Heb. 11. 3. *Faith* exercised about the *Creation* of the World.

21 d. 6 m. I preached unto our *young* People, a Sermon, on Jer. 3. 4. Persons in their *Youth*, making choice of God, as their *Father*, and the *Guide of their Youth*.

25 d. 6 m. *Thursday* I endeavoured, upon the Encouragement which I read for my Text, in Ps. 107. 43. *Who is wise, and will observe these things?* to offer unto the Public, my Observation of the Remarkables that have occur'd in our late and long *Indian War*, and make some due Improvements of them.

29 d. 6 m. In the Forenoon, I preached at the *South Church* in Boston, on Jer. 3. 4. In the Afternoon at my *North-Church*, a second Time, on the same Text, — a Call to *Youth*.

4 d. 7 m. I preached on Luk. 2. 29. *Departing in Peace*. And Administred the *Eucharist*.

8 d. 7 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture at *Ipswich*. On 2 Tim. 3. 5. *The Power of Godliness*.

11 d. 7 m. I preached at *Salem*, A. M. especially to *Old People*, on Luk. 2. 29. P. M. Especially to *Young People*, on Jer. 3. 4.

18 d. 7 m. I preached on, Exod. 23. 2. *An Antidote against the Contagion of Sin*, from the Exemple of a *Multitude*.

22 d. 7 m. *Thursday*. I concluded at the Lecture, what I began a Month ago.

25 d. 7 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 4. *Faith* making a more excellent *Sacrifice*.

28 d. 7 m. *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Reading*, on Rom. 8. 6. *Spiritual-mindedness*.

2 d. 8 m. I preached on Psal. 37. 25. The Provision of *Bread* made for the *Righteous*, in the wonderful Providence of God.

(Fearing lest the frequent Losses befalling our Neighbours, might make the *Fear of Want*, prove a sore Temptation unto them.)

9 d. 8 m. I preached on, Heb. 11. 4. *Faith* making us *righteous*, and obtaining a *Witness* of our being so.

16 d. 8 m. I preached, on Psal. 31. 14. Describing and offering the *Covenant of Grace*, unto my Neighbours, and earnestly bespeaking their Consent unto every Article of it, and instructing them how to give it.

20 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. Because, I foresaw, that before my next Lecture, the whole Countrey would bee entertained with a tragical Instance of a young Woman who was to come upon her Trial the next week, for murdering her Base-born child, I now began to discourse, on Rom. 1. 28. Handling the Case, of God's *Punishing Men for some Sins*, by leaving them to *more*. Intending a Month hence, if the Lord please, to finish what I now began, and make the sad Exemple before the Countrey, particularly subservient unto my Designs.

23 d. 8 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 4. God first Accepting the *Person* and then the *Offring*. And *dead Abel speaking*.

30 d. 8 m. I preached on, Luk. 2. 30. Christ the *Salvation* of God; the *Blessedness* of *seeing* Him. And I administered the *Eucharist*.

6 d. 9 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 5. A *blessed State* in a *better World*.

13 d. 9 m. I preached, on Gen. 20. 6. The Mercy of being *withheld from Sin*. Upon tragical Instances of some undone, by falling into Sin.

17 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. The Lecture was held at the South-Meet-

ing house. I concluded my Discourse on Rom. 1. 28. to a more than ordinary Assembly, with a more than ordinary Assistance. After the Sermon, was the miserable young Woman, executed.

20 d. 9 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 5. *Pleasing of God, by walking with Him.*

27 d. 9 m. I preached on Eph. 4. 28. Against the Sin of *Stealing*; the Time of the year, now advancing, when that Sin is more frequently committed, by the *poor*, in the Town.

29 d. 9 m. *Tuesday.* I preached, the Lecture at *Roxbury*, on Math. 13. 8. The *good Ground* bringing forth *Fruit*. I promised them, to do this, when their *Harvest* should bee *ingathered*. (Look back to, 17 d. 3 m.)

4 d. 10 m. I preached, on, Heb. 11. 6. The *Impossibility of pleasing God without Faith.*

11 d. 10 m. I preached, on Rom. 2. 4. The *Goodness of God, leading to Repentance.*

15 d. 10 m. *Thursday.* And, on a public Thanksgiving, the *Thursday* following, for the Mercies of the year past, I from hence, made a Recapitulation, of the Favours which the Divine *Goodness* had been showing to this Town and Land; adding upon each Article, what wee should bee thereby *led* unto.

18 d. 10 m. I preached, on Heb. 11. 6. *Faith coming to God.*

25 d. 10 m. I preached on Luke. 2. 31. *Christ prepared before all People, And I administered the Eucharist.*

1 d. 11 m. I preach'd on Heb. 11. 6. *Faith apprehending the Existence of God.*

8 d. 11 m. I preach'd on Math. 10. 29. The *Providence of God* extended unto the smallest Accidents. (The Occasion is mention'd, on 2 d. 11 m.)

12 d. 11 m. *Thursday.* I preach'd on Joh. 21. 17. *Love to Christ.*

15 d. 11 m. I preached on, Heb. 11. 6. *Faith apprehending of God as a Rewarder.*

29 d. 11 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 7. *Faith minding the Warnings of the Threatnings.*

5 d. 12 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 7. *Faith getting into the Ark.*

9 d. 12 m. *Thursday.* I preached, on Mar. 8. 38. *Being ashamed of Christ.* (Because I saw much Occasion for such Admonition.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "6 d. 12 m. [February, 1698.] The Brethren of the Church mett, and by their Vote agreed:

"That whatever the Deacons find necessary to be disbursed for obtaining the quiet Possession of the Land on which our Meeting-house is lately enlarged, and

answering the Claims of the Widow *Moore* unto it, bee by them disbursed out of the Churches Treasury.

“That Mr. *Foster*, Mr. *Winthrop*, Mr. *Middlecot*, and Mr. *Howard*, with the Deacons of the Church, do repair unto the Heirs of Major *Clark*, and endeavour to obtain from them a final Acquittance to the Church, from all their pretensions of any Privilege, in any Part of the Land aforesaid. And that the Churches Treasury shall defray that Expence also, provided it exceed not twenty five pounds.

“Finally, that the Salary of the present Pastor shall bee three pounds per Week. And that the Deacons out of the Churches Treasury furnish the Families of both Teacher and Pastor with Fuel as there is Occasion.” *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church, II.*

1699

THE XXXVII<sup>TH</sup> YEAR.

*Fastings* were so frequent among the Christians in the primitive Times, that it was to be discovered in their Joints and Faces; *Pallidi*, and *Trepidi*, were the opprobrious Names, which for this Reason the Heathen gave unto them.

THE XXXVII<sup>TH</sup> YEAR OF MY AGE.

12 d. 12 m. [February.] 1698. *Lord's-Day*. Lord! I am astonished, I am astonished, at that wonderful Mercy of Heaven, that has upheld an unfruitful Wretch, now for *thirty six* years together!

My *Birth-day* now falls out on a *Lord's-day*. I may not alienate this Day, from the Celebration of my Lord-Redeemer's *New-Birth*, for which Hee hath sanctified it. And yett, besides my Endeavours the *last Evening*, to obtain a Pardon for the Sins of the year past, and render Thanks for the Mercies of the Year, and pray for a Blessing on the next, I thought I might improve the Sense of my Circumstances *this Day*, to quicken my Apprehensions of the Need which I have of such a Lord-Redeemer.

Wherefore I chose this Day to preach upon those Words, Luk. 18. 13. *God be merciful to mee a Sinner*. I thought, I would in the ensuing Evening endeavour to call over the special Dispensations of the Divine Providence towards mee, and write, *Mercy to a Sinner* upon them all. I thought, I would consider what *Conditions* I had passed through,

what *Relations* I had sustained, what *Employments* I had managed, and cry, *God bee merciful to mee a Sinner, upon the View of my Miscarriages in all of them.* And now, for the rest of this Year, *God bee merciful to mee a Sinner!*

17 d. 12 m. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a secret Fast in my Study; to obtain the *Pardon* of my Sins, and a sweet *Relief* against the *Temptations* that sometimes *darken* and *buffett* my Mind; and a great *Measure of Grace*, by which I may bee prepared for all the *Trials*, and *Changes*, that may bee before mee; and the manifold Smile of God upon mee, in my Ministry and in my *Family*, and in the many *special Services* which I am contriving and attempting to do, for the dear Name of my Lord Jesus Christ; particularly, that of sending the Light of the reformed Religion into the *Spanish Indies*.

The Day was not altogether uncomfortably spent.

22 d. 12 m. *Wednesday.* This Day, besides abundance of other Work, I composed *three Sermons*, and preached one of them. I not only prepared a Sermon for the *Lecture*, on the morrow, when also I enjoy'd a most comfortable Presence of the Lord with mee, in the Great Assembly; but also I prepared a Sermon for a private Meeting, to bee this Evening attended. Now, just before my going to the private Meeting, a terrible Thing happened in my Family. For my Daughter *Katy*, going into the Cellar with a Candle, her *musslin Ornaments*, about her Shoulders took Fire from it, and so blazed up as to sett her *Head-gear* likewise on Fire. By the wonderful and merciful Providence of God her Shriek for Help was heard; and by that Help the Fire was extinguished. The Child's *Life* was preserved; and her *Head*, and her *Face*, tho' in the midst of horrible Flames. But yett her *Neck* and her *Hand* were horribly burnt, and shee was thrown into Exquisite Misery. This Disaster befalling my *eldest Daughter*, soon after that my *youngest* had suffered the like Disaster, it

threw mee, into extreme Distress. And this Distress causing mee to lay aside the Discourse, I had intended for the Meeting, I did, with much Influence from Heaven on my Mind, at the sudden compose and utter unto the Meeting, a Discourse, for above an Hour, from Lam. 5. 13<sup>1</sup> on that Case, *What use ought Parents to make of Disasters befalling their Children.*

My Child fell into a *Feavour*, and her *Neck* obliged her to so *wry* a Posture of her *Head*, that I was in grievous Distress, whether shee would live, or, whether, if shee did live, there would not bee some *visible Mark* of the Stroke of the Wrath of the Lord, always upon her. I cryed unto the Lord for the Child, in this my Distress; and I obtained *Assurance* from Heaven that the *Child* should not only bee shortly and safely cured of her *Burning*, but that God would make this very *Burning*, to bee the Occasion of her being brought more effectually than ever, Home unto Himself, and His Christ. Oh! blessed Affliction, that shall prove the Salvation of my Child! *It shall bee so; It shall bee so!* Lord, How much ought I to *love* Thee, when thou dost *rebuke and chasten mee!*

But one Affliction must not come alone. My *Wife's Mother*, took her Bed, very sick of a *Feavour*, that Night, that *my Daughter* was thus grievously scorched. Shee dyed, on the *Friday Night*, about ten o'clock.<sup>2</sup> Now, I count it a singular Favour of God unto *mee*, (and it might bee so unto *her!*) that tho' shee were delirious the first Night of her Illness, yett shee had the free Use of Reason, all the rest of her little Time. And hereby, I enjoy'd an Opportunity for *two Dayes* together, to *talk* with her, and *pray* with her, and *do* all that it was possible for mee to do, in assisting her,

<sup>1</sup> "They took the young men to grind, and the children fell under the wood."

<sup>2</sup> She was buried Thursday, March 2. "Mr. Danforth, Major Gen'l Winthrop, Russel, Cook, Elisha Hutchinson, Foster, Bearers. I think all the Council had gloves sent, and Rings there. Lt. Gov'r was not there. . . . Gov'r Winthrop was at the Funeral." Sewall, *Diary*, 1. 492.

about the *great Acts* of resigning her Spirit unto the Lord. Shee was a pious Woman, and one full of *Prayers* and *Alms*; and tho' shee were of a very *fearful Temper*, and was particularly in her Life-Time under some slavish Fear of *Death*, yett as her Death approached, shee comfortably gott over it.

26 d. 12 m. *Lords-Day*. I had not made haste enough, it may bee, in performing my Resolutions, upon the Falling of my little Daughter *Nanny* into the Fire, to do some special Thing, for the exciting and assisting of *Parents*, unto their Duty, about the Salvation of their Children from the Fire of the Wrath of God. And I cannot, but now take notice of it, that this Day, which is the next Lord's-day, after the second burning Stroke my Family, I am in my course of Preaching on the *eleventh* Chapter to the *Hebrews*, necessarily led unto it. My Text this Day is that, in Heb. II. 7. *For the Saving of his House*; and so, I insist on, what *Parents* are to do for the Salvation of their *Children*; intending the next Lord's-Day to insist on the Duties of *Children* towards their *Parents*.

1699.

4 d. 1 m. [*March.*] *Satureday*. Under the Changes and Sorrowes, befalling of my *Family*, and under the various Labours, Designs, and Concerns of my *Ministry*, I thought it my Duty, to bee again employ'd in the Exercises of a *secret Fast*, before the Lord. The Occasions for my being thus employ'd are legible in the foregoing Pages. And while I was thus employ'd, I enjoy'd comfortable Communications from Heaven that recompenced all the Fatigues of it.

The following Week, was a Week of much pain to mee, with my old Malady in my Jaw, and Head. But God sanctified it unto mee, to produce in mee those Thoughts and Frames, that were worth all my Pain. I am sorry that I have no more Time to write more largely of it.

About this Time, I sett myself to draw up, a compleat

System of the *Christian Religion*. I comprized it in twenty four Articles; a *sacred Number* of Articles. And because much objection has been made against *Creeds* of an humane Composure, that this might bee liable to no Objection, I contrived every one of the Articles, to bee expressed in the express words of the *sacred Scripture*. When this was done, I turn'd it into the *Spanish Tongue*, and printed it, (along with my, *La Religion Pura*) under the Title of, LA FE DEL CHRISTIANO.<sup>1</sup>

My Design is, to attempt the Service of my Lord Jesus Christ, by casting this Treatise, into the midst of the *Spanish Indies*. And I employ constant Prayers upon this my Design, that it may bee favoured by my Lord Jesus Christ, and that my dear Lord Jesus Christ may thereby bee glorified.

18 d. 1 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, as I did this Day fortnight, for the Exercises of a Day of Prayer in my Study, and on the like Occasions.

Nothing remarkable occur'd in it.

In the following Week; namely, on 23 d. 1 m. a public Fast, was attended, throughout the Province and God graciously carried mee thro' the Duties of that also.

6 d. 2 m. [*April.*] *Thursday*. In pursuance of my Intentions to do all possible Service for the *Children*, in the Families of my Neighbours, I this day preached, a Sermon to the *Parents*, with a great Assistance of Heaven, in a great Assembly of People, at our *Boston-Lecture*: hoping this Day month to proceed unto a Sermon for the *Children*.<sup>2</sup>

And, behold, as I come out of the Meeting-house, the Book-sellers come to mee, entreating that they may have a Copy of these two Sermons, when the next shall bee

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the "Spanish sheet," the printing of which Sewall mentions on April 10. *Diary*, I. 495.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 302, *infra*.

delivered, for to bee published unto the Countrey. Thus mercifully and wonderfully does my Lord Jesus Christ, continue to employ mee the vilest of Men, in precious Opportunities of serving Him!

It may not bee amiss for mee to mention in this Place, that yesterday I preached a Sermon, with some very particular Circumstances.

A good woman in our Neighbourhood, has languished miserably for diverse Years, and *suffered many things of many Physicians*, and is nothing *bettered*, but rather *growes worse*. Her Husband, apprehending her, not far from Death, prevailed with some Christians, to keep this as a Day of *Prayer* with *Fasting* for her. I spent part of the Forenoon with them; and as I was drawing towards the Close of my *prayer*, I thought with myself, the *Word* should go with *Prayer*. When the Prayer was ended, I called for a Bible, intending to look out some agreeable Scripture, for the present Occasion. And behold, the very first Place, which in the opened Bible, I look'd upon, was that in Mar. 5. 25. *A certain Woman had suffered many Things of many Physicians, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse; when shee heard of Jesus, shee came, and touched His Garment; and shee felt in her Body, that shee was healed.* I wondred at the Pertinency of the Place, and preached a Sermon upon it.

The woman, to the surprize of us all, recovered so that shee came abroad into the Congregation, to give Thanks, for the wondrous Works of God.<sup>1</sup>

9 d. 2 m. *Lords-Day*. I am inclinable here to insert an Experiment, which I have had *this Lord's-Day* and the *Last*, (and on many others.)

I was this Lord's-day, to preach on Renouncing our own *Righteousness*, and repairing to, and beleiving in, the *Righteousness* of Christ. As I was on my Knees in my Study,

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin.

before my going forth to preach, imploring, as always the Help of Heaven, I had that Scripture darted into my Mind, Psal. 71. 16. *I will go in the Strength of the Lord God; I will make Mention of thy Righteousness, even of thine only.* Hereupon, I thought, that Ministers, when they go to preach on that great Point of the Gospel, A sinners being justified by the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, even by *that only*, they might expect for to go in the *Strength of the Lord God*, and enjoy singular Assistences from on High. I was verily perswaded, I should find it so; and in a vast Congregation I did this day find it so; and I have several Times found it so.

Indeed, in my poor Life, notable Experiences have been multiplied. But, I am so slothful, and so feeble, and my other Employments are so multiplied, that I foolishly have omitted the recording of them.

This Week, I attempted a further service to the Name of my Lord Jesus Christ. I considered, that when the Evangelical *Elias*, was to prepare the *Jewish Nation*, for the coming of the *Messiah*, hee was to do it, by, *bringing down the Heart of the Fathers upon the Children.* And I considered, that it would not only confirm us *Christians* in our *Faith* exceedingly to see every Article of it, asserted in the express Words of the *Old Testament*, but that it would mightily convince, and confound the *Jewish Nation.* Yea, who knowes, what Use the Lord may make of such an *Essay?* Wherefore, with much Contrivance, I drew up a *Catechism* of the whole *Christian Religion*, and contrived the *Questions* to fitt the *Answers*, whereof I brought every one out of the *Old Testament.* I prefaced the *Catechism*, with an Address unto the *Jewish Nation*, telling them in some lively Terms, That if they would but Return to the Faith of the *Old Testament*, and beleieve with their own ancient and blessed *Patriarchs*, this was all that wee desired of them or for them. I gave this Book to the Printer, and

it was immediately published. Its Title is, THE FAITH OF THE FATHERS.<sup>1</sup>

14 d. 2 m. *Friday*. Setting apart this Day, for *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, in my Study, I obtained the Mercies of the Lord.

The Pardon of Sin, with a Title to Life, was assured unto mee, thro' the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, apprehended by my Faith.

One special Exercise of the Day was this. I considered, that the *Christian Religion* is a *Doctrine of Godliness*. Wherefore I went over the several Articles, in my *La Fe del Cristiano*, in my Meditations; and examined my want of Conformity to it, in *Godliness* both of Heart and Life; and judged myself before the Lord.

The special Petitions presented unto God this Day were much the Same, that I have had, on such dayes, which I have of late observed.

16 d. 2 m. *Lord's-Day*. At the *Lord's Table*, I received Assurance from Heaven, that I had *greater Services* to do for my Lord Jesus Christ, than any that I have already done.

After the other public Services of the Day were over, I visited the Prison. A great Number of Pyrates being there committed, besides other Malefactors, I went and pray'd with them, and preach'd to them. The Text, in which the Lord helped mee to Discourse, was Jer. 2. 26. *The Thief is ashamed, when hee is found*. I hope, I shall have some good Fruit of these Endeavours.

28 d. 2 m. *Friday*. This Day I sett apart for secret *Prayer*, with *Fasting* to carry unto Heaven such Matters, as those that occasioned other Dayes, that I have of late so sett apart.

One special Petition, that I had now to bring unto the Lord, was, for His Presence with mee, in my Lecture the

<sup>1</sup> It was printed by B. Green and J. Allen.

next Week. Ill-ness on my Eldest Daughter was likewise one of my Errands to Heaven. Scandal reported of one in our Communion was also one Occasion for mee to humble myself.

The Voyage of my Father *Philips*, gone this week, on a public Negotiation, with the *Indians* of the East, was a very special Subject of my Supplications.

One of my Exercises this Day, was, to take, my *Faith of the Fathers*; and with Meditation on every Article, form from it, some agreeable Confession or Petition before the Lord.

And whereas, I have now for diverse Years, employ'd much Prayer for, and some Discourse with, an infidel *Jew* in this Town; thro' a Desire to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ in the Conversion of that Infidel, if Hee please to accept mee in that Service. I this day renew'd my Request unto Heaven for it. And writing a short Letter to the Jew, wherein I enclosed my, *Faith of the Fathers*, and, *La Fe del Christiano*, I sent it unto him.

2 d. 3 m. [May.] There is printing a new Edition of our *Psalm-book*. In every former Edition, that excellent Portion of Scripture, the 36TH CHAPTER OF ISAIAH, was in such a metre, that few of our Churches could sing it. Wherefore I this day, took a few Minutes, to turn it into another Metre, with perhaps, a smoother and sweeter Version. So tis published in the *Psalm book*;<sup>1</sup> and, tho' this were but a small Action, yett I felt a great Comfort, when I thought, that the Praises of God, would bee the more sung throughout this Wilderness, for any of my poor Endeavours.

Lett mee now also insert in this Place, an Encouragement that Heaven has given to my Prayers. I am this day advised, that my Friend *Elias Nean*, (whose condition is mentioned in these papers, 21 d. 8 m. 1697.) is, by means

<sup>1</sup>The ninth edition of the Psalm Book appeared in 1698, so this poem probably was included in the tenth edition, issued in 1702.

of the English Ambassador wonderfully delivered out of his Captivity.<sup>1</sup>

4 d. 3 m. *Thursday*. Being this Day, to address the *Children* and *Servants* of the Town, with an agreeable Sermon, an extraordinary *Storm* came up, the Night before, which threatned to disappoint mee of my expected Auditory. In the Morning the *Storm* continued; but with a sweet Satisfaction of Mind, I left the *Weather* in the Hands of my Lord Jesus Christ; beleiving that Hee is the *Lord* of it, and that Hee would compose the Tempest, and send a vast Assembly this Day to hear His Word, and by His *Holy Spirit* coming on mee in the vast Assembly assist mee to glorify Him exceedingly. Every Point of this my Expectation wonderfully came to pass. But in my public Labours, my Fervours carried mee somewhat beyond my Strength, which occasioned some humbling (and needful) *Illness* for some following Dayes, to afflict mee.

13 d. 3 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a *secret Fast*, on such Occasions, as have heretofore putt mee on the like Exercises: and especially, to obtain of the Lord, the Wisdome, whereby I may take *right steps*, under all the Changes that are quickly coming on the Countrey, and all the Trials that may bee encountred, in our Churches.

In the Close of the Day, the Lord, sweetly irradiated my Mind, with Assurances, that Hee would possess mee with His *good Spirit*, and employ mee in *great Service* for Him.

21 d. 3 m. *Lord's-day*. At noon, in my Study this Day, when I had been turning the forty-fourth Psalm, into Cries to Heaven, for the French Flocks, now languishing under horrible Persecutions, I did with Tears receive a strange Assurance, from Heaven; that *France* will quickly undergo a wonderful *Revolution*.

But this was not all; for I had Advice from Heaven,

<sup>1</sup> A line which follows is blotted out. See p. 238, *supra*.

that a glorious *Reformation* is near to the *English Nation*. And more than so; that the Light of the Gospel of my Lord Jesus Christ, shall bee carried into the *Spanish Indies*; and, that *my* Composures, *my* Endeavoures, will bee used, in irradiating the Dark Recesses of *America*, with the Knowledge of the Glorious Lord. Yea, more than this; That I shall shortly see some Harvest of my Prayers and Pains, for the *Jewish Nation* also.

About this Time, I gave unto the Booksellers, my two Lectures, upon, the *Duties of Parents unto their Children*, and, the *Duties of Children unto their Parents*. The little Book, is I perceive much desired. I entitled it, A FAMILY WELL ORDERED; or *An Essay to render Parents and Children happy in one another*. The God of Heaven, prosper it.

1 d. 4 m. [June.] This Day besides other Services, which I endeavoured for the Churches, among the Elders, now assembled from all Parts of the Province, they concurred in an Address to the Governour, the Earl of *Bellomont*, who arrived the last week among us. This Address was wholly of my composing; and I composed it, with as charming an Artifice and Contrivance, as I could use, to suit the Ends of it.

The Ministers of the Province, waiting upon him, in a Body together, my Father, after a short Speech delivered the Address. The Governour immediately gave it back into my Hand; asking mee to read it unto him. Which being done, I again delivered it into his Hand; and hee made a very generous and obliging speech upon it.

The ADDRESS was then published unto the World.<sup>1</sup>

This, and a Representation made from the Ministers, to the *General Assembly*, to revive the Care of *Schools* in the Countrey; was the most of the Service, that my Barren Soul, did in the Convention of Ministers, at this Opportunity.

<sup>1</sup> It was dated May 31. A copy is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Printed by B. Green and J. Allen.

I am siezed with a certain *Slothfulness* of Spirit, for several Dayes of late. I lett whole Hours pass mee, without Essayes to do any Service for the Lord Jesus Christ in those Hours. My usual Activity, in Endeavours to fill my Time with Service to the Lord of my Time, is very sensibly abated, A certain Anguish falls upon my Soul, in the Observation of this my slothful Indisposition; and makes mee beleieve, that I am near to some Affliction.

Mark the Issue!

7 d. 4 m. *Wednesday*. And shall I so suddenly have Occasion to mark it! This Day my pretty Little Daughter *Nanny*, was taken with a terrible *Convulsion*; and the Convulsion was follow'd with a violent *Feaver*.

My Soul was many wayes *wounded*, with the deplorable State, which this *little Bird*, that had already undergone so much Calamity, was again fallen into.

On the morning after the Child was taken sick, it occur'd in the Course of our *Family-Devotions*, to read the last Chapter of *Job*. And there finding that *Job* had *three Daughters* of eminent Qualities, in the room of *three* more, which were dead; I, who had buried *three Daughters*, could not but cry to the Lord, that Hee would give mee a Blessing in the *three* which I had now living with mee. While I was pleading with the Lord, for His Favour in this matter, I declared unto Him, that if my sick Daughter, should not live in the Service, and for the Honour, of my Lord Jesus Christ, I would not ask for her Life. But my Soul was immediately and inexpressibly hereupon, irradiated with a Faith from Heaven, *that the Child should live*.

God helped mee, to follow Him with importunate Supplications, on this Occasion. I wrestled with the *God of Jacob*, for my threatened Family, as once *Jacob* did for his. Yea, when the *Satureday* arrived, I sett apart the whole Day, to do this, with Prayer and Fasting; as well as to obtain the Smiles of God, on my Soul, my Work, the Land,

and His whole People; and bewayl the Scandals whereinto more of my Flock are fallen, and prevent the Wrath of Heaven against mee, for their Scandals.

Being moreover sollicitous, that no Afflictions may befall mee, but such as may afford some Revenues of Glory unto my Lord Jesus Christ, I sett myself particularly to consider, what special Duties, the Condition of my Child should awaken mee unto.

I purposed, that I would grow yett more fruitful in my Conversation, with my little Birds, and feed them with more frequent and charming Lessons, of Religion.

That I would more concern myself to promote *Schools* for *Children*, in my Neighbourhood. And what if I should visit all the *Schools*; and endeavour to speak such things both to the Teachers and the Scholars, as they may all bee the better for!

That I would quicken my *pastoral Visits*, to the Families of my Neighbours; and scatter among the Families, my little Book, of a *Family well-ordered*.

That I would shortly write a little Book, which my Kinsman shall Translate into the *Indian Tongue*, to make the Knowledge of Christ, and Christianity, more effectually apprehended among the *Indians*, and their *Children*.

Lord, pittie mee, assist mee, accept mee!

The sickness of the Child proceeded, after I had written these Things, unto a very great Extremity. One Morning, when I was in distress about this Matter, taking up the Bible, to read in Course, before our Family-prayers, the Bible first opened at the Story, of *Children* blessed by the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ putt upon them, when brought unto Him. (Mar. 10. 13-16.) I therefore took that Paragraph, and read it, and pray'd over it. And it was again assured mee, *that the Child should live*.

Notwithstanding all this; the Sickness of the Child grew so very extreme, that on Wednesday Night, there was little,

if any Hope of its Life left, and the Physician himself began to despair.

Wherefore, being in Distress, lest my *Particular Faith*, should prove but a Fancy, and a Folly, and End in Confusion, I sett apart the Day following, (which was *Thursday*, 15 d. 4 m.) for the Exercises of *Prayer* with *Fasting*, in my Study, as well for the same Intentions, that I kept the Last *Saturday*, as more especially to obtain Mercies for my Family, and my little Daughter, and my Consort now near her Time.

Now, behold the Effect of *Prayer* and *Faith*! On this very day, the Child began to recover. A sensible and marvellous Change this day came upon the Child; and from this very Time, its Recovery went on most comfortably.

God has ordered this Matter, for my Encouragement, about several greater Points of my *Particular Faith*, not yett accomplished.

But on this Day of my Supplications, I had a further Communication from Heaven, of a wonderful importance!

The *General Court* has diverse Times of late years, had under Consideration, the matter of the settlement of the *Colledge*, which was like still to issue in a Voyage of my Father to *England*: And the matter is now again considered. I have made much *Prayer* about it, many and many a Time: Nevertheless, I never could have my mind raised unto any *Particular Faith* about it, one way or another. But this Day, as I was, (may I not say?) in the Spirit, it was in a powerful Manner assured mee from Heaven, that my Father shall one Day be carried into *England*: and that he shall there glorify the Lord Jesus Christ: and that the *Particular Faith* which had introduced it, shall be at last made a matter of wonderful Glory and Service unto the Lord.

And thou, *O Mather* the Younger, shalt live to see this accomplished.

And thy Son too shall glorify the Lord Jesus Christ on

Earth, after thou also hast follow'd thy Father into the Kingdome of God!

The Lord having restored my Child, I thought, what further special Service to do for His Name, on that Occasion. The Result of my Thoughts was, that observing a great and sad want of *Schools*, for the Education of Children thro' the Countrey, I added at the End of my Book of, *A well-ordered Family*, just now coming out of the Press, as pungent a Discourse, as I could in so few pages, to excite in the Countrey a sense of that Want, and a Zeal for the erecting of *schools* in all our Towns. I entituled it, *An Address. AD FRATRES IN EREMO.*

Moreover, I thought of a further Service to bee done for the Churches of my Lord Jesus Christ. The Ministers of *Boston*, and the Towns adjacent have had their stated Meetings in the Library of *Harvard-Colledge*, at *Cambridge*. At these Meetings, many important Cases have been discoursed on. The voted Results of the Discourses, were still of my drawing up. These Results I now procured to bee transcribed: And prefixed a Preface, wherein I quicken the Ministers in other Parts of the Countrey, to the like Associations. By the Publication of this Book, with the Consent of the Ministers concerned, I now hope, abundance of Service may bee done to all the Churches. This Book, I now gave unto the Booksellers, entituled, *THIRTY IMPORTANT CASES.*<sup>1</sup>

And tho' it go under the Name of all the associated Ministers, yett I think, I may humbly pretend to bee the real Author of it; all, but two or three Pages of it, being *mine*.

While thus I am serving the House of my Lord Jesus Christ, I again and again find Him saving of mine.

On 8 d. 5 m. [July,] my Consort having the Symptomes of her approaching *Travail* upon her, I sett apart this Day

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen.

for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study, that I might obtain Mercy for my Family, and my Ministry.

In the Evening of this Day, near eleven a Clock, my Consort fell into her Travail. Just before this, the Text with a Meditation whereon I chose to entertain my Family at our Evening Prayers, was that in Joh. 16. 21. *A woman, when shee is in Travail, hath Sorrow, because her Hour is come; but as soon as shee is delivered of the Child, shee remembreth no more the Anguish, for Joy that a Man is born into the World.*

After I had commended my Consort unto the Lord, I laid mee down to sleep, after Midnight that I might bee fitt for the Services of the Day ensuing. But after one a Clock in the morning, I awoke, with a Concern upon my Spirit, which obliged mee to rise, and retire into my Study. There I cast myself on my Knees before the Lord, confessing my Sins that rendred mee unworthy of His Mercy, but imploring His Mercy to my Consort, in the Distress now upon her. While my Faith was pleading, that the Saviour who was *born of a Woman*, would send His good Angel to releve my Consort, the People ran to my Study-door with Tidings, *that a Son was born unto mee.* I continued then on my Knees, praising the Lord; and I received a wonderful Advice from Heaven, that this my Son, shall bee a Servant of my Lord Jesus Christ throughout eternal Ages.

Hee was born, about three Quarters of an Hour past one, in the morning, of the Lord's-day 9 d. 5 m. an hearty, lusty and comely Infant.

In the Forenoon following, I preached on Psal. 90. 16. managing this Doctrine, *That the Enjoyment of the precious Christ, who is the glorious Work, of God, is the Great Blessedness desired by good Men both for themselves, and for their Children.* And I particularly inculcated, the Duties of Parents, that their *Children* might not miss of a *Christ.* After which I administred the *Eucharist.*

In the Afternoon, I baptised my Son, and in Honour to

my Parent, I called him, INCREASE. After which, retiring to my Study, it was again assured mee from Heaven, that this Child shall glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, and bee with Him, to behold His Glory.

16 d. 5 m. [July.] *Lords-Day*. Being full of Distress in my Spirit, as I was at Prayer in my Study at Noon, it was told mee from Heaven, that my Father shall bee carried from mee into *England*, and that my Opportunities to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, will on that Occasion bee gloriously accommodated.

18 d. 5 m. *Tuesday*. Both Houses in our General Assembly, have so passed their Bill, for the Incorporation of our Colledge, that there appears a Necessity of sending an Agent unto *Whitehal* to solicit the royal Approbation for it. The Agency will doubtless fall upon my *Father*; and this Day proves the Time for its being one way or other determined.<sup>1</sup>

I therefore sett apart this Day for *Prayer* with *Fasting* in my Study before the Lord, especially on that Occasion. And when I was, about Noon, crying to Heaven, that the Matter of my Father's Voyage to *England*, might bee well-ordered, it was in a manner that I may not utter, assured unto mee from Heaven, that my Father shall bee carried into *England*, and that I should live to see the Glory of the Lord in this Matter, and that at this very Time there was occurring that which would one Day accomplish it.

Other Things also, as on other Dayes, when thus employ'd, I laid before the Lord.

Now behold, a most unintelligible Dispensation! At this very Time, even about Noon, instead of having the *Bill for the Colledge* enacted, as was expected, the Governour plainly rejected it, because of a Provision therein made for the *Religion* of the Countrey. But at the same Time, hee told them, hee beleev'd the King would grant them,

<sup>1</sup> Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, I. 97-102.

that very Provision and Security for our Religion, and urg'd them to Address the King for it, and send an Agent with an Address, and choose my Father for their Agent; and added, that hee would heartily join with them in their doing so. The Assembly was now all in Confusion, and had satt many Weeks, and were grown impatient for to bee at home, and many of their Members were already gone home; so that no Importunity of the Governour's, could prevail with them, to bee willing, to do any thing in this Matter, until their next Session in *October*.

Lord, preserve my Faith, and assist mee to wait with an holy and humble Patience, for the Issue of these mysterious Things! <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "23 d. 5 m. [July.] This Day the Censure of Excommunication was passed upon Mr. *Edward Mills*. His Case was this:

"I. The Foundation of the Displeasure conceived in the Minds of good Men against him was this. His Landlady, who had been a young Woman of a very laudable Character, became at length an horrible *Adulteress*, and for her *confessed Adulteries* was made a publick Example of Punishment.

"Now in the hours of her most *poenitent Confession*, she solemnly declared, more than once or twice to more than two or three, that *Mills* was the Person who first of all debauch'd her, and that he not only had been adulterous with her, but that his being so had led the Way to all her other Adulteries. Thus was that poor young, hopeful Family broken up.

"Wee could never find that *Mills* denied his *Adulteries*, they were by credible Circumstances become so very evident.

"And there were more than one or two Testimonies that *Mills* had been guilty of lewd, vile and lascivious carriages towards her (too abominable to be mentioned).

"The Matter being so plain that it was no fault in any reasonable Person to believe it, some think the Church might justly have proceeded (after the manner of the French Protestant Churches,) to have demanded either a positive *Denial*, or a poenitent *Confession* from him; he by a sudden withdraw to other Countreys, left us no Opportunity at all about him.

"II. After long absence, he returned; and we hoping his future Conversation would by its exemplary Poenitence and Piety recover his Reputation, only *suspended* him certain months from the Communion, with *private admonitions*.

"But instead of any such conversation, we were alarm'd from all parts, with a continual and credible *fame* of his taking a scandalous Liberty at the *Games* which the Law hath declared *unlawfull*, and of his mispending almost *whole nights*, and sometimes, indeed, *whole nights* at the *Tavern*, and in lewd Company: by which means his *Family* suffered under a *scandalous misgovernment*: extreamly to the reproach of our holy Religion.

9 d. 6 m. [August.] *Saturday*. I endeavoured this Day the Exercises of a *Thanksgiving* in my Study. One thing, that especially quickened mee thereunto, was the manifold Mercy of God unto my Family, in carrying my Consort thro' her Time, and in bestowing upon mee a Son of hopeful Circumstances, and in sparing and saving the Rest of my children, when they have been in Danger of Death.

"And being *admonished* of these things hee owned the main matter of fact, which if he had not owned, we were able to have proved it upon him.

"And besides the other *profanities* chargeable upon him, it was proved that coming late from the Tavern in the evening of our *preparation for the Lords-Day*, he made himself troublesome to his other Neighbors by impertinent visit and Discourse, untill near *midnight*; at which they showing them-selves troubled, he replied, Hee knew it troubled them, yet he would still stay, to vex them.

"III. Wee were entertained with satisfactory assurances, of his having written wicked and profane Letters to his Comrades in *London*, and boasting of wickedness (even of no less than *incestuous wickedness*) wherein he nevertheless could be no otherwise guilty, than as his *wicked boasting* made him so; and hereby a great reproach was cast upon many very worthy persons in the Neighborhood.

"Now tho he hath not confessed all the particulars affirmed to have been in these villainous Letters, yet he hath confessed that hee did write *foolish Letters* to *London*, and that he hath foolishly taken a Liberty to speak inconvenient Things of some virtuous people.

"IV. There appeared full convictive Evidence, that with horrid Lying and Slander hee defamed several young Gentlewomen<sup>1</sup> in the Neighborhood, of an unspotted Character; and reported them to be *infamous Whores*.

"And he was found guilty of adding further Lyes in his own defence, when he was accused of those Impieties.

"V. Had hee expressed the least Symptom, or Shaddow, of *Repentance*, when the Pastors and Brethren of the Church, once and again dealt with him for his Offences, wee had not yett proceeded unto the *highest Censure* of our Discipline upon him. Instead thereof, when all possible pains to smite him into some Remorse had been taken with him, he manifested such an *Obduration* as was to our astonishment.

"Yea, between the *Resolution* and the *Execution* of the just *Sentence* to be passed upon him, he made it his Business, in matters not relating to his own Case, to sow Discord among the Neighbors, by such *Talebearing* as is not only a *abomination unto the Lord*, but also intollerable and abominable to all *Civill Society*.

"So far was he from *Repentance*,

"VI. When the Day appointed for the *Censure* arrived, hee *appeared not*, tho he had been most solemnly once and again required to make his appearance, and *hear the Church*. Instead thereof, and as a further *contempt*, hee sent (in the time of the publick Exercises,) unto the Elders then in the Congregation, a rude,

<sup>1</sup> Mather has entered on the margin the names of Mr. *John Colman* and Mr. *Newcomb Blague*.

My Exercises were managed, with little variance of Method, from what has been usual with mee, on such Dayes: But with such Feebleness, that I resolved upon an Endeavour shortly to set apart another Day for this Purpose.

One singular Article of my Thought and Praise this day was, the *Singularity* of the Divine Dispensations towards mee. There are many Favours of Heaven, wherein I have been *singular*. Especially,

First, that I should bee such an horribly guilty and filthy Sinner, (in some Respects, above any that I know, of my Generation); and that yett my Sin bee covered, and I bee after all my Sin, employ'd in more than ordinary Service, for the Churches of my Lord Jesus Christ.

Secondly, that I should bee a great *Stammerer*, and yett bee made not only a Preacher of the Gospel, but also my *Utterance* in my preaching bee not the least *Ornament* of it, and I bee used in speaking more than any man of my Age in the Land, on the most important Occasions.

Thirdly, that I should bee a more silly and shallow Person, than most in this Country; and yett write and print more Books, and have greater Opportunities to do good by my published Composures, than any Man that ever was in this Country, or indeed in all *America*.

Fourthly, that I should bee as unqualified for the evangelical Ministry, and as unfruitful in it, as any Man; and yett bee settled in the *Metropolis* of *New England*, and enjoy the greatest Auditories in that *Metropolis*; and in my early Youth, bee called forth on the most solemn Occasions, that these Colonies have afforded.

venemous and villainous paper, asserting *that nothing heinous had been proved against him*, and contriving to fix further Odium and Reproach on the *Names* of other people: which paper he demanded to be *read in the publick*.

"On the whole the Church passed on him the *Censure*, for which those *Mis-carriages* and *Impoenitencies*, had ripened him." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

Sensible of the Divine Favours to mee, in these Regards, I rendred my Thanks unto the Lord. And that I might the more effectually do that Part of my Duty belonging to this Day, which lies in studying, *What I shall render to the Lord!* I studied a Sermon, on Math. 5. 47. *What do yee more than others?* which I preached on the day ensuing.

About this Time, considering the Condition of the *Non-Conformists*, in the English Nation, and the Temptations whereto they are obnoxious, and how little the *Babylonish Constitution*, and *Pelagian Apostasy*,<sup>1</sup> of the *Canonical Church of England*, is considered; I did, with some Exactness of study, write an Essay, to prove, that the Churches of the Non-Conformists, have a very great Claim, to bee accounted *The Church of England*; and are indeed the truest and soundest parts of it. This Essay, I entituled, A LETTER OF ADVICE, TO THE CHURCHES OF THE NON-CONFORMISTS. In it, I had also a special Design to fortify, the *Neighbours* in the Town, and the *Scholars* in the Land, where I lived against the Dangers of *Conforming*. But, I am forbidden printing it here; so that I must watch my best Opportunity of sending it unto *London*.

I sent it unto *London*. And in the Spring of the year 1701, I understand, it is published and much Notice taken of it.<sup>2</sup>

A few Months ago, the bloody Bishop of *London*, (as I am credibly informed) wrote over unto one of his Curates in this Town, desiring information from him, of whatever treasonable or seditious Passages (I suppose against, the *Church!*) I might bee charged withal. Doubtless, this

<sup>1</sup> As Pelagius taught that there was no such thing as original sin, sin being a thing of will and not of nature, the opposition of Mather is easily explained. Such a doctrine would undermine and destroy the teachings of the congregational churches.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin. The book was printed by A. Baldwin, in London. The letter was signed "Philaethes." Increase Mather's copy was in the Brinley catalogue, No. 1151.

little Composure, if it comes to bee published, will sett some Edge upon his bloody Inclinations: but the Lord whom I serve, even the *Great Bishop* of Souls, will preserve mee.<sup>1</sup>

19 d. 6 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for *Prayer* with *Fasting*, in my Study, to obtain the Pardon of my many Sins, and the Blessing of God, on mee in my *Ministry*, and my *Family*, and on my *Undertakings* to glorify Him.

I had occasion, very particularly, to pray for the Council and Conduct of Heaven, in several Articles, that my Studies have been, or would bee upon.

I would bee directed, about, my, *Letter of Advice to the N[on] C[onformist]s*. I would bee directed and assisted in my Lecture the next week; and, if God will favour it, I would publish it, by the Press, with my two former Lectures.

I am inclineable to write, *An History of the Caroline Persecution*. O my God, Grant mee thy Direction about it; and never suffer mee to write any Thing, whereby the Interests of Truth and peace, may bee damnified.

I want the Direction of Heaven, and Assistence also, about a Journey, to some of our northern Towns.

But one Occasion, that now more particularly drove mee to Heaven was this.

A Man, (called *May*) is lately arrived among us from *England*; and sett up for a public Preacher. The Man is a wondrous Lump of Ignorance and Arrogance; but having a plausible Delivery of himself, the People of the Town, are wonderfully taken with him.

The Ministers of the Town, to whom hee declines giving an Account of himself, seeing very suspicious Marks of an Impostor upon him, have therefore declined asking him to preach in our Pulpitts. The Incendiary is therefore gone off to preach unto a Congregation of *Anabaptists* in our

<sup>1</sup> Henry Compton (1632-1713) was then bishop of London, but in no sense deserved the appellation given by Mather.

Neighbourhood, which was before dwindled almost into nothing: and Multitudes of the giddy People are as much bewitched with him, as if hee were another *Simon Magus*. There is evidently a *Satanic Energy* on the People in this Town; and Satan is attempting, tho' by a very little Tool, a great Shock to our churches.

I therefore thought it my Duty to carry the matter, by *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, unto the Lord. I did so; and confessed the Defects of my *pastoral Care* over my Flock, and implored the Help of the Good Spirit of Grace, that my Flock may bee preserved from all the evil Influences of the *Evil one*, and I may more faithfully and fervently than ever, discharge my Office to my Flock, especially in the Point of calling upon them, as well privately as publickly to answer their *baptismal Obligations*.

Prayer and Patience, will bring this Temptation to a comfortable Issue.

24 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. I enjoy'd a more than ordinary Help from Heaven, in preaching of my *Lecture*.

After it, I am desired by some judicious and sensible Persons, to publish these my Discourses on *Justification*. I foresee, that I am likely herein to enjoy, (what I have earnestly pray'd for) an Opportunity, not only to explain and maintain the evangelical Truth unto the Churches in this Land, but also to do some special Service for the Lord Jesus Christ, in His contending Churches beyond-sea; which I will now solemnly Address, with the true Doctrine of *Justification*, under this Advantage, as being the Doctrine of the Churches of *New England*. And that it may with the more Efficacy and Authority pretend so to bee, I single out some of the most significant Pastors, in our Churches, to accommodate my Treatise, with their Attestations. To make the composure, yett more significant, I do with an Agreeable Dedication, direct it unto the Ministers in London, with all the Charms I can readily devise, to make

them resume the Character of *United Brethren*. So I give it unto the Bookseller, under the Title of THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL.<sup>1</sup>

2 d. 7 m. [September.] *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for *Prayer*, in my Study, on the same Occasion, that thus employ'd mee, a Fortnight ago; and very particularly to implore the Smiles of Heaven on my northern Journey.

This Day, I understand by Letters from *Carolina*, a thing that exceedingly refreshes mee; a *Jew* there embracing the *Christian Faith*, and my little Book, *The Faith of the Fathers*, therein a special Instrument of good unto him.

7 d. 7 m. And now I cannot but observe a wonderful Thing. Several Wretches have arrived among us, pretending to preach the Gospel, with a more than ordinary Zeal. But the flaming Eyes of the Lord Jesus Christ, who had been affronted, by the Hypocrites, have quickly demonstrated His Holy Presence in His Churches, by precipitating into a speedy Confusion, those hypocritical Intruders. And one special Way of His confounding them has been by Detecting some scandalous *Plagiarism*, in their Sermons.

Accordingly, that pernicious Incendiary S. *May*, for the Discovery of whose Cheats, I had sent up some secret Prayers unto the Lord is now likely in that way already to bee discovered, and exposed. I heard him deliver a Sermon at a private Meeting; the Sermon I repeted unto my Father. Hee newly having bought a Book of Dr *Bolton's*<sup>2</sup> turn'd it over a little, to see the Subjects handled in it. There hee found the very Sermon, which I had repeted; the Wretch had stolen his whole Sermon from that Author. This being demonstrated unto the Neighbourhood, they admire the Providence, that hath taken such swift Steps, to find out a Cheat. And he hardened Wretch denying that

<sup>1</sup> It was printed in Boston, 1700, by B. Green and J. Allen for N. Buttolph, and contained addresses to the reader by Increase Mather, John Higginson and Samuel Willard. Brinley, No. 1110.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Bolton.

ever hee saw any Book of *Bolton's*, but asserting, and offering to swear it, that the whole Discourse was entirely the Effect of his own Industry and Invention, it increases their Detestaçon of him. Thus is the Lord hearing Prayer; and the Incendiary that hath so quickly *begun to fall, will surely fall!*

10 d. 7 m. *Lords-day*. The Lord gives mee, a more than ordinary Assurance from Heaven, this Day, that I shall enjoy a special Presence of His with mee, in the Journey which I intend this Week, and that I shall therein glorify my Lord Jesus Christ exceedingly.

On the Day following, I began my Journey accompanied, with an hopeful young Gentleman, a Graduate of the Colledge, whose Parents desired mee, to make his waiting on mee, an Opportunity of my doing all possible Good unto him. God smiled on my Journey all along, with signal Demonstrations of His Favour, in all the Circumstances of it. The Weather proved seasonable, and some threatned Storms, kept off till I returned. A strange Descent of Hundreds of Bears, infesting the Road I was to travel, alarmed all People, but I mett none of them. I was entertained with very unmerited Respects wherever I came. I went the first Night unto *Salem*; and the next, I went unto *Ipswich*; where I preached the Lecture, (on Heb. 11. 1.) Thursday, 19 d. 7 m. to a very vast Assembly. On the Day following I returned unto *Salem*; where, on the Lord's-day, I preached both parts of the Day, to great Assemblies. On the Munday, I returned home, with the good Hand of God upon mee, and found all well at Home.

30 d. 7 m. *Satureday*. That I may carry the Concerns of my Soul, my Health, my Flock, my Family, my Ministry, and the whole Church, unto the Lord, I sett apart this Day for Prayer, with Fasting in my Study. Nothing remarkable occurred in it.

About this Time, seeing the declining and languishing State of the *Old Church* in this Town, I thought, that what-

ever Diminution it might prove to my own *flourishing Flock*, it would bee a Thing acceptable to Heaven, and serviceable to all the Land, and a Demonstration of Sincerity, in my Dispositions to the Interests of my Lord Jesus Christ, if I might bee an Instrument of bringing *that Church* again to florish. I saw, there was but *one Way* to do it; and that was, by commending to them, and procuring for them, a Minister of some *Age*, and great Ability, and Authority, and Experience, and of eminent Piety, and of a peaceable Temper, and of Congregational principles, and a popular and plausible preacher. Now, I having a correspondence with such an one, at this Time, sojourning in West New Jersey, commended him to the Consideration of the principal Gentlemen in the *Old Church*. They being satisfied, in the Character I had given of him, desired mee, to invite him, as from *myself*, to make an occasional Visit unto this Town; and my *Father* joining with mee, in signing the Letter which I thus wrote at their Desire, the *chief Brethren* of the Church, who saw it, thank'd mee for it, exceedingly, and for the *Generosity* and *Self-denial* we had expressed in it. I left it with them, to show it, unto the young Man, their present *Pastor*;<sup>1</sup> but that young Man, was very angry with mee, and with them, for the Action; and stirr'd up a Storm of most unworthy *Reproaches* on mee, from a Party in the Town. This was the *Reward* of my sincere and zelous Labours, to save the *Old Church* from a dreadful *Convulsion*, that I see hastening on them, and to find them a Minister, by the flocking to whose Ministry, I suppose, my own Flock, will bee sensibly diminished! But I had a secret *Faith*, produced in mee, on this Occasion, that God will but smile on my own Flock the more, and on mee, [increasing the] Numerousness of my Flock the more, as the Reward of th[is act].

However at the Desire of the young man [*eaten away*.]

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Wadsworth (1669-1737), who was associated with James Allen (1632-1710).

*Memorandum.* Our *Anabaptists*, (a People of no good Spirit,) I am told, are tampering with the Church of *England* Party in this Town, to do mee certain Mischiefs if they can. Their Provocation at mee, is this. I desired of them, on my own behalf, and the behalf of the other Ministers, that they would give mee a Meeting. Whereat I would convict the *New-Holder-forth*, which they have sett up among them, of being a *Cheat*, and guilty of horrible, and notorious, and repeated *Lying* against his Conscience. Their Church sent mee this astonishing Answer, They should not apprehend themselves concerned to take any Notice of Charge against him. And hereupon, they fall into a great Rage against mee, tho' I have been more tender of them, and civil to them, as they cannot but confess, than all the Ministers of *New England*.

One of them telling mee, that some certain Things (hee would not say, What) began to bee whispered about mee; I could cheerfully reply, *Thro' the Grace of Christ, I can challenge all the Men, that ever were in the world, to say all they know concerning mee.* Hee seeing my Cheerfulness. and Security putt this Explication on his words; Hee meant, that the *Church of England* Men, were privately hatching a Plott, to ruine mee, as hee was privately informed. I answered him, *Go to the Church of England Men, tell them from mee, that as for them, God has made mee a defenced City, an iron Pillar, and a brasen wall; and lett 'em fight never so cunningly against mee, they shall never prevail to do mee any Harm. Go tell 'em also, that tho' I am every way little, yett I hope, thro' the Help of Christ, I may live, to do for them the same Kindness, that Sampson did for their Philistian Brethren, and pull down their Temples about their Ears.*<sup>1</sup>

18 d. 8 m. [October.] Wednesday. I sett apart this Day, for

<sup>1</sup> Cotton Mather received news about this time of his being joined in the disposing of the funds of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians. Sewall, *Diary*, I. 502.

the Exercises of a THANKSGIVING, in secret before the Lord. The *Methods* attended, and the *Mercies* confessed, this Day, were much the Same, with those of my last Exercise in this kind. And the Resolutions, which I took up, for the expressing of my Gratitude unto the Lord, I defer to mention, till the Opportunities occur, for the Executions of them.

Yett there are two or three peculiar Favours of God unto mee, that must in this Place, bee more particularly mentioned.

I am especially sensible of the Divine Favour to mee in preserving for mee, an *unblemished Reputation*. I perceive myself by some Circumstances rendred so obnoxious to raging Envy, that if any *true* Thing might bee reported unto my Prejudice, or, if any *false* Thing might bee invented, that would bee likely to stick upon mee, my Reputation would immediately find those that would ruine it. But the Wonderful *Grace* of my Lord Jesus Christ, has kept *my Name* in Safety, and Honour. Oh! what shall I do for the Honour of *His!*

I am also very sensible of the Divine Favour to mee, in the vast *Auditories*, which come every Lord's-Day to attend upon my poor, mean, unworthy Ministry. Few Ministers in the World, preach unto the like; it would bee beyond the Strength of a mortal Man, to preach unto much bigger. How does this oblige mee, to preach as excellent and well studied Sermons as ever I can and contrive all my public Exercises in the most edifying manner that I am able.

To Renew my *pastoral Visits*, with more stated Exactness and prudent Fervency, is one special Purpose, which I am now putt upon, and accordingly the Divine Help therein, I make one special Article of my Supplications.

23 d. 8 m. This Day, I receive Advice of the Death of my poor Uncle, *Mr. John Cotton*, by the same horrible plague,

that has carried off multitudes, at *Carolina*.<sup>1</sup> I have Reason to give great Thanks unto Heaven, in that the Lord accepted that poor Man, to dy in the Service of the Church, after the Death which there had been upon all Hopes of any such matter, by his Abdication from his work at *Plymouth*.<sup>2</sup>

28 d. 8 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day for Prayer with Fasting in my Study. Many Desires I carried unto the Lord, which I beleve Hee did accept; and will Answer. But especially concerning the Composures, which I have sent into *England*: And another, which I am now going to write.

When I this Day considered, how strangely the Lord hath, beyond my Expectation, prolonged my Life, to this Age, I acknowledged the Favour of Heaven to mee. I also besought of the Lord, That notwithstanding my Unthankfulness and Unfruitfulness Hee would spare mee yett a little Space longer to glorify Him upon Earth. And I besought Him, that when my Time should come to dy, I may dy easily and willingly.

In the Close of the Day, prostrate on my study Floor, I obtained some *Assurance* from Heaven, that the Lord would not *reject* mee from *servi*ng Him, but yett employ mee in *eminent Service* for Him; and give mee His *good Spirit*, and send mee His *good Angel*, and use mee in a Manner *that I cannot yett apprehend*.

*Memorandum*. Many months ago, in my public Prayers, I uttered a strange, and strong Faith, for the Deliverance of my Neighbours, from their horrible Captivity, in *Zallee*; a Captivity among the barbarous Monsters of *Africa*, from whence ordinarily there is no Deliverance.

Behold, no less than *four* of them, are lately delivered

<sup>1</sup> See letter to Mrs. Joanna Cotton, of this date, in 4 *Collections*, VIII. 403.

<sup>2</sup> Cotton went to Charleston, S. C., in November, 1698, and died there September 17, 1699. See letter of Hugh Adams, in Sewall, *Diary*, II. 11.

and some of them with very surprising Circumstances. I have opportunity to give solemn Thanks, unto God their Saviour, in the very Place, where Prayers had been so fervently putt up, for their Deliverance.

2 d. 9 m. [November.] Thursday. Boston-Lecture was this day turn'd into a *Fast*, for the Churches languishing under a revived, and horrible Persecution, in *Europe*; especially in *France*.<sup>1</sup> The former part of the Day, was carried on, by the other three Ministers of the Town. In the latter Part, I prayed, and my Father preached.

The Day following, I spent in the Exercises of a *Thanksgiving*, with other Ministers and Christians, at the House of a Gentleman, happily delivered from Captivity in *Barbary*. At which House wee had formerly pray'd, for his Deliverance.

In the Exercises of both these Dayes, I enjoy'd very merciful Assistences of Heaven.

12 d. 9 m. Lords-Day. This Day, in the Evening, prostrate on my Study-floor, with my Face in the Dust, I received a marvellous Assurance from Heaven, that by the Gift of God, the *Righteousness* of my Lord Jesus Christ, was now so made mine, that I might rest on it, as my Title to heavenly *Blessedness*; and that the *Spirit* of my Lord Jesus Christ, would now fill mee, and employ mee, and apply mee, to glorify His Name. The *Time* and *Way* of my *Death*, I did now with a sweet Satisfaction of Soul, resign unto the Lord Jesus Christ; and considering Him also as the Lord of all Opportunities that any Men have to serve Him, and His Church, I did with a satisfied Soul, make to Him a Resignation of all my *future Opportunities* to do that which I desired above all Things in the World: but I was herewithal assured, *that my Opportunities would yett bee very glorious*.

<sup>1</sup>"Fast is warned to be next Thursday for the Afflicted church abroad." Sewall, *Diary*, 503.

After this, I visited the young men's Meeting, and gave a Sermon, to invigorate the Designs of Religion, too much decaying among them.<sup>1</sup>

19 d. 9 m. *Lords-Day*. This Day at Noon, by a strange Irradiation from Heaven, I am assured of several Things to come.

23 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. This Day was a publick THANKS-GIVING to God, celebrated throughout the Province.

Among other Duties of the Day, I judged it proper to call upon each of the several Persons in my Family, to recollect seriously, what special *Favours* of God, they were to bee *thankful* for? and by what special *Actions* they were to express their *Thankfulness*. And such of them, as it was more proper thus to treat, I anon called upon, to give mee a particular Account, of what Result their Thoughts were come unto.

26 d. 9 m. *Lords-Day*. Tho' SELF-EXAMINATION, bee a Duty very frequently attended with mee, yett I have rarely had the Time or Strength to write, the Articles of it.

I will at this Time, amidst my other Labours, just write such Things as these.

Q. 1. What is the greatest, and only *Relief* of my Soul?

A. I have beheld the glorious and perfect *Righteousness* of my Lord Jesus Christ, provided by the Grace of God, for my *Justification* before Him; and Hee has, by His Grace, helped mee to accept that *Righteousness*, upon the offer of it.

Q. 2. What is the cheef *Desire* of my Soul?

A. If I know any Thing of my self, tis, to *glorify* my Lord Jesus Christ.

Q. 3. What is the cheef *Delight* of my Soul?

A. I am certain, it is to find that I do *glorify* my Lord Jesus Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Twelve lines followed which were struck out by Mather.

Q. 4. What is the cheef *Trouble* of my Soul?

A. I feel none, like that of the *Sin* remaining in mee, which indisposes mee to *glorify* my Lord Jesus Christ; and which grieves His *Holy Spirit*.

At this Time, having preached a Sermon, unto the *Seafaring* people, which are a very *numerous* People, in my Congregation, it found so much acceptance among them, that they earnestly desired it might be published, and they furnished with it. Accordingly, I gave it unto them, and the Bookseller, who immediately putt it into the Press. It is entituled, THE RELIGIOUS MARINER.<sup>1</sup>

O my God, my God, my Lord Jesus Christ, I do with an astonished Soul, adore thy sovereign Grace, which thus makes use of mee, a poor, mean, vile Wretch, to glorify thy Name, when so many better qualified than I, are laid by as useless. My Soul is even swallowed up, in Astonishments of Admirations at this *Free-grace* of Heaven!

I am verily perswaded, this little Book particularly, which was in a Manner composed in one little Part of a Day, and consisting of no more than two Sheets of an half, will prove greatly serviceable to the Souls of many abroad in the World.

7 d. 10 m. [December.] I am now to relate a wonderful Thing.

Albeit I had several Months ago, convicted, that wicked Incendiary, that goes by the Name of *May*, to bee a lying Fellow, and all the judicious people of the Town, deserted him and abhorred him, on my so convicting of him; yett a weak, rash, ill-spirited Cruel, continued still to follow him. I never saw a more sensible Energy of Satan, upon the Minds of a *Mob*, than in this Instance; and God, for Holy End's letting Satan loose, the wicked Incendiary, with the silly Drove, which hee bewitched, made it a main Part of their business, to ly and rail, and rage against mee, on all Occa-

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1700.

sions; because it seems they were more afraid of mee, than of some others. It was on these Accounts, a *Day of Temptation to mee*; but God helped mee patiently and cheerfully to encounter the Evils of the *Day*. I told the Wretch a few weeks ago; *the glorious Lord Jesus Christ will certainly and speedily detect you, and in your Confusion, Hee will make all the Churches to know that Hee searches the Hearts [eaten away] of the Children of Men.* At last, the Wretch [eaten away].

begin to forsake him, and having chous'd the foolish People of a great Summ of Money, hee ship'd himself to bee gone for *England*. Hereupon, I cried unto God, with ardent Prayers, that if it might bee obtained, and if it might be for His Glory and the Welfare of His churches, this *Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing*, might bee discovered before his going off. And now, behold, by means of my being privately informed, that such Testimonies could bee had, there appear this Day, several sober, modest, and virtuous Women, who deposed upon *Oath* before the *Magistrate*, that this *May*, had often affronted them with lewd, vile, uncivil and lascivious Actions, and watching Opportunities to gett them alone, would offer them rude Things, which abundantly satisfied them, of his being a great Rogue, and that if they had been for his Turn, hee would have stuck at no villany towards them: and some of his abominable Speeches, to them, not fitt here to bee transcribed, they also testified. Thus the Wretch, went off with a Stink! And whereas, I had signified unto the *Anabaptists*, that the Impiety of their Carriage about this Man, would, I beleeve, be chastised, by this very Man's proving thro' the Vengeance of God, a blemish and a Ruine unto them, tis now most remarkably coming to pass.<sup>1</sup>

Considering the marvellous Providence of God, in these

<sup>1</sup> Mather pays his respects to May at some length in *A Warning to the Flocks*, 24-49.

Occurrences, and the Recompence that God was giving to my past Conduct under the Reproaches and Injuries, which I had undergone, for the sake of this detected Wolf, I thought, it would many Wayes be serviceable, for mee to preach unto my great Congregation, a Sermon upon those Words, in Job. 13. 9. *Is it Good that God should search you out: or one Man mocketh another, do yee so mock Him?* I did so, on the Lord's-day following; without mentioning the occasion, but yett managing the whole Discourse in such a Manner, that every one in the great Congregation, may see, what was the tragical Occasion and Example, that moved mee, to give them this Warning, *that the Great God, who will not bee mocked, will thoroughly discern, and terribly detect, those that go to mock Him.*

Now, that I might not myself, remain under the Guilt of any of my own former Iniquities, wherein I had been myself so much a *Mocker of God*, I sett apart the *Saturday* before, for secret *Humiliations* and *Supplications*, in my Study.

And on the *Lord-day* ensuing, when I was at Noon, on my Knees, before the Lord in my Study, I begg'd of Him, to afford mee signal Assistences, in the public Services of the Afternoon. One Passage in my Prayer was, that I would humbly look on such Assistences, as a *Sign*, that the Lord had mercifully and marvellously thro' His Christ, pardoned unto mee, all my own former Iniquities, wherein I had *mocked* His infinite Majesty. Now, I was remarkably favoured in this Point: I know not, whether I have ever been assisted, with more Influences from Heaven, in my public Services.

But here was not all the Occasion, of my being engaged in the Duties of a secret Fast, on the *Saturday* mentioned. I see, another *Day of Temptation* begun upon the Town and Land. A Company of Head-strong Men in the Town, the cheef of whom, are full of malignity to the Holy Wayes of

our Churches, have built in this Town, another Meeting-house. To delude many better-meaning Men in their own Company, and the Churches in the Neighbourhood, they past a Vote, in the Foundation of their Proceedings, that they would not vary from the Practice of these Churches, except in one little Particular. But a young Man, born and bred here, and hence gone for *England*, is now return'd hither, at their Invitation, equip'd with an *Ordination*, to qualify him, for all that is intended.<sup>1</sup> On his returning and arriving here, these fallacious People, desert their Vote, and without the Advice or Knowledge of the Ministers in the Vicinity they have published, under the Title of a *Manifesto*, certain Articles, that utterly subvert our Churches, and invite an ill Party thro' all the Countrey, to throw all into Confusion on the first Opportunities.<sup>2</sup> This drives the Ministers, that would bee faithful unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and His Interests in the Churches, into a Necessity of appearing for their Defence. No little Part of these Actions must unavoidably fall to my Share. I have already written a large monitory Letter, to these *Innovators*, which tho' most lovingly penn'd, yett enrages their violent and impetuous Lusts, to carry on the *Apostasy*. I now cry to God, that Hee will direct mee (and his other Servants) in all my future Steps about this affayr, and preserve mee from all wrong ones; and inspire mee, with all the Courage, Patience, and Prudence, needful to carry mee thro' my *Testimonies*. [*eaten away*] unto Him, that is these Men, bee [*eaten away*]. Enterprise, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of our Churches, would show His Care of these His Churches by defeating the Designs that Satan may have in the Enterprise.

On the day following, at Noon in my Study, as I was laying this Request before the Lord, I thought,

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Colman.

<sup>2</sup> Published November 17, 1699, in a folio of three pages.

it was assured mee from Heaven that it should be granted.

One special Errand of my Prayers to Heaven on Saturday, was the Condiçon of my Father-in-Law, in his present Widow-hood.

One of my Sisters, is for diverse weeks bleeding to Death, and has a dead Infant within her. This day I cried unto the Lord for her; and behold, shee was wonderfully delivered this very day, beyond the reasonable Fears, of those that look'd upon her Deliverance from Death, next unto an Impossibility.

On the ensuing Thursday, I preached the Lecture, and then handled that Subject (from Rev. 2. 3.) *What are the Apprehensions, and what the Dispositions wherewith all the Churches are to consider Him, searching the Reins and the Hearts of the Children of Men:* Designing to have a right use made of the wonderful Providence, which had lately detected the wicked Preacher among us.<sup>1</sup>

23 d. 10 m. *Satureday.* The same occasions, that invited mee, to bee this Day fortnight engaged in the Exercises of a *secret Fast*, obliged mee to bee this Day labouring at the like Exercises.

And there was this Addition, to the Occasions of my being thus employed. *Several Ministers* in the Countrey here and there, are languishing under great Infirmities, and especially those of a *crazy Melancholy*. I that by a miracle of mercy, enjoy so much *Health*, and *Strength*, and *Serenity*, as to bee not unfitted for my *public Work*, altho' I am of such a *feeble Constitution*, have unspeakable Reason to pray for such as are more uneasily circumstanced.

31 d. 10 m. *Lords-Day.* Observing my Father, in Discourse with him Yesterday, to bee under some Discouragement, about the Accomplishment of the *Particular Faith*, which had seemed so often infused from Heaven into our

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *A Warning to the Flocks*, 54-79.

Minds, about his yett having an Opportunity to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in *England*; I did this Day at Noon, in my Study, lay that Matter before the Lord. And as I was concluding my Petitions about it, without any special Operation from Heaven upon my mind, and just ready to conclude, I should have none, my mind suddenly felt a strange and a strong Operation from Heaven upon it, which caused mee to break forth into Expressions of this Importance; *The Lord will do it, The Lord will do it, my Father shall be carried into England, and he shall there have a short, but a great Opportunity to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ; In a most wonderful Way, it shall bee brought about; And it shall at last appear, that the Faith which there has been concerning it, was the wonderful Work of Heaven; and the Lord shall have Revenues of Glory from it!*

About this Time, there were two special Services, which I endeavoured, for the Church of my Lord Jesus Christ.

An INDIAN PRIMER, was ordered for to bee composed and published. The Gentlemen that were to *translate* it, requested of *mee* to *compose* it. I did so; and with as much Artifice and Contrivance as I could, I interwove into it, such Things, as I thought it of most Consequence, for young persons to have their Minds tinged withal, and such Things also, as were more peculiarly agreeable to the Conditions and the Temptations of the *Indians*.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, considering what *Impostors* have sometimes come among us, pretending to bee *Ministers*, and unto what Hazards our unstable People expose themselves either of being seduced into damnable Heresies by such *Impostors* or of bringing the illustrious Ordinance of preaching the Gospel into loathsome Contempt, by suffering such *Impostors*

<sup>1</sup> "The Savoy-Confession of Faith, Engl[ish] on one side and Indian on the other, has been lately printed here; as also several Sermons of the Presidents [Increase Mather] have been transcribed into Indian, and printed, which I hope in God's time will have a very good Effect." *Swall to Sir William Ashurst*, May 3, 1700. *Letter Book*, I. 231.

to prostitute it, I composed a *Warning* unto the Churches, against these horrible Mischiefs. Into this *Warning*, I also inwrought some Admonition unto Ministers themselves, to frame *well-studied Sermons*; and a Præmonition unto the people, concerning the Mischiefs, that will ensue, from their crying up, *an unlearned Ministry*. Laying this *Instrument* before an Assembly of the neighbouring Ministers, they all sign'd it. And I added unto it, that it might come abroad with greater Efficacy, an *History of Nine several Impostors*, which had appeared in our Churches. But the last of these, being the Fellow, which in the last Summer so bewitch't this Town, to sett off the History of him, with the more Advantage, I drew it up, in the form of a large Letter, wherein also, I pursued some further Purposes of Service. This I annexed unto the History; and gave the whole unto the Printer; under the Title of, THE FLOCKS WARNED AGAINST WOLVES IN SHEEPS CLOATHING. And, behold the remarkable Fulfilment, of what I had foretold unto this man, that in him the Lord Jesus Christ *would make the Churches know that Hee searches the Reins and the Hearts!* The Lecture-Sermon, which I preached from these very Words, on the Detection of this Wretch, is added unto this little Book, under the Title, of SOMETHING TO BE KNOWN BY THE CHURCHES.<sup>1</sup>

I also wrote a large Letter unto the *Anabaptists*, advising them to repent of their Scandals in defending and employing the late Impostor, and assuring them, that [if] they did not, God would manifest yett more of His Displeasure against them.

5 d. 11 m. [January.] Satureday. I see *Satan* beginning a terrible Shake unto the Churches of *New England*; and the *Innovators*, that have sett up a *new Church* in *Boston*, (a new one indeed!) have made a *Day of Temptation* among us. The Men are ignorant, arrogant, obstinate, and full of

<sup>1</sup> Printed for the Booksellers, 1700, with the title *A Warning to the Flocks*.

Malice and Slander, and they fill the Land with *Lyes*, in the Misrepresenta<sup>o</sup>n whereof, I am a very singular Sufferer.<sup>1</sup>

Wherefore I sett apart this *Day* again, for *Prayer* in my *Study*: to cry mightily unto God.

I first besought of the Lord, that I might bee made very holy, watchful, humble, patient, and faithful, in this *Day of Temptation*, and that I might be preserved from doing any one Thing, which might be injurious to His holy Truths, and wayes, and Churches; a Thing, which I declared, I had rather *dy*, than *do!*

I sett myself, to consider, what Sins of mine, might contribute in one regard or other, to the Mischiefs in this *Day of Temptation*; and especially, my not being at Pains enough, to fortify the Churches throughout the Countrey, in evangelical Principles and Practices; and I desired the Pardon of them, thro' the great Sacrifice. I carried the Churches unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and beg'd of Him, to rescue them from the Spirit of *Apostasy*, that is breaking in upon them, and chain up the *evil Spirit*, that hath broke forth among us. I spred before the Lord, the Designs, and Actions of the *Innovators*, and requested of Him, that if the Thing which these Men are about, be displeasing to Him, His wonderful Providence, might interpose, and make all the Churches to be sensible of it.

I also cried unto the Lord, for happy Tidings from *England*, about my Composures, which I have sent thither to be published.

And I besought the Presence of the Lord with mee, in my whole Ministry, and all the Affayrs of it. But especially because I am going to preach largely upon the *Devices of Satan*, and I have by Experience found, that I have then eminently suffer'd the *Tempta<sup>o</sup>ns* of *Satan*, when I have been to preach on his *Tempta<sup>o</sup>ns*. I now thought it need-

<sup>1</sup> The story of the Brattle Street Church is told in Hill, *History of the Old South Church*, 1. 310.

ful in an extraordinary manner, to implore the Help of Heaven, that I may not only handle the *Matter wisely*, but also bee preserved [from th]e Devil and the Buffetings of Satan, (which I mu[st eaten out] I am doing of it.

19 d. 11 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day for *Prayer* with *Fasting*, before the Lord, on the same Occasions, that procured my last Engagement in such Devotions.

And inasmuch as I am now proceeding unto some signal *Testimonies*, against the *Innovations*, that are going to shake our Churches, I bewayled before the Lord, my Sins, that had exceedingly forfeited the high Favours, of being employ'd in any *Testimonies* for Him; and I cried unto the Lord, that Hee would please both to direct my *Testimonies*, and accept them; and to testify His Acceptance thereof, by making mee serviceable unto His Interests, and by giving mee Acceptance among His more faithful People; and by sending mee Tidings of His having accepted the Composures that I have sent unto *London*, for public Benefit, (which the Lord will do; *Hee will do it! Hee will do it!*)<sup>1</sup> and by filling mee with the Comforts and Graces of His Holy Spirit, so as to make up unto mee, all the Damage of the Reproaches that I must suffer from an *Apostate-Generation*.

In the Evening, I went and preach'd unto the Meeting, preparing for the *Lord's-Table*, as I use to do.

21 d. 11 m. *Lord's-day*. What signal Answer, have I received unto my *Prayers*, for the Restoration and Confirmation of my *Health!* I have now preach'd a Sermon, every day, for five Dayes together. One of them (yesterday) was to the Prisoners, and Pyrates on Jer. 17. 11. *Hee getts Riches and not by right; leaves them in the midst of his Dayes, and in his End shal be a Fool*. And these Labours, do not oversett mee: tho' indeed they afford one Reason, for my recording so little in these Memorials.

<sup>1</sup> "From Heaven Hee told mee so!" *Written in the margin.*

*Memorandum:* I am following the Lord, with hopeful Prayers and Cries, that the *Time of Temptation*, begun upon this place in the Business of the new Church may not prove a *Day of Temptation*, but only a short *Hour of Temptation*.

And now I have an Opportunity to observe a Matter the Issue whereof, will in a while, call for some further Observation.

The people of the new Church in Boston, who by their late Manifesto, so assaulted all the Churches of New England went on in an ill way, and in a worse Frame, and the Town was filled with Sin, and especially, with *Slanders*, (for *grievous Revolts must be managed with Slanders*,) wherein especially my Father and myself were Sufferers. Wee two, with many Prayers and Studies, and with humble Resignation of our Names unto the Lord, prepared a faithful *Antidote* for our Churches against the Infection of the Example, which wee fear'd this Company had given them; and wee putt it into the *Press*. But when the first Sheet was near composed at the *Press*, I stop'd it, with a Desire, to make one Attempt more, for the bringing of this People to Reason. I drew up a Proposal, and with another Minister carried it unto them; who at first rejected it, but afterward so far embrac'd it, as to promise, that they will the next Week, publickly recognize their *Covenant* with God, and one another, and therewithal declare their Adherence to the *Heads of Agreement*, of the *United Brethren in England*, and request the Communion of our Churches on *that Foundation*. A wonderful Joy fill'd the Hearts of our good People, far and near, that wee had obtained thus much from them. Our *Strife* seem'd now at an End; there was much Relenting in some of their Spirits, when they saw our Condescension, our Charity, our Compassion. Wee overlook'd all past Offences. Wee kept the public *Fast* with them, (on 31 d. 11 m. *Wednesday*) and my Father preached unto them,

on *following Peace with Holiness*, and I concluded with Prayer.<sup>1</sup>

Being in so sudden, and surprising a Manner delivered from the horrid Encumbrance and Vexation of our Strife, with these Neighbours, wee laid aside what was in the Press; resolving in a more comfortable, and I hope, effectual Way, to endeavour the Establish[ment of our] Churches, in their Principles of Ev[eaten away].

8 d. 12 m. [February.] Thursday. Considering that for Men, even, *good Men*, to *speak Evil* one of another, is the special Vice of this Place, I thought it would bee a very comprehensive and considerable Service, if I could give any notable Stroke, towards the Suppression of that Vice.

Wherefore, in the first Place, I renewed my own Resolutions, in the Strength of the Lord Jesus Christ, and His good Spirit of Grace.

First, that I will never speak *falsely* of any Man.

Secondly, that if I must speak what is *Evil*, of any man, it shall be under these Limitations, and Regulations.

I. I will keep a *Charity* for the Person of whom I speak wishing most heartily, that all *Good* might be spoken of him; and I will speak from *Charity* for those to whom I *speak*; always thinking when I *speak*, is what I *speak*, for the Good of the Hearers!

II. If I *speak* what is *Evil* of any Person, I will carefully watch over my Heart, that I don't speak it with Delight: I will ever manage it, with Brevity, and Aversion, as a very ungrateful Subject.

III. When I must speak what is *Evil* of any man, if I know of any Good, that can bee spoken of him, I will be sure to ballance the *Evil*, with the Mention of the *Good*.

IV. Before I *speak Evil* of a Man, I will consider, whether I should not first *speak* to him; and be it how it

<sup>1</sup> See the entries in Sewall, *Diary*, II. 2, and in Hill, I. 313.

will, I will ordinarily *speake* nothing, but what I could be content *he* were present at my speaking of it.

V. I will aggravate nothing, and when I *speake* of an *Evil*, not go to make it *worse* than it is.

Oh, my Lord Jesus Christ, I resign my Speech, unto the Possession and Management of thy Holy Spirit, that I may keep these Rules forever.

I cannot express the Satisfaction and Serenity of Soul, which I have already found in keeping them.

I now sett myself, to recommend these and such Things at the *Lecture*; but the extreme Coldness of the Season, hindred my dispatching of my Design in one Discourse.<sup>1</sup> I beleieve, this was of the Lord, that so, I may with a greater Enlargement, and a greater Assembly and a greater Efficacy, at some other time further proceed upon it. I am verily perswaded, the Lord will be remarkably present with mee in what I have to do.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sewall speaks of the cold season. "Febr. 6, 7, 8, were reputed to be the coldest days that have been of many years. Some say Brooks were frozen for carts to pass over them, so as has not been seen these Ten years." *Diary*, II. 5. He also tells of Cotton Mather's taking as his text on January 11, "White as the Snow of Salmon."

<sup>2</sup> Some leaves of this year's diary have been torn away.

1700

THE XXXVIII<sup>TH</sup> YEAR.

Nunquid non Tentatio Humana vita super Te.

Quonam meo fato p. c. fieri dicam, ut nemo his Annis Viginti Reip. Hostis fuerit, qui non Bellum eodem Tempore mihi quoque indixerit?

Cicer. Philippic Secund. [1. i.].

*Ab Amico Satis Adulatore.*

on

Cotton Mather.

For *Grace* and *Act* and an *Illustrious Fame*  
Who would not look from such an *Ominous Name*,  
Where *Two Great Names* their Sanctuary take,  
And in a *Third* combined, a *Greater* make!

Too gross Flattery for me to Transcribe; (tho' the Poetry be good. [He has struck out the four lines, but in such a manner as permits them to be easily read.]

THE XXXVIII<sup>TH</sup> YEAR OF MY AGE.

12 d. 12 m. 1699. *Monday*. *Geilerus* in an old Calender, where he had noted several Things, did upon his *Birth-day*, write that Motto, *Dies Calamitatis*. Altho' I have seen much *Calamity* in the world, yett I will not write the least Syllable, that shall complain of my *Birth* as a *Calamity*; for the precious Opportunities of glorifying the Lord Jesus Christ, whereto I see myself *born*, abundantly make amends for all my *Calamities*, and cause mee to rejoice that ever I was *born*.

The Compassion of Heaven, this Day consummates the *thirty-seventh* Year of my *Age*. I am not fond of keeping my Birth-day, lest I fall into a *Superstition*, and tho' I find some Exemples indeed for keeping such a Day, yett some of them were not the most encouraging.

However, I did this Day particularly address the Lord with Praises, for the Favours of the Year past and, with Prayers for the Pardon of the Sins in that Year and, for preserving, supplying, and supporting Mercy in the Year to come.

And the *Wednesday*, following I sett apart for *Prayer* with *Fasting*, to obtain with larger Supplications the *Pardon*, and the *Mercy*, which I had been seeking two Dayes before. On this Day likewise I visited a Meeting of the Faithful, to whom I preached a Sermon on those words, Luk. 13. 8. *Lord, lett it alone this Year also*.

I must, with some Sadness of Reflection observe it, that my Devotions of late have had such a Drowsiness upon them, as to make mee fear, lest some Afflictions be near mee, to rouse mee out of my drowsy Frame.

And, behold, my Fear comes to pass.

For, on Friday this week, my only and lovely Son, a Son given to mee in answer to many Prayers among the People of God, and a Son of much Observation and Expectation, was taken with *Convulsion-Fits*. The Lord now not only called mee, but also helped mee, to resign my Son unto Him. Nevertheless, that I might more effectually conform to the Dispensations of Heaven, when I saw an *Angel of Death*, with a *drawn Sword* thus over my Family, I thought it my Duty to betake myself unto more than ordinary Supplications. Wherefore, altho' I have already kept *one Day* of *Prayer* with *Fasting* this week, yett on *Saturday* I kept *another*. I then heartily and cheerfully gave away my Son, unto the Lord Jesus Christ, professing, that if the Child may not be a *Servant* of His, I was far from desiring

the Life of it; but, if the Child might serve Him exceedingly, I cry'd unto him, to speak for it, the Word, by which it might live. The *Convulsions* of the Child, follow'd it this Day, until a *seventh Fitt* had sorely shaken it. This caused mee, in my Study, *thrice* to repair unto the Prayer-hearing Lord, with this, as the special Errand, of the Addresses, (besides what I did in other Addresses,) *Father, if it may be, lett the Cup* (the funeral Cup for this my Son) *pass from mee; Yett not my Will, but thine be done.* Towards the Evening, the Convulsions left the Child.

25 d. 12 m. *Lords-Day.* If I had not a very *earthly Heart*, how much might I live in *Heaven*, while on *Earth!* Such are the Concerns of my Ministry, that this Afternoon, between one a Clock and seven, I address Heaven with *Prayers*, no less than *ten several Times.* First, there is my secret Prayer in my Study, relating to the Church of God, and the Coming and Kingdome of Christ, and the great Sabbatises, for which I sett apart some Time, every Lord's-Day-Noon. Then there is my secret Prayer, before my public Labour and relating to it. Then there is my Prayer before the Sermon in the Congregation. There follow, at the Baptism, two Prayers. Another Prayer is made with the Church, who stay to receive the Accounts of them that are Candidates for our Communion. Family-prayer, with Repitition is performed, when I come home. And secret Prayer. And in visiting two sick Persons, two Prayers more, are called for.

1700.

I am at this Time assaulted with some very particular Temptations. I, and *yett not I, but the Grace of God which was with mee*, have newly done a Service of some consequence to all our Churches, by publishing, *A Warning to the Flocks against Wolves in Sheeps Clothing.* The *Devices of Satan* whereby the Welfare of our churches, is exceed-

ingly threatned, are, I hope, effectually and eternally defeated, by this little Book, and the Holy Lord Jesus Christ, is glorified. Satan being exceedingly enraged at what I have done, stirs up a wonderful Storm of *Clamour* and *Slander* against mee, from a numerous Crue in this Town, which (tis astonishing!) are not able to bear the Detection of the Folly, they discovered in following one of the *Imposters*, and the remarkable Story of whom, I have laid before the Churches. And the Venome of that malignant Company, who have lately built a *new Church* in *Boston* disposes them to add unto the Storm of my present Persecution; for, it may bee, never had any men more of that Character of *grievous Revolters*, to bee *walking with Slanders*, than too many of that poor People have.<sup>1</sup>

When I *heard the Defaming of many*, I thought it my Duty, to humble myself before the Lord, with extraordinary Supplications. I endeavoured it, on

6 d. 1 m. [March.] *Wednesday*. On this Day, I laid before the Lord, the *Reproaches*, which I suffered, from abundance of impious People, for the Sake of my Faithfulness to His Churches and Interests.

I acknowledged myself to bee *viler* before Him, than any of my causeless and cruel Adversaries could make mee, when they *reviled* mee. And I gave exceeding Thanks unto Him, for His præserving mee, from the Unhappiness of being made obnoxious to their Malice, by any *real Blemish*, whereof if they could gett the least Notice, how wonderfully would they aggravate it!

I bewayled my many Miscarriages, for which the terrible Justice of God, might righteously and easily, make mee loathsome among all His people. And among the Rest,

<sup>1</sup> "31 d. 1 m. [March.] Elizabeth Ryal, desiring to join unto the New Church in this Town, this Church declared themselves discharged from the Obligations of the Covenant unto her." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

I confessed and bewayled, whatever Injuries, I may have done unto the Esteem of other Men.

I cried unto the Lord, that Hee would support mee under all the *Reproaches*, which are cast upon mee; And refresh mee with the Divine Consolations of a *Name written in Heaven*, and precious among the heavenly *Angels*: And prevent my falling into any Errors of Impatience, by which the Devil might gain any of His Designs upon mee. And assist mee to learn all those Holy Lessons, that I should fetch out of the exercises now upon mee.

I then did humbly committ *my Name* into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ; cheerfully declaring, *that if Hee had no Occasion for my Name, I had none for it myself*; and that if it were for His Honour, for *my Name* to be reproached, I did freely resign it. But I besought of the Lord, that for the Sake of the *Reproaches* which my Lord Jesus Christ underwent for mee, I might bee delivered from all *Reproaches*, that might be a Disadvantage unto mee, in my glorifying of *His Name*, which to do is indeed, *all my Salvaçon and all my Desire*.

I also forgave all them that reproached mee, praying that the Lord would forgive them.

And that I might the more agreeably exercise the *Graces*, whereto, I thought the Lord called mee, by the *Reproaches* now upon mee, I singled out many *Strokes*, in many *Psalms*, (especially the 22d, the 27th, the 31st, the 35th, the 57th, the 69th, the 109th, the 143d) which I kept singing unto the Lord, for a good Part of the Day. But my Faith rose not higher in any of these Devotions, than when singing the latter End of the 91st Psalm; and most of all that Clause, *Because that known my Name hath hee, I will sett him on high*.

Another thing, which brought mee, on my Knees this Day before the Lord, is, that my lovely and only *Son*, is again the last Night arrested with Convulsions, and the Life of the Infant is exceedingly in Danger.

This morning, the Child received almost a miraculous Deliverance from Choaking, by a Pin, which he suck'd out of the silver Nipple of his Bottel, tho' wee know not how it came there.

And when I was this Day (his Fitts being this Day, more violently than ever again returned upon him) resigning the Child unto the Lord, a strange Thing was from Heaven said unto mee: my Son shall yett live, and after this, my Faith was tried, by the Child's falling into more Convulsions: but the Lord sent help from Heaven against them.

But there was a further Petition, which I had this Day, to carry unto the Lord. It is represented unto mee, as if my *Opportunities to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ*, were like to bee much abridged and abated, if not almost wholly extinguished: that thro' the *Energy*, and *Subtilty of Satan*, Prejudices were like to prevail against mee, in the *apostatizing Generation*, unto such a Degree, as to take away almost all my Advantages of being serviceable: that whereas I had enjoy'd singular Advantages to do good, by the Way of the *Press* People were now prejudiced against mee for printing so many Books, and it will be necessary for mee to desist from the Printing of any more:

For this cause, I now cast myself prostrate on my Study-floor, with my sinful Mouth, in the Dust before the Lord. I adored the *Free-Grace*, that had been display'd, in granting such precious and matchless Opportunities of *glorifying the Lord Jesus Christ*, unto mee, that am on many Accounts the vilest Person in all *New England*. I bewayled the Sins which have attended mee, especially *Vain-glory*, in making use of my *Opportunities*. I confessed that it would be every way just, for Heaven to strip me of my *Opportunities*. But with *Tears and strong Cries*, I declared unto the Lord, that Hee knew, I had no Desire, no Delight, no Study comparable to that of *glorifying my Lord Jesus Christ*; I have chosen it as my very Heaven, and my *All*. I earnestly

besought Him, that this *Desire*, which His own Spirit had produced in mee, might not bee defeated, and that I might not bee rejected from serving Him, in such Wayes as I had already served Him. It was now told mee from Heaven, that the Lord will yett make a *great Use* of mee, and that I shall have *greater Opportunities* to *glorify my Lord Jesus Christ*, than ever I had.

16 d. 1 m. *Satureday*. This Day, I also sett apart for the Exercises of a secret Fast, before the Lord, on the same Occasions, that procured my being the last week so engaged.

In the close of the Day, after black Dejections, and sore Discouragements, I cried unto the Lord, that before I broke off, Hee would give mee some Token of His accepting mee. I did with bitter Anguish of Soul confess unto the Lord, that if I should not be left unto all sort of Sin, and Misery, and Confusion, and be made the Astonishment of all the Churches, and be thrown in the most horrible Torments of Hell after all, it would bee a very glorious, and marvellous Display of *sovereign Grace!* But how much more would the *Sovereignty* of *Divine Grace* be magnified, if such a Wretch as I am, one all over vile, should bee employ'd in eminent *Services* for the Lord Jesus Christ! Nevertheless, His Holy Spirit, had inclined mee, to make choice of *this*, as *all my Salvation, and all my Desire*. And now, it was again unto my weeping Soul assured from Heaven, that it shall not be denied unto mee.

Behold, how the Lord is mercifully confuting my Fears of being unserviceable.

Three young men, in our Neighbourhood, were drowned about this Time.<sup>1</sup> Observing the dreadful Judgments of God, on the young Men of *New England*, I preached a Sermon on this Occasion. The Sermon I give unto the Printers,

<sup>1</sup> Robert Cunable, William Salter and Thomas Comer were drowned, and James Tileston saved. The party went gunning in a canoe. Sewall, *Diary*, II. 9.

publish it, under the Title of, THINGS THAT YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD THINK UPON.<sup>1</sup> I am not without Hopes, that the Lord may make this little Book, more than a little serviceable.

Yea I understand already that my Hopes have not herein deceived mee.

Moreover, a Gentleman comes to mee, with a Desire, that I would write a Sheet upon the horrid Evil of debauching the *Indians*, by selling *Drink* unto them; a Crime committed by too many in the Countrey; a Crime fruitful in Wickedness and Confusion; I answered his Desire; and it is published under the Title of, *A Monitory and Hortatory Letter, unto those English, who debauch the Indians, by selling strong Drink unto them.* It seems, this Letter is like to do more good, that I at first imagined.<sup>2</sup>

3 d. 2 m. [April.] Wednesday. This Day I spent in the Duties of a secret THANKSGIVING. The Occasions, and the Exercises, of this Day, were the same, that I have had heretofore. Only the *peculiar Character* of the Exercises which I this Day performed, was this. I considered the various and marvellous ANSWERS of PRAYERS, with which the Favours of God unto mee, had been signaled. I adored the *Wisdom*, of God, in appointing PRAYER, to be the Method of obtaining and receiving His Favours, and the *Goodness* of God, in bestowing His Favours, as *Answers* unto *Prayer*. I bewayled before the Lord, the lamentable Defects of my own *Prayers*, both as to the *Frequency* of them, and as to the *Fervency* of them. I ascribed all the Successes of my *Prayers* wholly unto the *Mediation*, and *Intercession* of my Lord *Jesus Christ*. I gave Thanks unto the Holy Spirit, for teaching and helping mee to Pray: and in a special Manner, for the glorious and heavenly Operation of His, which had often produced the

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1700.

<sup>2</sup> No printer's name is attached to this publication.

Divine Raptures of a *particular Faith*, in my Mind, when I have been pouring out my Soul in *Prayer* before Him.

I proceeded then to consider, more particular

### ANSWERS of PRAYERS.

In my being preserved from *Sin*, and advanced in *Grace*.

In the undeserved Prolongation of my *Life*.

In the unexpected Preservation of my *Health*.

In my arriving to the Employment of a *Minister*.

In the miraculous Freedome of my *Speech*.

In the vast *Congregations*, whereto I have had Opportunities to dispense the *Gospel*.

In the remarkable *Assistences*, which I have enjoy'd from time to time, in my Ministrations.

In the Publication, and Acceptation which my many Writings have had, in both *Englands*.

In my extraordinary *Library*, and the Possession of several thousands of *Books*.

In a desireable *Consort*, given and spared, unto mee by the great Favour of the Lord.

In three *Daughters*, and now at last, a *Son*; all of them wonderfully recovered from the Jawes of Death.

In a grown and a great *Salary*, and a comfortable *Habitation*.

In a *Reputation*, preserved from ill Men, and embalmed with good Men.

In Mercies obtained for others; especially the *Sick*, and many *Captives*; and Salvations to the *Public*, in Cries to Heaven, for which, I have been often, even with a *particular Faith*, concerned.

By way of Return unto the Lord, for such *Answers of Prayers*, I resolved, with His Help, to bee more abundant, more diligent, and more enlarged, in my *Prayers*, than ever heretofore.

Moreover, in the Close of this Day the *Family-Meeting*

of the Gentlemen in our Neighbourhood, came to be in Course at my House. I did therefore, without imparting unto them in the least, my present Employment, make the Devotions of the Meeting subservient unto the Designs of *Thanksgiving* which I was upon. I composed, and then unto them I uttered a Discourse on Psal. 138. 3. *In the Day when I cried, thou didst answer mee:* handling that Case, *how a Christian should make a profitable Observation, of the Answers where with his Prayers are favoured!*

4 d. 2 m. Thursday. I will here enter an Observation.

I was many wayes tired, and spent, and faint; especially with torturing Pains in my *Head*, which have diverse Dayes molested mee; (such as I have so often found præludious unto my doing some special Service for my Lord Jesus Christ, that I cannot but have particular Thoughts about the Original of them.) I was this Day, to preach *Boston-Lecture*; but so extremely feeble, that I could not see, how I should gett comfortably through it.

But, thought I; the Work I am to do this Day, is in a very peculiar Manner, to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ: I am to discourse, on the illustrious Points, wherein the *Invitation of the Lord Jesus Christ*, is to be endeavoured by a Christian, and therein to draw a charming Picture of that Holy and Glorious Lord. Now, certainly, when I am to *praise*, and *serve* my Lord Jesus Christ, my Lord Jesus Christ will *help* mee, His poor Servant, who depend wholly upon Him. His *good Spirit*, who delights to see Him glorified will, come and help mee; His *good Angel* will with Delight, come, and help mee. And if I find it so, then I shall bee assured, that there is a *Christ*, and that it is a good *Thing* to serve Him.

On my knees in my Study, before my going abroad, I had a strange *Particular Faith* of this matter. And now, when I come to my public Services, I felt a wonderful Force from Heaven, strengthening, and assisting, and enlarging of mee.

I cannot express, the heavenly Efficacy, that I felt irradiating of mee, and inspiring a powerful Vigour into my Ministrations. The vast Assembly, which were come together, saw, that the Lord was with mee of a Truth.

Now, O my Soul, feed, feed upon these Experiences!

10 d. 2 m. My little and lovely and only Son is visited with a Return of *Convulsions*, which greatly threaten his Life. Diverse *Convulsions* do this Day particularly shake our Hopes of the Child's Continuance with us. But, as I was in the Afternoon, with Distress crying to the Lord for the Child, it was told mee from Heaven, *that the Child should yett live.*<sup>1</sup>

13 d. 2 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day for the Exercises of a secret Fast; Exercises indeed, very poorly managed. Nothing of any Consequence for mee to remember, occur'd in the Day. Only that, when I was at Prayer with my *Family*, I had my Heart strangely melted with Assurances, *that the Lord has great Blessings in store for my Family.*

14 d. 2 m. *Lord's-day*. At the Lord's Table, I found my Heart strangely transported, with a Meditation of this Importance.

I not only desire to make the *Imitation* of the Lord Jesus Christ, the very Character of my Life: but there is a further Article of Resemblance to Him, whereto I desire to aspire exceedingly. This Town and Land, has in it, many People, that are full of *Enmity*, to the *Interests* of the Lord Jesus Christ; and if Hee were on Earth again, as once He was, Hee would be persecuted with wonderful *Malignity* from vast Numbers of people, that now go by the Name of *Christians*. By my Faithfulness to the *Interests* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of Holiness, and of that *Holy Evangelical Church-state*, which He would have to be mentained, I cannot but expose myself, to a deal of raging and railing Malig-

<sup>1</sup> A line that follows is struck out.

nity. Well, if now I find myself *hated*, by them that *hate* the Lord Jesus Christ, or that *hate* what is *loved* by the Lord Jesus Christ, and if the *Reproaches of them, that would reproach Him, fall upon mee*, I will triumph in all such *Conformity* to Him, as being indeed good for me, and in these my *Sufferings*, as being really my *Honours*, and my Spirit will *gloriously rejoice in God my Saviour*.

When I was thus thinking, it was powerfully sett home upon my Heart, that I have in this Disposition, an *infallible Symptome*, that my Lord Jesus Christ will ere long fetch me away to *heavenly Glory*, and that He will *glorify* me with Himself world without End.

*Memorandum.* The Convulsions upon my little *Son* after some Respite, now return upon him. There seems very much Danger in the Case. But in my Prayers before the Lord, on this Occasion, I am assured from Heaven, that the Child shall outlive the Danger.

21 d. 2 m. *Lords-Day*. May I make an humble and thankful Mention of the Divine Favour to mee, the Chief of Sinners? Lett me be encouraged in contriving and labouring to do good continually. I shall at some Time or other see the Fruit of it.

This Day, my *Barber* was admitted into the Communion of my Church. But he gave the Church this Account, that his Attending upon mee, and my continual Dropping of Counsils, and Warnings, and Lessons upon him, was the great Means of his Conversion unto God.<sup>1</sup>

This Day, my *Servant*, was offered unto the Communion of my Church. But in the Account that she gave to the Church of her Conversion, she Declared her living in my Family to have been the Means of it, and that she should forever bless God for bringing her under my Roof.<sup>2</sup>

Others of my Servants formerly (and almost all that ever

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Sowter and Stephen Arnold were admitted on this day.

<sup>2</sup> Sara Winsley.

lived with me,) have joined unto my church, while they have lived with mee; and blessed God for their Living in my poor sinful Family.

25 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. This Day was kept as a public Fast, thro' the Province. I thought it was intimated unto me from Heaven this Day, *that a terrible Thing is going to be done upon England: And, that a wonderful Thing shall yett be done upon France.*

*Memorandum*. I feared my Opportunities to be serviceable, were by the *Devices of Satan*, brought unto an End. *This poor Man cried unto the Lord*, and the Lord from Heaven told mee, that He would yett employ me wonderfully, in service for Him. Well, I find my Opportunities, to grow so fast upon mee, that I have hardly Strength and Health enough, to answer them. For, besides my preaching to very great Congregations every Lord's-Day at Home, I am continually sollicitated, for the emitting of Composures to do good abroad. As I dispatch them, I may record something of them.

In this Place, I will only record, that a Gentleman comes to mee, with Desires, that I would write a pastoral Letter unto the *Indians*; apprehending, that it will be greatly considered among them: and he will be at the Expencc for its being translated and published. Accordingly, I composed an Address to the *Indians*, comprising the Sum of the *glorious Things* Reveled unto them in the Gospel; and the *Godly Things* which the Lord Jesus Christ expected from them; and the *Snares* and *Sins* whereof they were most in Danger: and the most pungent Considerations to awaken them unto a Sense of their Duty and Interest. It is entitled: AN EPISTLE UNTO THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS.<sup>1</sup>

And now, the next thing that I have to record, is, that I had no sooner finished, a Discourse for the Lecture, against

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1700. The title states it was written at the desire of "an English Magistrate."

the Sins of *Evil-Speaking*, but on the Evening before I preached it, I received a Letter from one in *Barmudaz*, desiring mee, to compose and publish a Discourse, upon the Sins of *Evil Speaking*, and very particularly on those Errors, which are contrary to the, *Yea, Yea, Nay, Nay*, required by our Lord Jesus Christ in our Communication; and informing mee, that he had sent Money to pay for the Impression. Surprized at this Providence, I gave my Discourse unto the Bookseller, adding another unto it, that so I might fully come at the *Sins of the Tongue*, with a Cure for them. Accordingly, it is published, under the Title of, *THE GOOD LINGUIST, or, Directions to avoid the Sins of the Tongue*. And the wonderful Work of God, in restoring, and enlarging of my once-fettered *Speech*, is a Consideration that much quickens mee, to do this Work, as an Expression of my Gratitude unto Him, who has *opened my Lips, that my Mouth may shew forth His Praise*.

*Memorandum.* The terrible *Convulsions*, which threaten the Life of my little, and lovely *Son*, do now grow to that Extremity, as to render his Cure little short of desperate: all Means, and Hopes do fail. But when I am carrying and resigning the Child unto the Lord, I have it strangely assured me from Heaven, *that the Child shall recover*. The good Angel of the Lord has told me so!

11 d. 3 m. [May.] *Saturday*. This Day I am with Affliction of Soul, thro' Fasting, at Prayer, in secret before the Lord.

The Blessing of Heaven, on my Family; and especially my little Son, who is Visited with some Return of his Illness; I this day obtained.

The Blessing of Heaven, on my Ministry; especially my Composures going to the Press, and my Sermon, at the next Election; I this Day also obtained.

I obtained likewise an Assurance from Heaven, that something shall befall the disorderly Society of Innovators

(now causing much Temptation and Iniquity in the Place,) that shall confirm these Churches in the right Wayes of the Lord.

Finally, prostrate on my Study-floor, in the Evening, I obtained Assurance of the Lord, that the Spirit of my Lord Jesus Christ, will yett marvellously fill mee, and I shall be employ'd in eminent Services for His glorious Name.

After I had written these Things, Matters fell out a little odly. Our Governour, the Earl of *Bellomont*, on the Monday following, proposed, that (tho' the Representatives of the Province, had at their last Session desired, that instead of a Sermon on the Day of the Anniversary Election, there might be only the usual weekly Lecture held on the day following, and preached by the Minister, to whom the Lecture fell in Course,) there might be a Sermon according to the ancient Custome at the Opening of the General Court, and that such a Minister, as hee then (upon a particular Fancy) named, might preach it. The few Counsellours then present, opposed it not; and so, the Secretary sent unto that Minister, to attend the Service expected. My Prayers and Thoughts about my Lecture on the Day after the Election, were now strangely putt by; (the Lecture itself, as well as the Preacher of it, being laid aside.) I wondred, what should be the meaning of this Thing. But retired immediately, and with cheerfulness resigned all my Opportunities of Glorifying my Lord Jesus Christ, into His glorious Hands; and requested of the Lord, that if He directed the Minister, who was desired, instead of mee, then to preach, for to answer the Desire, Hee would graciously and mightily assist that Minister, to bring more Honour unto my Lord Jesus Christ, than I should have done. I had then a secret Apprehension, that the Lord was only writing a Sentence of Death upon my Opportunity to serve Him, in the Presence and Audience of my whole Countrey, that it might arrive to me,

in the issue, with more significant Circumstances. Accordingly, it came to pass; the Minister applied unto, found himself unable to do, what was ask'd of Him; and the Governour applied himself unto mee; making His Excuses, that he was utterly ignorant of my having been [called] to preach on the Day after the Election, when his Curiosity, to hear one he had never heard, led him, to ask another to preach on the Day itself. Wherefore he now told mee, that Hee, and the *Council* must come to mee for it: Which they did. And I thereupon prepared a Discourse, to bespeak of my Countrey, our *heartly Praises* unto God, for His *matchless Favours* unto us.

*Memorandum.* About this Time, some of those who had been the scandalous Disciples and Abettors of that horrid *Impostor*, who went from hence the last Winter, did receive Letters from him in *London*: where, t'was thought, by many, he would have been so conceled, that wee should never have heard further from him. Hereupon, those bewitched Creatures, began a new Storm of Railing, and Raving against me, for my Scourging that Theef, out of the Temple. But I patiently committed the matter unto the Lord; entreating Him, that I might yett hear and see something, that should give yett more Confusion unto these my Adversaries.

25 d. 3 m. *Satureday.* I sett apart this Day, for *Prayer* with *Fasting* in my study; to obtain the Blessings of God on my *Ministry*, and *Family*: and particularly, to obtain His Presence with mee, in my Sermon the next Week, at the Opening of the Great and General Assembly. As also, to recomend unto the Divine Compassion, the Condition of the sick Ministers in the Countrey: especially, the holy and humble, Mr. *Neh. Hobart*.

Not forgetting my several special Temptaçons, which call for continual Cries to Heaven.

This Day, considering, that it might prove a great Ser-

vice unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and His faithful Ministers, and His Churches and Interests; I composed a Letter, which I directed unto the People, that Sin against, and Sin away the Gospel, by not supporting the worthy Preachers of the Gospel, as they ought to be supported. Herein, I not only expostulated the Case, of Peoples' Cheating and Starving their *Ministers* (which they horribly do,) with somewhat of Pungency, but I also with some Artifice, interwove Passages, that might render the Ministers themselves more deserving Persons, than, it may be, some of them are. I entituled it, A MONITORY LETTER *concerning the Maintainance of Able and Faithful Ministers*. And I gave it unto a Gentleman in my Neighbourhood, who is at the Charge of printing it, with particular Methods, to disperse it into all Parts of the Country.<sup>1</sup>

28 d. 3 m. Tuesday. I sett apart this Day, for solemn *Thanksgiving* unto the Lord in secret Places.

Especially, to glorify the Lord, for the precious Opportunities that the Lord hath given me to glorify Him. Nothing remarkable occur'd.

*Memorandum*. That vile Impostor, whose fascinated Followers have been my outrageous Enemies, and Revilers, always told us, that he had been brought up under one Mr. *John Earle*, the worthy Minister of *Gosporte*, and show'd us a Certificate sign'd as by that Minister. This Day, I receive diverse Letters from *England*, which detect that Impostor; and one especially from that Mr. *John Earle*, who denies that ever he knew a Man, that went by the Name of *Sam. May*; but then he adds, this Fellowes true Name, was, *Sam. Axel*; and he was a Brick-maker, and after detection in Immoralities, was gone out of *England*; and he left a Wife and Family in deplorable Circumstances there, (bringing it seems a whore with him hither, under the Name of a Wife!)

In receiving this Letter, I received a marvellous Answer

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1709.

of Prayer. The Arrival of it, was highly seasonable, and serviceable.

29 d. 3 m. *Wednesday*. After my prayers, and my Tears, and my raised Faith for it, prostrate on my Study-floor, I went forth; and preached unto His Excellency, the Council, and the Representatives, a Sermon, on the *Matchless Favours* of God unto my Countrey.

Afterwards on this Day, and the day following, I was instrumental, to do several Services, for the Safety and Welfare of the Churches, in the Assembly of Ministers now convened.

Moreover, having on the anniversary Day of our *Election*, bespoke the *heartly Praises* of my Countrey unto the Lord, for His *matchless Favours*, I besought the Lord, that Hee would manifest His Acceptance of my Desires to glorify Him, in this Essay, by making it accepted among His People, and bringing about such a Publication of it, that my Countrey may further consider it.

Immediately, the House of Representatives, voted me Thanks for my Sermon, and the Publication of it found Encouragement among them.

So I gave it unto the Bookseller. It is entituled, A PILLAR OF GRATITUDE. I appendiced unto it, an account of the Fate and great Success of the Gospel in the *East-Indies*.<sup>1</sup>

4 d. 4 m. [*June.*] *Tuesday*. Being sent by the Neighbouring Ministers, I went unto the House of Representatives, and made a Speech unto them, relating to the Methods of procuring a Settlement for the *Colledge* which is now languishing. I pen'd my Speech, before I spoke it, and giving the Clerk of the House, a Copy of it, when I had spoke it, it found much Acceptance, and was of no little Consequence.

8 d. 4 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day for *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, in my Study. Especially on two occasions.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1700. The day of election was May 29.

First, I this Day putt up my *Church-History*, and pen down Directions about the publishing of it. It is a work of near 300 sheets; and has lain by me, diverse Years, for want of a fitt Opportunity to send it. A Gentleman, just now sailing for *England*, undertakes the care of it; and by his Hand I send it for *London*.

O my Lord Jesus Christ, lett thy Good Angels accompany it!

Secondly, The General Assembly, have before them, the Case of the Colledge; upon which will turn or fall my Fathers Voyage to *England*. That has been a Point of Particular Faith, marvellously circumstanced.

Lord, Lord, give a good Issue to it.

12 d. 4 m. *Wednesday*. This Day, the Lord so strengthened mee, that I rode unto *Newtown*, about nine Miles off, and preached and pray'd, with a Flock, that kept a Fast, for the Recovery of their worthy Minister now sick, and I returned home in the Evening.

16 d. 4 m. *Lords-Day*. I am going to relate, one of the most astonishing Things, that ever befel me, in all the Time of my Pilgrimage.

*A Particular Faith*, hath been unaccountably produced, in my Father's Heart, and in my own, That God will carry him into *England*, and there give him a short, but great Opportunity, to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, before his Entrance into the heavenly Kingdome.

There appears no Possibility of my Fathers going thither, but in an Agency, to obtain a Charter for our Colledge. This Matter having been for several Years upon the very Point of being carried, in the General Assembly, hath strangely miscarried, when it hath come to the Birth. It is now again before the Assembly, in Circumstances, wherein, if it succeed not, it is never like to be revived and resumed any more. Sundry Times, many Times, when I have been lately spreading the Case before the Lord, with

a Faith triumphantly exercised on His Power, and Wisdome, and Goodness, I have had my Assurances, that my Father shall yett glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in *England*, renewed unto my Amazement.

But the Matter, in the Assembly being likely now to come unto nothing, I was this Day in extreme Distress of Spirit concerning it. My *Flesh* indeed would be on all Accounts imaginable against my Father's Removal from mee: It will doubtless plunge mee into ten thousand Inconveniencies. But my Faith on the other side, having been so supernaturally raised for it, the Thoughts of that's being wholly disappointed, were insupportable.

After I had finished all the other Duties of the Day, I did in my Distress, cast myself prostrate on my Study-floor before the Lord. There I acknowledged my own manifold and horrible Sinfulness, and my Worthiness by reason of that Sinfulness to be putt off with Delusions, and have a Serpent given to mee, when I ask'd and look'd for the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, I that am Dust, and Ashes, and worthy to be made so by Fire from Heaven, crav'd Leave to plead with Heaven, concerning the Matter of the *Particular Faith*, which had been wrought in my Mind, as I thought, by the Lord's own holy Operation. I pleaded, that my Lord Jesus Christ had invested me with His own glorious Righteousness, and was now making Intercession for me in the Holy of Holies; and because of His Interest there, I might approach to the most High God, with humble Boldness, as to a prayer-hearing Lord. I spred before Him the Consequences of Things; and the present Posture and Aspect of them; and having told the Lord, that I had alwayes taken a *particular Faith*, to be a Work of Heaven on the minds of the Faithful: but if it should prove a Deceit, in that remarkable Instance, which was now the Cause of my Agony, I should be cast into a most wonderful Confusion: I then beg'd of the Lord, that

if my *particular Faith* about my Father's Voyage to *England*, were not a Delusion, He would please to renew it upon mee.

All this while, my Heart had the Coldness of a Stone upon it, and the Straitness that is to be expected from the bare Exercise of Reason. But now all on the Sudden, I felt an inexpressible Force to fall on my Mind; an *Afflatus* that cannot be described in words; *none knowes it, but he that has it*; if an *Angel* from Heaven had spoken it articulately to me, the Communication would not have been more powerful and perceptible. It was told mee, that the Lord Jesus Christ, lov'd my Father, and lov'd me, and that Hee took Delight in us, as in two of His faithful Servants; and that Hee had not permitted us to be deceived in our *Particular Faith*; but that my Father should be carried into *England*, and there glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, before his passing into Glory and that there shall be illustrious Revenues of Praise to the Lord Jesus Christ, from our *Particular Faith* about this Concern; and that I shall also live to see it; and that a Sentence of *Death* shall be written on the Effect, and Success of our *Particular Faith*, but the Lord Jesus Christ, who *raises the Dead*, and is *the Resurrection and the Life*, shall give a new Life unto it; *Hee will do it, Hee will do it!*

Having left a Flood of Tears, fetch'd from me by these Rayes from the invisible World, on my study-floor, I rose and went unto my Chair. There I took up my Bible, and the first place that I opened, was at Act. 27. 23, 24, 25. *There stood by me the Angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve: saying, Fear not, thou must be brought before Cæsar: I beleeve God, that it shall be even as it was told mee.* A new Flood of Tears immediately gush'd from my flowing Eyes; and I broke out, into these Expressions; "What! Shall my Father yett appear before *Cæsar*? Has an Angel from Heaven told me so? And must I *beleeve*

what has been told mee! Well then; it shall be so; it shall be so!<sup>1</sup>

And now what shall I say. When the affayr of my Father's Agency after this, came to a turning Point in the Court, it strangely miscarried: All came to nothing! Some of our Tories, had so wrought upon the Governour, that tho' he had first moved this matter, and had given us also both Directions and Promises about it, yett he now (not without base unhandsomeness) deserted it. The Lt. Governour, who had formerly been for it, now (not without great Ebullitions of unaccountable Præjudice, and Ingratitude,) appeared with all the little Tricks, imaginable to confound it. It had, for all this, been carried, had not some of the Council been inconveniently call'd off, and absent. But now, the whole Affayr of the Colledge, was left unto the Management of the E. of *Bellomont*. So that all Expectation of a Voyage for my Father into *England* on any such Occasion, is utterly at an End.

What shall I make of this wonderful Matter? *Wait! Wait!*

There have been several Customes in my Life, which upon Reflection I find, I have not inserted, either at the Time when I first of all took them up, nor at any other Time. And yett it may be a little instructive to my Son, if I leave some Hint concerning some of them; which I may do as well in this Place, perhaps as in another, and bring in here, a small collection of *Paralipomena*, under the Head of *Methods of pressing after Piety*.

From my Youth, it has been my Frequent, my Daily practice, to make *occasional Reflections*, or, from Occasions which I have seen in Occurrences before me, to raise *Thoughts of Piety*, and these mostly by finding *Similitudes* to assist and excite such Thoughts in those *Occurrences*.

<sup>1</sup> Mather proposed to publish a sheet exhorting masters to labor for the conversion of their slaves, but he did not carry out his intention. Sewall, at this time, put forth his *Selling of Joseph, Diary*, II. 16.

These *occasional Reflections* do not only serve me very commonly, to carry on useful Conferences, made savoury with some little sort of Witt, when I am in Company; but they are also a delightful Entertainment unto me, when I am *alone*.

But at length, I saw, I had one Opportunity every Day for such *occasional Reflections*, as it might not be amiss for me, to oblige myself, rarely to lett pass me, without them.

I was once emptying the *Cistern of Nature*, and making *Water* at the Wall. At the same Time, there came a *Dog*, who did so too, before me. Thought I; "What mean, and vile Things are the Children of Men, in this mortal State! How much do our *natural Necessities* abase us, and place us in some regard, on the same Level with the very *Dogs!*"

My Thought proceeded. "Yett I will be a more noble Creature; and at the very Time, when my *natural Necessities* debase me into the Condition of the *Beast*, my *Spirit* shall (I say, *at that very Time!*) rise and soar, and fly up, towards the Employment of the *Angel.*"

Accordingly, I resolved, that it should be my ordinary Practice, whenever I step to answer the one or other *Necessity of Nature*, to make it an Opportunity of shaping in my Mind, some holy, noble, divine *Thought*; usually, by way of *occasional Reflection* on some sensible Object which I either then have before me, or have lately had so: a *Thought* that may leave upon my Spirit, some further *Tincture of Piety!*

And I have done according to this Resolution!

Be sure, the loathsome and filthy Nature of SIN, and the Method of Deliverance from it, must make an Article, in some Thousands of Thoughts, on these Occasions.

4 d. 5 m. [July.] Thursday. This Day, in a very great Assembly of Ministers, the Lord helped me, in a large Speech, to bear my *Testimony*, against the Attempts now afoot in the Countrey, to unhinge our Churches, and subvert and confound the Order for the Gospel in them.

On this Occasion, I saw, to my Sorrow, that there was hardly any but my Father, and myself, to appear with any Strength of Argument, or Fortitude, in Defence of our invaded *Churches*. Wherefore, I thought I must cry mightily unto the Lord, that He would mercifully direct me, and protect me, in all my feeble, but faithful, Endeavours to serve Him; and that He would particularly furnish me with *Patience*, to undergo all the Obloquy, whereto my Fidelity to His Interests may expose me, in an evil Generation, and præserve me from all the Devices of Satan ever to blast me with Reproaches, that may at all incapacitate me for eminent Serviceableness.

I also thought, that if it be the Purpose of Heaven, that the *Apostasy* shall go on, they that will vigorously and significantly stand in the Way of that *Apostasy*, may be in danger of a Stroke from the *Angel of Death*, that so a *Way may be made for the Anger of God*. But then, I resolved that I would not from this Consideration; abate of my Oppositions, to the sinful Degeneracy. No, I will oppose it, tho' it cost me my *Life!* Hereupon, the Lord sent into my Spirit a sweet Meditation, and Consolation, that my Life, which I am thus willing to venture, shall the rather be prolonged; and my *Name*, which I thus cast overboard, shall be the more precious in the Churches of the Lord.

However, I thought it my Duty and Interest, now to spread, my own Case, with that of the Churches, before the Lord, in extraordinary Supplications. And therefore,

6 d. 5 m. *Saturday*. I Sett apart this Day, for *Prayer* with *Fasting*, in my Study.

And on this Day, besides the other Matters of Prayer, I had this to insist upon; that my *Church-History* now upon the Waters, may be præsaved, prospered, published, accepted and serviceable among the Churches of the Lord.

In the following Week, a sore Trial came upon mee. The General Assembly now sitting, did with a wonderful

Impetuosity, demand my Father's Removal of his personal Residence to *Cambridge*, inasmuch as they now renewed their choice of him, for Præsident of the Colledge there.<sup>1</sup> He left the Determination of the Matter, to the Vote of our Church; and our Church, by their Vote, tho' they continued his Relation to us, yett they allowed his Removal from us. There was a Coincidence of many things, to incline the Church unto such a Vote; but the cheef was, the Ferment and the Tumult of the Countrey, about the State of the too-corrupted Colledge, and the Danger of its falling into ill Hands, if my Father should not have answered the Cry of the Publick about it.<sup>2</sup> And it was the Apprehension of his best Friends, that if my Father had now declined going to *Cambridge*, the Clamour and Reproach of all the Land against him, would have been insupportable; he must have died with Infamy.

My Father, upon the Vote of the Church, immediately, (the next week) hastens away, to reside at *Cambridge*. But I am now plunged into Distresses of two sorts.

<sup>1</sup> "July 10. Waited on Mr. Mather this day, at three in the Afternoon. I told him the Honor of Athanasius, *Maluit sedem quam Fidei syllabam mutare*: Worthies of N. E. left their Houses in England, and came hither where there were none to preserve Religion in its Purity. Put him in mind how often God had renewed his Call to this work which was to be consider'd. That [there] were 19 in the Council, and [he] had every vote." Sewall, *Diary*, II. 18.

<sup>2</sup> "11 d. 5 m. [July.] The Brethren of the Church, being assembled at the Desire of the Governor and the General Assembly, and Messengers from both Houses in the Assembly coming to them with a motion, that they would consent unto the removal of their Teacher's Residence to the Colledge in Cambridge;

"The ensuing Vote was passed.

"Being under the sense of the great Benefit we have long enjoy'd by the Labours of our Rev'd Pastor, Mr. Increase Mather, among us, it must needs be unreasonable and impossible for us, to consent that his Relation to us, and our enjoyment of him and them should cease.

"Nevertheless, the Respect we have to the Desire and Welfare of the publick, does compel us to consent, that our said Pastor may so remove his personal Residence to the Colledge at Cambridge, as may be consistent with the continuance of his Relation to us, and his Visits of us with his publick Administrations, as often as his Health and Strength may allow it." *Colton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

First, the strangely melancholy, and disconsolate, Condition of mind, which my Father has carried with him to Cambridge, (the place, which of all under Heaven, was most abominable to him,) fills me with Fear, what may be the Event. If he would be cheerful, all would be easy; but his Spirit is prodigiously unfram'd, unhing'd, and broken, and if the Lord be not very merciful to Him, the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ will suffer more Dishonour from his Uneasiness, than I am willing to see. Lord, rate off, and Chain up the Tempter, that falls upon my poor Father with such Molestations.

Secondly. I am now left alone, in the Care of a vast Congregation, the largest in all these Parts of the World. I am afraid, lest now they grow foolish, and froward, and lest the Devices of Satan may some way or other prevail to scatter them, or lest some Distemper arise among them. And, I am feeble; and in this Town, I have many Enemies; indeed, all the Enemies of the evangelical Interests, are mine. I need a more than ordinary Prudence, and Patience; and the Defence of Heaven.

On these distressing Occasions, I sett apart,  
20 d. 5 m. *Satureday*. for Prayer, with Fasting, in my Study.

As also, that I might again solemnly commit into the Hands of my Lord Jesus Christ, my *Church-History*.

Moreover, having seriously considered, how useful it might be, especially to some sorts of People, and wanting a little Book, to leave in the Families of my Neighbours, where I make my pastoral Visits, I was willing to give the Publick, a brief Discourse, demonstrating to *Reason*, the Truth of the *Christian Religion*, and how *reasonable* a thing tis, to conform unto the Præcepts of it, and what worse than *bruitish Folly* is discovered in Sinning against those Præcepts. Accordingly I gave such a Discourse unto the Bookseller, under the Title of, REASONABLE RELIGION;

resolving to disperse the Books where I come, at least after the rate of two *per* Week.<sup>1</sup>

To ask a Blessing on what I am sending to the Press, (especially, my *Church-History*, gone to *England!*) and on such Occasions as caused me to be this day fortnight before the Lord, I did, on

3 d. 6 m. [*August.*] *Saturday*. Cry to the Lord with Fasting and Prayer, in my Study.

9 d. 6 m. *Friday*. What, what shall I make, of a Thing which this day befel me? God is chastising this poor Land, with a burning *Drought*: if it proceed a very few Dayes more, we cannot escape the *terrible Famine*. I call'd for public *Fasting* and *Prayer* the last Week; but, alas, thro' the Indisposition of one old Minister thereto, it could not be attended. This Week, I find the Heat, and my Slothe, prevail so far upon me, that I also do not attend what I ought. But I resolved, that I would sett apart this Day for *Fasting* and *Prayer*, peculiarly on that Occasion. And when I was this Day pouring out my Supplications before the Lord, I humbly pleaded with Him, that He would, thro' His Christ, accept me, as an *Intercessor* for His Churches in this Wilderness, inasmuch as I had many wayes *appeared* for the *Defending* and *Preserving* of His evangelical Interests in these Churches and *suffered* a world of Obloquy, Calumny, and *Malignity* from an evil World for my doing so. I humbly begged of Him, that He would permitt me to *intercede*, for the Deliverance of His Flocks, from the *Indignation of not being rained upon*, inasmuch as I had, especially of late, born a *Testimony* to the Countrey, against that Sin of *Ingratitude* and *Dishonesty* towards their Ministers, which exposed them to this *Indignation*. I cried unto Him, that he would give me a *Token for Good*: not without Hopes, that my Cries were heard. Now, behold the Issue! The

<sup>1</sup> It was printed by T. Green for B. Eliot, 1700, and reprinted in London, in 1713, with a preface by Dr. Daniel Williams.

Forenoon, afforded as little Prospect of *Rain*, as perhaps ever was. But at Noon the Clouds gathered; and the Afternoon was all spent in sweet gentle, soaking *Showers*, which were a plentiful Releef to our languishing and perishing Fields. *Quære*; What use now, should I make of this Experience? For *better*, and far more holy, fruitful, useful, and prayerful Christians than I, were elsewhere praying this Day before the Lord, as well as I. And yett it is not amiss for me, humbly to receive the *Consolations of God*.<sup>1</sup>

After this, the Lord went on still to employ me, and comfort me. The *Drought* renewing, the Lecture of *Boston*, was turn'd into a *Fast*; and the Minister that should then have preached, asked me to take his Turn. Herein I had an Opportunity not only to preach unto a vast Assembly,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bradford, *History* (Deane), 141 n.

"18 d. 6 m. [*August*.] This Day the Church had uncomfortable Occasion to pass the ensuing Vote.

"Whereas it appears, that *Henry Dawson* has been guilty of scandalous Drunkenness, accompanied with strong and strange Impoenitency, and has refused this Day to attend upon the Church, when it was demanded of him; it shall be signified unto him, that if he do not in a month's Time attend the Church, with Expressions of Submission and Repentance, the Church will proceed in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ to pass the highest Censure upon him.

"This vote was also then passed. Whereas Mr. *William Pain* hath withdrawn from the Communion of this Church, and asked afterwards a Recommendation to the New Church in this Town, tho' the Church cannot approve the manner of his withdrawing from the Society wherewith he was in Covenant, yett the Church is alwayes willing to accommodate the Desires of those, who judge it for their Edification, to remove unto any other Church of the Lord Jesus Christ: And do declare themselves discharged from the obligations of the Covenant, wherein the said Mr. *William Pain* stood related unto us.

"25 d. 6 m. This Day *Henry Dawson* appeared before the Church, expressing Sorrow, both for his Drunkenness and for the Obstinacy and Rebellion against the Church, which he show'd in his not appearing a week ago.

"But it being evident, that he had aggravated his crimes by going to extenuate them with Shuffling and lying Evasions, and that he had indulged himself in too much of a Course of excessive Drinking, and it being also generally complained that Idleness and Company-keeping and Promise-breaking, and evil-speaking, had been too much the Character of his Conversation, the Church laid him under the Censure of an *Admonition*, which the Pastor now dispensed unto him." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

beyond what would have been on another Opportunity, but also to speak such Things, as else I should never have spoken unto so many People. I enjoy'd a special Presence of the Lord with me, in the Service of the Day: and on the Day following I saw an Answer. Another most encouraging Return of Prayers we had, in most plentiful *Showers*, for part of the day, and all of the Night ensuing.

Moreover, having preached a Sermon, in my Course on the eleventh Chapter to the *Hebrewes*, upon the Grace dispensed unto *Rahab the Harlot*, the Sermon was desired by the Hearers; and I gave it unto some of them, who published it. The Title of it, is, GRACE TRIUMPHANT.

30 d. 6 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for Cries unto the Lord; especially on such Matters of Humiliation and Supplication, as have caused me, to be often thus of late employ'd.

But very particularly, that I may obtain the manifold Smiles of Heaven, upon a Journey unto the Northward, which I have the next week before me.

2 d. 7 m. [*September.*] *Munday*. This Day, I travelled unto *Salem*; attended with two young Gentlemen, who kindly offered, as my Sons, to wait upon me. On the Day following, I travelled unto *Ipswich*, where the Ministers of that Vicinity being then convened, I had an Opportunity to do several Services among them. On the *Thursday*, I preached the Lecture at *Ipswich*, to a very great Assembly with a very great Assistance. On *Friday* I return'd unto *Salem*. On the *Lord's-day*, I preached both parts of the Day at *Salem*, to extraordinary Auditories. On *Monday* I returned Home. In this Journey (even beyond what in any former one, that I can remember) I have had so much Comfort, and have done so much Service, thro' the good Hand of God upon me, that I have cause to be encouraged forever, in praying over a Journey before I undertake it.

Moreover, Observing how powerfully the *Devices of*

*Satan* are operating, to bring on *Apostasies* and *Innovations* upon our Churches; and particularly, a Minister of some Note in the Churches for his Piety, having published a Book of wretched *Novelties*,<sup>1</sup> which, tho' it be offensive to the generality of good Men, yett is entertain'd with Gladness by a carnal, giddy, rising Generation: I thought it my Duty, to defend the Churches, from these unhappy Attempts against them. Wherefore, I wrote a Discourse, entituled, A DEFENCE OF EVANGELICAL CHURCHES; whereto my Father joined with me, in setting his Name.

And because one of the impious Opinions, advanced by the *New-Modellers* of our Churches, who most unjustly call themselves *Presbyterians*, is, that Persons *who know themselves ungodly*, yett may and should come to the *Lord's-Table*, I adjoin a savoury little Discourse, of Mr. *Quick*, a Reverend *Presbyterian* in *London*, about *A Claim to the Sacrament*, as well to confute our pretended *Presbyterians*, as to promote practical Godliness. Now, to make all the more effectual, I did in my Journey to *Salem* and *Ipswich*, obtain the Hands, of many elderly Ministers, in the County of *Essex*, to approve, and attest my Undertaking. So I gave the Book unto the Bookseller.<sup>2</sup>

15 d. 7 m. *Lord's-Day*. This Day among other Irradiations from Heaven upon me, I had my Heart strangely melted in my public Prayer, before the Sermon, (whereat a great Congregation was present,) with a strange and strong Assurance, which I then expressed, that whereas the Religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, thro' the Power and Malice of its Enemies, and the evil Dispositions of its Professors, is in

<sup>1</sup> The mention of Colman on p. 377, *infra*, would seem to point to a volume by him, but none can be identified as answering this description. It is more likely to have been Solomon Stoddard's *Doctrine of Instituted Churches*. Printed in 1700, in London, by Ralph Smith. See p. 384, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> John Quick's *The Young Man's Claim unto the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper*, in a second impression, with the minister's attestation and a defence of the churches of New England, was printed in this year by B. Green and J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips.

extreme Hazards, throughout *Europe*, the Lord is *going to do an amazing thing for the Preservation of it.*

After I had thus written down this Thing, there did on the day following arrive an Article of Tidings from *England*, which I received with Astonishment, as containing (I believe) in the Bowels of it, the Accomplishment of all that my Faith could have Expected. This was the Death of the D. of *Glocester*, the last Branch of the Family of the *Stuarts*, and the great Hope, that the Enemies of the Reformation had their dependence upon.<sup>1</sup>

Heaven having dealt most familiarly and favourably with me, I must expect some notable Buffeting from *Satan*, either in Reproach, or in Sickness, or in Darkness.

It is a Time, wherein Funerals are daily celebrated and multiplied among us. Fevers with Fluxes do carry off many of our Neighbours. My Visits of the sick, do extremely engross my Time, and threaten my Health. I thought, it would be a Thing many wayes profitable to the Town, if I would preach a Sermon at the Lecture, on that Case, *What should be the Carriage of a Christian at a Funeral?* I did so, (on 19 d. 7 m. from Eccl. 12. 5.) and the Lord made my Labours acceptable. But before I slept, I had Cause to fear, whether it would not prove my own *Funeral-Sermon*. I was that Evening taken very ill. My Blood, contracting perhaps a Contagion from the miserable Chambers of the Sick, which I had so often visited, was cast into somewhat of a Feavour. My Spirits were strangely languishing; and I was hardly able to do any Thing, but some such Thing as to read a little Book, *De Satana Colaphizante*, which I received from *Holland*, the day after I was taken sick. On the Lord's-day I was confined. When my Feaver was conquered with the use of *Antimonium Diaphoreticum*, I continued under much Affliction, by a *Tumour* in my right *Cheek*; which

<sup>1</sup> William (1689-1700), son of Princess Anne (daughter of James II) and Prince George of Denmark, later Duke of Cumberland.

broke not until the Friday following. Then I had Ease; and composed a Sermon, on Matt. 9. 12. *The whole have no need of a Physician, but they that are sick.* I was not able to humble myself with Prayer and Fasting. But in Prayer I enjoy'd gracious Illapses from Heaven. And I feel my Soul filled with lively Resolutions, to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, more than ever heretofore. On the Lord's-day following, I enjoy'd my Father's Help, in the Administration of the Eucharist; and I did myself preach in the Afternoon.

But behold, how it pleases my Good Lord, still to order it, that nothing shall befall me, but what shall be serviceable unto His Interests! The Sermon, which I preached on my going abroad, proved so awakening and acceptable, unto some of my Neighbours, that they asked me for a Copy of it. I gave it unto them, and it is immediately published, under the Title of, *THE GREAT PHYSICIAN.*

5 d. 8 m. [October.] *Saturday.* My charming little Daughter *Nanny*, was yesterday taken with a violent, and a threatening Feavour, which began with a terrible Convulsion, whereof the Spectators feared that she never would recover.

Seeing the *Angel of Death*, to stand thus, with a drawn Sword, over my Family, I sett apart this Day, for Prayer, with Fasting, on that Occasion. When I was resigning the Child unto the Lord, and professing that if shee might not live to be a Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, I did not ask for her Life, I received an astonishing Assurance from Heaven, *that the Child should recover.*

Moreover, the Concern of my *Church-History*, that it may be *published* and *accepted* among the *Churches* of the Lord, and that I may not be so exceeding *unhappy*, as to lose the vast Pains I have taken in composing it, lies at this Time very much upon my Heart. I carry this Concern unto the Lord, with my daily Cries; and on this day I particularly do so. I implore that my *Work* may be *sprinkled with the*

*Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that so the Lord may make use of it, for the advantage of His evangelical Interests, which I have therein, consulted, thro' His Assistance, with a great Variety of exquisite, and curious Contrivance. I *submit* unto the *just* and *wise* Will of Heaven, if the Lord will make no use of these my poor Labours, among His People; for He knowes what will do *most Good*, and I am not worthy to do *any Good*. My distressed Mind keeps in *Agonies* before the Lord, pleading Abundance of Things before Him, with the Exercise of such Graces, as are proper on this Occasion. This I do, until I think, at last, it is told me from Heaven, that my *Church-History* shall be made serviceable unto the Churches of the Lord.

8 d. 8 m. *Tuesday*. This Day, I spend with the South-Church, in this Town, praying and Fasting for the Life of their sick Minister.<sup>1</sup>

*Memorandum*. The Lord this Week mercifully grants a Recovery to my sick Daughter; yea, and a more speedy One, than the Child has had, from her two such Feavours, in the two former Years. Thus has this Child, been strangely several Times given me from the Dead!

My Son also is recovered of his Fitts, diverse Months ago, and more than so, is become an healthy and an hearty Child.

16 d. 8 m. *Wednesday*. This Day I mett with an odd Experiment! I have indeed often mett with Things not unlike to this; but partly thro' Slothfulness, and partly thro' Business, I have not *recorded* them, as I should have done, when I *observed* them.

I was this Afternoon making my *pastoral Visits* unto the Families in my Neighbourhood; a Service wherein I enjoy a strange Presence and Conduct of Heaven, but go thro'

<sup>1</sup> The fast was held at the New Meeting house, for the health of Dr. Willard. Mather prayed. "Pretty considerable congregation, it being so sudden, and first intended in private." Sewall, *Diary*, II. 23.

very spending Labour. In these Visits, after my Discourses, I left Books in each of the Families: and *four Books* had I thus given away this Afternoon. A Thought came into my mind; *Why should I putt myself to this Expence? Perhaps I overdo: no other Minister in the Land would so do: Perhaps it would not be amiss for me, to forbear this expensive Way of serving my Flock!* I check'd this Thought: And I had immediately an Impulse upon my mind, that I should quickly see something, to encourage my doing what I do, and to testify that God accepts it. Well; passing along the Street, a sudden Inclination took me, to step into an House of a Gentlewoman, who had been a long time in a disconsolate Widowhood; I thought it would be *pure Religion* to visit her. I did so; and she told mee, that she had a Parcel of Books, which once belong'd unto the Library of our famous old Mr. *Chancey*;<sup>1</sup> and if I would please to take them, she should count herself highly gratified, in their being so well bestowed. I singled out, about *forty Books*, and some of them large Ones, which were now added unto my Library, that has already between two and three thousand in it, and several of them, will be greatly useful to me, in my Design of writing *Illustrations* upon the divine Oracles. Behold how the Lord smiles upon me!

24 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study. Besides the other Occasions for my keeping this Day, which were the same that have obliged me thus to keep some of those, that I have already mentioned, I was especially now concerned for my Consort. She has in some former Years been terribly sometimes visited her with a sore Throat, and such Tumour, and such Dolour and such Danger of Choaking, and such Exhausting of her Strength with it, as is not common. She is this week languishing under that Malady, until it is very near too

<sup>1</sup> Charles Chauncy (1592-1672), of Scituate, and president of Harvard College, 1654-1672.

hard for her. Wherefore I sett myself this Day to cry unto the Lord, on her behalf. And behold! I serve a Good Lord, who will deny me nothing. On this very Day, the Tide of the Distemper turned with her, and she immediately and comfortably recovered.

About this Time, our Booksellers reprinting the Excellent *Janeways Token for Children*,<sup>1</sup> I was willing to charm the Children of *New England* unto the Fear of God, with the Exemples of some *Children* that were exemplary for it, in this Countrey, and being furnished with six or seven remarkable Narratives, I putt them into shape, and gave the little Book unto the Booksellers. Tis Entituled, A TOKEN FOR THE CHILDREN OF NEW ENGLAND.<sup>2</sup>

28 d. 8 m. Monday. This Evening, my Family received an extraordinary Deliverance. My lovely Daughter *Nibby*, was alone, and while she was thus alone, the Candle some how sett her Head-gear on a light Fire. The Child was neither able to help herself, nor to cry out for Help; the Flame consumed all before it and was just come as far as her Head. In one Quarter of a Minute more, the Child had been destroy'd; but a Person accidentally then passing by the Window, just in the Nick of Time, saw thro' the Window an unusual Blaze; and running in most happily, not only was the Child's Life saved, but also she gott no manner of Hurt.

What shall I render to the Lord, for such a wonderful Salvation? Truly, I will study and contrive some special Return of Gratitude, unto the Saviour of my Child.

About this Time, I was desired by one of our Judges, to entertain our Churches, with an historical Account of the *Greek Churches*; the Oppressions and Corruptions under which they are languishing; and the astonishing Dispen-

<sup>1</sup> Issued in two parts, the first for N. Boone, and the second for Benjamin Eliot, by T. Green. James Janeway (1636?-1674) was a non-conformist divine in London. His *Token* "still enjoys a reputation."

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Timothy Green for B. Eliot, 1700.

sations of Heaven towards them. The Composure cost me some Study, but I foresaw an Opportunity therein, to bespeak the more lively Prayers of Good Men, for those miserable *Churches*, and caution our own *Churches* against a Degeneracy into their woful Circumstances, and glorify the Justice, the Power, the Wisdome, and the Truth of the Lord Jesus Christ, in His Dispensations, towards *Churches* that have offended Him. Accordingly, I composed the Book under this Title, AMERICAN TEARS UPON THE RUINES OF THE GREEK CHURCHES: and my Honourable Friend, is at the Charge of publishing it.

Moreover, a very charming Relation, of Conversion made by a Jew, one *Shalome Ben Shalomoh*, at his joining lately to a Congregational Church in *London*, falling into our Hands, I foresaw, many Advantages to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, by the Reprinting of it. Wherefore composing a præface to make the Transition agreeable, I procured this to be added, as an Appendix to the Book of the *Greek Churches*.<sup>1</sup>

And now also, having lately preached a Sermon, unto one of our *Young-mens Meetings*, on the Evening after the other Services of the *Lords-day* were ended; a Sermon about, and against the Evil of *Apostasy from Good Beginnings in Religion*; the young Men, were so moved with what they heard, that they ask'd me for a Copy of my Sermon, resolving to publish it. It was on Heb. 10. 39. Accordingly I gave it unto them; and I entituled it, THE YOUNG MANS MONITOR.<sup>2</sup>

15 d. 9 m. [November.] *Wednesday*. It is a Time of much Affliction in the Town, by malignant Colds, and Coughs, which are become so epidemical that there is hardly a Family free from sore Inconvenience by them.<sup>3</sup> I am creepled with

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1701, and sold by Samuel Sewall, Jr. The judge was probably Samuel Sewall.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1700.

<sup>3</sup> Sewall, *Diary*, II. 25, records a number of deaths.

an afflictive share in this common Calamity; yet not so, as to be wholly taken off my public Services. But in my Family, we are almost all sick; especially my Daughter *Katy*, who is arrested with a very violent Feavour.

On this Occasion, I sett myself this Day, to observe the Duties of a *Fast* in secret before the Lord. And the Lord, immediately gave an Answer, by an unexpected Removal of the Feaver, from the sick Child; and in the Abatement of the Illness on the rest of us.

But this was not all the Occasion of my being thus before the Lord. Some Years ago, a very wicked Sort of a *Sad-ducee* in this Town, raking together a crue of Libels, which he had written at several Times, (especially relating to the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, which have been among us) wherein I am the cheef Butt of his Malice, (tho' many other better Servants of the Lord, are also most maliciously abused by him:) he sent this vile Volume to *London*, to be published. Now, tho' I had often, and often cried unto the Lord, that the Cup, of this Man's abominable Bundle of Lies, written on purpose, with a Quil under a special Energy and Management of Satan, to damnify my precious Opportunities of Glorifying my Lord Jesus Christ, *might pass from me*; Yett, in this point, the Lord has denied my Request: the Book is printed, and the Impression is this week arrived here. The Books, that I have sent over into *England*, with a Design to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, are not published, but strangely Delayed; and the Books, that are sent over to vilify me, and render me incapable to Glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, these are published.<sup>1</sup>

I sett myself to humble myself before the Lord under these humbling, and wonderous Dispensations, and obtain the Pardon of my Sins, that have rendred me worthy of such Dispensations. I also sett myself, to beseech the Lord, that He would assist me, with His Grace, to carry it

<sup>1</sup> Robert Calef was the "Sadducee."

prudently and patiently, and not give way to any Distemper, under the Buffets, which are now likely to be given unto me, but imitate and represent the Gentleness of my Saviour.

And I resigned the whole Matter unto the Lord, praying that my Opportunities to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, might not be prejudiced.

Other Supplications, proper on this Occasion, I carri'd before the Lord. And a sweet Calm was produced in my Mind. I am assured, there will fall out a remarkable Thing.

21 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. This was a publick *Day of Thanksgiving*, throughout the Province. Among other Things, which I did, and thought, in the Exercises of the Day, I took up this *Resolution*.

That for the Future, my *Evening-Prayers* both in my Family, and in my Study, every day, shall be mostly made up of *Thanksgiving*. It may perhaps be singularly acceptable to Heaven, and profitable to myself, if I make my *evening Sacrifices* for the Time to come, to have [a] more elevated Note of *Thanksgiving* upon them, and consist mainly in *Praising* and *Blessing* of God.

I have an Opportunity, here to insert a remarkable Passage, which fell out, about this Time.

There was an old Man, (called, *Ferdinando Turyl*) scarce known to me, or but very little in my Knowledge.

On a Satureday-night (28 d. 7 m.) I was very strongly accosted in my Sleep, with a Dream, of this Importance. That this old Man was brought into my Sight, and that it was (I know not how) said unto me, *take Notice of this old man, speak to him, do for him!* On the Day following, I saw the old Man, at our public Sermons, very attentive; (where I suppose he had rarely attended.) On the Day after this, I mett the old Man in the Street, and I lett fall some such Words as these unto him; *How d' ye do, Old Man! I am glad for to see you still in this World; I pray God, præ-*

*pare you for another! I suppose, it won't be long before you are called away; Can I do you no Service!* And so I turned from him. On the Day after *that*, the old Man came to me, at my House: and I then instructed him, how to præpare for Death; and I gave him a little *Book*, (of *Grace Triumphant*,) further to assist him in it: adding a Peece of Money to encourage him. Afterwards, he came to me several Times; but in about seven Weeks, after our first Interview, he dyed suddenly. Going to his Funeral, I was told, (from some who did not understand, how much I had been concerned for him,) and afterwards, I had it more fully reported unto me, from the People of the House, where the old Man lived, that he had been a poor carnal sorry Old man, until near seven Weeks, before he dyed; but in his last six or seven Weeks, they had observed a wonderful Change upon him; he spent his whole Time in praying and reading, and the little Book (of, *Grace Triumphant*,) was his continual Companion Day and Night; they never saw a man so altered; and they are verily perswaded he dyed a *regenerate Man*.

Truly, I have several Times observed, that God hath strangely stirred up my Heart sometimes to visit Persons, that were Strangers to me, and employ very particular Methods to excite and assist their giving themselves up to Him, in His Covenant. And they have presently after dyed with great Symptomes of Regeneration upon them.

4 d. 10 m. [*December.*] *Wednesday*. My pious Neighbours, are so provoked, at the diabolical Wickedness, of the Man, who has published a Volumn of Libels against my Father and myself, that they sett apart whole *Dayes of Prayer*, to complain unto God against him; and this Day particularly.

Wherefore I also sett apart this Day for Prayer in my Study, (but in the Afternoon, I went and pray'd and preach'd with my Neighbours;) on that Occasion.

I humbled myself before the Lord, and confessed and

bewayled my Sins, which gave a Triumph unto His Justice, in the humbling Dispensation, which was now upon mee; and I cried unto Him, that I might be supported under it, and it might be sanctified unto me; and that my precious Opportunities to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, might be preserved. So I left the Matter with the Lord.

My Consort also now being near her Time, I carried unto the Lord, her Condition, that all the Circumstances of it might be ordered in very Faithfulness. I beleeve I am heard in this Matter.

11 *d. 10 m. Wednesday.* I address'd the Lord again this Day, with Prayer and Fasting, as I did this day se'nnight; and on the same Occasions.

On the Morning of this Day, it was in a manner unutterable told me, (as I suppose,) by the *Angel* of the Lord, that before many Hours are out, I shall receive some special and signal Tokens of the Divine Favour to me.

One Design of my being thus before the Lord this Day, was to obtain His Presence with me, in my Lecture to morrow.

12 *d. 10 m. Thursday.* I enjoy'd a special Presence of the Lord with me, in my Lecture this Day. A vast Assembly came together; and the whole People of God, in the Place, were desirous to observe my Temper, and Carriage, and Conduct under my present Exercises. God helped me this Day to exemplify the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, unto His People, and represent that Patience, and Courage, and those Aspirations after universal Holiness, in my enduring of Buffets from Satan for my Testimonies to the evangelical Interests, that, I hope, the Lord is glorified.

Now, on this Day, I received also two Tokens more of the Divine Favour to me.

First, I received Letters from *England*, which advise me of the Lords having accepted (and Published) some of my

poor Composures, which I sent unto *London* a long while ago, and made many Prayers over, but they have until now lain buried there, so that I could not learn what was become of them.

Secondly, I received likewise Letters from *England*, full of Encouragement, concerning the hopeful Circumstances of my *Church-History*.

But this is not all: for on the Day following,

13 d. 10 m. *Friday*. My Consort fell into her Travail. It was in the day Time, and in a temperate and moderate Season. All the Circumstances of her Condition were ordered in very Faithfulness. The Lord gave her a good Time; and enriched us with the Birth of another Son, about four a clock in the Afternoon; a lovely and a lusty Infant.

On the Lord's day following, I baptized him, and I call'd his Name *Samuel*, and I gave him unto the Lord, as long as hee lives.

About this Time, there arrives from *N. York*, an Impression of a Pamphlet, written, tis said in the Title-page, by *sundry Ministers*.<sup>1</sup> It is published by certain People of the *Manifesto-Church* in this Town; and intended for their Defence, in their Deviations from the *Order of the Gospel*. But the wonderful Judgment of God, has in this Action, left that miserable People, to a strange Infatuation; for

<sup>1</sup> This pamphlet of forty pages, printed by William Bradford in New York, carried the title "Gospel Order revived, being an Answer to a Book lately set forth by the Reverend Increase Mather," and an advertisement: "The Reader is desired to take Notice that the Press in *Boston* is so much under the aw of the Reverend Author, whom we answer, and his Friends, that we could not obtain of the Printer there to print the following Sheets, which is the only true Reason why we have sent the Copy so far for its Impression and where it was printed with some Difficulty." The authorship has been attributed to the Rev. John Woodbridge, Benjamin Colman and Simon Bradstreet. It was answered by a Printers Advertisement, December 21, 1700, issued by Bartholomew Green, and containing depositions by Thomas Brattle, Zechariah Tuthill, John Mico, Green and others, with four pages of "remarks" written but not signed by Cotton Mather. See *Brinley Catalogue*, lots 773, 774. This controversy is described in Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, i. ch. vii.

their Pamphlet, (which is against my Father and myself, and the Churches of *New England*) not only violates the third, the ninth and the fifth Commandment in most scandalous Instances, but also burlesques the Holy Churches of the Lord, and what is practised in them, with most profane, but yett silly, *Scofts*, and Flouts, and the whole is little else, but a most odious Mocking of the Religion of the Country. This profane Folly, whereto this People are thus left of God, is likely to prove a most ruinous Thing unto them: It makes 'em *loathsome*, and it brings them to *Shame*.

However, it provides further Occasions for me to humble myself in Prayer, and with Fasting before the Lord, which on 21 d. 10 m. *Satureday*; I accordingly endeavoured.

And here I have Opportunity to relate, a very particular Experience. My little Daughter *Nanny*, has been all this Week, very ill, a Pain of an unknown Original in her lower Bowels, whereof she has languished for some Time, now grew to an Extremity. On Friday Morning, my Soul was Irradiated from Heaven with a *Particular Faith*, for some Help to be sent from Heaven unto the dying Child. At Night her Illness, with Vomiting which then came upon her proceeded so far, that she would undoubtedly have died before Morning, if one sojourning in our Family, had not resolutely called up a Physician, whose means God blessed for the stopping of it.

Here my *Faith* was *tried* exceedingly. On *Satureday* my Assurance for the Child, was wonderfully renewed. Yett the Illness of the Child went on; and in the Evening one of the Physicians, unable to do any more, left the Child, concluding it would certainly dy. Behold, the *Trial* of my *Faith*! Well, on the Lord's-day in the Forenoon, the Child was diverting herself, and running and laughing the whole Forenoon, about the House, and at Noon, sat at the Table with me. The Physician was astonished, at so sudden a

Recovery of the Child! And my Soul is raised unto Raptures of Thankfulness unto my prayer-hearing Lord. The Lord has made this Child, little else unto me, but a Subject whereupon *Prayer* and *Faith*, has been gloriously produced and answered. And this consideration mightily endears the Child unto me.

28 d. 10 m. *Saturday*. The Lord has permitted Satan to Raise an extraordinary *Storm* upon my Father, and myself. All the Rage of Satan, against the Holy Churches of the Lord, falls upon us. First *Calf's* Book, and then *Coleman's*, do sett the People in a mighty Ferment. All the Adversaries of the Churches lay their Heads together, as if by Blasting of us, they hoped utterly to blow up all.

The Lord fills my Soul with *Consolaçons*, inexpressible *Consolations*, when I think, on my *Conformity* to my Lord Jesus Christ, in the Injuries and Reproaches, that are cast upon me; and in my being so much *forsaken*, by those that should appear with more Vigour, for the evangelical Interests.

But I think it very necessary, to be much in Prayer, at so critical a Time, as this; That the Lord would now stand by me (according to Jer. 1. 19.) and assist me to an exemplary *Patience*, and *Courage*, and *Watchfulness*, under the present Storm; and hasten the Period of it, and wonderfully defeat and confound, the Enterprizes of mine and His Churches' Adversaries, and bring out of it vast Benefits unto me, and unto His churches.

Wherefore I sett apart this Day also, for *Prayer* with *Fasting* before the Lord, on this Occasion.

The Devotions of the Day were much carried on by me, with singing agreeable *Psalms*. But I had one Circumstance about it, that my Psalm-book alwayes opened so, that the first *Psalms* I cast my Eye upon, were still the most agreeable perhaps of any that I could have chosen. This Observaçon may easily be abused unto *Superstition*:

but yett sometimes, there is an angelical Agency in those Occurrences.

2 d. 11 m. [January.] *Thursday*. On the same Occasion, I did this Day renew my *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, in secret before the Lord. As also because my little Daughter *Nanny* is again taken very ill; and her Illness this Day grew upon her unto an Heart-breaking Extremity.

I lay in the Dust, before the Lord, and obtained Mercy for my poor Child.

And crying to the Lord, that He would rescue my Opportunities to glorify Him, from the Designs of Hell to damnify them, *I was heard in the thing I feared*.

Moreover, the Adversaries to the Holy Churches of the Lord, having been by a wonderful Hand of Heaven upon them, so infatuated as to publish a Book of Scurrilities and Impieties which renders them abominable to all sober People, I thought it would be a Service unto all the Churches, and assist and excite the Faithful to bear their Testimonies for the Churches, if I should even in their own words draw up a Scheme of their Plott against the Churches, and annex a brief Collection of the vile Things in their Book against my Father and myself, barely to *Recite* which is enough to *refute* them. Accordingly I did so; and it was published under the Title of, A COLLECTION OF SOME OF THE MANY OFFENSIVE PASSAGES, *in a late Pamphlet, Entituled Gospel-order Revived*.<sup>1</sup>

9 d. 11 m. *Thursday*. This Day the Lord helped me exceedingly to glorify Him, and edify and sanctify His People, who much observe my Conduct and Spirit under the satanic Assaults now made upon me. I did it, in preaching to a vast Assembly, on Gen. 50. 20. *As for you, yee thought Evil against me, but God meant it unto Good*.

But that I might further glorify the Lord Jesus Christ before all the Churches, and exemplify to them, the Thoughts

<sup>1</sup> It was printed by T. Green.

and Frames of *Witnesses* for the Lord Jesus Christ, when *Sufferers* for Him, and that I might receive the Answer of my Prayer and Faith, to have nothing befalling me, but what shall be serviceable unto the evangelical Interests; Behold, what comes to pass! The Sermon is by some good People carried unto the Press; and the *Title* which I have putt upon it, is, TRIUMPHS OVER TROUBLES.

10 d. 11 m. *Friday*. This Day, the Lord restores to me, my dearest Consort and putts my Family again, into many Circumstances of Comfort. Wherefore I sett apart the Day, for a THANKSGIVING in my Study.

Both in my Family, and in my Retirement, I had my Heart raised unto many Expressions of Thankfulness unto the Lord, for His enumerated Favours to me.

But in the Afternoon, I sett myself to insist upon a very peculiar and unusual Article of Thankfulness.

The Lord Jesus Christ, and His holy Churches in this Countrey, have many Enemies. And the Lord in sovereign Grace, hath called me forth to be signalized in the Service of His Churches and Interests. But the Enemies of my glorious Lord, now spend upon *me*, the cheef Storm of all their Fury. I bewayled the Sin of the reproachful Enemies; but I rejoiced before the Lord exceedingly, *that the Reproaches of them that reproached Him, are fallen upon me*. I gave Thanks to the Lord, for His bestowing this Honour upon me, His most unworthy Servant. But herewithal I received an Assurance from Heaven, *that as I now suffer with the Lord Jesus Christ, and for Him, so I shall one Day reign with Him*.

17 d. 11 m. What Cause have I to be thankful unto God!

The Satanic Party in the Town, having basely slandered me, and belyed me, in some Instances, I was prevailed withal, to write a Letter unto a Gentleman in the Town, desiring him to expose it; which he did, and Copies were taken of it.

That Letter I thus concluded;

"I have two Propositions to make, and I think, they are fair ones.

"One is this; If all they, that have used so much Liberty to express their Unkindness to me, will please to produce with Evidence any one Instance, wherein I have wrong'd or harm'd any one of them all, or done any one thing misbecoming a man whose Business it is to do good unto all, I submit unto the hardest Censure my worst Adversary can impose upon me.

"The other is this; if they that report what they please concerning me, will please first of all to satisfy themselves, as every Christian or Gentleman would, before they take up a defamatory Report; and they don't find, that I have acted not only blamelessly, but also suitably, I will again submit unto Censure. Thus do I challenge all the World."

18 d. 11 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer in my Study; on the same Occasions, that I have so often been of late in this way before the Lord.

Nothing remarkable occur'd in it.

Only there is one thing, that I have sett a Remark upon; and I would observe the Issue.

My dear little Son *Samuel*, I have often and often made Essayes, to gett my Heart raised, unto a *Particular Faith* for that Child, that the Lord will accept of the Child, for the Service of His Churches in this World: but I never could yett attain to such a *Faith*: a man cannot beleeve, *when* and *what* he will. This makes me live in a continual Apprehension that the Child, (tho' a lusty and hearty Infant) will dy in its Infancy. And something unto this Purpose, I have taken the Liberty to express, unto my Consort, and my Father.

I thought it would be many Wayes a Service unto all Churches, (insomuch as our *Platform of Church-Discipline*, is in few Hands, and little known, and read, and yett unaccountable Prejudices against it prevail in the Countrey,) for me, to draw up the whole of the *Platform*, in certain

Conclusions, (I did it in *Thirty Three Articles*,) Extracted from it, and contracting of it, and all crowded into one Sheet of Paper. I did this, adding four significant Remarks, at the End of it, and I gave it unto the Bookseller, entituled, *THE OLD PRINCIPLES OF New England*.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, about this Time, I gave unto the Booksellers, another Composure, which consisted of almost a dozen Sheets of paper, in my Writing. I considered, That the Practice of making *Occasional Reflections* on, and fetching *Profitable Instructions* from, all the *Creatures* of God, was a very devout Practice, and would be a Cause, a Fruit, and a Sign of exemplary *Spiritual-Mindedness*. I considered, that the FIRE is one of these *Creatures*, wherewith all Sorts of Persons are very much concerned, especially for diverse Months in the Year. I considered, that Lessons conveyed from this, or any *Creatures*, under the Advantages of a *Similitude*, had a particular *Charm* in them, and perhaps would never be forgotten. Wherefore, præfacing the rest of my Meditations with a Discourse, on Joh. 18. 18. *They made a Fire of Coals, (for it was cold) and they warmed themselves; and Peter stood with them, and warmed himself;* I then wrote *forty Meditations*, on the *Fire*, and fetched out of it, many more than *forty Admonitions*, which I dressed up, so as they might afford both *Pleasure* and *Profit* unto a serious Reader. This Work is entituled, *CHRISTIANUS PER IGNEM; or A Disciple Warming of himself, and owning of his Lord: with Meditations fetch'd out of the Fire, by a Christian in a Cold Season, sitting before it*. I was in hopes this way, having thus employ'd myself, now also to procure a very grateful and useful Employment for others, especially in the Liesure of the Winter, by the *Fire-Side*.

I had no sooner dispatch'd this work, but I was in a Strait about the Publication of it: and particularly, I was in a Doubt, whether any Bookseller would undertake to

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1700.

publish it. I therefore carried the work unto the Lord, humbly beseeching of Him, that if He had any Service to be done by it, upon the Souls of Men He would please by His Holy Providence, to bring it forth into the World; and so I easily and cheerfully left it with Him. Immediately [this was on 30 d. 11 m.] a Gentleman, came into my Study, from whom I had very little Reason to expect such an Offer; and he seeing the MSS. ly on my Table, and having it shown unto him, very readily offered, that he would bear half the Charges of the Impression. Under his Encouragement I sent it unto one of the Booksellers, who readily undertook to go on with it.<sup>1</sup>

7 d. 12 m. [February.] Friday. *The Evil that I feared is come upon me.* On Tuesday night, this week, my little Son *Samuel*, was taken with very sad Convulsions. They continued all *Wednesday*, incurable, and we were all the day in continual Expectation of his Expiration. But he lived all *Thursday*, too, and out-lived more than an hundred very terrible Fitts. The Convulsions of my own Mind, were all this while, happily composed and quieted; and with much Composure of Mind, I often and often in Prayers resigned the Child unto the Lord. Preaching the Lecture, on *Thursday*, while we were every Minute looking for the Death of the Child, I chose to insist on that, Job. 19. 25. *I know, that my Redeemer lives;* as a matter of Satisfaction to us, at the Sight of our *dying* Friends.

On *Thursday*, about Midnight, an odd thing fell out. The Child coming out of one of its worst Fitts, most unaccountably fell a Laughing, yea, into a very great *Laughter*, and this held for diverse Minutes; unto the Amazement of the Spectators, who indeed were so amazed, that they could hardly keep from Swooning. After this, it had no more such Fitts as before; but lingered along, till about Ten a clock, this Morning, when one of its Fitts carried it off.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, for Benjamin Eliot, 1702.

I sett apart (*Saturday*,) the Day following, for the Duties of a secret Fast, that I might humble myself before God under the rebukes of His Providence, who at the same time, that wicked Men are from abroad assaulting me with a Storm of Malignity, to ruine all my Opportunities to glorify Him, does Himself also visit me with Deaths and Griefs at home in my own Family; and that I might obtain from Him, Assistences to carry it patiently and cheerfully under my Trials, and bring forth such Fruits of greater Serviceableness (especially among the *Children* of my Flock) as are to be expected of me.

But that I might immediately glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, I did on the *Lords-Day* ensuing, preach unto the great Congregation, on Job. 35. 10. the Songs, which the triumphant Faith of the Saints, has to utter, in the *darkest Night* of Affliction, that can come upon them; and I beleeve, my Lord Jesus Christ had some Glory, from the Things, and the Frames, which I exhibited unto His People on this Occasion.

On Monday, the Child had a Funeral with numerous Attendants, and Respects beyond what Children use to have.

On the Grave-Stone, I caused that Motto to be inscribed,  
NOT AS THEY THAT HAVE NO HOPE.

In this Place, it may not be amiss for me, to Record one Passage more.

Neither my Father, nor myself, thought it proper for us, to publish unto the Churches our own *Vindication* from the vile Reproaches and Calumnies that Satan, by his Instrument *Calf*, had cast upon us. But the Lord putt it into the Hearts of a considerable Number of our Flock, who are in their temporal Conditions more æqual unto our Adversary to appear in our *Vindication*. They came to us, desiring that we would furnish them, with *Memorials* and *Evidences*, concerning *Matters of Fact*, which they might pro-

duce on our behalf, and offering then to *write* what might be for the Satisfaction of all good Men, concerning our Conduct. My *Father* hereupon gave them diverse *Letters of Attestation* from very considerable Persons to his Fidelity in his Agency, and added a further Instrument under his hand, relating to that Matter. I also sent them a large *Letter*, sign'd by my own Hand, concerning the chief of the Points, wherein I had been myself aspersed and abused. The *Brethren* being thus furnished, composed an handsome *Answer* unto the Slanders and Libels of our slanderous Adversary, and inserted into their Answer the *Memorials*, which we had given then. *Seven* of them, were by the rest pitch'd upon, to sett their *Names* unto it. and they did so. The Book being hereupon printed, the Lord blesses it for the Illuminacōn of His people, in many Points of our endeavour to serve them, whereof they had been ignorant. And there is also sett before all the Churches, a very laudable *Exemple*, of a *People*, appearing to vindicate their injured *Pastors*, when a Storm of *Persecution* is raised against them. The Lord accept, and reward, this Work of our faithful People! It is entituled, SOME FEW REMARKS.<sup>1</sup>

When a Discourse of Mr. St's offensive Book, about *Churches*, was introduced, by my Father, in a very great Assembly of Ministers, Boston, 4 d. 5 m., 1700.<sup>2</sup>

[After Leave.]

Syrs, all men that have any *Sense* at all in them are *sensible*, that various *Attempts* are continually making, to *unhinge* and subvert, the Holy Churches of *New England*. There is a wonderful *Sleepiness* upon us, (even such an one as must be among the Fore-runners to the coming of our glorious Lord.) if we are not so much *awake*, as to be *aware* that there are vigorous Endeavours to bring in a *new State* upon our Churches. These Churches of the Lord, are not in so good Terms with the *great Adversary* of all Holy Churches,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Green, 1701. The names of the seven brethren are signed to the introductory letter.

<sup>2</sup> Stoddard. See note on p. 364, *supra*.

(who, as *Austin* bid the Christians of his Time, to beleieve, is not yett turned a *Christian*,) that he should leave them unmolested. But, alas, those that are no Servants of *that Adversary* (but the sincere Servants of our Heavenly Lord) may be unhappily prevailed upon, to do him no little Service.

Among all the *Attempts* against the *State* of our Churches I know none more open, more daring or more explicit, than that which has been made by a *Book* of a reverend Person, here present, which is lately published. But upon the Occasion of these Attempts, I beg your Patience, and your Pardon, if I make to you some *Remarks*, concerning the *Nature* of them.

And, first, you will observe, Syrs, that the Gentlemen, who go to *unhinge* our Churches, would ravish from them, their *good Things*, without substituting any *Better*, or indeed any *other*, in the room of them. As now; they divest *particular Churches*, of their just Power to reform themselves, and they will have the Decrees of their classical Provincial, and national *Synods*, to be the *Orders* that shall in all things govern the Churches. But they know very well, that their *Decrees* will signify little, except they have a *civil Magistrate*, that will make them *cult*. Whereas they are not yett provided of a *Magistrate*, that will be their *Tool*; no, nor ever will bee. Again, they leave us no *Church-Covenant*, not so much as an *implicit* one, whereby our Churches may be distinguished, *that* they say, is wholly unscriptural. But then, instead thereof, they provide us with nothing else, that may in any Measure serve, to *distinguish*, or mentain and præserve, our Churches or keep alive the Interests of *Holiness* in them. I beseech you, Syrs, what would you be at! Your Attempts, only furnish a profane Generation of People in the Countrey, with *Cavils* against the *Churches*, and the *good Things* observed in them, and they do what they can, to release the *Consciencs* of People, from any awe of *religious Bonds* upon them, in the *Order of the Churches*. You cannot rationally imagine to attain any *further Ends*, but only, *to throw all into Confusion* and Contention. You scarce *offer* us, much less can you *effect* and *produce*, any *Remedy* for the *Confusion*, when you have made it.

Syrs, you will observe, secondly, that the Gentlemen, who are thus heaving at our Churches, advance for mighty Points of *Reformation*, those things, which indeed were no little Points of the *antichristian Depravation* and *Apostasy*. several Instances might be given; I will single out but one. The *Liberty* of the *Fraternity*, in things of common Concernment; for the Fraternity to be Governed, not

as meer *Bruits* or *Mutes*: The *primitive Churches*, preserved it, for many Ages. The Loss of it, was not the *first*, no, nor the *tenth*, Article of the *antichristian Apostasy*. The *Apostasy* had proceeded unto horrible Degrees, before the Churches, and the Brethren in them, were utterly deprived of their *Liberty*. Our Gentlemen do assay utterly to take away all manner of *Liberty*, from the *Brethren* in our *Churches*. Because it may be, in some Churches things may have been sometimes carried in a Strain too *democratical*, these Gentlemen will do well to remember, who they are, which,

*dum, vitant vitia, in contraria currunt.*

But they can't speak of the *People* in any other Terms, than the *Pharisees* did of old; Whereas, indeed, Syrs, *this People*, is the *Lord's Heritage*. They tell us, *they will reform our Churches*. And then they tell us, it shall be, by pushing them from the *primitive Church State*, wherein they at present are, and by plunging them into the *Church-State*, which the *Romish Apostasy*, after some Centuries had brought all into. A goodly *Reformation!* Syrs, tis unintelligible, tis unaccountable.

Give me leave, Syrs, to observe, thirdly; that the Gentlemen in the Design against our Churches, will needs be call'd *Presbyterians*: but they very unjustly arrogate that Name: (A Name, which I would alwayes mention with Respect and Honour!) They are not *Presbyterians*: Our Controversy with them indeed is, because they will not be *Presbyterians*. Behold, how I demonstrate it. *Presbyterians* doe religiously submitt unto the Government of their *Classes*. Wee have our *Classes*; and tho' they assume not all the Government, which many *Presbyterians* think they might, yett their *Advice* at least might be taken, in things of general Consequence; lett us have at least so much *Presbyterianism*, I pray. No; these Gentlemen do things of the greatest Consequence that can be, and make Batteries, and Outrages, upon all our Churches, and never took, nor ask'd the *Advice* of any *Classes* under Heaven, for what they do. Once more; In almost all the *Presbyterian Churches*, on the face of the Earth the Rights of the *Brethren* are preserved, by a *Consistory of Elders*. Our Gentlemen will mostly abhor the Mention of such *Elders*. Indeed, some Holy Churches of *Presbyterians*, did subsist in very feeble Circumstances, under the late *Persecution* in *England*; and have not since improved into a better, and more hearty and vivid Constitution; they have neither *Consistory*, nor any *Discipline*, of a regular Proceedure. They would be glad, many of them, if an *order*, like ours, were established among them. Our Gentlemen, come now,

and call for a *Reformation*; and thus explain themselves, *wee will have you part with the more compleat Order wherein you have been established, and putt yourselves into the feeble Circumstances of Churches under Persecution.* Syrs, I can't see through this! I will add: The *Presbyterians* have, with much Holy Reason written, to prove, that *Regeneration* is a Qualification of Communicants at the *Table* of the Lord. But our *Gentlemen* do preach and print this amazing Paradox, that Persons who *know themselves to be unregenerate, unjustified, un sanctified,* not only *may,* but *should* come to the Holy Table. True *Presbyterians* would say, don't come to the *Seals* of the *Covenant,* till you have Cause to hope, that you have accepted the *Terms* of the *Covenant.* But these *Gentlemen* will have those that *know themselves* ungodly Wretches come to the *dreadful Mysteries,* if others can't *prove* them such; and then these, forsooth, must be our only *Presbyterians!* I must I see, incorporate into this Observation, another. That the *Gentlemen* in the *Plott* of undermining the Churches, do introduce *Principles* most fatal to all our Churches. That which I last complained of, is one of them. And, if I mistake not, the *Fancy* of *Provincial,* and *National* Churches, consisting only of the *Clergy* too, to be of *divine Right,* is another. The King and Parliament know, that this Notion threatens the English Nation, with all the Slavery of a *foreign Jurisdiction.* Stave off the Authority of an *Œcumenical Church,* in a general Council now, if you can; but Syrs, I hope, you forgett not where you have a *Patriarch* provided for you.

Upon the whole; I would earnestly entreat these *Gentlemen,* that if they will resolve to persist, in the *Plott* of confounding the *Order of our Churches,* they would seriously *consider what they do.* Syrs, you have to do with an Holy Lord, who *walks in the Midst of His Golden Candlesticks,* and will be offended at your Attempts to make them *Dross* and *Tin.* The Lord of these invaded Churches, may be more *displeas'd* at what you do, than you think for, and may signalize His Displeasure. If you will needs turn His Churches into *Dens of Theeves,* and make His Churches to cease representing the *Kingdome of Heaven,* tis a desperate Action that you venture upon: And, if you will force away from the Churches, the *Rights* that the Lord has given them, truly, tis a *Robbery,* tis a *Sacriledge!*

And give me leave, Syrs; where will you stop? The *first Plott* of Satan against this Land, hath been, to extinguish the *Power* and *Practice* of *Godliness,* throughout the Countrey. This point is fearfully gain'd already; we feel it with Sorrow and Horror. The *next*

*plott* of Satan, is to confound our Holy *Church-Order*, and make us, with our own Hands pull down our House. This is the Point which we are now upon; and it naturally followes upon the former. But, Syrs, we shall not stop here, beleieve me! The *third Plott* will bee to betray the *Faith of the Churches*, the Truths of the Gospel, the Doctrines of Grace. *These, these* will shortly be assaulted. We shall shortly be called upon, to part with those Things, which are the very *Life* of our Souls; but, I hope, we shall sooner part with our *Life*.

Yea, shall I say it, Syrs? If all *wee*, the Pastors of the Churches do desert our Holy Flock, and go over to, I know not what *Innovations*, the Lord will have an holy pious, humble, praying, and faithful Generation, among our *People*, that we shall never carry over with us. If we will *pass over* to *Gilgal*, they will not *hinder* us, but they will not *follow* us.

In fine: I am told, from several abroad, that the Gentleman, who hath lately published his offensive *Positions*, is come down, to assert them and defend them, and that now he is come, the Ministers will all shrink before them, none of them will dare to encounter him. For that cause, and for their Sake, Syrs, I do here make him an Offer of a *Disputation*; I say, I do offer him *Disputation*, when and where he shall please to appoint it. Lett this be remembred and reported.

I know, I have extremely exposed myself by what I have said. I know, the Prophet of the Lord has taught mee, that *grievous Revolters* will *walk with Slanders*. I know that there are *grievous Revolts* afoot, and all that go to check the *Torrent* of them, shall suffer a thousand *Slanders* and Clammours. But, I hope, the Lord will teach us Patience under them; yea, we shall count them our *Glories*.

#### MY PUBLICK MINISTRY FOR THE YEAR 1700.

18 d. 12 m. 1699. I preached, on 2. Cor. 2. 11. The *Devices of Satan*; (formerly begun to be preached on.) And this Day I discoursed particularly, on the *Devices of Satan*, to indispose men, for Benefits by Approaches to the Table of the Lord. (And then I administred the *Eucharist*.)

25 d. 12 m. I preached, on Heb. 11. 24. The Refusing of *Honours*, in that Self-denial, whereto Christians are called. Being in a course of Sermons on that Chapter.

3 d. 1 m., 1700. I preached, on 2. Cor. 2. 11. The *Devices of Satan* to dishearten men from the *Duties* of a *Christian Conversaçon*.

7 d. 1 m. *Thursday*. I preached *Boston-Lecture*, on 1. Joh. 2. 6. *The Imitation of Christ*.

10 d. 1 m. I preached on, Heb. 11. 24. The special Duties of Persons, when they *come to Years*.

17 d. 1 m. I preached, on 2. Cor. 2. 11. *The Devices of Satan*, to hinder men from getting of *Good*, by the *means of Godd*.

24 d. 1 m. I preached, on Joh. 1. 19. *The young Men are dead*; the Improvement that *all men*, especially *young men*, should make of the Death of young Men. (On occasion of three *young Men*, drowned the week before.)

31 d. 1 m. I preached (the seventh Time,) on 2. Cor. 2. 11. *The Devices of Satan*, to trouble the Children of God, and Pillage them of their *Peace and Joy*.

4 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. I preached (the second Time,) the Lecture on 1. Joh. 2. 6. *The Imitation of Christ*.

7 d. 2 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 25. *Affliction with the People of God*, preferr'd before the temporary and the transitory *Pleasure of Sin*.

14 d. 2 m. I preached on 1. Thess. 1. 7. That *Church-members* ought to be *Exemples*. (And I administred the *Eucharist*.)

21 d. 2 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 26. The *Riches*, whereto men arrive, by embracing of *reproached Christianity*.

25 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. On a Fast, thro' the Colony, I preached from Matth. 21. 43. About a Countreyes losing the *Kingdome of God*, by their *Unfruitfulness*; deprecating that Calamity, lest it overtake N. E.

28 d. 2 m. I preached on, Heb. 11. 26. A *Respect* unto the *Recompence of Reward*.

2 d. 3 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Jam. 4. 11. *Mens' evil Speaking* one of another. A Vice raging in the place.

5 d. 3 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 27. *Faith* seeing the *Invisible God*, and being therefore *stout* and *strong* in obedience to that God.

12 d. 3 m. I preached, on Luk. 23. 34. The *first Word* of our dying Saviour on the Cross. Designing if the Lord please, to insist on all the Seven, in their Order.

19 d. 3 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 28. Christ, our *Passeover*; and the *Sprinkling of His Blood*.

26 d. 3 m. I preached on Mat. 23. 23. *Sins of Omission*.

29 d. 3 m. *Wednesday*. I preached, unto the Great and General Assembly, convened for the Anniversary *Election*; on Psal. 147. 20. God's dealing with N. E. as *not with any Nation*.

2 d. 4 m. I preached, on Heb. 11. 28. *Ordinances*, attended in *Faith*; particularly, *the Hearing of the Word*.

9 d. 4 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 28. *Faith* exercised in attendance on *Sacraments*. (And I administred the *Eucharist*.)

12 d. 4 m. *Wednesday*. I preached, at *Newtown*, on 2. Thess. 3. 1. *Prayer*, for a *free course*, and *Glory* of the Gospel, and for a *Blessing* on them that preach it. (A Fast being this day kept, by the Flock there, for their sick Minister.)

16 d. 4 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 29. *Faith*, profitable to others as well as ourselves, and not terrified by the most terrible Distresses; and taking the Way of Duty, tho' full of Danger; and being lively in the Jawes of Death; and making Sin, be as tho' it had not been; and being useful to obtain a good passage thro' the Sea, etc.

23 d. 4 m. I preach'd on Job. 27. 12. *Enforcing Lessons of Piety*, from the *Experience* of the Neighbourhood; in various Instances, repeating, *what they themselves have seen*, to instruct them.

27 d. 4 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Phil. 4. 5. *Moderation*. (The E. of *Bellmont*, and General Assembly present.)

30 d. 4 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 29. Ungodly men's *vain Confidence* of Safety; the *Churches Adversaries* confounded; Sin *retaliated*.

7 d. 5 m. I preached, on Joh. 19. 26. *The second Word* of our Saviour on the Cross.

14 d. 5 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 30. *The Destruction of the Romish Jericho*; Nothing too strong for a strong Faith; Comfort and Success from the Presence of Christ; Victory obtained by Faith; unlikely means bringing about illustrious Ends. Blessings dispensed on the seventh Day.

21 d. 5 m. I preached on Rev. 2. 3. *Not Fainting in Labour* for Christ, (being left here alone in the Ministry.)

25 d. 5 m. *Thursday*. I preached, on Joh. 14. 27. *Lett not your Hearts be troubled*. (Being under many Exercises.)

28 d. 5 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 31. *The Vilest of Sinners*, made the Highest of Saints. and sav'd by Beleeving, etc.

4 d. 6 m. I preached on 1. Joh. 1. 7. *The Blood* of Jesus Christ *the Son of God*, *cleansing from all Sin*. (And I administred the *Eucharist*.)

11 d. 6 m. I preached on Isa. 26. 9. *Learning Righteousness* and Religion, from the *Judgments* of God. (Because many *Judgments*, especially, in early, sudden, tragical *Deaths*, fell out, the last week.)

15 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. The Lecture was turned into a *Fast*, because of the *Drought*; and I preached on Num. 14. 19. *Prayer* for the *Pardon* of a sinful People, and *Mercy* pleaded in that Prayer.

18 d. 6 m. I preached on Heb. 11. 32. *Eminent Beleevers* not recorded in the Scriptures, and the *Fulness* of the Scriptures; and our *Time* being little enough, yea, much too little, to do all we have to do for the Glory of God.

25 d. 6 m. I preached on, Lev. 19. 17. *Christian Reproof*. (And I dispensed publicly, the Censure of Admonition, unto a scandalous Offender.)

1 d. 7 m. I preached, on Deut. 26. 17. *Avouching* the Lord for *our God*. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

5 d. 7 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, at *Ipswich*, on Joh. 14. 27.

8 d. 7 m. I preached, both parts of the Day, at *Salem*, on Isa. 46. 8.

15 d. 7 m. I preached on Mar. 10. 21. The Insufficiency of meer *Morality*, to bring a man unto everlasting Life.

19 d. 7 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Eccl. 12. 5. The Carriage of a Christian at a *Funeral*. (Funerals being multiplied; and this a Subject of Importance never handled.)

29 d. 7 m. I preached, on Mat. 9. 12. Christ, the *Physician* of Souls, *diseased* with Sin, and *sensible* of their Diseases. (Myself Recovering out of *Sickness*.)

6 d. 8 m. I preached, on Rom. 8. 28. *All things working together for the Good* of Good Men.

13 d. 8 m. I preached, on Rom. 8. 21. *Love to God*.

17 d. 8 m. *Thursday*, I preached the Lecture, on Heb. 2. 18. How a *tempted* Christian should address the Lord Jesus Christ, for Succour under and against his *Temptations*. (*Expertus loquor*.)

20 d. 8 m. I preached, on Rom. 8. 28. *Effectual calling*, according to the eternal *Purpose* of God. (And now, my Father is returned.)

27 d. 8 m. I preached on Luk. 23. 43. The *third Word* of our dying Lord on the Cross. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

3 d. 9 m. I preached, on Luk. 23. 43. and from the Exemple of the *converted Thief*, discoursed on the wonderful Grace of God, in the Conversion and Salvation of the greatest Sinners.

10 d. 9 m. I preached, on Prov. 28. 20. A *Faithful Man*, abounding with *Blessings*

14 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Luk. 5. 20.

The *Forgiveness* of Sin, attainable; and how *declared* and *assured* unto the *Forgiven*.

17 d. 9 m. I preached, Col. 2. 7. *Thanksgiving*, and an *Abundance* in it, and for it: And the right Way of celebrating *A Day of Thanksgiving*, (præparatory to such a Day, at hand.)

21 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. It being a *Day of Thanksgiving*, throughout the Province, I finished the Discourse about *Abounding in Thanksgiving*, begun the last Lord's-day.

24 d. 9 m. I preached on Mat. 27. 46. The *fourth Word* of our dying Lord on the Cross.

1 d. 10 m. I finished, what I began the last Lord's-Day,

8 d. 10 m. I preached on Heb. 12. 1 *Running* the Christian Race.

12 d. 10 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Joh. 21: 20. *Disciple* whom *Jesus loves*.

15 d. 10 m. I preached, on Heb. 12. 1. The *Patience* necessary, in running the Course of *Christianity*.

22 d. 10 m. I preached, on Joh. 19. 28. The *fifth Word* of our dying Lord, on the Cross. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

29 d. 10 m. I preached, on Heb. 12. 1, The *Cloud of Witnesses*.

5 d. 11 m. I preached, on Heb. 12. 1. *Laying aside every Weight*.

9 d. 11 m. *Thursday*. I preached, with a great Assistance, to a great Assembly, on Gen. 50. 20. The *Good* meant unto good Men, by all their *Troubles* in a troublesome world.

12 d. 11 m. I preached on Heb. 12. 1. The *Sin that easily besets us*.

19 d. 11 m. I preached, on Heb. 12. 2. *Looking unto Jesus*.

26 d. 11 m. I went on with it.

2 d. 12 m. I preached both parts of the Day, (my Father being ill.) In the Forenoon, on Heb. 12. 2. The *Author* and *Finisher* of our *Faith*. In the Afternoon, on Jam. 1. 12. *Enduring Temptation*. (It being with myself a Time of much *Temptation*.)

6 d. 12 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Job. 19. 25. The *Living Redeemer*. (My Son *Samuel*, at this Time, lay a dying.)

9 d. 12 m. I preached, on Job. 35. 10. The *Songs* of the Saints in the darkest Night of Affliction. (My Son *Samuel*, at this Time lying dead,)

1701

THE XXXIX<sup>TH</sup> YEAR OF MY LIFE.

12 d. 12 m. Wednesday.

I happen to begin this *New Year* of my Life, with a very agreeable Employment.

The *six* Friends, who published my Vindication from the Abuses of our calumnious and malicious Adversary [the first of the *seven* is gone to a better World,] being willing to committ their good Cause unto the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, I sent for them, and spent this Day with them in my Study, where we fasted, and prayed, and sang Psalms: and we also putt over our Adversary unto the Hands of our Almighty Lord, with Supplications, that He would send His Angel, to stop that ill man, from going on any further in his wicked Enterprises.

We had other Petitions to present unto the Lord; and unto one of them, we received, even while we were together after Supper in the Evening, an immediate and remarkable Answer.

The Lord putt it into the Hearts of my Friends, to entreat of Him, that my Father and myself might not be left alone in our *Testimony* to the *Order of the Gospels* in the Churches, but that He would raise the Spirits of some other faithful Ministers to second us.

Now, I had lately proposed unto the two most aged Ministers yett surviving in the Countrey, A TESTIMONY TO THE ORDER OF THE GOSPEL; and suggested the good Consequences of their emitting it. God perswaded them; and this Day I received it from them, signed by their aged Hands:

which accordingly I forthwith printed, and so sent it abroad into all the Land.<sup>1</sup> If the Lord smile upon this Action, it will be attended with an incredible Benefit.

I am very much concerned about one thing. My little Daughter *Nanny*, has her unknown Distemper still hanging about her; she languishes, and perishes, under a Pain in the lower Part of her Belly, which the ablest physicians in the Town, confess they do not know how to cure. I cry to the Lord about it; yea, I have received once and again a *Particular Faith* from Heaven (as I thought) that the Child shall be recovered. And yett the Malady proceeds, even to an hopeless Extremity. Lord! what shall I think of this thing!

1701

1 d. 1 m. [*March.*] *Saturday*. To obtain the Blessing of God, on my Ministry, and my Family; and a Defence against the Enemies of His Churches here, who are also Enemies full of Malignity against myself, I sett apart this Day for prayer, with Fasting in Secret before the Lord.

Nothing remarkable occurred in the Day. Only I thought I felt upon my Mind a Perswasion from Heaven, that the Lord will quickly appear, with wonderful Dispensations, to retrieve and revive the evangelical Interests, in the *European* Parts of the World.

About this Time, I drew up, (at the Desire of a General Convention of the Ministers of the Province), A TESTIMONY UNTO THE ORDER OF THE GOSPEL, *in the important Point of*, the Consociation of Churches.

14 d. 1 m. *Friday*. This Day again, I had the Company of my six Friends with me, at my Study, engaged in the Duties of *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, on the same Occasions that thus employ'd us a Month ago.

<sup>1</sup> John Higginson and William Hubbard were the two ministers, and the book was printed by T. Green, 1701.

And on this Day again, we received a remarkable Answer of Prayer.

These absurd and wicked Men, who are the Adversaries of the Churches, made a grievous Clamour, against the *Testimony* given by the two aged Servants of Christ, unto the *Order of the Gospel* among us, which we received a Month ago, as if it were none of theirs but a meer Trick of mine; and the *Speaker* of the House of *Representatives* particularly managed a Peece of Malice in the House, to affront the *Testimony*, on that Suggestion; and they went on to rail and lye with some further Calumnies: but God putt it into the Heart of the Reverend old Mr. *Higginson*, to write a Letter unto the Deputies of the Province now assembled, wherein he solemnly declared the *Testimony* sign'd by him, to be his own deliberate Act and Deed, and then added his Reasons for emitting such a *Testimony*, which Reasons were weighty and awful, and full of Spirit. This Letter was delivered on *this Day*: and upon the Delivery of it, the Deputies voted *Thanks*, to the two old Gentlemen, for their *Testimony*. Thus the Adversaries of the Churches, have overwhelmed themselves, and brought Confusion on their own Cause, by their foolish Attempts to blast *me*, and I at the same Time receive a triumphant Vindication.

It was better than a *Feast* unto us, at the End of our *Fast*, for to be entertained with the Tidings of this Matter.

About this Time, I præpared for, and committed to the Press, another Composure. Having entertained a Company of Christians, at a private Meeting, with a Discourse, which the Master of the Family thought agreeable; he desired a Copy of it, which I gave him; a Discourse containing, *Lessons to be learn'd in the Schole of Affliction*. But hereto I added another Discourse, formerly and more publicly delivered, consisting of, *Cordials to be taken in the Time of*

*Affliction.* The whole I entituled, A COMPANION FOR THE AFFLICTED.<sup>1</sup>

*Memorandum.* Now again I see, *Faith* is not a *Fancy*. My little Daughter *Nanny* is wonderfully recovered. The Lord show'd us how to encounter the Malady. The Child is gott abroad again; perfectly free from any Sign of her late Illness; and her Strength comfortably returns unto her.

3 d. 2 m. [April.] *Thursday.* This Day, I had an Experiment of two things which I have often before experienced. And tho' my great Employment, and greater Slothfulness, does not permitt me, to record abundance of such Passages, yett I would compel myself now and then to enter some of them, upon Record, in these Papers.

First, I often find, that when I preach of the Angels, or on a Subject (such as the Glory of the Lord Jesus Christ,) very singularly agreeable to the Angels, I have a more than ordinary Assistance in my public Ministrations. My Mind, and Voice and Strength, is evidently under some special Energy from the invisible World; and a notable Fervency and Majesty and Powerful pungency setts off my Discourses.

Again, I often find, that when I am to do any singular Service for the Lord Jesus Christ, and have any singular Presence of His, in the doing of it, I must be præpared for it, by sore Buffetings. Either my Soul is much disturbed, and very particularly sick of what I have composed: or else my Health is disturbed, and I am so enfeebled that I think I am able to do nothing at all: and then, I am wonderfully enlarged, in coming to do, what I have to do.

This Day in preaching on The Lord JESUS CHRIST, as the *Wonder of Angels*, I found those Things accomplished.

5 d. 2 m. *Saturday.* I find the Enemies of the Churches, are sett with an implacable Enmity against myself. And one vile Fool, namely R. *Calf*, is employ'd by them to go on,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Green for Samuel Sewall, Jr.

with more of his filthy Scribbles, to hurt my precious Opportunities of glorifying my Lord Jesus Christ. I had need be much in Prayer unto my Glorious Lord, that He would præserve His poor Servant from the Malice of this evil Generation, and of that vile man particularly.

I sett apart this Day, for Prayer, with Fasting, before the Lord, in this Occasion. And I obtained Assurance from Heaven, that the Lord will gloriously Defend me, and employ me, and rescue and encrease my Opportunities: and I shall *quickly see a wonderful Thing!*

The Concerns of my Ministry also, (wherein I am again left much alone, by my Father's Removal to *Cambridge*,) and of my Family, and of the Church, I carried this Day unto the Lord.

11 d. 2 m. *Friday*. Because I would *beseech the Lord thrice*, I had my six Friends this Day a third Time with me in my Study, spending it in Prayers (and Psalms) with Fasting before the Lord: that the Lord would send His Angel to stop our Adversary in the Course of his Wickedness; (which the Lord will do!) And that we may obtain some other Favours of Heaven.

It was promised unto the Lord, that if He would hear us wee would meet again, and spend a Day in His Praises: (when we will also consider, how we should further praise Him.)

I did likewise promise, that I would sett myself to do some special Service, in an Endeavour that the signal *Providence* of God, may be observed, remembred, and improved.

24 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. T'was a public Fast, in which I enjoy'd considerable Assistences.

In my Sermon, I lett fall these words; "There is much Reason to suspect, that a *War* is breaking forth in *Europe*. In the late Peace of *Reswyck*,<sup>1</sup> the Wind came not about the

<sup>1</sup> In May, 1697, the Congress of Ryswyk was opened, and on September 20

right way; there must be another Storm, and War, before all clear up, according to our Desires. If it should be so, there is much Reason to suspect, that the French Oppressor, who wants nothing but *New England*, for to render him the Master of all *America*, and has been under Provocation enough to fall foul upon us, may before we do so much as hear of a *War* proclaimed, utterly swallow us up."

Three Dayes after this, there arrived very surprising Intelligence indeed; which represented unto us, all *Europe* in a new Flame, on the Union between *France* and *Spain*; the Nations are in a prodigious Convulsion; Great *Britain*, is particularly in an extreme Hazard and Ferment; and the Plantations are in a very hazardous Condiçon.<sup>1</sup>

Beholding a most astonishing Security and Stupidity, on my Countrey, I made a short Extract, of CERTAIN SELECT PASSAGES, in certain Books about the State of *Europe*, and the *American* Plantations, now come over; and that I might excite the *Prayers* of all men, and the *Cares* of good men, proper for the present Circumstances, I gave them to some of the Council, who printed it.

About the Beginning of the next Month, I mett with astonishing Accounts, of the Sufferings undergone by the Protestants in the French Kings Galleyes; and of the Lord's wonderful Works, in supporting them under their Sufferings and converting some at the Sight thereof. I thought, it would be many Wayes a Service unto the Christians in this Countrey, to be informed thereof; and therefore I not only communicated unto the Ministers at their weekly Meeting, an Abstract which I had made hereof, but also printed it, under the Title of, A LETTER, CONCERNING THE SUFFERINGS OF OUR PROTESTANT BRETHERN.

10 d. 3 m. [May.] *Saturday*. To obtain Deliverance for

a general peace was concluded, involving England, Holland, France and Spain. Under it, France regained Nova Scotia.

<sup>1</sup> The war of the Spanish succession.

the Protestant Religion and Interest, and for the English Nation, and for my own poor Countrey, now dreadfully exposed in the Storm that is begun upon *Europe*; and to obtain a Blessing from God, on my Ministry, and on my Family; and a Defence against my implacable Enemies, that are seeking the Ruine of my precious Opportunities to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ: I sett apart this Day, for the Duties of a *Secret Fast*; and I was not without some comfortable Tokens of the Lord's Presence with me in my Duties.

Especially, when I was committing into His Hands, my *Church-History*, now in *London*.

15 d. 3 m. *Thursday*. The Lecture of *Boston*, was (upon my Motion) turned into a Fast; because of the Difficulties upon the Church of God abroad, and our own threatening Circumstances. On this Fast, I preached in the Afternoon.

23 d. 3 m. I spent this Day, in the Exercises of a Fast, on such Occasions, as formerly.

On the *Lord's-day* following, I had a singular Entertainment and Encouragement. Having preached with a great Assistance, in a very great Assembly in the public, a Sermon, about shunning of *bad Company*, I appointed the young Men that belong unto our Young-Mens Meetings, to attend me, at one of their Meetings, in the Evening. There came together, I think, near one hundred serious devout young Men, to whom I further preached on the Danger and Folly of *Bad-Company*. The young Men desired a Copy of my Sermon, and I gratified their Desire, by giving it unto the Printer under the Title of, *The Young mans Preservative*. At the End, I added, a remarkable History of a young Gentleman, converted unto an Heavenly Life, and rescued from the Snares of *evil Company*.

31 d. 3 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a secret Fast: especially referring to those wonderful Points of my *Particular Faith*, which are not

yett accomplished; and which keep me in Distress, because of their not being yett accomplished.

And, behold, while I am humbly expostulating with the Lord, about it, He renews the *Particular Faith* of those very Points upon me.

6 d. 4 m. [June.] Friday. I spent this Day also, in the like Exercise, on the same Occasions.

*Memorandum.* The Lord supports and comforts my Faith about my *Church-History*.

13 d. 4 m. This Day, I received Letters from *London*, which give me still to see that *Faith* is no *Fancy*.

My *Church-History*, is a bulky thing, of about 250 sheets. The Impression will cost about 600 *lb.* The Booksellers in *London* are cold about it. The Proposals for *Subscriptions*, are of an uncertain and a tedious Event.

But behold, what my Friend Mr. *Bromfield*, writes me from *London*, March 28, 1701:

“There is one Mr. *Robert Hackshaw*, a very serious and Godly man, who proposes to print the *Ecclesiastical History of N. E.* which you intrusted me withal. He is willing to PRINT IT, AT HIS OWN CHARGE, and give you as many Books (I beleeve) as you desire. When he proposed it to me, I told him, *Syr, God has answered Mr. Mather’s Prayers.* He declared He did it not with any Expectation of Gain to himself, but for the Glory of God, and that he might be a Means to midwife so good a Work into the World. And did you know him so well as I so, you would beleeve him.”

21 d. 4 m. *Saturday.* That wonderful Matter of my Father’s Agency, which had such a Sentence of Death upon it, about a year ago, is now to my Astonishment again revived so far, that there is this week a strange Operation of Things in the General Assembly towards it.<sup>1</sup>

Whether it will now be brought about or no, we know not; but my mind is in Distress about it. Wherefore I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting in my study, to commit it into the Hands of the Lord.

<sup>1</sup> Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, I. 144.

*Memorandum.* The Lord gives me a *Particular Faith*, in Prayer, that I shall shortly understand, that He has accepted some of my poor Composures, to glorify Him, in other parts of the World.

12 d. 5 m. [July.] *Saturday.* Being to preach about *Holiness* tomorrow, I thought it proper for me, this Day to humble myself before the Lord, in the Sense of my *Unholiness*, and obtain from Him the Influences, that might make me very holy. I sett apart this Day, in part for that End.

I have also some Thoughts concerning my Taking a Journey to (*Salem* and) *Ipswich*, within a week; or two; and my having there a very great Opportunity to glorify my Saviour, and edify His People. I therefore carried the whole affayr of that Journey, this Day before the Lord; that all the Circumstances of it, may be ordered in very Faithfulness: And particularly, that the fond Expectations of the People, flocking in great Multitudes to hear me, may not provoke the Lord, any way to leave me unto Confusion, as a Chastisement for their Vanity.

But as I observed a strange Coldness in my Prayers, about my Journey to *Ipswich*, so there fell out Something the next week, which wholly putt by my Purposes of going thither at all.

However, the Lord will not reject me, from serving my Lord Jesus Christ, I composed a Discourse on the *Glories* and *Wonders*, that shine in the Lord JESUS CHRIST, I discoursed on Him, extolling Him as *the Wonder of Angels*. And being desirous to invite many others to join with me in wondring at Him, I gave the little Treatise to the Book-seller; entituled, *THAUMATOGRAPHIA CHRISTIANA*, or, *THE WONDERS OF CHRISTIANITY*.<sup>1</sup>

Preaching a Sermon at the Lecture about being in the *Fear of God all the day long*, the Lord has bless'd my Sermon to myself, I beleeve, more than to any one of all my Hearers.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen for Samuel Sewall, Jr., 1701.

For it strangely revived and strengthened, my own Methods of a *daily Walk with God*. And I must humbly acknowledge, that I feel a strange Efficacy and Serenity arising from such a methodical *Walk with God*.

31 d. 5 m. Ships arrived from *England*. And I am entertained with especially two observeable Passages, which relates unto myself.

The first is this. I received a Letter from a Gentleman in *London*, in which are these words: "Your *Spanish Faith*, is gone further, than it may be, you thought for. Mr. *Chamberlain*, an Acquaintance of mine, by reason of his being employed by the religious Societies, as a Secretary for them, has a Correspondence with the French and Dutch Ministers in *Holland*. They have now at the *Hague* with them, a considerable *Spanish*, or *Portuguese* Proselyte, who desired such a thing as that was, and said, he could make great use of it. Accordingly we have sent it to them, and received Abundance of Thanks. This *Portuguese* Proselyte, is of a very good family, in his own Countrey, and was in orders there. And he does declare, that *Portugal* is very ripe for a Reformation, if it were well sett afoot there. I pray God, hasten it, in its Time!"

The second is this. Many (it may be, more than seven) Years ago, a Bookseller going from hence to *London*, carried certain Manuscripts of mine with him, declaring his Intentions to publish them. He carelessly left them in the Hands of Mr. *Cockeril*, a Bookseller there; who some time after dyed; and I could never hear what became of my Manuscripts; but with humble Submission to the Will of the Lord, therein, I gave them over for lost. After all, a Friend of mine going the last Summer for *London*, did the last *Winter* enquire after my Manuscripts; and strangely recovering of them, he carried them unto another Bookseller, who published them; and they are now, many of them, come over into the Countrey. The Book, which has had

such a *Resurrection* from the *Dead*, has this Title, DEATH MADE EASY AND HAPPY.

2 d. 6 m. [August.] *Saturday*. The dreadful Storm, that is beginning on the Nations of *Europe*, and that is impending over *New England*, (and particularly, the Destruction of all our *Charters*, which is on foot in the *Parliament*,) gives additional Causes, besides my usual ones, to be this Day, in the Duties of a *Secret Fast* before the Lord: and I was accordingly.

23 d. 6 m. *Saturday*. Purposing a Journey to *Salem* (and *Ipswich*) the next week, I sett apart this Day, especially to pray for a Blessing upon it, and upon all the Circumstances of it.

On Tuesday, 26 d. 6 m. I travelled unto *Salem*; and the day following unto *Ipswich*; where on *Thursday* I preached the Lecture. On *Friday* I returned unto *Salem*. On the Lord's-day, I preached there both parts of the Day. On the *Wednesday* I preached the Lecture there; and on *Thursday* I returned Home. The Lord smiled on my Journey, and filled it with Comfort and Service.

Much about this Time, I propounded unto myself, some Advantage to the evangelical Interests, by giving to the publick two Discourses; one directing a Christian in his *general Calling*; another directing him in his *personal Calling*. These Discourses I entituled, A CHRISTIAN AT HIS CALLING; and gave them unto the Bookseller.<sup>1</sup>

18 d. 7 m. [September.] *Thursday*. This Day, was a general Fast, thro' the Province.

One Day this week, I mett with a particular Experience (as I have often done, tho' thro' my sinful Sloth, I have not recorded it,) that may serve to illustrate the Operation of the Holy Spirit, upon the *Words* of the Faithful on their *Prayers*, and the great Occasion and Advantage, which there may be of my observing, what Words I am drawn to

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, for Samuel Sewall, Jr., 1701.

utter, when I am under the most praying *Energies* of the Lord.

Wee received Advice, that the Husband of a young Gentlewoman a little related unto me, was come to a tragical Death, in a Fight with a *Zallee-Man* of War. In my visit unto her upon this Advice, I went to *Prayer* with her, as it was my Duty. She had a sister in the Room who was also a young Widow, and had been so for many months. Now, in my Prayer, I found myself strangely diverted from the Condition of the person to whom only I intended my Visit. I was as it were compelled so to Word my Prayer, as to take in all along the Condition of her Sister; even as if my Prayer had been chiefly, if not only, for her. I wondred a little, at my Frame in this Matter.

But the Spirit of the Lord knew what I did not know. Within two Dayes, there arrived Intelligence, that the young Man, the Husband of the supposed Widow, to whom I gave my Visit, was yett living.

27 d. 7 m. *Satureday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Devotions of a secret Fast.

And this Day, I obtained from the Lord, great Perswasions and Assurances of His Blessing upon my *Church-History* (the Publication whereof has been unhappily clog'd by some Dispositions of the Gentleman, to whom I first sent it.)

My Wife's Father, being upon a second Marriage, and it being, there withal a Time of much Temptaçon, with himself and his Family; I thought it needful to spread the Case, this way and this Day, before the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

3 d. 8 m. [*October.*] *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Devotions of a secret THANKSGIVING in my Study.

I spent it in such Exercises, and with such Affections, as I use to have on such Dayes.

But the more special Favours, of Heaven, which I singled

<sup>1</sup> John Phillips married Sarah Graves, October or November, 1701.

out, for the more special Subjects of my *Thanksgiving*, were;

1. The notable Answers of *Prayer*, which I have received, as in the Prolongation of my *Life*, unto this Day, so in the Restoration of my *Health*, as it is at this Day.

2. The wonderful Defeats, which God has given to all the subtil and raging malice of my *Enemies* who, tho' for my Fidelity to the evangelical Interests, they have tried all the Wayes they can to blast my Opportunities of serving the Lord, all their *Councils are turned into Foolishness*.

3. The Lord's carrying over my *Church-History* safely into *England*, after He had helped me to compose that, and many *other Works* which Hee has accepted, and ordered to be published, and given Hopes for the Publication of that also.

4. My continual Opportunities to do good, both by *Preaching* and *Printing*, above what are enjoyed, by most of the Servants of the Lord, in the World.

And on these Points, I likewise poured out Supplications, with *Faith* and *Joy*, for further Favours of the Lord.

But there was another signal Article of my *Praises* to the Lord, on this Day; and this was, the Confluence of *Blessings*, which I enjoy in my dearest *Consort*, who bore me Company in some of the Duties of the Day. Her *Piety*, the agreeable Charms of her *Person*, her obliging Deportment unto *me*, her *Discretion* in ordering my and her Affairs, and avoiding every thing that might be dishonourable to either of us, and the lovely *Off-Spring* that I have received by her, and her being spared unto me for now more than *Fifteen Years*; these are things that I should thankfully acknowledge before the Lord.

About this Time I finished a Work, which cost me much *Time*, and *Care*, and *Study*. I wrote in a Book of above an hundred pages in *Quarto*, an account of the *Principles* and *Practices* in the Churches of *New England*. But I embellished it all along, with a further Account of what was done

in the *primitive Churches*, which required some exquisite Labor. I concluded, that a Book of this Importance, would have a mighty Tendency, to preserve the holy *Discipline* in our own Churches, from the Dangers of the *Apostasy* which may threaten it, and promote the Designs of Reformation abroad in the world. I do, for many Reasons, contrive the Work, into the Form, of a Letter to my Lord of *Haversham*; and I entitle it, *RATIO DISCIPLINÆ FRATRUM NOV-ANGLORUM or, A Faithful Account*, etc.

And now I send it unto *London*, resolving to follow it, with many Prayers and Cries unto the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, I thought, it might glorify my Lord JESUS CHRIST, if I should exhibit His *Exemple* unto my Neighbours, in publishing some evangelical Discourses, upon that noble and holy Subject. Wherefore I gave two Discourses thereupon, unto the Booksellers; who publish them, under the Title of *CHRISTIANITY TO THE LIFE*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was printed in Boston in 1726, by S. Gerrish.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in 1702.

"Oct'r 20. [In margin: 'Opprobrium. Mr. Cotton Mather speaks hard words of me.'] Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. [Richard] Wilkins's shop, and there talked very sharply against me as if I had used his father worse than a Neger; spake so loud that people in the street might hear him. Then went and told Sam, that one pleaded much for Negros, and he had used his father worse than a Negro, and told him that was his Father. I had read in the morn Mr. Dod's saying; Sanctified Afflictions are good Promotions. I found it now a cordial. And this caus'd me the rather to set under my Father and Mother's Epitaph, — Psal. 27. 10.

"It may be it would be arrogance for me to think that I, as one of Christ's Witnesses, am slain, or ly dead in the street.

"Oct'r 9. I sent Mr. Increase Mather a Hanch of very good Venison; I hope in that I did not treat him as a Negro. . . .

"October 22, 1701. I, with Major Walley and Capt. Sam'l Checkly, speak with Mr. Cotton Mather at Mr. Wilkins's. I expostulated with him from 1 Tim. 5. 1. Rebuke not an elder. He said he had considered that: I told him of his book of the Law of Kindness for the Tongue, whether this were correspondent with that. Whether correspondent with Christ's Rule: He said, having spoken to me before there was no need to speak to me again; and so justified his reviling me behind my back. Charg'd the Council with Lying, Hypocrisy, Tricks, and I know not what all. I ask'd him if it were done with that Meekness as it should; answer'd yes. Charg'd the Council in general, and then show'd my share, which was my speech in Council; viz. if Mr. [Increase] Mather should goe to Cambridge again to reside there with a Resolution not to read the Scriptures, and expound in

25 d. 8 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for *Prayer* with *Fasting* before the Lord.

Many were the Occasions of it. But one, upon which I peculiarly insisted in my Supplications, was to ask for a Blessing of God upon my *Church-History* now in *London*. And I think, the Lord favoured me, with the Consolations of a *particular Faith*, for the Blessing which I desired of Him.

About this Time, as the Effect of not small Pains nor few Prayers, I sent unto the Press, a Work which is contrived many wayes to serve the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, and promote good Knowledge and Practice in the World. I took the *New English* (my Grandfather *Cotton's*) *Catechism*, and in *twenty six Exercises* upon it (which may be twice gone over in the 52 Sabbaths of a Year) I gave the whole *Body of Divinity*, in so familiar and intelligible *Quæstions*, that a bare, *Yes*, or *No*, is the whole Answer to them all; and yett still asserted with pertinent Scriptures Hereto I added the *Assemblies Catechism* with the like (but a shorter) Operation upon it. But I did also fill up the Book, with many other *Essayes*, tho' briefer ones, with as exquisite Contrivance as I was able, to advance the Interests of the Christian Religion, among all sorts of Persons. I intended it, as a Book of great use, to all Christians, but especially to *Christian Housholders*. And the Lord in answer to my poor Cries unto Him, inspired my Neighbours, with a

the Hall: I fear the example of it will do more hurt than his going thither will doe good. This speech I owned. Said Mr. Corwin at Reading, upbraided him, saying, This is the man you dedicate your books to? I ask'd him If I should suppose he had done something amiss in his Church as an Officer; whether it would be well for me to exclaim against him in the street for it. (Mr. Wilkins would fain have had him gon into the inner room, but he would not.) I told him I conceiv'd he had done much unbecoming a Minister of the Gospel. . . .

"Oct'r 24. I got Mr. Moody to copy out my Speech, and gave it to Mr. Wilkins that all might see what was the ground of Mr. Mather's Anger. Writ out another and gave it to Joshua Gee. I perceive Mr. Wilkins carried his to Mr. Mathers; They seem to grow calm." Sewall, *Diary*, II. 43. See also his *Letter Book*, I. 263, 264. Peace was had between them at the end of the year. See *Sewall to Mather*, December 31, 1701, in *Letter Book*, I. 266.

mighty Zeal; to forward the Publication of this Work. So I gave it unto the Booksellers; entituled, *THE FAITHFUL INSTRUCTOR*. Tis twelve Sheets, in print.<sup>1</sup>

The Month of *November* most of it passed me, without any remarkable Experiences. The Lord helped me to go on in his comfortable Service; and I enjoy'd many Comforts in it.<sup>2</sup>

On 20 d. 9 m. [*November*.] was a Day of Public *Thanksgiving*; in which I enjoyed the favourable Assistences of the Lord. And I concluded the Day, with many *Resolutions*, to be yett more serviceable, in my Family, and in my Ministry; whereof I may give a further Account, when I arrive to the *Executions* of them.

I wrote a POEM of Consolations under *Blindness*, unto an aged and pious Gentlewoman, visited with total *Blindness*: Which her Son-in-Law published.

6 d. 10 m. [*December*.] *Saturday*. I doubt, lest by Prosperity, I fall into Security, I dare not go any longer, without my old Methods, of *Praying* with *Fasting* in secret Places. I sett apart this Day for the Exercises of a Fast in my Study; and for *extraordinary Prayer*, tho' I had not many Occasions but the ordinary and perpetual Ones, which indeed are enough to keep me perpetually on my Knees before the Lord.

I enjoyed something of the Divine Presence with me, this Day; and this especially, when I did in a Prayer peculiarly for that Purpose, address the Lord, for His Blessing on my *Church-History*. My Faith used a great Variety of Argument in pleading with the Lord, that the *History*,

<sup>1</sup> *Maschil, or the Faithful Instructor*, printed by B. Green and J. Allen in 1702.

<sup>2</sup> "9 d. 9 m [*November*.] *Nathanael Shaw*, having been convicted of many Scandals, as being 1. a notorious evil-company-keeper; and 2. given up to Gaming, and Idleness, and Neglect of his calling, with his evil company; and 3. often omitting the worship of God in his family; and 4. being frequently drunk; but now fled out of the province; the Church this day laid him under Censure, and agreed that a solemn Admonition should be sent after him." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, 11.

which He has helped me to write, of His glorious Works in these *American Churches* might not be lost, but be preserved and published and prospered, and find Acceptance among His People. It will be so! I have prevailed! I have prevailed!

20 d. 10 m. *Saturday*. On the same (and some other) Occasions, I sett apart this Day likewise, as a Day of Prayer in my Study.

Especially, to obtain a Blessing on my *Church-History*.

3d. 11 m. [*January*.] *Saturday*. I did the like again.

And on one of these Dayes, I imposed it as a Task upon myself, to fill my Soul with many humbling Thoughts of *Sin*, and of my own Sin, and of the Evil in my Sin; Thoughts raised from all sorts of Objects, occurring to me in the Intervals of my more fixed Meditations and Exercises, throughout the Day. I found a singular and sanctifying Vertue in this way of proceeding.

17 d. 11 m. *Saturday*. I repeted the like Exercises, on the like Occasions.

And the Lord raises my Faith concerning my *Church-History*, to a considerable Elevation and Satisfaction.<sup>1</sup>

31 d. 11 m. *Saturday*. I was again before the Lord, on the same occasions that I was a Fortnight ago, praying and fasting in my Study.

When I was this Day carrying my *Church-History* before the Lord, confessing the *Sins* of *it*, and all my *other Sins*, by which I have rendred myself worthy, that *it*, and *I* too, should be a *Cast-away*, but applying to the *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ for the Pardon of all my Sins, (which *Blood* being sprinkled on my poor Work, the *Destroyer* shall

<sup>1</sup>“*Stephen Johnson*, having his First-borne child, born six or seven weeks before nine Months from his marriage were expired, and having pœnitently and ingenuously acknowledged hereupon that he had sinfully conversed with her who is now his wife, as his wife, before she were so, his Repentance was this Day offered to the Church, and accepted.” *Cotton Mather’s MS. Records of the Second Church*, 11.

not come at it,) I received a wonderful *Assurance* from Heaven, that the Lord will accept this Work, and that His *Providence* will wonderfully appear in and for the Publication of it. My *Assurance* cast me into Floods of Tears, and I resolved that I would be wholly for the Lord, who has thus *heard the Voice of my Supplications*.

But there was another Matter, about which also I made this Day, my Addresses unto the Lord.

10 d. 12 m. [February.] Tuesday. I sett apart this Day for THANKSGIVING in my Study. The *Matter* of my *Thanksgiving*, was much the same with my last. And the *Method* of it had not much that was new. So I enter no more of it, in these Records.

But I considered with myself, that while I am on every side surrounded with mercies and *Comforts*, the *Church* of my Lord Jesus Christ abroad, is harassed with horrible *Troubles*. And it would be some Expression of my Thankfulness to the Lord, for my *Comforts*, if I did obtain in myself and promote in others, a greater sense of the *Troubles* on His *Church*. Wherefore I digested into a single Sheet of Paper, as exact and perfect and curious an Account as I could of the deplorable Condition in which the *Church* at this Time is Languishing, and with as many Charms as I could, I directed and entreated the *Prayers* of Good Men for distressed *Zion*. I entituled it, ADVICE TO THE CHURCHES OF THE FAITHFUL,<sup>1</sup> *Briefly Reporting the Present State of the Church throughout the World, and bespeaking the Fervent prayer for the Church, which this Time alone calleth for*. And I purposed, that when tis published, it shall be scattered throughout the Countrey.

My very dear Friend, Mr. *Bromfield*, was at the Charge of publishing it; and, his charitable Hand, gave two apeece to each of the Representatives in the General Assembly, desiring them to give one unto the Minister of the Place,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen in 1702.

where such Person lived. It proved highly acceptable and serviceable, and many Ministers even had it read in their Several Congregaçons.

(He did the Like afterwards, to the General Assembly in *Connecticut*.)

One thing that hath cost me more than a little Time and Care, in the latter Part of this Year, has been, to sett up a Number of religious *private Meetings*, among the Christians in my Neighbourhood, besides those that are already maintained. I considered with myself, that the Spirit of Religion was mightily preserved and promoted, by *private Meetings* well managed among the People of God. The Lord has now so marvellously prospered my Labours for and with such *private Meetings*, that I shall have at least thirteen or fourteen of these (besides my Vast Congregation) under my Charge. They unavoidably demand of me, a deal of Time, and Care, and expensive Industry: nor do I know any Minister upon Earth at this Day, that has the like Number to look after. *Lord*, assist me to value, and improve my precious Opportunities!

All that I have here to add, is, that when I am committing my *Church-History* (which great Work runs great Hazards of Miscarrying) into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, I receive wonderful Assurances, (I think, I know) from Heaven, that the Lord will accept it, and preserve it, and publish it, and that it shall not be lost. An heavenly *Afflatus* causes me sometimes to fall into Tears of Joy, assured, that the Lord has heard my Supplications about this Matter. And now, its having been thus long delayed, and obstructed and clogg'd, proves but an Opportunity for that Prayer and Faith, and for those Experiences, which if I had gone without, the Publication of that Book, would not have proved near so sweet a Mercy to me.

But, if it, should miscarry after all, O my God, My God, what Confusion would ensue upon me!

## AN OBSERVATION.

Tis a Passage, which Mr. *Baxter* has in his *Christian Directory*;

*If you be famous for any Grace or Good Work, expect to be defamed for the quite Contrary. I have known some that have given away almost all that they had to the poor, and hardly kept Necessaries for themselves; yett these persons have been accused of Coveteousness, Unkindness, Hard-dealing.*

I have myself often felt the Experience of this Observation. I will here mention the Experience, in the words of a printed Letter; wherein I myself am the very Person intended.

“It has, in some former Years commonly happened unto me, that when I visited, in the Way of my *pastoral Duty*, persons *possessed* with *evil Spirits*, the Persons, tho’ they knew every one else in the Room, yett thro’ the unaccountable Operation of the *evil Spirits* upon their Eyes, I must appear so dirty, so ugly, so *disguis’d* unto them, that they could have no Knowledge of me. I have a thousand times thought, that the Lord ordered this for some Intimation unto me, that when *Times of Temptation* come, wherein *evil Spirits* have as much Operation on the *Minds* of many People as they have on the *Eyes* of *Energumens*, a Minister of the Lord Jesus Christ that will be faithful unto His Interests, must look to be all over *disguis’d* by Misrepresentations, unto the *Minds* of them that are under the Power of *Temptation*. A Minister shall strictly impose that *Law of Kindness* upon his *Lips*, to speak not one intemperate or injurious *Word* on the greatest Provocation; and yett be represented, as a man full of *Bitterness*. He shall be always *devising liberal* Things to releeve the miserable, and spend more than many others do imagine possible to be spent in *pious Uses*, and scorn to take many little *Gains* that might lawfully so be taken, and yett they shall cry out of him for *Uncharitableness* and *Incivility*. He shall never once

in his Life, ask a *Salary*, from his Flock, nor agree with them about a *Salary*, nor have his Dependence on the *Lord's-Day Collections* for a *Salary*, nor be in any Likelihood of seeing the *Lord's-Day Collections* to fail, and yett they shall flout at him, as one *afraid of losing his Contribution*. A Minister shall be of such a Temper, that perceiving a considerable and valuable Part of his Flock, to putt themselves unto a deal of Trouble, to attend upon his Ministry (by passing a large Ferry every *Lords-Day*,) he shall one Year after another call upon those beloved Christians, to leave *his* Ministry, and sett up a *new church* by themselves, and sett up a Worthy Pastor over them, to support whom, he shall offer to contribute not a little, and part with some of his own Salary.<sup>1</sup> And yett this Minister shall be represented as *afraid of nothing more than losing his Hearers*. He shall — but I don't love to mention these Things. The Lord of Heaven teach us by these things to *long for Heaven*, and even while we are on *Earth*, to *live in Heaven!*”

#### THE COURSE OF MY PUBLIC MINISTRY.

16 d. 12 m. [February.] 1700. I preached (in course) on Heb. 12. 2. Our Lord's exemplary *Patience*, when He *endured the Cross*, *despising the Shame*. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

23 d. 12 m. I preached on Heb. 12. 2. The Lord Jesus Christ, *sitting on the right Hand of the Throne of God*.

1701. 2 d. 1 m. [March.] I preached on Heb. 12. 3. The consideration of our Lord enduring the *Contradiction* of Sinners; as a Remedy against our *Fainting* under Temptations.

6 d. 1 m. *Thursday*. I preached (the Lecture) with a great Assistance, to a great Assembly, on, Math. 8. 10. *A great Faith*. And I hope, the Lord was greatly glorified.

9 d. 1 m. I preached, on Heb. 12. 3. and concluded, with an Application, all my ten former Discourses, on this Paragraph of Scriptures.

16 d. 1 m. I preached on Lev. 10. 3. The *Sanctifying* of God, by them that *come nigh* unto Him.

23 d. 1 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 3. The Duty of all Men, and

<sup>1</sup> He is evidently speaking of himself. See p. 180, *supra*.

the Character of good Men, to *bless God*, for His *Blessings*. (Beginning a Course of Sermons, on the two first Chapters to the *Ephesians*.)

30 d. 1 m. I preached on Deut. 32. 5. The *Spotts* of them that are not the *Children of God*.

3 d. 2 m. [April.] *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, to a great Assembly again and with a very great Assistance, on Psal. 89. 5. The Lord JESUS CHRIST, as the *Wonder of Angels*.

6 d. 2 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 3. The *God and Father*, of our Lord Jesus Christ.

13 d. 2 m. I preached on Joh. 19. 30. The *sixth* Word of our Lord on the Cross. (And I administred the Eucharist.) This day I also baptised sixteen Persons.

20 d. 2 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 3. *Spiritual Blessings*.

24 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. A general Fast. I preached on Hos. 8. 12. The *woful* Contrition of a People, from whom *God is departed*.

27 d. 2 m. I discoursed from the same Text, on Methods to obtain the *Presence* of God, with us in our Undertakings; and concerning *Desertions*, etc.

1 d. 3 m. [May.] *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture; but it being a great Storm on this day, I preached, on Mat. 7. 25. The *House* of the *wise Builder*, out-standing the *Storm*; and I concluded with Observaçõs relating to the present *Storm* among the Nations.

4 d. 3 m. I preached on, Eph. 1. 3. The Word (*ALL*) *spiritual Blessings*.

11 d. 3 m. I preached on Psal. 119. 30. *Choosing the way of Truth*.

25 d. 3 m. *Thursday*. I preached, (the Lecture of Boston being turned into a Fast) on Exod. 17. 11. *Lifting up the Hands of Prayer and Faith*, for the distressed Church.

18 d. 3 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 3. The *heavenly Places*.

25 d. 3 m. I preached, on Prov. 9. 6. *Forsaking foolish Company*. (Because I saw great Mischiefs befalling some of our *young People* especially, from that Occasion.)

1 d. 4 m. [June.] I preached on Eph. 1. 3. Its being *in Christ*, that we have all spiritual Blessings.

8 d. 4 m. I preached on Luk. 23. 46. The last of the *seven Words* uttered by our Saviour on the Cross. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

15 d. 4 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 4. *Election*.

22 d. 4 m. I preached on Prov. 12. 5. *Right Thought*.

26 d. 4 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, to a great Assembly and with a great Assistance, concluding my Discourse on Psal. 89. 5. The *Wonders* of Christianitie.

6 d. 5 m. [*July*.] I preached on Eph. 1. 4. Being chosen *In Christ*.

13 d. 5 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 4. being chosen to be *Holy*.

20 d. 5 m. I preached on Prov. 11. 23. The *good Desires* of good Men.

24 d. 5 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture on Prov. 23. 17. Being in the Fear of God, *all the Day long*.

27 d. 5 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 4. Being without Blame.

3 d. 6 m. [*August*.] I preached, on Eph. 5. 25. The *Love of Christ, giving Himself*. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

5 d. 6 m. *Tuesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Roxbury*, on Eph. 1. 3. *In Christ*.

10 d. 6 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 4. *Love*.

17 d. 6 m. I preached on Psal. 63. 3. *God's Favour better than Life*.

21 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture on, Gen. 47. 3. A Christian giving a good Account of his Behaviour, in this *particular Occupation*. (To a great Assembly, and with a great Assistance.)

24 d. 6 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 5. *Adoption*.

28 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, at *Ipswich*, on Luk. 23. 43.

31 d. 6 m. I preached at *Salem*, A. M. on Ps. 63. 3. The *Favour* of God. P. M. on Prov. 23. 17. The *Fear* of God.

3 d. 7 m. [*September*.] *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Salem*, on Heb. 2. 18. *Temptations*.

7 d. 7 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 5. *Adoption*, being by *Christ*, and for the *Glory* of God, and from the *Pleasure* of God.

14 d. 7 m. I preached on Prov. 13. 15. The *Way of Trangressors hard*.

18 d. 7 m. *Thursday*. A general Fast. I preached on Ezek. 14. 23. A *Cause* for all the Judgments of God.

21 d. 7 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 6. The *Glory* of *Grace*.

24 d. 7 m. *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Reading*; on Prov. 12. 5.

28 d. 7 m. I preached on 1. Joh. 1. 3. *Communion* with God and with *Christ*; (And I administred the Eucharist.)

5 d. 8 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 6. *Acceptance* with God, by *Grace*, and thro' *Christ*.

12 d. 8 m. I preached on Prov. 11. 18. The *deceitful Work of the Wicked*.

17 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture on Job. 15. 17. *Declaring* what I, and my Hearers, had *seen*, in our daily *Experiences*, to confirm and commend, *Lessons of Religion*.

20 d. 8 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 7. *Redemption by Christ*.

26 d. 8 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 7. The *Blood of Christ*, the Price of Redemption.

2 d. 9 m. [*November*.] I preached on Eph. 1. 7. The *Forgiveness of Sins*.

9 d. 9 m. I preached on Prov. 15. 24. The *Way of Life* being above.

13 d. 9 m. *Thursday*, I preached on, Col. 1. 3. *Thanksgiving of God*; and particularly, the *Way of celebrating a Day of Thanksgiving*. (Præparatory unto such a Day to be celebrated this Day se'nnight.)

16 d. 9 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 7. *Riches of Grace*.

20 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. It being a Day of publick *Thanksgiving*, I preached again on Eph. 1. 7. An Exhortation, to make the *Riches of Grace*, the Subject of our Wonders and our *Praises*.

23 d. 9 m. I preached on Gal. 5. 24. The *Crucifying of sinful Dispositions*, by them that belong to a *crucified Saviour*. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

30 d. 9 m. I preached, on Eph. 2. 8. *Grace abounding*, particularly in the *Applications of the Benefits of Election and Redemption*.

7 d. 10 m. [*December*.] I preached, on Prov. 13. 21. *Evil pursuing Sinners*.

11 d. 10 m. *Thursday*. It being the *shortest Day of the Year*, I preached the Lecture, on 1. Cor. 7. 29. The *Time short*.

14 d. 10 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 8. That word, *Us*, that they who have received the *Forgiveness of Sins*, have peculiar Cause to celebrate the *abundant Grace of God*.

21 d. 10 m. I preached again on the same Subject.

25 d. 10 m. *Thursday*. I preached (the Lecture) on Psal. 37. 25. God's providing *Bread for the Righteous*, and their *Offspring*. (Because, tis a Time of many Temptations in the Town, upon that point, how we shall be provided for.)

28 d. 10 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 8. *Wisdom, or Knowledge*, in Faith.

4 d. 11 m. [*January*.] I preached on Prov. 19. 2. The *Evil of being without Knowledge*.

11 d. 11 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 8. *Prudence*.

18 d. 11 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 8. [ALL] *Wisdom* and *Prudence* in the Gifts of Grace to the People of God. (And I administered the Eucharist.)

25 d. 11 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 9. The *Mystery* of the *Will of God* revealed in the Gospel.

1 d. 12 m. [February.] I preached, on Prov. 3. 17. The *Wayes of Piety*, *Wayes of Pleasancy*.

5 d. 12 m. *Thursday*. I preached, on Prov. 4. 3, 4. The *Duty of parental Catechising*. (A Subject highly seasonable and the Lord made it highly acceptable.)

8 d. 12 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 9. The *Dispensation of the Gospel*, the great Instrument for the Conveyance of saving Grace.

A good Note on a Little Book entituled: *A Spiritual Legacy*.

Pray for those you love; and assure yourselves, you shall never have Comfort of his Friendship, for whom you pray not.

## Annus Luctuosus.

Prophetia quæ dicit aliquid tale futurum, impletur per aliquid tale. Cocceius, in Mat. 2. 23.

## THE XLTH YEAR OF MY LIFE.

12 d. 12 m. [February.] 1701. *Thursday.* On a Thursday just thirty nine Years ago, I first appeared in the World.

I cannot express, wither my Amazements at the Goodness and Mercy of God, in sparing me thus far beyond my Expectation, to enter upon the fortieth Year of my Age: (Methinks, *forty* sounds old and big!) Or, my Distresses, in reflecting upon my sinful and foolish Mispence of my irrevocable Time; (Alas, how little, how nothing have I done in all this Time!)

I considered these things a little this Day, in my Supplications before the Lord. But more, on the Day following which was with me a Day of Prayer, (albeit I did three Dayes ago keep a Day of Thanksgiving in my Study.)

In this Month, I happily accomplished the Establishment of two Societies in this Town; which two Societies having much Dependence on me for Directions in their Designs, and being very ready to be directed by mine, I may, if the Lord continue me, enjoy many special and signal Opportunities to glorify Him.

One is, a *Society for the Suppression of Disorders.* About a dozen or fourteen good Men, whereof some are *Justices*, agree to meet, for Consultation upon that point, *what and where Disorders do arise, in the Town, and how may such*

*Disorders be prevented!* I drew up *Orders* for them, wherein they have united; and I hope, I may see considerable Things done by them, towards the *Reformation* of the Place.

Another is, a *Society for the Propagation of the Christian Religion*. A Number of our more significant Gentlemen, have combined with me, to sett up a Conversation at each others Houses, upon that Point, *what is the Present State of the Christian Religion, at home, and abroad; and what we may do for the Service of it?* God knows whether here may not be laid a Foundation for some Actions of a great and good Influence, upon the evangelical Interests.

1702.

4 d. 1 m. [March.] *Wednesday*. I thought it proper to sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting in my Study before the Lord.

I had many Occasions to do so. One Occasion was this: The Lord hitherto keeps me Ignorant, what becomes of my *Church-History*, a Point of extraordinary Concernment unto me. We are now expecting Ships from *London*, and I desire in a way of the most solemn Humiliation to be preparing for what Advice may be coming unto me. I keep submitting and resigning this weighty Matter unto the Lord, and consenting unto so humbling a Trial, as the Loss of my *Church-History*, if the Lord shall order me to be tried with so severe an Exercise. But, behold, the Lord from Heaven assures me, that my *Church-History* shall not be lost.

Another Occasion was this. Having at my Lecture about a Month ago, preached on the Duty of *parental Catechising*, I design to morrow, to preach on the Duty of young Persons, when they come to those Years wherein they are no longer *catechised*. Wherefore I now abased myself before the Lord, in the Sense of my own exceeding Unworthiness, that He should make use of me, thus from Time to Time,

in addressing the young People of N. E. with the Admonitions of Piety; especially since my own Youth had in some Respects been so very impious. And I implored a mighty Assistance and Possession of the Holy Spirit, that so I may to morrow glorify the Lord exceedingly:

Moreover, the critical Condiçon of the Church at this Day, obliges me to be more than ever in Supplications unto the Lord.

*Memorandum.* I have been much engaged both in public and in private Supplications, that the Lord would open a way, for the Access of His glorious Gospel into the vast Regions of the *Spanish America*: and I know no Minister but myself who hath been so.<sup>1</sup> Now, while I was this Day employing my Thoughts, upon this great Subject there was brought unto my Hands, a most wonderful Thing, which was brought hither the last Night from England; namely, a Copy of the Articles concluded between the Emperour King of *England* and States of *Holland*: whereof the *sixth* is, *that the English and Dutch shall have Liberty to make themselves Masters, if they can, of the Countreys and Cities, under the Dominion of Spain in the Indies, and that they shall keep all that they shall conquer.*<sup>2</sup> Who can tell, what may be the Consequence of this astonishing Thing?

The Day following, I enjoyed a wondrous Presence of the Lord with me, in my public Ministrations; and this unto so vast an Auditory, especially of young Persons, as has rarely been preach'd unto. I did, by a sweet Experience, find what it is, to preach after solemn Addresses to Heaven by Prayer, for heavenly Influences. I must bear a *Testi-*

<sup>1</sup> Sewall offered to subscribe five pounds towards printing the Bible in Spanish in a fair octavo. "Then you might attempt the Bombing of Santa Domingo, the Havana, Porto Rico, and Mexico itself." *Letter Book*, I. 297.

<sup>2</sup> The grand Alliance was formed September 7, 1701, having for its object the breaking up of the Franco-Spanish monarchy, by giving Italy to the Emperor, Joseph I, and the Indies to the maritime powers.

*mony* for the Lord, that He is good unto the Soul that seeks Him; and that Ministers, who give up themselves unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and His Holy Spirit, shall be made His Mouth unto His People, after they have been emptied of themselves and buffeted with Temptations, and cast into the Dust before the Lord.

After this, I took my two last Lectures, and giving the little Book this Title, CARES ABOUT THE NURSERIES, I gave it unto the Bookseller;<sup>1</sup> with Resolutions, that when it is published, I will take off two or three every Week, and scatter them in the Families where I make my Visits in the Neighbourhood.

14 d. 1 m. *Saturday*. It was my Purpose to have sett apart this Day, as I did one the last Week, for Prayer, præparatory to the Celebration of the *Eucharist*, which is to morrow, by my vile Hand to be administred.

But because I preached Yesterday, and was afraid of over-doing, unto a Trespass against the sixth Commandment, I omitted it.

However, in the Evening, I perceived I was able to have done more than I thought I was.

Wherefore I called now to Mind, that the primitive Christians, in Obedience to that Commandment of *Watching unto Prayer*, sometimes had their *Vigils*, which were of great use unto them in their Christianity. To spend a good Part of a *Night* sometimes in Prayer, and so take the Advantage of a nocturnal Solitude, and abridge themselves of their usual Rest, for the sake of a devout Conversation with Heaven; they found God often rewarding the Devotions of such *Vigils*, with a more than ordinary Degree of heavenly Consolation. Accordingly I resolved, that I would this Night, make some Essay towards a *Vigil*. I dismissed my dear Consort unto her own Repose; and in the Dead of the Night, I retired into my Study; and there

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Green and B. Allen, 1702.

casting myself into the Dust, prostrate on my Study-floor before the Lord, I was rewarded with Communications from Heaven, that cannot be uttered. There I lay, a long while wrestling with the *Lord*; and I received some strange Intimations from Heaven, about the Time and Way of my Death, and about Mercies intended for my Family, and about several other Points about which my Mind may be too sollicitous. *Lord! what is Man, that thou shouldest thus visit Him!*

If these be *Vigils*, I must (as far as the *sixth* Commandment will allow,) have some more of them!

Now, as I have often observed it, so it still continues a matter of Observation unto me, that when I have been admitted unto some near, and sweet and intimate Communion with *Heaven*, I must immediately upon it encounter some Vexation on *Earth*; either *bodily Illness* or *popular Clamour* or *satanic Buffet* immediately followes. I expected something on this Occasion. Accordingly, while I was preaching on the Day following, one of my Chimney's took Fire, and my own House, with my Neighbours, was much endangered, and our great Congregation ran out of the Meeting-house, unto the Releef of my House, and I was thus mark'd out for Talk all over.

In this Month, and near this Time, the Lord inclined me, assisted me, accepted me, to do several small Services for His Name.

I did my part in procuring the Justices and Select Men to putt the Bridewel into a good Condition, for the Cure of much Idleness and Wickedness.

I moved, that the Town would vote a Committee, to consider on Methods, for setting the Poor to work.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elisha Hutchinson, Penn Townsend, John Foster and the overseers of the poor formed this committee, which was appointed March 9, 1701-02. In May, the sum of £90 was appropriated towards procuring materials for setting the poor at work as the overseers of the poor should direct. *Boston Record Commissioners*, VIII. 23, 24.

I sett forward a Town-Vote for the rectifying of gross Abuse in the Choice of Jury-men, which was obtained.<sup>1</sup>

I wrote many Letters, to forward the Designs of Prayer for the distressed Church of God.

I procured a Clause to be putt into the Order for the *general Fast*, exciting the Churches throughout the Province unto successive Dayes of Prayer to be kept in particular Congregations.

I prosecuted a Design of obtaining able and faithful *Indians*, to undertake the Work of Evangelizing the Salvages in the eastern Parts of the Countrey.

And several other Things, worth as much Mention as these; that is to say, worth none at all. But it may be, the Lord has them in the Book of His Remembrance.

About this Time, I foresaw several great Advantages likely to arise from it, (and particularly in my pastoral Visits,) if I would compose and comprise diverse brief Systems of the Christian Religion, with an acceptable Variety of Artifice, whereof one, a compleat Abridgement of the Assemblies Catechism, all in one Single Sheet of Paper. Accordingly I did so, and gave it unto the Printer, entitled SOUND WORDS, TO BE HELD FAST IN FAITH AND LOVE.<sup>2</sup>

It having been my Custome, to præface my *Evening-Prayer* in My *Family*, with a Meditation, on some Text of Scripture, and having in this way gone thro' not only whole Psalms, and Chapters, but also, whole Books of the Scriptures, I thought I would now take the *Scotch Commentators*, who have gone over many parts of the Bible with Doctrines

<sup>1</sup> "For the more orderly choyce of persons to serve on Juryes it is ordered, that the Select men do once a year present unto the Town a list of all persons whom they shall judge proper to serve on Juryes. And at the Time of such choyce the nomination shall be made out of the said List and proposed to the vote of the Town in order to their chuszeing or refuseing the persons so nominated, and this methode to continue and be observed for the year ensueing." *Boston Record Commissioners*, VIII. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Printed with *Cares about the Nurseries*.

raised out of every Verse and read a Portion from them in my Family, before our *Evening Prayer*, till I have (if I should live so Long) dispatch'd them all.

I begun with *Hutcheson* upon *Job*.<sup>1</sup> And many times after I had begun, I had this darted into my Mind; that I might expect some Trials (perhaps of long Sickness,) to come shortly upon my Family; and that the Lessons fetch'd from the Story of *Job*, were to prepare me for those Trials.

1 d. 2 m. [April.] *Wednesday*. To morrow, is to be kept as a general Day of Prayer with Fasting, throughout the Province. It is a Time of extraordinary Calls to it. I thought, I would prepare for the Day, by a *Vigil* the Night before. Accordingly I spent good Part of the Night, namely till towards one a clock in the Morning, first in singing of *Psalms*, and then in making of Prayers, prostrate in the Dust on my Study-floor before the Lord. The Lord most favorably and familiarly drew nigh to His poor Servant, and acquainted me, with some of His gracious Purposes concerning me.

On the Day following, I enjoyed a mighty Presence of the Lord with me, in the Exercises of the Day, with a vast Congregation of His People.

4 d. 2 m. *Saturday*. I was in much Distress upon my Spirit, concerning my *Church History*, and some other elaborate Composures, that I have sent unto *London*; about the Progress towards the Publication whereof, the Lord still keeps me in the Dark. To have those Composures with all my Labours and Prayers about them, lost, would be a terrible Trial to me: but I thought it my Duty to prepare for such a Trial. Wherefore I sett apart a *Vigil* this Night, peculiarly for that Service.

Accordingly, in the Dead of the Night, I first sang some agreeable *Psalms*; and then casting myself prostrate in the

<sup>1</sup> George Hucheson, whose *Exposition upon Job*, the sum of three hundred and sixteen lectures, was published in 1669.

Dust, on my Study-floor before the Lord, I confessed unto Him, the Sins for which He might justly reject me, and all my Services; and I promised unto Him, that if He would reject those particular Services, which I had been labouring to do for His Name, in my *Church-History*, and some other Composures now in *England*, tho' my Calamity therein would be very sensible, yett I would, with His Help, submit patiently unto His Holy Will therein; and I would not be discouraged thereby at all from further Endeavours to serve my Lord Jesus Christ, but I would love Him still, and seek Him still, and serve Him still, and never be weary of doing so; but essay to serve Him in other wayes, if He would not accept of these. Thus did I resign unto the Lord; who thereupon, answered me, that He was my Father and that He took Delight in me, and that He would smile upon my Endeavours to serve Him, and that my *Church-History* should be accepted and prospered.

12 d. 2 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart the Day, for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study, on such occasions, as have lately putt me on the same, or the like Exercises.

I also renewed my *Vigils*, with some Frequency.

In some of these, my Mind is irradiated with cælestial and angelical Influences, assuring of me, that my *Church-History* shall not be lost, but shall come abroad, and be made serviceable unto the evangelical Interests, and be of great Use in that great Work of *cleansing the Temple*, for which the Lord will speedily *pour out a Spirit* upon His People from on High.

In one of my *Vigils*, when I sang the 131st Psalm, that Passage exceedingly affected me; *My Soul is even as a weaned Child, lett Israel hope in the Lord, from henceforth*. I had been *wrestling* with the Lord, for the good Success of my *Church-History*; in the midst of this my *wrestling*, I was become *as a weaned Child*, even resigning the whole matter unto the Ordering of the Lord, and resolving to be satisfied

with whatever He shall order! But it was now powerfully sett Home upon my Mind, that I might now *Hope in the Lord from henceforth*, to see a good Issue of the Matter.

16 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. This Day, I received a short Letter from an holy Servant of Christ, which had this (and little more than This) Passage in it.

“You’l pardon my troubling you, with a Line, to thank you for your *Maschil*, which I think, may be called *Mictam* as well as *Maschil*.<sup>1</sup> You help me to this Thought; How full of Excellency is the glorified Man, the Lord JESUS CHRIST, if by His Holy Spirit, He so fills one of His Admirers, that he is Enabled to fill a Book with such excellent Things!”

Tis impossible for me to express the Satisfaction of Soul, which the Sight of this Passage raised in me. That holy ones, whose Hearts are sett upon glorifying of the Lord Jesus Christ, should by any Thing of *Him* in me, be led unto the Contemplation of His Glories! This, this is the highest Pitch of my Felicity; I aspire to nothing higher than this, throughout eternal Ages. Now my good God has begun to grant me this Felicity. I despise the Diadems of Emperours, in Comparison of it. I am happy, I am happy. *Lord*, I am swallowed up with the Extasies of thy Love!

About this Time, I considered, that there are in the Skirts of our Colonies, diverse Plantations, that live destitute of any evangelical Ministry. Wherefore I drew up as Pungent an Address as I could, unto those unspellized, and paganizing Plantations, to sett before them, the Excellency and Necessity, of being well-accommodated with the means of Grace; hoping to animate the Zeal of some at least, of the Inhabitants in those wretched Places, to look out for an evangelical Ministry, to come among them. The

<sup>1</sup> The exact meaning of the two words, which occur in the headings of some of the Psalms, has never been determined. They are due to transposition and corruption of letters.

Gentlemen of my Society, were at the Charge of printing it. It is entituled, A LETTER TO UNGOSPELLIZED PLANTATIONS.<sup>1</sup>

1 d. 3 m. [May.] Friday. And now, I see once again, that *Faith* is no *Fancy*. Bless the Lord, O my Soul, and rejoice in His wonderful Goodness and Mercy towards the most loathsome Sinner in the World!

My *Church-History* has been in extreme Hazard of Mis-carrying. The Delay, given by the nice Hummours of my Friend in whose Hands it was left, unto the kind Offers and Motions of the Gentleman, that would have published it a Year ago, exposed it unto the Hazard of never being published at all. God continued the Opportunities and Inclinations of that Gentleman to go on with the Undertaking. When they began to fail, God stirr'd up a very eminent Bookseller,<sup>2</sup> to come in, with obliging Tenders of his Assistance. Letters to Advise me of this, were dated as long ago as the twentieth of last *November*. One Ship arrives from *London* after another, and still I am strangely kept in the Dark; I have no Satisfaction in any of them. *God will have my Prayer and Faith employ'd unto the uttermost!* At last, on this Day, after so long a Delay, comes in the Ship that had these Letters; which also tell me, that they hoped the Work would be finished, by the Month of *March*, which is now past. But still, *Prayer* and *Faith*, must be kept at work, for the good Circumstances of it.

9 d. 3 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Duties of a Fast, in my Study. The Duties were very poorly attended. Yett not without some Irradiations from Heaven. Especially, in this point, that happy Tidings were coming to me from *England*.

A very religious young Minister, (and one doubtless of much more Grace than myself) visited me, desiring my

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1702.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Parkhurst, whose name appears on the title-page of the *Magnalia*.

Advice, about his distress'd Case; for, he told me, he was fully *convinced of his being to this Day, an unconverted and unregenerate Creature.*

Lord, (*thought I*) what cause have I to examine seriously and thoroughly my own State, if one so much better than I hath such Thoughts of *his*?

Butt setting myself to comfort him, I found a wonderful Comfort convey'd unto my own Soul, with a Dialogue of this Importance.

I pray, Syr, what is it that stands upon the Shelf before you? *A Repeating Clock, and a very curious One.* What use do you think, I will putt it to? *Syr, You'll assign it a convenient and honourable Place in your House and putt it to the noble Use of measuring your Time.* How do you know, that I shall not make it a Stool to sitt upon, a Block to tread upon, a Backlog to be thrown into my Fire? *Syr, The Workmanship of it, makes it appear to be intended for no such miserable Use.* Well then: Have not you upon your Soul, a divine Workmanship, far more excellent, than the most curious *Clock-Work* in the World? A Work of *Grace*, is a Work of *God*; even of Him, who *does nothing in Vain.* You find in yourself, a Disposition, a strong Disposition and Inclination to glorify God, and serve the Interests of the Lord Jesus Christ, and slay all Sin as being most contrary unto Him. This is a Work of *Grace.* You know no delight comparable to that of Serving the Lord Jesus Christ. God has *wrought* this in you; and herein He has *wrought* you, for that *self-same Thing*, of being to the *Praise of His Glory* forever. What use can you think, He will now putt you to, but that [of] serving the Lord Jesus Christ, in His heavenly World? Such a *Peece of Workmanship, (created unto good Works)* as what is wrought in you, was never intended for to be thrown into the *Fire of Hell.* No, there is no use of it there. God intends you for an heavenly Use, undoubtedly.

This Thought gave to *me*, an inexpressible Consolation, whatever it gave to him, to whom I directed it.

23 d. 3 m. *Saturday*. In a *Vigil*, I exceedingly bewayled before the Lord, my want of *Love to Souls*; and entreated Him with my whole Heart, that the Vertue of *Love to Souls*, might by His Holy Spirit, be mightily working in me.

About this Time, I considered, that there was a very destructive Impiety, wherein too many of this Town and Land indulged themselves; namely that of *needless and frequent Absence from the religious Assemblies*. Now, because a Sermon preached, is not so likely to come at them, I thought, the Writing and Printing of a Letter, to the negligent Neighbours, on that Subject, might be of use, to be conveyed unto them; I did præpare a Sheet accordingly; and procure the Assistance of my *Society for the Suppression of Disorders*, to publish and scatter, the Letter, about the Countrey. It is entituled — A MONITORY LETTER TO THEM WHO NEEDLESSLY AND FREQUENTLY ABSENT THEMSELVES FROM THE PUBLICK WORSHIP OF GOD.

And at the General Convention of our Ministers, in *Boston* (at the *Election*,) the Lord accepted me to do several Services for Him. Especially this: I considered, how much the glorious *Doctrines of Grace* are depraved, and deserted, even in the Churches of the Reformation, and especially in the English Nation: and, how much Danger there is, lest the Churches of New England and our younger Clergy in them, should lose those glorious *Doctrines of Grace* and be poisoned by vile *Pelagian* Books, that from beyond-sea, are vended among us. Wherefore, I composed a System of those illustrious *Doctrines*; and I composed it in express Terms fetch'd from the *Articles* and *Homilies* of the Church of *England*; foreseeing a manifold Advantage in my doing so.

This my brief System, I accompanied with lively Warnings unto the Churches, telling them, how much the Vitals of Christianity, were concerned, in the Preservation

of those *Doctrines*, adding also, proper Cautions against *Antinomian* Abuses of them. God so assisted and prospered my Speeches among the Ministers, that they voted for the publishing of this Instrument unto the Churches, as their *Testimony* to the Interests of the Gospel.

It is entituled, A SEASONABLE TESTIMONY TO THE GLORIOUS DOCTRINES OF GRACE, NOW MANY WAYES UNDERMINED IN THE WORLD.

My dear Consort, this Week, (25 d. 3 m.) after previous Illness, unhappily miscarried of a Son, after being four or five Months with Child; and yett, it is possible, that not unhappily; for she had also a *false Conception*, whereof she was now delivered. She was brought into Languishments of extreme and threatening Sickness.

I thought it my Duty to humble myself before the Lord, under His Rebukes upon my Family. And I could find sufficient Occasions for Humiliation. But when I more particularly examined, Whether I had ever troubled the Churches of the Lord, with any *false Conception*, I could not find myself Conscious to any such Matter.

My Consort having passed this Week, very ill, the next made her State, very dangerous and dubious. The dreadful Cloud hanging over my poor Family, caused me to ly in the Dust before the Lord. More particularly on

*Wednesday, 3 d. 4 m. [June.]* I sett myself, to attend the Duties of a Fast, in my Study, on this occasion. But I had a sad Experience, that I can't beleeve what I will, or when I will. An uncomfortable Dullness accompanied the Devotions of the Day. I could not but fear, lest the Death of my Consort, and all the unhappy Effects of it upon a broken Family, must overtake me.

Instead of having my Mind replenished and irradiated with the holy Spirit, I found the evil Spirit buffetting of my mind, with *impure Thoughts*, which exceedingly abased me before the Lord.

The Distress proceeded. God awakened me to sett apart another Day, namely,

*Saturday, 6 d. 4 m.* before the Week was out, for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study, that I might obtain the Life of my Consort, at His gracious Hands.

And on this Day, I mett with wonderful Things. In the Forenoon, while I was at Prayer, with my dying Wife, in her Chamber, pleading the Sacrifice of my Lord Jesus Christ, for my Family, I began to feel the blessed Breezes of a *Particular Faith*, blowing from Heaven upon my mind; I began to see that my dear Consort should be restor'd unto me, by the same good Hand that bestow'd her at first upon me. And I resolv'd, that in a Way of Gratitude, I would study certain particular Methods, to recommend the use of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a *Family-Sacrifice*, in the Faith of His People.

But in the Afternoon, when I was alone in my Study crying unto the Lord, for sparing and healing Mercy to my Consort, my *Particular Faith* was again renewed, and with a Flood of Tears, I thought I received an Assurance from Heaven, that she should Recover this time. Whereupon I begg'd of the Lord, that He would by His good Spirit incline me to be exemplarily wise, and chaste and holy in my whole Conversation, when I should again *obtain such favour of the Lord*, as to have my *good Thing* with me, in former Circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

Rising off my Knees, I took my Psalm-book, with an Intention, to find and sing some *Psalm*, agreeable to what I was now upon.

Unto my Surprize (and I am often served so,) the first Psalm, at which my Psalm-book opened, was the *Hundred and Eighteenth*; where I found and sang these Passages,

*I did lift up my Voice to Jah,  
From out of Streightness great;*

<sup>1</sup> A marginal entry has been struck out.

*The Lord an Answer gave to me,  
With an enlarged Seat.*

*The Tabernacles of the Just  
the Voice of Joy afford,  
And of Salvation; strongly works  
the right Hand of the Lord,*

*I shall not dy, but live, and shall  
the Works of Jah declare;  
The Lord did sorely chasten me,  
but me from Death did spare.*

I then went unto my Consort, and assured her, that she should live yett awhile.

My Wife still grew worse, and on the Day following, which was the *Lord's-Day*, She was apprehended by those about her, to be actually struck with Death, and the Physician was called out of the public Assembly.

My *Faith* was now tried, but it held out; and the Fitt upon my Wife went over.

She lay yett so very weak, that I was called up, in the middle of the following Night, because they thought her dying. I retired into my Study, about one or two a clock in the Night, and there had a *Vigil*, wherein the Lord renewed unto me my Assurances of His purpose to recover her, and make her to live, nor as yett snatch her wholly from me.

The next Morning the Assurance was yett again renewed unto me, with a Flood of Tears, and Hopes and Joyes and Wonders, when I was praying with her, after I had read by her the latter End of the eighth Chapter of *Luke*: (her Father, as her *Jairus* being also present.)

On this very Day, a critical Salivation began to sieze her, and her Feavour began to go off.

But it must not so go off, as to leave my Faith without further Trial.

After a whole Weeks great Weakness, partly by her extream Salivation, and partly by the Feavours degenerating into a Character that had much of a certain Ague in it, she was brought and kept so low, that her Life still was in extreme Hazard. Wherefore I saw, I must *beseech the Lord thrice*. On

16 d. 4 m. *Tuesday*. I kept another Day of Prayer in my study on her behalf; and made it an Opportunity for further Supplications, relating to Affayrs in *England*. It proved a Day of no great Enjoyments.

After this Day, she grew rather worse. On *Friday*, I even suspected her of dying.

Wonderful the Trial of my *Faith*. But it held out comfortably under the Trial. And by so much the greater Blessing shall I receive after it; and the greater Glory will come unto the Lord.

Several Addresses of some Consequence, especially one to the Queen, did I draw up, about this Time.

God continuing my Consort's extreme Illness, I did again on

24 d. 4 m. *Wednesday*. Sett apart this Day, for prayer with Fasting, to cry unto the Lord for her; as also, to obtain His Presence with me, to morrow.

On this Day, the Lord was pleased in a most astonishing Manner to renew my *Particular Faith*, for the Recovery of my dear Consort. God, and His good Angel, has assured me from Heaven, that tho' my Consort be in such dying Circumstances, yett she shall not yett dy, but live: And the Lord Jesus Christ, shall have Glory among His People, (particularly, the Glory of His being our *Family-Sacrifice*,) on the Occasion of the Experiences, which the present Condition of my Family does afford me.

Several Times again this Day, when I took my Psalm-book, to sing some Psalms agreeable to my present Circumstances, to my Surprize I found, that my *Psalm-book* still so

opened, that the very first Psalms occurring to me, afforded me the most agreeable Passages in the World. e.g. Psal. 66. 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. And Isa. 12. etc.

On the Day following I enjoy'd an extraordinary Presence of the Lord with me; in preaching to the Governour, (newly arrived,) and the General Assembly and a very great Auditory; describing, *A Good Man*, with characters which the Lord made observable and acceptable.

On the Friday, my Consort's Illness grew still (if it could be,) full of more uneasy Symptomes. I saw no Likelihood of any other than Death after all. But Lord! how aggravated a Calamity must be her Death, if such a Sting, as the Disappointment of my *Particular Faith*, must be added unto it! Wherefore, on

27 d. 4 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart another Day for Prayer with Fasting on so Distressing an Occasion.

And on this Day, unto my Astonishment again, the Lord, and His Angel, has renewed my Assurance, that my Consort shall recover, and that with a more wise and chast Conversation than ever, I shall yett glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, and have a Family exemplary for the Service of the Lord. Several Passages, in 2. Cor. 1. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. were of singular Use to me, in the Contemplations with which my *Particular Faith* in one Effort of it this Day, was accompanied.

In the ensuing Week, besides other Services, I accomplish'd one of more than ordinary Consequence.

Having drawn up certain, PROPOSALS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF RELIGION IN THE CHURCHES, BY A DUE TRIAL OF THEM THAT STAND CANDIDATES OF THE MINISTRY; they were laid before a Convention of near thirty of our Ministers, who all concurred unto them; and I proceeded then to publish a convenient Number of Copies, that so the Instrument may be dispersed into all parts of the Countrey, for the Concurrence and the Direction of all concerned.

But I must not lett this Week pass me, without another Day of Prayer, on the behalf of my Consort, who still continues languishing, without any Hope in herself to be restored. Accordingly,

4 d. 5 m. [July.] *Saturday*. I kept this Day, as I kept two the last Week, in my Study. Both with respect unto the Condition of my Consort; and with respect unto the Condition of the Town, where the Small-pox begins to spread; and the Land, where a War is now proclaimed; and other sad Circumstances we have in our Government. But especially my own poor Family I carried unto the Lord, by Faith getting it sprinkled with the Blood of Jesus Christ, that so the Destroyer may not, at this evil Time have any Commission to touch it.

But the Illness of my Consort continued upon her, until it came to a great Extremity; and some great Symptomes and Actions of one in the Agony of Death were observed in her on the next Friday Morning, and the Night preceding. However, the Lord still stept in to succour her, upon our Cries unto Him. And I was desirous on

12 d. 5 m. *Saturday*, to keep a *seventh Fast* in my Study for the Life of my dear Consort; on which Day I also made *seven* several Addresses for her; wherein I resigned her unto the Lord and submitted unto all the sorrowful Consequences, of a rejected *Prayer*, and a defeated *Faith*, and a desolate broken *Family*, if He should order them for me. But while I thus *gave up* my dear Consort, still I could not *give her over*. I thought, I received fresh Assurances from Heaven, that she should be restored unto me, and that the Lord should be exceedingly glorified on that Occasion.

About this Time, I considered, that it might be serviceable more Wayes than one, unto the evangelical Interest for me to publish the Sermon I preached lately, unto the Governour, and the General Assembly, upon the Character of a *good Man*. Wherefore I gave it unto the Booksellers,

entituled, *THE POURTRAITURE OF A GOOD MAN; Drawn with the Pencils of the Sanctuary.*<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, a Discourse which I delivered at our Lecture, when I suddenly diverted from the Subject I intended, and but a few Minutes beforehand resolved upon delivering this Discourse, proving so acceptable to some of the Hearers, that they were desirous to publish it, I gave it unto the Booksellers. It is entituled *NECESSARY ADMONITIONS, containing Just Thoughts upon some Sins too little thought of; or, a brief Discourse concerning Sins of omission.*<sup>2</sup>

In the Preface, I have this Observation; *that the Things and Wayes from which any Service to the Church of God, is least of all expected, are they that sometimes prove the most serviceable.*

I have often found it so; and here again I find it so. Little did I imagine, that this poor Discourse, would ever have this Improvement made of it.

21 d. 5 m. Tuesday. My *Faith* and my poor Consort's *Patience*, is mightily tried, by her continuing in a dubious, dangerous, deplorable Condition of Illness.

The Physicians, this Evening, seem to have laid aside all Expectation of her ever being restored, from the wasting scorbutic Feaver, and still continuing Salivation, that follows her.

We are to have a Day of Prayer in our Congregation, on the Thursday, (two Dayes hence;) wherefore I chose now to spread my Distress before the Lord, in the way of a *Vigil*.

I retired into my Bed-Chamber, and spent good Part of the Night, prostrate on the Floor, (with so little of Garment on as to render my lying there painful to my tender Bones), crying to God for the Life of my poor Consort, but humbly committing her Case, and submitting my Will, to His

<sup>1</sup> Printed for Benjamin Eliot, 1702.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips, 1702.

glorious Providence. I think, before I went unto my Rest, I obtained some further Satisfaction, that my God has heard me! I shall have a blessed Answer, tho' I do not as yett foresee all the Circumstances.

Afterwards in this Week, I kept another *Vigil*, on the behalf of my Reverend Friend, Mr. *Noyes* at *Salem*; to obtain of the Lord, the præservation of his Life and Health, from Danger by the contagious Diseases broken into that place.<sup>1</sup>

1 d. 6 m. [*August.*] *Satureday*. The Lord is now beginning a little to restore my Consort; the Answer of *Prayer* and *Faith* has begun to approach towards us. However, it concerns me still to keep at it. I sett apart this Day also for the Duties of a *Fast*, before the Lord.

And yett, after this, my poor Consort falls into new Returns of Languishment; yea, her Feebleness growes again to that Extremity, as to render her Condition, as dubious perhaps as ever. I am kept up all Night, that I may see her dy, and therewith see the terrible Death of my Prayer and Faith. But in this Extremity, when I renew my Visits unto Heaven, and go to resign my dear Consort unto the Lord, and consent that she shall be taken from me, a strange Irradiation comes from Heaven upon my Spirit, that her Life shall not as yett come unto an End.

My Heavenly Father, will still have me attended with some special Exercise, that shall keep my Prayer and Faith employ'd. And that which His fatherly Wisdome has ordered for me, in these later weeks, has been the singular Calamity of my poor Consort; and an Illness which none of our ablest Physicians know, what to judge of or what to do for.

23 d. 6 m. *Lord's-Day*. In the Evening, after the public and private Services of the Day, sitting in my Study, I found a strange Impression on my Mind, intimating to me,

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Noyes.

that Heaven was willing to converse with me, after a very familiar Manner, if I would now look and wait in a suitable Posture for it, It was q. said unto me, *Go into your great Chamber and I will speak with you!*

So I retired into a great Chamber of my House, most remote from all Disturbance, and cast myself prostrate on the Floor before the Lord.

There I cried unto the Lord, with humble and bitter Confessions of my own Loathsomeness before Him, and abhorred myself as worthy to be thunderstruck into *Dust and Ashes*. For a while, I had no other Expansions of Soul, than in all Devotions. But at length, I felt an inexpressible *Afflatus* come from Heaven upon my Mind, which dissolved me into a Flood of Tears, that ran down upon the Floor, and caused me to speak such Things as these.

“And now *my Father* is going to tell me, what He will do for me. *My Father* loves me, and will fill me with His *Love*, and will bring me to everlasting *Life*. *My Father* will never permitt anything to befall me, but what shall be for *His Interest*. *My Father*, will make me a *chosen Vessel*, to do good in the World. *My Father* will yett use me to glorify His Christ, and my Opportunities, my precious Opportunities to do so, shall be after a most astonishing Manner continued and multiplied. Particularly, my Treatise of, THE TRIUMPHS OF CHRISTIANITY, *my Father* will send His Holy Angels to look after it, and it shall not be lost. The Condition of my dear *Consort*, *my Father* will give me to see His wonderful Favour in it. *My Father* will be a *Father* to my *Children* too; He will provide for them, and they shall every one [of] them serve Him throughout eternal Ages.”

I omitt some other Things. But this Conversation with Heaven, left a sweet a calm, a considerate, a sanctifying, an Heavenly Impression upon my Soul.

27 d. 6 m. Thursday. A Day of Prayer was publicly kept in this Town; and I was not only present, but also

employ'd in the public Supplications on it; enjoying thereon, a sensible Presence of the Lord with me.

Having therefore kept a public Day of Prayer, this Week, I would lay aside my Purpose to keep a private one. Instead thereof,

29 d. 6 m. *Saturday*. I kept a Day of THANKS-GIVING in my Study. And I enjoy'd some intimate Communion with Heaven; when acknowledging and glorifying of God the Father, and Son, and Spirit, in His infinite Perfections; and when mentioning His particular Favours to myself, on each Article whereof, I mentioned a particular Aggravation of my own Sinfulness, to render me more unworthy of it.

I also kept myself in Tune, for the more settled and solemn Services of the Day, by Multitudes of *Ejaculations* in a way of *Thanksgiving*, formed on the Occasion of the many and various Objects that on every Side occur'd unto me, all the Day long.

But one special Intention of this *Thanksgiving* was, the Condition of my dear Consort. She has been strangely upheld, and *tho' chast'ned sore, yett not given over to Death*, for twice seven Weeks together. I thought, that I had kept many *Dayes of Prayer* for her in this Time of our Calamity; but it ought to be a Matter of *Praise*, that we are not *consumed*, that we have been favoured with so much Support, and Patience, and Experience, under the Calamity; and it may be, a *Day of Praise*, would be followed with Salvations, beyond what any *Dayes of Prayer* had yett obtained. I resolved on keeping this Day accordingly. The Day and Night before it, there came so ill a Turn upon my poor Consort, that she terrified us, with extreme Apprehensions of her Dissolution. This was a further Trial upon me, but still I kept my Resolution. And on this Day my Faith relating to my Consort, revives at the strangest rate imaginable; yea, she also begins to have some strange Revivals.

30 d. 6 m. *Lord's-Day*. Tho' thro' a Slothfulness truly criminal, I do not record many Interviews with Heaven, with which the *Chief of Sinners* is favoured; yett I will not leave unrecorded, one to which I was this Day admitted.

Having preached on that glorious Priviledge of being *sealed with the Holy Spirit of God*, and being arrived unto my last Prayer; at the following Administration of that *sealing Ordinance*, the *Eucharist*; I felt an inexpressible Irradiation from Heaven, upon my Mind, which dissolving me into Tears, caused me to begin the Prayer, with Expressions to this Purpose.

And now *surely* Thou art our *Father*; else thou wouldest never have inclined us, to repair unto thee as our *Father*, with Prayer, and with Pleasure, on all Occasions; and to desire nothing in this World so much as to glorify our Heavenly Father. *Surely* thy *Christ*, is ours; or else, thou wouldest never have caused us to accept of Him in all His Offices, and value and admire all His Benefits. *Surely* thy *Christ* has *loved us, and wash'd away our Sins in His own Blood*; or else thou wouldest never have made our Sins to become so bitter, and loathsome unto us, and made us wish for nothing so much as Deliverance from our Sins. *Surely*, we stand before thee in the *Righteousness* of thy *Christ*; or else thou wouldst never have made us to renounce and abhor all our own *Righteousness*, and made us fly to *Righteousness* as our only Refuge, and *make mention of that, even of that only*. *Surely* Thy *Christ* has our *Names* written on His Breast and appears as our *Advocate* in the Heavens; or else thou wouldest not have made us carry His *Name* so much on our Hearts, and be so concern'd above all Things to advance His *Name*. and be so willing to appear on Earth as *Advocates* for His labouring Interests. *Surely* Thy *Holy Spirit* has taken a saving Possession of us, or else we should never have undergone such a *Change* upon us; we should never have been so reconciled unto the most *mortifying* and *self-denying* Points of *Christianity*; we should never have chosen rather to be *afflicted* than to be abandoned unto *Sin* against thee; we should never have relished it, as the cheef Delight under Heaven, yea a very Heaven itself, to be *always doing of Good*. *Surely*, these are the *Seals* of God upon us; and they *Seal* us for the *heavenly Inheritance*. God uses not such *Seals* as these upon Reprobates. God would not *seal* us for Damnation with such Things as these upon us; these are

not the *Marks* of those that must go down unto the Damned. No, our God has now *sealed* us for Glory, and *sett us apart* for eternal Blessedness, and Happiness. Oh, our God, our God; we find, with a mighty Light, broke in upon our Minds, a joyful Perswasion and Assurance, that thou hast *loved us with an everlasting Love, and that our Sins are all pardoned in the Son of thy Love*, and that we shall be *kept by thy mighty Power, thro' Faith unto Salvation*. We are sure this Perswasion must either be from *Satan*, and from a deceived and a deluded *Heart*; or else it must be from the *Holy Spirit* of God. But we are sure, the Perswasion is not from *Satan*, and from our own sinful *Heart*, because we no sooner entertain it, but it fills us with Love to God, and care to please Him and serve Him; it makes all Sin most hateful unto us; it leaves an heavenly Impression upon us; it causes us to abound in the work of the Lord; it inspires us with a Zeal for thee; it constrains us to a watchful, useful, fruitful and humble walk before thee. We are sure then, that the Perswasion is from the *Holy Spirit* of God. And now, *behold, what manner of Love is this!*

Little recorderable occur'd unto me, in the next Month; only in several *Vigils* from Time to Time, I enjoy'd some intimate Communions with Heaven.

But such Thoughts as these now begin to roll in my distressed Mind.

I suspect, I have been too unattentive unto the meaning of the Holy Spirit, and His Angel, in the *Particular Faith*, which I have had about my Consort's being restored unto me.

First, when she has been several Times in or near the last Agonies of Death, unto the Apprehension of all about her, I cry to the Lord, that He will yett spare her. He tells me, that He will do it. Accordingly, to our Astonishment she getts over that ill Turn. She stayes yett longer with us, to employ our Prayer and Faith, and Patience and Resignation. But it may be, after the Lord has given me admirable Demonstrations, of His being lothe to deny me any thing that I importunately ask of Him, and therefore does one Month after another delay the Thing which I fear;

yett I must at last encounter the Death which I have so deprecated, when both my Wife and myself shall be better præpared for it.

Secondly, when I am crying unto the Lord, that He will Pitty me, and my poor Family, and give me in the Condition of my dearest Creature an Instance of His Compassion to me, He tells me, *that He has heard me*. I interpret it, that my wife shall certainly recover. But this may be too hasty and sudden, and shortsighted, an Interpretation. The Lord may have marvellous Blessings in store for me, and my poor Family, beyond anything that I can at present imagine, or would indeed be willing to imagine. In those Things may my Prayer and Hope have a glorious Accomplishment, and the Holy One must not be limited unto the Sense which my Folly and Fondness, would putt upon the Expectations which He has given me.

26 d. 7 m. [September.] *Saturday*. That I might yeeld myself unto the Lord, with a profound Submission, and that I might not faint in the Day of Adversity, I was again secretly now engaged in the Devotions of *Prayer* with *Fasting* before the Lord.

When I was in deep Distress, about the Meaning and Issue of the divine Dispensations towards me, I took my Bible in my Hand, with a Design to seek some divine Consolations there. And the very first Place, that was brought unto me, at the Opening of the Bible, was that, Psal. 71. 20. *Thou which hast shewed me great and sore Troubles, shalt quicken me again, and shalt bring me up again from the Depths of the Earth.*

The Lord laid me aside from serving Him at *Redding*, where a vast Assembly came together from the Towns round about, in Expectation of my being at the Lecture there. The sad and sick State of my Consort, who appeared even in the Jawes of Death, permitted not my going from her. I entertained this Rebuke of Heaven; in Conjunction

with several more, I hope, not without proper, and humble, and useful Reflections. But after this, the Lord Accepted me, to serve Him abroad, in some other Towns; particularly at the Lecture in *Roxbury*; but most especially at the Lecture in *Dedham*; where the *Spirit* of the Lord (on which I preached,) so accompanied my poor Labours in my preaching as to administer unto me, great Consolation, and Satisfaction, that He had not forsaken me.

And on the Day after my Labours at *Dedham*, namely on 8 d. 8 m. [October.] Thursday,

There was a publick Fast kept at the South Church, in *Boston*, where the Lord helped me to bear my part; particularly, it fell unto me, to begin the Services of the Day, with a Prayer, wherein I wrestled with the Lord, for near two Hours together, that His Mercies might be vouchsafed. It becomes me to take some humble and thankful Notice of it, that altho' I have had no Reason to expect, that there should be any use made of me, in the *Dayes of Prayer* successively kept by our neighbouring Churches, yett by particular Dispositions of the Divine Providence, it comes to pass, that I must be very much used on those Occasions,

22 d. 8 m. Thursday. This Day the Lord graciously carried me, thro' the Duties of a Fast, which was kept throughout the Province.

God helps me, not only on this Day, but at other Times with great Frequency, and Fervency to committ my Children into His merciful Hands, now the *Small Pox*, is on every Side of us.<sup>1</sup>

And being in extreme Distress, about my poor, feeble, wasted Consort, who after more than twenty Week's Languishment, is, for my further Trial, fallen into the Symptoms of an hopeless *Consumption*. I did the Night before the Fast, keep, as far as my Strength would permitt, a *Vigil*.

<sup>1</sup> The disease raged in the town until the following March.

In this *Vigil*, after I had, prostrate in the Dust, left the Case of my Consort with the Lord, I repaired unto my Bed-chamber, to take some Rest, the latter Part of the Night. But before my going to Rest, I took my *Psalm-book* into my hand, that I might sing Something for the quieting of my uneasy mind. And unto my Surprise, the very first Verse that at the opening of the Book, my Eye was carried unto, was that: *Psal. 105. 37.*

*And there was not among their Tribes,  
A Feeble Person told.*

*Lord*, thought I! This won't be fulfill'd until the *Resurrection of the Dead*. The *Tribes* of the *Raised* will not have *one feeble Person* among them. And must I resign the Condition of my Consort, at last, unto what shall be done in the future State? *Lord, Thy Will be done!*

Behold a strange Thing! On the Night after the Fast, my Consort had appearing to her, (she supposes, in her sleep) a grave Person, who brought with him, a Woman in the most meagre and wretched Circumstances imaginable. My Consort fell into the Praises of God, in that her Condition was not yett so miserably Circumstanced as that woman's now before her. The grave Person then told her, that inasmuch as there were at this Time, a Couple of Symptomes become insupportable to her, he would propose a Way, wherein she should obtain some Help for them. First, for her intolerable Pain in her Breast, said he, lett them cutt the warm Wool from a living Sheep, and apply it warm unto the grieved Pain. Next, for her Salivation, which hitherto nothing had releev'd, said he, take a Tankard of Spring-Water, and therein over the Fire dissolve an agreeable Quantity of Mastic's, and of Gum Icinglass: Drink of this Liquor now and then, to strengthen the Glands, which ought to have been done a great while ago.

She told this on *Friday*, to her principal Physician; who mightily encouraged our trying the Experiments. We did

it; and unto our Astonishment, my Consort revived at a most unexpected Rate; insomuch, that she came twice on Satureday out of her sick Chamber, unto me in my Study; and there she asked me to give Thanks unto God with her, and for her, on the Account of the Recovery in so surprising a Degree begun unto her.

After this, my dear Consort continued much refresh'd and yett feeble. We had great Hopes of her becoming a strong Person again, and yett great Fears, lest some further latent Mischief within her, prove after all too hard for her.

30 d. 8 m. Friday. Yesterday, I first saw my CHURCH-HISTORY, since the Publication of it. A Gentleman arrived here, from *New Castle in England*, that had bought it there. Wherefore, I sett apart this Day, for solemn THANKS-GIVING unto God, for His watchful and gracious Providence over that Work, and for the Harvest of so many Prayers, and Cares, and Tears, and Resignations, as I had employ'd upon it.

My religious Friend, Mr. *Bromfield*, who had been singularly helpful to the Publication of that great Book. (of twenty shillings price, at *London*,) came to me at the Close of the Day, to join with me, in some of my Praises to God.

On this Day, my little Daughter *Nibby*, began to fall sick of the Small-pox. The dreadful Disease, which is raging in the Neighbourhood, is now gott into my poor Family. God prepare me, God prepare me, for what is coming upon me!

The Child, was favourably visited, in comparison of what many are.

It becomes impossible for me to record much in these Memorials; the vast Numbers of the Sick among my Neighbours and the Duties which I owe to the sick in my own Family, engrossing my Time exceedingly.

It being impossible for me, to visit the many Scores of sick Families in my Neighbourhood, and yett it being my

desire to visit them as far as tis possible, I composed a Sheet which I entituled, WHOLESOME WORDS, or, *A Visit of Advice to Families visited with Sickness.*<sup>1</sup> I putt myself to the small Expence of printing it; and then dividing my Flock into three Parts, I singled out three honest Men, unto whom I committed the care of lodging a Sheet in every Family, as fast as they should hear of any falling sick in it. The Lord makes this my poor Essay, exceeding acceptable and serviceable.

The Month of *November* coming on, I had on my Mind, a strong Impression, to look out some agreeable Paragraph of Scripture, to be handled in my public Ministry, while the two dreadful and mortal Sickesses, of the *Small Pox*, and the *Scarlet Feavour*, should be raging among us. After earnest Supplications to the Lord, for His Direction, I used an Action, which I would not encourage, ever to be used in any *divinatory Way*. I thought, I would observe, whether the first Place that occur'd at my opening of my Bible, would prove suitable or no; or such as might carry any Intimation of *angelical Direction* in it. Unto my Amazement, it proved, the History of our Lords curing the sick Son of the Nobleman, in the *fourth Chapter* of *John*. I saw, that the whole Bible afforded not a more agreeable or profitable Paragraph. So, I began a course of Sermons upon it.

14 d. 9 m. [*November.*] *Satureday*. The awful Circumstances upon me, (and upon the Town,) caused me to ly in the Dust this Day with secret Prayer and Fasting before the Lord.

In this Month, my lovely Consort again declines; and some latent Mischief within her, brings on a Feebleness, that gives us great Apprehensions of a mortal Issue.

21 d. 9 m. *Satureday*. I obtained, I compelled, the Lieure, for another Day of Prayer with Fasting in my Study; to carry my distressed Family unto the Lord.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1703.

Humiliaçons are coming thick upon me!

My Study, is tho' a large, yett a warm chamber, (the hangings whereof, are Boxes with between two and three thousand Books in them;) and we are so circumstanced, that my House, tho' none of the smallest, cannot afford a safe Huspital now for my sick Folks, any where so well as there. So I resigned my Study, for an Hospital to my little Folks, that are falling sick of a loathsome Disease. God sanctified this, to humble me, for my not serving Him as I should have done in my Study; which provokes Him to chase me out of it.

First, my godly Maid, was carried into it; where she lay horribly full of the Small-pox, distracted, and hardly escaping with her Life.

24 d. 9 m. My Daughter *Nanny* was taken Sick. She proved full and blind, and very sore of the Distemper.

27 d. 9 m. My Son *Increase*, was taken sick.

He also proved pretty full and blind, and sore; tho' not so bad as his Sister.

The little Creatures keep calling for me so often to pray with them, that I can scarce do it less than ten or a dozen times in a day; besides what I do with my Neighbours.

But the most exquisite of my Trials, was the Condition of my lovely Consort. It now began to be hopeless.

*Lord, If thy poor Servant have any Grace in him, it will now be tried unto the uttermost!*

How shall I glorify the Lord, in the Midst of these Distresses, and Confusions? Truly, after my sorry Manner, I did sett myself to do it.

I spent much Time, with my lovely Consort. I pray'd with her as agreeably as I could. I endeavoured her most consummate Præparation for the heavenly World, by suitable Questions and Proposals. I comforted her, with as lively Discourses upon the Glory of Heaven, whereto she

was going as I could make unto her. I disposed her, and myself, all that I could, unto a glorious Resignation.

At last, the black Day arrives: *Tuesday*, the first of *December*. I had never yett seen such a black Day, in all the Time of my Pilgrimage. The *Desire of my Eyes* is this Day to be taken from me. Her Death is lingring, and painful. All the Forenoon of this Day, she lies in the Pangs of Death; sensible, until the last Minute or two before her final Expiration.

I cannot Remember the Discourses that passed between us. Only, her devout Soul was full of Satisfaction, about her going to a State of Blessedness with the Lord Jesus Christ, and as far as my Distress would permitt me, I studied how to confirm her Satisfaction and Consolation.

This I remember, that a little before she died, I asked her to tell me faithfully, what Fault she had seen in my Conversation, that she would advise me to rectify. She replied (which I wondred at,) that she knew of none, but that God had made what she had observed in my Conversation exceeding serviceable unto her, to bring her much nearer unto Himself.<sup>1</sup>

When I saw to what a Point of Resignation, I was now called of the Lord, I resolved, with His Help therein to glorify Him. So, two Hours before my lovely Consort expired, I kneeled by her Bed-Side, and I took into my two Hands, a dear Hand, the dearest in the World. With her then in my Hands, I solemnly and sincerely gave her up unto the Lord; and in token of my real RESIGNATION, I gently putt her out of my Hands, and laid away a most lovely Hand, resolving that I would never touch it any more!

This was the hardest and perhaps the bravest Action, that ever I did. She afterwards told me, *that she sign'd and seal'd my Act of Resignation*. And tho' before that, she

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin.

call'd for me, continually; she after this never asked for me any more.

She continued until near two a clock, in the Afternoon. And the last sensible Word, that she spoke, was to her weeping Father, *Heaven, Heaven will make amends for all.*

When she was expired, I immediately prayed with her Father, and the other weeping People in the Chamber, for the Grace to carry it well under the present Calamity, and I did consummate my Resignation in Terms as full of Glory to the Wisdome and Goodness, and Alsufficiency of the Lord, as I could utter.<sup>1</sup>

She lived with me, just as many Years as she had lived in the World, before she came to me; with an Addition of the seven Months, wherein her dying Languishments were preparing me to part with her. When I had been married unto her just sixteen Years, (and as near as I can recollect, on that very Week, sixteen Years, that I was married unto her) God began to take her from me. I then said unto my Father, *I seem to feel in my Mind, the Bodings of a dark Cloud hanging over my Family.* The Cloud came on, and now, see what was in it!

On the Friday following my lovely Consort, had a very honourable Funeral.

Indeed, I do not know of a Gentlewoman, who has dyed in this Land, these many years, more generally esteemed and lamented. This was every one's Observation.

I sett myself to contrive Wayes of glorifying my Lord Jesus Christ, under the Trials now upon me. But I have not the Time to insert and record all my Contrivances.

The long Sickness of my Wife, and the late Sickness of my Family, caused us to employ, first and last, near one hundred Watchers. At the Funeral of my Wife, I presented each of these, with a Book, either that entituled, *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion*, or that entituled, *Death*

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin.

*made Happy and Easy*: with a Paper pasted in at the Beginning, which intimated, at whose Funeral it was given: and had this Epigram added.

Go then, my DOVE, but now no longer *mine*;  
 Leave *Earth*, and now in *heavenly Glory* shine.  
*Bright* for thy Wisdome, Goodness, Beauty here;  
 Now *brighter* in a more *angelick Sphære*.  
 JESUS, with whom thy Soul did long to be,  
 Into His *Ark*, and Arms, has taken thee.  
 Dear *Friends*, with whom thou didst so dearly live,  
 Feel thy *one Death* to *them a thousand* give.  
 Thy *Prayers* are done; thy *Alms* are spent; thy *Pains*  
 Are *ended* now, in *endless Joyes* and Gains.  
 I faint, till thy last Words to Mind I call;  
 Rich Words! HEAV'N, HEAV'N WILL MAKE AMENDS FOR ALL.

Saturday, the Day after my Wife's Funeral, I sett apart, for *Prayer* with *Fasting* before the Lord; that I may obtain the Pardon of all the Sins, for which the Lord is now chastising me; and Grace and Help from Heaven, to glorify the Lord with a wise Behaviour under the Temptations of the Condition which is now come upon me; and that healing Mercy may be perfected unto my sick Family.

On the Lord's Day, I preached on the Death of the Prophet *Ezekiel's* wife; and I studied that the Sorrow on my Family, might prove an Occasion of Goodness on others. I was greatly assisted of the Lord, in the composing of this Discourse, under such Desolations and Encumbrances as were now upon me.

The Lord gave me to see wondrous Demonstrations of the Love, which His, and my People had for me, on this Occasion.

One was, their Building a costly Tomb, for the Ashes of my lovely Consort, and of my Children, whereof there were five buried, with no more than common *grave Stones*.

Every Saturday in *December*, was devoted by me, unto

the Exercises of Prayer with Fasting in secret before the Lord. It is easy to see, that I had Occasions enough to do so. And it is as easy to see, that my extreme Employments, would leave me little of Leisure, to write Multitudes of Passages, which I would gladly have recorded on these Occasions.

My *three Children* all came alive out of the *Fiery Furnace* of the *Small pox*, which almost consumed them. And tho' the *Scarlet-Feavour* now raged in the Town, and particularly carried off some Numbers, who had newly recovered of the *Small pox*, my Family was in this Point favourably dealt withal. I also myself, who spent much of my Time in venemous, contagious loathsome Chambers, had Reason to be singularly Thankful for my own Preservation.

More than fourscore people, were in this black Month of *December*, carried from this Town to their long Home.

My poor *Servant*, who knew and lov'd my Family, and would have been a tender *Nurse* to my Children, continued so distracted after her getting up from the Small-pox, that I was under a Necessity of dismissing her out of my Family. This look'd like an Addition to my Calamity. But God most mercifully provided for us.

It is now Time for me, to look back a little, on the Dispensations of Heaven, that have been rolling over me. Has not the Death of my Consort, that most astonishing Sting in it; a *Miscarriage of a Particular Faith!* Truly, nothing has ever yett befallen me, that has come so near it. But I will then insert some few Hints, from among the *Multitude of my Thoughts within me*.

First, I cannot but acknowledge, much of the Divine Compassion and Faithfulness, (even unto me as well as unto her,) in the Removal of my lovely Consort unto a better World. Had she lived, it would probably have been, in continual Weakness, and Languor, and Sorrow, that would have been at last uneasy to us all. Tho' I cheerfully went

thro' all the Fatigues, which her long Illness obliged me to go through, and with all possible Tenderness to her; inso-much that a few Dayes before she died, upon her saying to them about her, *I shall make you all weary!* She presently turned unto me, *I don't mean you, Mr. Mather!* Nevertheless, my Health would infallibly have been destroy'd, if she had recovered a little more, and so far that I should have run the venture of sleeping with her. My feeble Constitution, would undoubtedly have run into a Consumption. And my Children would also have suffered miserably in their Education. But more than all this; she was a Gentlewoman of a melancholy Temper; and there were some dreadful Changes on her Father's Family. He had extremely broken her Spirit, by bringing home a Mother-in-law, tho' he did well in it. Her youngest Brother, and a considerable Interest of mine with him, (some hundreds of Pounds perhaps) was newly fallen into the Hands of the French Enemy. Her second Brother, who was her Darling, I had almost said, her Idol, was dead in *London*, whither he went the last Winter.<sup>1</sup> Her eldest Brother proves an idle, profane, drunken, and sottish Fellow, and a Disgrace to all his Relatives, and hastens apace to Ruine. She did not live to see the Condition of her Brothers; tho' it were seen by all the Rest of us before she died. The Sight of these Things, would without a Miracle, have brought such a Disorder of Mind upon her, as would have rendred my Condition insupportable.

And now, who can tell, what may be made for Blessings, (even in the very Kind,) unto me, and mine, by her Translation to the Heavenly world; tho' my extravagant Fondness for her, would upon any Terms have detained her here.

Secondly; tho' Heaven, in the Impressions made upon

<sup>1</sup> Three sons are mentioned in Wyman, *Charlestown Genealogies and Estates*, none of whom survived the father: John, born 1663, Anderson, baptized 1680, and Harry, baptized 1681.

my Mind, and in the long Delay of the mortal Stroke, which was upon the very Point of dispatching the Life of my lovely Consort, seven Months before, manifested an Inclination to lett me have my Will, yett I doubt, that she herself had in the Court of Heaven putt in a Bar to it, which over-ruled the Effect of all my Prayer and Hope concerning her.

She had a Brother, a fine young Gentleman, a Merchant whom she even doted upon. He went for *London*, the last Winter; but had upon him some Illness, which it was hoped the Sea would help to cure. After his going, she said with a more than ordinary Passion and Agony, *that she desired, God would never lett her live to hear of the Death of that young man!* We had the Advice of his Death, as long ago as the last *September*, and my Family was in a mourning Habit for him. Nevertheless, by prudent Management, it was utterly kept from the Knowledge of his feeble Sister, for near three Months together. She never heard of his Death. And it was odd; that on the very Day she dyed, and about three Hours after her Death, one brought unto my House a Letter (which arrived a Fortnight before) directed unto her, from the Gentlewoman in whose House her Brother died; giving her an Account of him, and of the Manner of his hopeful Death.

Thirdly. Within a Fortnight after the Death of my Wife I preached on Joh. 4. 47. and handling several Doctrines from thence in my Sermon, one of them was: *Tho' Faith be no Folly, yett Faith may be mixed with Folly; and particularly with the Folly of limiting the Wisdome of God, unto our own way of answering it.* In the Prosecution of it, I lett fall these, among many other Passages.

“I can mention to you a *Mystery* of practical Christianity, relating to, a *Particular Faith*. Sometimes we ask for *temporal Blessings*, or, for such as are not particularly promised in the *Covenant of Grace*. The Holy Spirit of God favours us with so much of a *Particular*

*Faith*, as to say, *the Lord hath heard the Voice of my Weeping; the Lord hath heard my Supplication; the Lord will receive my Prayer.* We may be too ready to *limit* the Sense of the Holy Spirit, by our own strong Affections to the *temporal Blessings*, and conclude, *the Thing must be done in just such or such a manner.* No; the Sense of the Holy Spirit, is no more than this; *I will do something towards that temporal Blessing, which may show thee, how able I how willing I am to gratify thee, but then I'll carry the matter, unto another Channel, wherein thou shalt have all thy Desires more than answered.* The bravest Effort of a True and a strong *Faith*, is, To leave all entirely unto the Lord, and be satisfied with the infinite Wisdome of His Conduct.

A Gentleman, who heard the Sermon, and knew my Sorrow immediately sent me the following Lines.

Dear Sir Heaven's Favourite, and from Heaven taught!  
*In Righteousness yett by dread Answers brought*  
 To the Doctrine, which I ever truest thought!  
 Your *second Doctrine!* That us wisely hath  
 Fix'd on a *sure*, but *subalternate Faith*;  
 That doth with Him the Individuals keep  
 Who's *Faithful*, but whose *Counsels are a deep*:  
 With *general Evidence* who this *Faith* has crown'd,  
 But to mans *Humour* will's its being *bound*:  
 Loving that *Faith*, which *kindled* by HIS *Spark*,  
 Yett glories *Him* to follow in the *Dark*:  
 Th' great Artists' Art, this *Art* is to conceal,  
 Till *perfect Patience* does the *same* Reveal;  
 When once that *Royal Point* obtained is, Jam. i. 4.  
 NOTHING at all is *wanting*; No, not *this!*  
 Your whole Discourse is swol'n with its own Praise,  
 But this fair *Article*, does wear the *Baies!*

It may be, the Lord will ere long enable me, to penetrate further into the Nature, Meaning, and Mystery of a *Particular Faith*. However, I have mett with enough, to awaken in me a more exquisite Caution, than ever I had in my Life, concerning it.

When the next Month arrived, a new Trial came upon me.

My pretty little *Nanny* fell into a violent and malignant

*Fever.* It proceeded unto such a Degree, as to throw the Child into horrible Convulsions. Her Agonies were so very great, that I could even have been glad, that she might have been by Death Released out of them. I sett apart,

6 d. 11 m. [*January.*] *Wednesday.* for Prayer with Fasting before the Lord, on purpose to humble myself, and resign my Child, and obtain an easy and speedy Death, and everlasting Life, rather than a Continuance of Life in this world, for her; for she lay speechless, and I had no more Hope of her being restored unto me, than of the Five, that now ly in the Tomb with their lovely Mother. A most watchful Providence of Heaven saved the Child from taking a Paper of powdered *Cantharides*, which by a Mistake between the Doctor, and one of my Servants, had been given to the Child, instead of a paper of *Ens Veneris*, if I had been out of the way.<sup>1</sup>

Tho' the Child lay speechless all Day, in the Evening she recovered so much Speech, as to surprise all about her, with saying; *I heard my Father give me away to Day; but I shall not dy this Time, for all that!* So she fell speechless again; and lay two Dayes more in the perfect Jawes of Death. But after all, unto the Astonishment of us all, the Child recovered.

I must not forgett my fervent and zealous Desire, that whatever *Calamity* befalls me in this present evil World, my Lord JESUS CHRIST may have Revenues of Glory and Service out of it. I have been most signally gratified in this Desire, and a *Calamity* in some sort ceases to be one, when I am so.

I took my funeral Sermon for my Wife, (and that I might also do justice to the Memory of that amiable Creature, I annexed an *Elegy* or two upon her;) I also took the Sermons, which I had preached upon the Deaths of my several Children, (being assisted by the Notes of some who wrote

<sup>1</sup>Written in the margin.

Shorthand after me; for some of them had been preach'd in too great Sorrow, and with too small Warning for me to have any competent Notes of my own:) These Discourses, I saw much accommodated unto the Edification of the Readers; and, I thought likewise, that the Temper of my Spirit expressed in the Discourses delivered on these Occasions, would further glorify my Lord Jesus Christ. So I published them, and scattered them among the People of God. The general Title of them is, MEAT OUT OF THE EATER; or *Funeral-Discourses, occasioned by the Death of several Relatives.*<sup>1</sup>

I could not but thus conclude the Præface to the Book. "O Father of Mercies; What shall I render to thee for thy wonderful Mercies to me, the *Chief of Sinners!* Will the Lord indeed make use of sinful me, and not only of my *Labours*, but of my *Sorrowes* also, to do some little Good among His chosen People; and advance the Interests of His holy Religion among them! If the Lord will break me, and *my House* to peeces, but make it an Occasion to build *His House*; if the Lord will *chasten* me with mournful Dispensations but make that *Chastening* an Occasion for others as well as myself to be the more *Partakers of His Holiness*; what an astonishing *Alleviation* does this give to all my *Afflictions*. Lord, *in Faithfulness Thou hast afflicted me*. Bless the Lord, O my Soul, for all His Benefits!

In the month of *January*, I held on, as well as I was able, the Method of *December*. I did not lett one whole Week of the Month pass me, without setting apart a Day, for Prayer with Fasting before the Lord. My extraordinary Circumstances, I saw, upon many Accounts called me to extraordinary Humiliations, and extraordinary Supplications.

And I did also for the most part every Day, take Time extraordinary, to cast myself prostrate on my Study-floor, and cry to the Lord from the Dust, that His Pardon-

<sup>1</sup> Printed for B. Eliot, 1703.

ing, Præserving, directing Mercies, might not be withheld from me.

Before the late weeks of my Life, I had rarely known any Tears, except those that were for the Joy of the Salvation of God. But now, scarce a Day passes me without a Flood of Tears, and my Eyes even decay with weeping.

One Day, considering how frequently and foolishly Widowers miscarry, and by their Miscarriage dishonour God, I earnestly with Tears besought the Lord, *that He would please to favour me, so far as to kill me, rather than to leave me unto anything that might bring any remarkable Dishonour unto His Holy Name.* (Within a few Minutes, I found myself grow very ill; I thought myself arrested with an high Feavour; I suspected, that the Lord was going to take me at my own Word. But now, I perceived it was nothing but *Vapours.*)

*February* begins with a very astonishing Trial.

There is a young Gentlewoman of incomparable Accomplishments. No Gentlewoman in the English *America* has had a more polite Education. She is one of rare Witt and Sense; and of a comely Aspect; and extremely Winning in her Conversation, and she has a Mother of an extraordinary Character for her Piety.

This young Gentlewoman first Addresses me with diverse Letters, and then makes me a Visit at my House; wherein she gives me to understand, that she has long had a more than ordinary Value for my Ministry; and that since my present Condition has given her more of Liberty to think of me, she must confess herself charmed with my Person, to such a Degree, that she could not but break in upon me, with her most importunate Requests, that I would make her mine; and that the highest Consideration she had in it, was her eternal Salvation, for if she were mine, she could not but hope the Effect of it would be, that she should also be Christ's.

I endeavoured faithfully to sett before her, all the discouraging Circumstances attending me, that I could think of. She told me, that she had weigh'd all those Discouragements, but was fortified and resolved with a strong Faith in the mighty God, for to encounter them all. And whereas I had mention'd my way of living, in continual Prayers, Tears, Fasts, and macerating Devotions and Reservations, to divert her from her Proposal, she told me, that this very Consideration was that which animated her; for she desired nothing so much as a Share in my way of Living.

I was in a great Strait, how to treat so polite a Gentlewoman, thus applying herself unto me. I plainly told her, that I feared, whether her Proposal would not meet with unsurmountable Oppositions from those who had a great Interest in disposing of me. However I desired, that there might be Time taken, to see what would be the wisest and fittest Resolution.

In the mean Time, if I could not make her my own, I should be glad of being any way Instrumental, to make her the Lord's.

I turned my Discourse, and my Design into that Channel; and with as exquisite Artifice as I could use, I made my Essayes to engage her young Soul into Piety.

She is not much more than twenty years old. I know she has been a very aiery Person. Her Reputation has been under some Disadvantage.

What Snares may be laying for me, I know not. Much Prayer with Fasting and Patience, must be my way to encounter them.

I think, how would my Lord Jesus Christ Himself treat a returning Sinner.

I shall shortly see more into the Meaning of this odd Matter.

One of the Things which befel me in the Year past was this.

A poor Indian, being Drunk, murdered his Friend. He was under twenty years of Age. The Keeper of the Prison pray'd me to undertake the Instruction of him. I found him utterly Ignorant of every Thing. He did not so much as know that he had a Soul in him. Yea, he profess'd unto me, he had never so much as heard, that there is a God. It was an incredible Task to convey the Notions of Religion, into a Mind, so ignorant, so desolate, so barbarous. I took a deal of Pains to illuminate this forlorn Creature from time to time. God prospered me. He became able to give a notable Account of the main Articles in the Christian Faith. He express'd his Beleeving on Christ, and Repenting of Sin, after an agreeable Manner. The only Sermon that ever he heard in his Life, was one of mine, in the month of *November*, (at his own Desire) the *Lord's-Day* before he died. My Speech then directed unto him, concluded with this Advice, that he should live and dy with that Word in his Heart, *Jesus Christ came into the world, to save the Cheef of Sinners.* On the Wednesday following he was executed, and made an hopeful End. I pray'd with him at it. His last words, as turning off the Ladder, were; *Jesus Christ came into the World to save the Cheef of Sinners: O Lord Jesus Christ, save me, I pray thee!*<sup>1</sup>

#### THE COURSE OF MY PUBLIC MINISTRY.

15 d. 12 m. [February.] 1701. I preached, on Prov. 12. 26. The *Righteous* more excellent than his *Neighbour*.

<sup>1</sup> The murderer was named Sam. Chapen, who went about on crutches; the murdered was his cousin, Sam, of Weymouth. "It was sad to see or hear how swift his wooden feet were to shed innocent Blood, with a short knife, wherewith he stabd his Neighbour. He lived at Braintry and yet was miserably ignorant as to Religious Concerns. But by the Unwearied Endeavours of Mr. C. Mather and others directed by him, tis hoped he dyed a true Penitent. Mr. Mather went and pray'd with him at the place of Execution. I venturd to lay out Eleven Shillings to purchase his Cloaths and a Coffin of rough Boards. I hope this Humanity will help to reconcile the Indians to the Justice done on their Countryman." *Sewall to Sir William Ashurst*, December 22, 1702. *Letter Book*, I. 276.

22 d. 12 m. I preached (in course) on Eph. 1. 9. The Sovereignty of *Grace*, display'd in the Dispensation of the *Gospel*.

1 d. 1 m. [March.] 1702. I preached on Prov. 2. 20. The way of good Men.

5 d. 1 m. Thursday, I preached unto a great Assembly, with a great Assistance, on Heb. 11. 24. The Duties of Persons, when they come to years.

8 d. 1 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 10. The Dispensation of Times in the Hand of God.

15 d. 1 m. I preached, on Luk. 10. 42. The good Part that cannot be taken away. (On occasion of a Fire destroying 10 or 12 Storehouses in the Town, the last week.) And I administred the Eucharist.

22 d. 1. m. I preached on Eph. 1. 10. The Gathering together again in one, all things, in Christ.

29 d. 1 m. I preached, on Prov. 14. 9. Fools making a mock at Sin.

2 d. 2 m. [April.] Thursday. It was a general Fast. I preached, on Psal. 79. 8. Flying to the tender Mercies of God, when we are brought very low.

5 d. 2 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 10. and further prosecuted, the Gathering together of all things, in Christ.

12 d. 2 m. I preached, on Prov. 12. 25. Good Words, for heavy Hearts.

16 d. 2 m. Thursday. I preached the Lecture, on Luk. 18. 22. The Necessity, and yett Insufficiency, of Morality.

19 d. 2 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 11. Our obtaining an Inheritance, in the Lord Jesus Christ.

26 d. 2 m. I preached, on Prov. 4. 26. Pondering the Path of our Feet; the Duty of Consideration, to examine what our Wayes have been, and to determine what they shall be.

30 d. 2 m. Thursday. I preached, the Lecture, on Psal. 103. 14. God's mercifully considering the Frame of His Children; and our Duty to consider our own.

3 d. 3 m. [May.] I preached on Eph. 1. 11. God, as working all Things.

10 d. 3 m. I preached, on 1. Joh. 3. 14. Assurances of being in a State of Grace, fetch'd from a Work of Grace. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

17 d. 3 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 11. The Decree of God, the Wisdome of it, and the Freedome of it, the Counsel of His Will.

24 d. 3 m. I preached, on Lam. 5. 19. The *Throne* of the Lord Jesus Christ from *Generation to Generation*. (Having heard this Morning, the Tidings of the Death of the King.)<sup>1</sup>

31 d. 3 m. I preached on Prov. 11. 30. The *Winning of Souls*.

7 d. 4 m. [June.] I preached, on Eph. 1. 12. Being *before others*, in Christianity.

11 d. 4 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Mat. 25. 45. *Sins of Omission*.

14 d. 4 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 12. Being, *to the Praise of the Glory of God*.

21 d. 4 m. I preached, on Prov. 20, 27. The *Candle of the Lord*; with a great Assistance.

25 d. 4 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Prov. 12. 2. *A good Man*, (to a great Assembly and with a great Assistance.) Intending to lett my whole Countrey see, that if the Governour did not prove such an one, it should be none of my Fault.

28 d. 4 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 12. *Hoping in Christ*.

5 d. 5 m. [July.] I preached, on Job. 13. 15. A Saint asserting himself righteous *because of the Face* (the Christ) *of God*. (And I administred the *Eucharist*.)

12 d. 5 m. I preached on, Eph. 1. 13. *Yee also*, His *Gentiles* coming to a Share in Salvation by the Lord Jesus Christ.

19 d. 5 m. I preached, on Prov. 10. 24. The *Fear of the Wicked*, and the *Desire of the Righteous*.

23 d. 5 m. *Thursday*. The Lecture was turned into a Fast and kept at our North-Meeting-house; where, I preached, on Heb. 12. 26. The Lord *shaking both Heaven and Earth*.

26 d. 5 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 13, The *Word of Truth*.

2 d. 6 m. [August.] I preached on Prov. 14. 12. The *Way that seems Right*, but is really *wrong and ruinous*.

6 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Mat. 16. 24. Bearing the *Cross*.

9 d. 6 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 13. The *Gospel of our Salvation*.

16 d. 6 m. I preached, on Prov. 11. 24. *Withholding that which is Right*. Enumerating, several *Transgressions*, follow'd with remarkable *Chastisements*.

20 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. I preached, the Lecture, on Prov. 20. 6. *A faithful Man*.

23 d. 6 m. I preached, on Prov. 15. 32. *Refusing Instruction*,

<sup>1</sup> William III, who died March 8, 1702.

and *Despising the Soul*: concluding, with Caution against Despising the Souls, of *black Servants*. (After which I admitted two aged Negroes into the Church.)<sup>1</sup>

30 d. 6 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 13. Being sealed with the Spirit; (And I administred the *Eucharist*.)

3 d. 7 m. [September.] Thursday. I preached the Lecture on Phil. 2. 12. *Blamelessness*.

6 d. 7 m. I preached, again on Eph. 1. 13. The Seal of the Spirit.

13 d. 7 m. I preached on Prov. 20. 29. The *Glory of young Men* and the *Beauty of old Men*.

17 d. 7 m. Thursday. I preached the Lecture, on Mat. 10. 16. The *Wisdom* of the *Serpent*, mixed with the *Goodness* of the *Dove*.

20 d. 7 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 13. The *holy Spirit of Promise*.

27 d. 7 m. I preached on Prov. 24. 10. *Not fainting in the Day of Adversity* (It being such a Day both in my Family, and in my Neighbourhood.)

29 d. 7 m. Tuesday. I preached, the Lecture at *Roxbury* on Prov. 20. 27.

4 d. 8 m. [October.] I preached, again, on Eph. 1. 13. The *holy Spirit of Promise*. (That holy Spirit happily preventing my finishing my Discourse in my former Sermon, and now mightily assisting me.)

7 d. 8 m. I preached the Lecture at *Dedham*, delivering mostly the same Things, (and with a great Assistance from Heaven.)

11 d. 8 m. I preached, on Prov. 1. 23. *Turning to God*, at the *Reproof* of Christ, attended with the *Pouring out* of His *holy Spirit*.

15 d. 8 m. Thursday. I preached the Lecture, on Isa. 26. 9. *Learning Righteousness by the Judgments of God*. (It being a Time of such.)

18 d. 8 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 14. The *Holy Spirit*, the *Earnest* of our *Inheritance*.

22 d. 8 m. Thursday. A general Fast. I preached on, Gen. 18. 25 (That be far from thee.) *How Pleading in Praying* is to be managed.

25 d. 8 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 14. The *Redemption* of the *purchased Possession*. (And I administred the *Eucharist*.) A Time of extraordinary Communion with Heaven.

1 d. 9 m. [November.] I preached, on Eph. 1. 14. How God will have the *Praise of His Glory*, from all that He brings to *Glory*.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel, servant of R. Howard, and Katharine, wife of Thomas, the chair-maker.

8 d. 9 m. I preached, on Prov. 4. 22. The Dictates of Religion, which have a special Tendency to *prolong Life*, and *præserve Health*. (It being a very dying and sickly Time.)

12 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on the Lord's Raising of *James's* daughter. (Purposing while the present Calamity of the *Small-pox* and *Feavour* is upon the Town, to entertain the People with such Admonitions, as I may find for them in some of our Lords *healing Miracles!*)

15 d. 9 m. And that I may feed my own Flock, with seasonable Discourses at this calamitous Time, I began to them a course of Sermons, on the History, at, Joh. 4. 46. This Day handling that point, *that Sickness in a Family bespeaks Duty from a Family*.

22 d. 9 m. I preached on Joh. 4. 46. More *Acquaintance* with Christ, the Fruit of much *Affliction* from God. (My Father being sick, I also administred the Eucharist.) A Time of much Communion with Heaven.

29 d. 9 m. I preached on Joh. 4. 46. *Friends* of Christ, found among all *Ranks* of Men; and, no *Condition* exempting any man from great *Affliction*. And, *Sickness* on *Children* a Distress to *Parents* (It happened, my only Son, and my little Daughter, at this very Time, lay ill and full of the Small Pox.

6 d. 10 m. [*December*.] I preached on Ezek. 24. 16 The Death of a *desirable Relative*. (A funeral Sermon for my lovely Consort.)

10 d. 10 m. *Thursday*. T'was a Day of Thanksgiving thro' the Province. Considering the extream *Affliction* upon the Town, and upon my own Family, I chose to preach on Hab. 3. 2. *Mercy* remembered in *Wrath*.

13 d. 10 m. I preached on, Joh. 4. 47. Coming to the Lord Jesus Christ for *healing Mercies*. And, *Faith* mixed with the *Folly* of Limiting the *Wisdom* of God, unto our own Way of answering it. And, it's being a Point of much *Agony*, to see one lying at the Point of *Death*.

20 d. 10 m. I preached, on Joh. 4. 48. *Mercy* in the *Delay* of Mercy. And, the greater Consequences to gett the Cure of *spiritual* Maladies than of *bodily*. And, the other Proofs of the *Messiah* besides His *healing miracles*. And, the Difficulty of Beleving.

27 d. 10 m. I preached, on Joh. 4. 49. *Worldly Cares* hindring mens Attention to the Word of the Lord Jesus Christ. And Things to be done quickly, lest the Arrival of *Death* make 'em too late to be done.

3 d. 11 m. [*January*.] I preached on Joh. 4. 50. (The Death of

Children to be lively deprecated; the Power of Christ to do what He will with a Word. And give Life. Prayers answered in another Manner than we propose. Bodily and spiritual Healing together. Faith given to some who never asked for it.

7 d. 11 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Luk 2. 15. *Heaven*, with a very marvellous Assistance.

10 d. 11 m. I preached, on Joh. 4. 51. The Duty of Servants, to be concerned for the Welfare of their Masters. And, good Newes at some time other meeting of Beleevers.

17 d. 11 m. I preached on Job. 19. 25. *The living Redeemer*. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

19 d. 11 m. *Tuesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Roxbury*. The same Sermon.

24 d. 11 m. I preached on Joh. 4. 52. *The Observing* of Remarkable Circumstances in Divine Dispensations towards us; particularly the observable Timing of them.

31 d. 11 m. I preached, on Joh. 4. 53. Mens knowing *at last* that the Words of Christ have their Accomplishments. And a Master of a Family bringing home to Christ the rest of the *Family*.

4 d. 12 m. [*February*.] *Thursday*. At the Lecture I made a *Recapitulation* of Observations on Joh. 46-53.

7 d. 12 m. I preached, at *Charlestown* both parts of the Day. A. M. on Job. 19. 25 *The living Redeemer*. P. M. on Eph. 1. 12. Admonitions to *Old* and *Young*.

#### MEMORANDUM <sup>1</sup>

*June* 16. I received a Visit from Governour *Dudley*. Among other Things that I said to him, I used these words, "Syr, you arrive to the Government of a People, that have their various and their divided Apprehensions, about many things; and particularly about your own Government over them. I am humbly of Opinion, that it will be your wisdom, to carry an indifferent Hand towards all Parties; if in our case, I may use so Coarse a Word as Parties. And give Occasion unto none to say, that any have monopolized, you, or, that you take your measures from them alone. I will explain myself, with the Freedome, and the Justice,

<sup>1</sup> Written on the last sheet of this year's record. Dudley became governor June 11.

(perhaps, with the Prudence,) that you may expect from me. I will do no otherwise than I would be done to. I should be content I would approve it, and commend it, if any one should say to your Excellency; *By no means lett any People have cause to say, that you take all your Measures from the two Mr. Mathers.* By the same Rule, I may say without offence; *by no means lett any People say, that you go by no Measures in your Conduct, but Mr. Byfield's, and Mr. Leveret's.* This I speak, not from any personal Prejudice against the Gentlemen, but from a due Consideration of the Disposition of the People; and as a Service to your Excellency."

The Wretch went unto those Men, and told them, that I had advised him, to be no ways advised by them: and inflamed them into an implacable Rage against me.

1703.

THE XLIST YEAR.

Qui bene vivit, semper orat. *Gerson.*

Votum Christianorum, confusio Nationum. *Tert.*

THE XLIST YEAR OF MY LIFE.

12 d. 12 m. [February.] 1702. *Friday.* Being this Day, forty Years old; (How solemn a Word!) I sett apart the Day, for the Duties of a *secret Fast*, before the Lord.

In the Devotions of this Day, my Spirit felt several Irradiations from Heaven; but among my Dissolutions into Tears, there was none more sensible, than in this Thought:

*Oh! the wondrous and glorious Vertue, in the Blood of my Lord Jesus Christ! That all the Sins committed in forty Years together, are now pardoned, thro' the atoning Vertue of that Blood! Oh! what a Blessed Thing is the Righteousness of my Lord Jesus Christ; that a Man who has been horribly sinning for forty Years together, may stand in that Righteousness before God, and be treated and loved, as if he had been all this while in the exactest Manner glorifying of the Lord.*

My sore Distresses and Temptations, I this day carried unto the Lord; with Hope of His Compassions, to his tempted Servant.

The cheef of them lies in this. The well accomplished Gentlewoman, mention'd, (tho' not by Name,) in the Close of the former Year; one whome every body does with Admiration confess to be, for her charming Accomplishments, an incomparable Person; addressing me to make

her mine; and professing a Disposition unto the most Holy Flights of Religion to ly at the Bottom of her Addresses: I am in the greatest Straits imaginable, what Course to steer. Nature itself causes in me, a mighty Tenderness for a person so very amiable. Breeding requires me to treat her with Honour and Respect, and very much of Deference, to all that she shall at any time ask of me. But Religion, above all, obliges me, instead of a rash rejecting her Conversation, to contrive rather, how I may imitate the Goodness of the Lord Jesus Christ, in His Dealing with such as are upon a Conversion unto Him.

On the other side; I cannot but fear a fearful Snare, and that I may soon fall into some Error in my Conversation, if the Point proposed unto me, be found, after all, unattainable, thro' the violent Storm of Opposition, which I cannot but foresee and suspect will be made unto it.

The dreadful Confusions, which I behold Heaven, even *devising* for me, do exceedingly break and wast my spirit. I should recover a wondrous Degree of Health, if I were not broken by these Distresses, and grievous Temptations. But these things cause me to spend more Time than ordinary for the most part every Day, in Prayers and in Tears, prostrate on my Study-floor before the Lord. Yea, and they cause me by Night also sometimes to hold my *Vigils*, in which I cry to God, until, and after, the Middle of the Night, that He would look down upon me, and help me, and save me, and not cast me off.

18 d. 12 m. *Thursday*. This Day was kept as a Fast, thro' the Province. I enjoy'd great Assistences, in the services of the Day.

As for my special soul-harassing Point; I did some Dayes ago, under my Hand, vehemently beg, as for my Life, that it might be desisted from, and that I might not be kill'd by hearing any more of it. Yett such was my flexible Tenderness, as to be conquered by the Impor-

tunities of several, to allow some further Interviews. But I resolved, that I would make them turn chiefly upon the most glorious Design in the World. I did, accordingly; and once especially, I did, with all the Charms I could imagine, draw that witty Gentlewoman unto tearful Expressions of her Consent, unto all the Articles in the Covenant of Grace, the Articles of her Marriage and Union with the Great L[ord] Redeemer. I had Abundance of Satisfaction in this Action; whatever may be the Issue of our Conversation.

20 d. 12 m. *Saturday*. My grievous Distresses, (occasion'd especially by the late Addresses made unto me, by the person formerly mentioned, and the Opposition of her Enemies,) cause me to fall down before the Lord, with Prayers and with Tears continually. And because my Heart is sore pained within me, to think, what I shall do, or what will be the Issue of my distressing Affayr, I think it proper to multiply my *Vigils* before the Lord. One of them I kept this Night; and as it grew towards the Morning, after I had cried unto the Lord, for my Releef and Succour, under the Temptations now harassing of me, I did again throw myself prostrate in the Dust, before the Lord; beseeching of Him, that if He would not hear my cries for myself, He would yett hear my cries for my Flock; and hereupon I wrestled with the Lord for my great Congregation, that the Interests of Religion might prevail mightily among them, and especially in the young People of my Congregation.

It was a Consolation unto me, to think, that when my People were all asleep in their Beds, their poor Pastor should be watching, and praying and weeping for them.

The Lord, in His holy Sovereignty orders it, that I am left unto great Vexations from Satan, about this Time; who fills me with fears, that I am a man rejected and abhorred of God, and given up to the worst of Delusions; and

that the Lord will make no more use of me to glorify Him. I am scarce able to live under these doleful Disconsolations.

And that I may be left utterly destitute of all humane Support, my Relatives, thro' their extreme Distaste at the Talk of my Respects for the Person, above mentioned; and fear lest I should over-value her; do treat me with unsupportable Strangeness and Harshness.

*Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me!*

27 d. 12 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day for Prayer with Fasting in my study; especially to commend my distressing Affayr unto the Lord.

As for the ingenious Child, that sollicitis my Respects unto her, I cry to the Lord, with Fervency and Agony and Floods of Tears, that she may be the Lord's; and that her Union and Marriage to the Lord Jesus Christ, may be the Effect of the Discourses I have had with her. But I also resign her, and offer her up unto the Lord; and earnestly profess unto Him, that tho' I sett a great Value upon her, yett I can deny myself every thing in the World, that the Glory of His Name, and my Service to His Name, shall oblige me to part withal. Wherefore, I continually beg of the Lord, that Hee will show me my Duty and bring my Distress to a comfortable Issue.

1703.

3 d. 1 m. [*March.*] *Wednesday*. My dreadful Distresses continue upon me.

For which Cause, I sett apart this Day, for the Duties of a secret Fast before the Lord; that I may obtain Direction in, and Deliverance from, the Distresses which do so exceedingly harass and buffet my Mind, and break my Soul to Peeces.

As also, that I may obtain the Presence of the Lord with me, in the Lecture to morrow, when I am to do a special Service, for His Interests.

6 d. 1 m. *Saturday*. Tho' I have kept one Fast in my Study this Week already, yett I must this Day keep another.

I am a most miserable Man.

That young Gentlewoman of so fine Accomplishments, (that there is none in this Land in those Respects comparable to her,) who has with such repeated Importunity and Ingenuity pressed my Respects to her, that I have had much ado to steer clear of great Inconveniencies, hath by the Disadvantages of the Company which has continually resorted unto her unhappy Father's House, gott but a bad Name among the Generality of the People; and there appears no Possibility of her speedy Recovery of it, be her Carriage never so vertuous, and her Conversion never so notorious. By an unhappy Coincidence of some Circumstances, there is a Noise, and a mighty Noise it is, made about the Town, that I am engaged in a Courtship to that young Gentlewoman; and tho' I am so very innocent, (and have so much aimed at a Conformity to my Lord Jesus Christ, and Serviceableness to Him, in my treating of her,) yett it is not easy presently to confute the Rumour.

I am now under incredible Disadvantages. The Design of Satan, to entangle me in a Match that might have proved ruinous to my Family, or my Ministry, is defeated, by my Resolution totally to reject the Addresses of the young Gentlewoman to me; which I do, for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose Name, I see will suffer, if I accept her; and I do it cheerfully, tho' she be so very charming a Person.

But then, Satan has raised an horrid Storm of Reproach upon me, both for my Earliness in courting a Gentlewoman, and especially for my Courting of a Person whom they generally apprehend so disagreeable to my Character. And there is hazard, lest my Usefulness be horribly Ruined, by the Clamour of the rash People on this Occasion, before there can be due Measures taken to quiet them; and my

Civility to the Person who has address'd me, will not lett me utter what would most effectually quiet them.

I am a man greatly assaulted by Satan. Is it because I have done much against that Enemy? or, are the Judgments of God incessantly pursuing of me, for my Miscarriages!

My Spirit is excessively broken. There is Danger of my dying suddenly, with smothered Griefs and Fears. I know not what to do, but to pour out my Soul unto the Lord, and submitt unto His dreadful Sovereignty and Righteousness; but cry mightily unto Him, that He would yett rescue my precious Opportunities to glorify the L[ord] Jesus Christ (the Apple of my Eye,) from the Mischiefs which do threaten them.

This is my Condition this Day; and this the Occasion of my being thus again before the Lord.

12 d. 1 m. Friday. While I am thus *feeble and sore broken*, I have no Remedy but Prayer, and Patience, and profound Submission to the awful Sovereignty of God.

Nevertheless, there fall out several Things, to support me with some Hopes, that the Lord hath not wholly cast me off.

The Spirit of the Lord sometimes does visit me, with Raptures of Assurance, that He has lov'd me, and that I shall glorify Him. I am sometimes even ready to faint away, with the rapturous Prælibations of the Heavenly World; it makes me even faint and sick, to enjoy such Beginnings of my being swallowed up with God, and with His Will, World without End.

Moreover, my Lecture delivered the last Week, about the Institution and Observation of the *Lord's-Day*, is called for; and it is now in the Press, publishing under the Title of, **THE DAY WHICH THE LORD HATH MADE**<sup>1</sup> I hope, it may many Wayes prove serviceable to the Interests of Religion:

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, and sold by Benjamin Eliot. It was reprinted by B. Green in 1707, with a translation into the Indian language.

Blessed be the Holy Lord of the Sabbath, who has accepted from me, this Testimony for the Sabbath.

About the Publication of that Book, I may take notice of one thing very remarkable. I am given to understand, that a wicked company of *Manifesto*-men, a year or two ago, procured a Press and Letters, to be sent for, unto *London*, in a special Manner, to print Libels against the Churches of New England and the Servants of the Churches, and no Man so much as myself. The new Press and Letters arrive. The Wretches that were mine and the Churches Enemies, find themselves in such Confusion, that they can make no Use of them. They sell them, to my Printer. My Book on the *Lord's Day*, is the first that is printed with them. Yea, the first use made of them, is in publishing several of my Composures.<sup>1</sup>

And now, a strange Thing is this Day come to pass; which tho' it may plunge me into sore Distresses and Temptations, yett I see in it, a Demonstration of the Testimony from Heaven which I have in the Consciences of the People throughout the Land; notwithstanding all the Enemies which my vigorous Appearing for the evangelical Interests has procured for me. The House of Representatives, in the General Assembly, and as full an House as has been ordinarily known, unanimously, every Man of them, voted the most unworthy Man in the World, for to be President of the Colledge in *Cambridge*.<sup>2</sup> God knowes, what further Trials are coming upon me! *Lord, prepare and strengthen thy poor Servant, I pray thee, I pray thee!*

13 d. 1 m. *Satureday*. I am again this Day before the Lord, as I was twice the last week; and on the same distressing Occasions; as also to ask the Presence of the Lord with me, in some special Actions, and Services that are quickly before me.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is written in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, I. 149.

15 d. 1 m. *Munday*. Our Captives in *Barbary*, have been the Subjects of many Prayers, among the People of God: and poor I have had a special Share in those Prayers: wherein also I received and uttered my Assurances many Years ago, that I should also have a Share in offering Praises to our glorious Redeemer; for the Answers of those Prayers. The Prayers are now answered; gloriously answered. The Captives have been returned. A Number of them is now in this Town. I therefore appointed them this Day, to attend me at my House; I also sent for the Christians that compose the many Praying-meetings in our Neighbourhood. We kept a solemn *Thanksgiving*; and we enjoyed a sweet Presence of the Lord with us, in the Exercises of it.

Looking back, on the XXXIVth year of my Life, I find, that I had there entred a *Particular-Faith* received then from Heaven, that I should live to do such an Action!<sup>1</sup>

I preached on Rom. 2. 4. The Improvement that should [be] made of the Divine *Goodness*, and made a Recapitulation of the great, and strange Things done by the Divine *Goodness*, for the redeemed Captives.

I afterwards fitted the Discourse for the Publick, and was willing to erect a standing and lasting Monument of the Divine *Goodness* express'd on this Occasion. I gave it unto the Booksellers, entituled. THE GLORY OF GOODNESS.<sup>2</sup>

And now, being after all due Deliberation, fully satisfied, that my Countenancing the Proposals of coming one Day to a Marriage, with the Gentlewoman so often mentioned in these Papers, will not be consistent with my public Serviceableness; but that the Prejudices in the Minds of the People of God against it, are insuperable, and little short of universal: I sett myself to make unto the L[ord] Jesus Christ, a Sacrifice of a Person, who, for many charming Accomplishments, has not many æquals in the *English*

<sup>1</sup> Written in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1703.

*America.* In making of my Sacrifice, I have not gone upon any inferiour Considerations, nor have I minded, but sleighted, the defamatory Stories, which have been uttered concerning her, as knowing how little Weight there is to be laid upon popular Slanders. But I have been acted purely, by a religious Respect unto the Holy Name of the L[ord] Jesus Christ, and my Serviceableness to His precious Interests; which I had a thousand Times rather dy, than damnify. My Victory over Flesh and Blood in this Matter, was no unhappy Symptom, I hope, of Regeneration in my Soul. I encouraged myself with Hopes, that God would carry me well thro' my Sacrifice, in preserving the Person addressing me from any Damage by her Fondness for me; (but I must continue praying for her!) And that I should one Day meet with some wonderful Recompences.

I struck my Knife, into the Heart of my Sacrifice, by a Letter to her Mother.

24 d. 1 m. *Wednesday.* The Lord accepted me this Day, to glorify Him.

The Flock at *Woburn*, being destitute of a Minister they referr'd it unto me, to appoint a Time, when I would come and pray and fast with them, to obtain from our ascended Lord, *a Pastor after His own Heart.* I did appoint this Day; and it prov'd a very comfortable Day. There was a vast Assembly of People, among whom I carried on the bigger Part by far of all the Duties of the Day, with a very great Assistance from the Lord. None of all the Devices of Satan, can prevent the Lord's using of me in Services for His dearest Name, and giving me to find a strange Respect among His People above any Man in all the Land.

*Lord!* Accept me still more and more, to honour my L[ord] Jesus Christ!

It comes to pass, that my little Book of the *Lord's-Day*, is presented unto every Member of the General Assembly

now sitting; by which means, it immediately passes into every Part of the Province. This also is a merciful Providence.

27 d. 1 m. *Saturday*. Was ever man more tempted, than the miserable *Mather*! Should I tell, in how many Forms the Diavel has assaulted me, and with what Subtilty and Energy, his Assaults have been carried on, it would strike my Friends with Horrour.

Sometimes, Temptations to *Impurities*; and sometimes to Blasphemy, and Atheism, and the Abandonment of all Religion, as a meer Delusion; and sometimes, to self-Destruction itself. These, even these, O miserable *Mather*, do follow thee, with an astonishing Fury. But I fall down into the Dust, on my Study-floor, with Tears before the Lord; and then they quickly vanish: tis fair Weather again. *Lord! what wilt thou do with me!*

29 d. 1 m. *Munday*. An astonishing Dispensation of Providence, this day befalls me.<sup>1</sup>

1 d. 2 m. [*April*.] *Thursday*. The Glorious Lord, will in a most surprising Manner still accept me, and employ me, to glorify Him. I had resigned my Lecture to my Father, (submitting to preach at a more inconvenient Season, a Fortnight ago;) but he is this Week indisposed with a short Fitt of his Gout. I must therefore unexpectedly preach the Lecture; and making, *secret Prayer*, the Subject of my Sermon, (a Subject which I thought, might prove of great Service to the Christians of the Town,) I had some comfortable Perswasions, when I was at *secret Prayers*, prostrate in the Dust before the Lord, that He would *reward me openly* and make my Labour to be useful among His People. And so tis like to prove. In the Evening of this Day, after the Lecture, being with a Society of Christians, they unanimously asked me for the Notes of my Sermon, and agreed that they would be at the Charge of publishing

<sup>1</sup> The record of the dispensation is wanting.

and dispersing of it thro' the Countrey. I gratified their Desire; entituled the Sermon, *The RETIRED CHRISTIAN*.<sup>1</sup>

3 d. 2 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day for Prayer, with Fasting in my Study; to implore the God of all Grace, that He would give me Grace, to carry it well under my Temptations, and help me to take right Steps in my solitary Widowhood; and I resigned my Heart unto His Holy Spirit, that so, if He will in His Time allow my Return unto the married State, I may be wholly directed by Him, unto that which may be most for His Glory and Service.

My Design was also, to recommend unto the Conduct and Blessing of God, a Journey to *Salem*, which I design shortly to undertake.

In the following Week, I did not spend a Day in the Exercises of a *secret Fast*, partly because I was creepled with *rhumatic* Pains (not without some Symptomes of *arthritic* ones,) for diverse Dayes; and partly because there was kept a Day of public *Thanksgiving*, for Successes against the French Enemy; wherein I enjoy'd special Assistance and Enlargement.

I am under singular Distresses. What I would on many Accounts prefer, as the most eligible and honourable Condition, would be to continue all the rest of my little Time, in an unspotted Widowhood.

But my Family suffers by it, in several Instances. And yett I could concoct and conquer this Inconvenience, much easier than some other Circumstances.

My Father presses me frequently and fervently, that I would by no means take up Resolutions to continue in my Widowhood. My flexible Temper makes it not easy for me to resist his Exhortations.

But I foresee, and already suffer, a worse Encumbrance. The Applications, which the Gentlewoman formerly mentioned in these Papers, has made unto me, have occasioned

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1703.

very many Misrepresentations of me, among a foolish People. The coarse, tho' just, Usage that she has had from me, will also putt her upon a thousand Inventions. I shall be continually every Week, persecuted with some Noise and Nonsense carried about the Town concerning me. The Persecution of the Lyes daily invented about me, will be, I see insupportable. All the Friends I have in the World, perswade me, that I shall have no Way to gett from under these Confusions, but by proceeding unto another Marriage.

Lord, help me, what shall I do? I am a miserable man.

13 d. 2 m. Tuesday, 14. Wednesday, 15. Thursday. The Dispensations of Heaven towards me, in and since, the Death of my lovely Consort, have been very awful.

I have lately waded thro' dreadful Temptations, and I tremble to think, what may be the next Storm, that will be raised upon me.

About eleven Months having passed since the Lord began to take away from me the Desire of my Eyes, my Friends begin to press my Thoughts of returning to the married State. This is a Point of terrible Consequence. I had need use more than ordinary Humiliations, and Supplications, and Resignations, upon an Occasion so full of Agony.

Tho' I have rarely lett a Week pass me, without setting apart a Day for *Prayer with Fasting*, for now many, many Months together; and I have ever now and then had my *Vigils*, for a Conversation with Heaven; and every Day for the most Part, I have had one *secret Prayer* more than I use to have, and lain prostrate, in the Dust, with Tears before the Lord, because of my Distresses: Yett I thought it necessary to do something more than all of this. I resolved upon doing a thing, which I do not know to have been done, by any Man living in the World. I took up a Resolution, to spend no less than THREE DAYES together,

in *Prayer with Fasting* in my Study; and *beseech the Lord thrice*, knocking at the Door of Heaven for *three Dayes* together.

And now, the Lord has carried me thro' this extraordinary Undertaking; even beyond what one of my feeble Constitution could have look'd for.

I was desirous that each Day should have its peculiar Character; tho' there were many general Strokes of Devotion wherein each Day agreed.

The singular Character of the *first* Day, was Confession of, and Contrition for, the Sins, that exposed me to the Displeasure of Heaven; (wherein I used a Catalogue of Things forbidden and required in the Commandments, as well as the Ingredients of original Sin:) and Petition for the Pardon of all, thro' the Blood of the L[ord] Jesus Christ.

The singular Character of the *second* Day, was *Resignation* to the *Will of God*, in whatever Sorrowes had already befallen me, and in all the sorrowful Things, which I could imagine hereafter to be inflicted on me, by the sovereign Will and Pleasure of Heaven.

Astonishing Entertainments from Heaven, were granted me, in and from this Action. God opened Heaven to me, after a Manner, that I may not, and indeed cannot express in any Writing. All I will here insert is, that now the Thought of Dying, (and going to the heavenly World) was become the most easy and pleasant Thing in the World unto me. I am now advised from Heaven, that God is mine, and I am His; and He has wonderful Things to do for me.

The singular Character of the third Day, was, Request first for Help under and against all the Assaults of Temptations upon me, and then for the angelical Ministry to be employ'd on my behalf, and for my Help in those Cases, where the Heirs of Salvation use to be befriended, by the Ministers who do the Pleasure of the Lord.

Extraordinary Things were again done for me, that cannot be related. I will only say, the Angels of Heaven are at work for me. And I have *my own Angel*, who is a better Friend unto me, than any I have upon Earth.

The great Point of my Return to the *married State*, I did on each of the three Dayes, with a Variety of tearful Supplications plead before the Lord. I have submitted unto all the Inconveniencies of a *single State*, if the Lord will confine me to it; only I have begg'd of Him, the Gifts of Purity and Patience. But I have left the Matter entirely unto the Lord; who will *withold no good Thing* from me. I have putt my Mind over into the Hands of the Holy Spirit, that it may be disposed aright in the Matter. I have committed unto my Lord Jesus Christ, the Care of providing an agreeable Consort for me, if my support in the Service of His Church (which I am daily espousing unto Him) render it necessary or convenient. I know, that some surprising Thing will be done for me.

My three Dayes left me, in a very desireable Frame, very fearful of sinning against God; very raised in my Thoughts of Christ and Heaven; very watchful to do good, and bring forth much Fruit unto the Lord.

But because an Admission to extraordinarily Intimate Communion with Heaven, uses in my Experience to be followed with sore Buffetings from Satan, either by internal Impressions, or by external Occurrences, I had a trembling Expectation of what might follow upon that Intercourse with Heaven, whereto I had newly been admitted.

I found within two Dayes, my Mind begun to be horribly agitated, with Vexations, which did somewhat renew an Experience, that I had so often mett withal.

On the *Lord's-Day* ensuing, my public Sermon (to a vast Assembly,) had upon it, a sweet and strong Relish, of the heavenly Devotions, thro' which I had been passing the Week before.

The next Week, I omitted keeping a Day of Prayer, because of my Over-doing the last week.

Nevertheless, I did not omitt endeavouring a further Service for the Lord.

I have all along, mightily desired, that whatever befalls me, may afford some Revenues of Glory to my Lord Jesus Christ. I have been called lately unto sad and sore Trials, wherein my *Resignation* unto the *Will* of God, has been tried unto the uttermost. I have (with His Assistence) a little exemplified that *Resignation*, and then preached it in a Sermon, unto my People. I saw, that this *Resignation* was a point of much Occurrence, and of as much Consequence, in the Course of Christianity, among all the People of God. I fitted my Discourse for the Press, and it is hereupon immediately printed; under the Title of, THE HIGH ATTAINMENT.<sup>1</sup>

25 d. 2 m. *Lord's-Day*. After my public Labours this Day, I visited in the Evening, a Meeting of religious young Men, with whom I pray'd and preach'd for their Encouragement, in the good Wayes of Religion.

But hereupon the young Men took a Copy of the Discourse and immediately committed it unto the Press. It was a Discourse, upon the Advantage of going before others, in *early Christianity*; (on Eph. 1. 11.) and I have entituled it, AGREEABLE ADMONITIONS TO BOTH OLD AND YOUNG.<sup>2</sup>

In the Week ensuing, I did resolve to entertain the Town, with a Discourse, at the Lecture, upon, *A Family Sacrifice*; and therein to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, by representing Him under that Consideration to the Faith of His People; and therewith to make the late Dispensations of Heaven towards the Families of the Town, an Occasion for the Quickening of all *Family-Religion* in them.

That I might obtain special Assistences from Heaven,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

for the Work before me, I spent the Wednesday in Prayers, and Tears, and Humiliations, with *Fasting* before the Lord. (As likewise, to obtain Help, in regard of all my other Distresses.)

On the Thursday, I received, I enjoyed, what I had requested. The Glorious Lord, was mightily with me, in what was then before me.

The Discourse, being fitted for the Press, it is published, under the Title of, A FAMILY-SACRIFICE; and intended for to be, by particular Methods, dispersed thro' the Countrey, and especially into the unhappy Families, where God is not worshipped.<sup>1</sup>

Oh! the astonishing Dispensations of Heaven, towards one of the greatest Sinners upon Earth! While I have my Spirit broken with sorrowful Distresses, and horrible Temptations, and Satan is using exquisite Endeavours to render me unserviceable, the Lord employes me in more Service for Him, than perhaps ever in my Life before. No less than *six Books*, do I now publish, in about the space of *two months*; all of which will prove useful I hope, unto the Interests of my glorious Lord.

5 d. 3 m. [*May.*] *Wednesday*. Yesterday I was employed, with some other Ministers, in hearing, and ending some unhappy Differences at *Medford*.

And this Day, I am employed in preaching the Lecture at *Reading*, to a great Assembly of People, gathered from all the Towns in the Vicinity.

What shall I render to the Lord, who continues thus to make use of me!

8 d. 3 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day for the Exercises of a Fast in my study, on the same Occasions, that have of late, so often employ'd me in the like Exercises.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen. Bibliographers have confused this tract with one bearing the title *Family Religion*, first issued in 1705, and being a distinct composure. See p. 520, *infra*.

I enjoyed some Assurances, which I thought from Heaven, that God would be very merciful and wonderful in the Dispensations of His Providence, about my Return to the *married State*; and that for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose I am, a desireable Consort should be bestow'd upon me; and a glorious Angel of the Lord, should be concerned for me (as for *Isaac* of old,) in this important Matter.

On this Day, (designing an Instrument, for to take the Hearts of our young People, and *make* them to become the Lord's,) I composed a *Poem*, expressive of a Consent unto the several Articles in the glorious COVENANT of Grace. This I add unto a little Book, which I have now in the Press.

But I this Day spread it before the Lord, as my own Act and Deed.

Inexpressible Satisfaction filled my Soul, in my doing so.

I have here annexed it, with my Hand signing of it.<sup>1</sup>

I am extremely Unhappy! My fond Friends take a Liberty of Discoursing about Matches for me. And tho' they are such as I never took any Step about myself, yett presently a Discourse is raised, as if I had been myself concerned in the matters. This hurts me!

13 d. 3 m. *Thursday*.<sup>2</sup> One Day, after Prayers, and Floods of Tears before the Lord, and astonishing Resignations to and Satisfactions in His glorious Will, I was just overperswaded unto the taking of a Step, towards my Return unto the married State. But a marvellous Providence of God, overruled it. I was diverted from doing a Thing, whereto my Friends, and such Friends as have a mighty Ascendent over me, had mightily urged me.<sup>3</sup> I knew, that I might on every hand, meet with great Encour-

<sup>1</sup> This poem, in print and signed in manuscript, is in the American Antiquarian Society.

<sup>2</sup> This date was struck out.

<sup>3</sup> Words and sentences in this paragraph were struck out.

agements unto a matter, and yett it might prove a wrong Matter, if it should be prosecuted. So, I saw that the best of my Friends on Earth, are not much to be relied upon. My pliable and flexible Temper, will expose me to Ruines, in following the Conduct of my wisest Friends, if I don't watch exceedingly. I will wait until my heavenly Friend and Father, do more plainly show me, what He would have me to do. I will be satisfied in what the Lord shall order for me, tho' to me at the Present, there may seem a grievous Disappointment in it.

15 d. 3 m. *Satureday*. I sett apart this Day, for the Duties of Prayer, with Fasting, in my Study, partly that I might obtain the Presence of the Lord with me, in several important Actions, which are the next Week before me: But chiefly, that I might bespeak a good Issue, unto that very great Affayr, namely my Return into the married State.

It was a Day full of astonishing Enjoyments; a Day filled with Resignations, and Satisfactions, and heavenly Astonishments. Heaven has been opened unto me this Day. Never did I so long to dy, and fly away into Heaven. I have seen and felt unutterable Things. I have tasted that the Lord is gracious, I can by no means relate the Communications with Heaven, whereto I have been this Day admitted. I am now sure, that the Great God is my God; that I stand before God in the Righteousness of my Lord Jesus Christ; that no good Thing shall be withheld from me; that God will make an amazing use of me to glorify Him; and that I shall be an object for the everlasting Triumphs of sovereign and infinite Grace.

I was not able to bear the Extasies of the Divine Love, into which I was raptured; They exhausted my Spirits; they made me faint and sick; they were insupportable; I was forced, even to withdraw from them, lest I should have swoon'd away under the Raptures.

Oh! what is my God going to do with me!

Is this the Issue of the dreadful Temptations which have been upon me!

My God, I am astonished! I am astonished!

19 d. 3 m. *Wednesday*. A Day of Prayer with Fasting was kept in our Congregation; especially to implore the sanctifying Grace of God, for the rising Generation among us. There was a very Great Assembly, such as is rarely to be seen in the World of People coming together for the Worship of God. And I enjoy'd a very great Assistance in my part of the Service.

On the Day following, tho' I had been this Week, very sick and faint, and was hard wrought yesterday; yett my Strength so strangely returned, that I undertook my intended Journey to *Salem*.

Several Persons of good Fashion were so very kind as to attend upon me; especially I had cause to take notice of Colonel *Hobbies*<sup>1</sup> kindness in offering to go with me, for no Reason, but that he might keep me Company.

I enjoy'd many Smiles of Heaven upon my Journey, from the Beginning to the Conclusion of it. One was very remarkable. A fearful Hurricane and Thunderstorm overtook us, just as we gott out of *Winnisimmet* Ferry-boat, (a Ferry three miles wide;) which had it overtaken us four or five Minutes earlier, we had unquestionably perished in the Waters.

I preached both parts of the Lord's-Day, at *Salem*; and on *Monday* returned home.

In my Absence the young Gentlewoman, to whom I have been so unkind many Weeks or Months ago, writes and comes to my Father, and brings her good Mother with her and charms the Neighbours into her Interests; and renews her Importunities (both before and after my Journey) that I would make her mine. My Apprehension of

<sup>1</sup> Charles Hobby.

Damage to arise therefrom unto the holy Interests of Religion, fixes me still in an unalterable Resolution, that I must never hearken to her Proposals, whatever may be the Consequence of my being so resolved. I am here-upon threatened by some with exquisite Revenges and Reproaches from her defeated Love; and the Hazards of her coming to Mischief. Some sett the Town into a new Storm of Obloquy upon me; and threaten me with an horrid Encumbrance upon all my Intentions elsewhere to return unto the married State.

Satan makes these Rebukes of Heaven upon me, after all my Prayers, and Tears, and Fasts and Resignations, to be an Occasion of sore Temptation unto me.

However, in the midst of all this Temptation, my weeping Soul, keeps humbly professing before the Lord; that I will not give over seeking Him, tho' it appears as if I sought Him in vain; that I will always love Him, and serve Him, tho' He seems as if He would lay me by from serving Him; that tho' He should not rescue my Opportunities of glorifying the L[ord] Jesus Christ, from the fine Devices of Satan to hurt them, yett I will continue to glorify Him as much as ever I can all my Dayes; yea, tho' He should leave me without Hopes of arrising to Glory at the last. While I am thus professing before the Lord, He keeps reviving of my broken, drooping Spirit, with comfortable Perswasions, that He will not cast mee of, but that I shall see a blessed Issue of all the dark Dispensacions that are passing over me.

That it might be so, I did on,

29 d. 3 m. *Saturday*, Sett apart another Day, for Prayer with Fasting before the Lord.

The following Week, did not pass without some further Temptations and Confusions, which it is not worth my while to mention; only as they furnish me Occasions for new Resignations of my self to the Will of God, with Humili-

ations under the Sovereign and righteous Dispensations of His Providence towards me.

Tis remarkable to me, that while the Lord is other wise laying me exceeding low, He yett gratifies me with strange Favours, in that Point, which is the very Apple of my Eye; and that is my being employ'd in Service for His blessed Name.

Being disconsolate on *Thursday* in the Forenoon, the Minister that should have preached the Lecture, under Indisposition sends to me, that I would præch it for him. Tho' I had scarce an Hour's Warning, yett I undertook the Service and preached with a mighty Assistence, to a mighty Assembly (the Great and General Assembly of the Province making part of it,) a Sermon, agreeable to such an Auditory, and such an one as the Lord made mightily acceptable. This was a sensible Smile of Heaven, on the poor Servant of the Lord!

Moreover, my venerable Father publishing the Sermon, he preached on our late Fast; entituled, *The Duty of Parents to pray for their Children*, my Sermon is annexed unto it, which is, *The Duty of Children whose Parents have pray'd for them;* or, LESSONS OF GODLINESS FOR THE CHILDREN OF GODLY ANCESTORS.<sup>1</sup> As tis an Honour unto me, thus to be joined with my Parent in such a Service thus it is a charming and lovely Emphasis upon the Points themselves that are handled in the Book, for two Persons thus Related unto each other, to have the Management of them.

5 d. 4 m. [*June.*] *Satureday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting in my Study, to justify and glorify the Lord, under all His holy Frowns upon me, and obtain Grace to carry it well in my present Condition, and to resign myself, and all my Concerns into His glorious Hands.

<sup>1</sup> They came to a second impression in 1719. The first part carries the names of B. Green and J. Allen as printers; the second part was "printed for the Book-sellers."

12 d. 4 m. *Saturday*. I attended the like Duties again.

The Holy Justice and Wisdome of God, shines forth, in His awful Dispensations towards me.

A lying Spirit is gone forth, and the People of the Town, are strangely under the Influences of it.

I have the Inconvenience of being a Person, whom the Eye and the Talk of the People is very much upon. My present Circumstances give them Opportunities to invent and report Abundance of disadvantageous Falsehoods, of my being engaged in such and such Courtships, wherein I am really unconcerned. But the Addresses which I have had from the young Gentlewoman so often mentioned in these Papers, and the Discourses thereby raised among the dissatisfied People, afford the greatest Theme for their mischievous and malicious Lying to turn upon. When all Assaults upon me from that Quarter, have been hitherto unsuccessful, at last, I am unhappily persecuted with Insinuations, that I had proceeded so far in Countenancing that matter, I could not with Honour and Justice now steer clear of it, as I have done. God strangely appears for me, in this Point also, by disposing the young Gentlewoman, with her Mother, to furnish me with their Assertions, *That I have never done any unworthy Thing; but acted most honourably and righteously towards them, and as became a Christian, and a Minister; and they will give all the World leave to censure them after the hardest Manner in the World, if ever they should speak the Contrary;* Yea, they have proceeded so far beyond all Bounds in my Vindication, as to say, *They verily look upon Mr M——r to be as great a Saint of God, as any upon Earth.* Nevertheless, the Diavel owes me a Spite, and he inspires his People in this Town, to whisper impertinent Stories, which have a Tendency to make me Contemptible, and hurt my Serviceableness, and strike at, yea, strike out the Apple of my Eye. My Spirit is on this Occasion too much disturbed. I am encountering

an *Hour and Power of Darkness*. My Temptations from the Clamour of many People, among whom I hear the Defaming of many; the desolate Condition of my Family, not likely to be provided for; and the Desertions which my Soul suffers, while I behold the dreadful Frown of God upon my Prayers, my Fasts, my Fears, my Resignations, and all my Endeavours to glorify Him: these things do exceedingly unhinge me; and cause me sometimes to *speak unadvisedly with my Lips*. 'Tis well, if they do not perfectly kill me.

Nevertheless, in the Midst and in the Heighth, of all these *Temptations*, Difficulties and Discouragements, I sett apart,

18 d. 4 m. *Friday*, as a Day of THANKSGIVING to God, in my Study, for His many Mercies to me.

On this Day, I gave myself up unto the Lord.

And, I enumerated before the Lord, all my horrible Afflictions; giving Thanks to the God, who afflicted me in such a Point, and in such a Point. For that, He had afflicted me still far less than my Iniquities deserved; and for that, I hoped, He intended me good in all.

I also acknowledged the astonishing Favours of Heaven unto me, in preserving me from terrible and ruining Snares, more than one or two, which have been laid in the late Months, for the Ruining of me, and of my Ministry, and of my Family. Tho' I am a very rebuked man, yett certainly I am as preserved a Man, as any under Heaven! For which cause, Oh! how thankful ought I to be unto the Lord!

But I exceedingly sett myself, to consider *what Revenues of Glory, may be contrived for my Lord JESUS CHRIST, out of my humbling Temptations!*

It was a ravishing Thought unto me, that if my Lord JESUS CHRIST, may have Revenues of Glory, out of my *Temptations*, I did hardly care, what they were, tho' never

so many, never so grievous. I concluded, that surely my Lord JESUS CHRIST, would support and comfort me under all my Temptations, and give me a blessed Issue of them.

One of my first Essayes, was to preach a Sermon unto my numerous Congregation, (from Jam. 1. 2.) on that Point; *That a good Man may maintain a great Joy under the Worst of his Temptations; yea, tho' encountred and encumbered with all sorts of Temptations.*

Another of my Essayes was this. I thought of taking an exemplary *Revenge* upon the *Divel*, for all the *Mischief* he has done unto me, or endeavoured to do. Wherefore I resolved, that at *Boston-Lecture* I would entertain the Town and Countrey with some Discourses on, *The Wiles of the Divel*; which Discourses, might, if the Lord please, prove more than ordinarily serviceable, to undermine the Kingdome and Interest of the *Divel*.

I expected, that I should feel an unusual Rage of the *Divel* molesting me, while I am doing this Action, and especially when I am entring upon it. But I resolved, that with a mighty Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, I would go on courageously, beleiving that I shall shortly have Satan bruised under my Feet, and see the Attempts of the *Divel* against me come to nothing.

I found Things fall out according to my Expectation. And therefore I did, on,

23 d. 4 m. *Wednesday*, the Day before my Lecture, apply myself to Prayer with Fasting; for to obtain Help against my Temptations, and a blessed Issue of the Storms, and Fears, and Cares that are now upon me.

Then, and the Morning following, and all the Time of my Prayer before my Lecture, I was very sick, (as well as otherwise horribly buffeted:) but in the Time of singing the Psalm, I lifted up my Eyes and my Cries, unto my Lord Jesus Christ, that He would rate off Satan, and

strengthen me for, and carry me thro' His work now before me. He did it wonderfully! I preached with mighty Assistences, on Eph. 6. 11. *The wiles of the Divil.* The Lord was wonderfully present with me.

After this, I found the Tempest of Clamour, which the Gentlewoman, defeated of her exquisite Contrivances to obtain me, had occasioned, by the Help of some evil Women against me, strangely going off. One Passage I am willing to mention: A Person of principal Quality, (and one who was not of principal Piety) among us, told me, on Friday; that I was the most beloved man in all the Countrey; and that I had a few Enemies, but they were miserable and contemptible People; and that all the late Impertinences that had vexed me, would never do me any Damage at all.

3 d. 5 m. [July.] *Saturday.* I sett apart this Day also, as I have already done so many to obtain a good Support in, and a good Issue of, the Temptations, which are vexing of me.

10 d. 5 m. *Saturday.* I did the like again. As also, to obtain from the Lord, a good Servant for my desolate Family; who may be a tender and prudent Nurse for my Children; she that has been so, being suddenly to marry away from me.

In my Request for a good Servant, I received an immediate Answer. God most mercifully answered me, by sending into the Family, the Servant, which had for so many Years been a Blessing unto me and mine, and unto whom I had been so much a Father, until the Small-Pox, and the Distraction which it left upon her, the last Winter, had made her incapable of serving me.

But God is going to build up my Family, in a far more important and illustrious Instance.

He shoves me a Gentlewoman within two Houses of my own; a Gentlewoman of Piety and Probity, and a most unspotted Reputation; a Gentlewoman of good Witt

and Sense, and Discretion at ordering an Household; a Gentlewoman of incomparable Sweetness in her Temper, and Humour; a Gentlewoman honourably descended and related; and a very comely person.<sup>1</sup> Her Name, is Mrs. ELIZABETH HUBBARD. She is the Daughter of Dr. *John Clark*, deceased. She was married, and quickly left a Widow about four years ago, and is now near thirty Years of Age.<sup>2</sup>

She has one Son, about the Age of my own. But I often urged my departed Consort for to take a Fatherless child into my Family, and feed it, and cloathe it, that God might bless my Children. Why then should I think much to educate the Son of a Gentlewoman<sup>3</sup> from whom I expect so much service to mine?

I am satisfied, if the Spirit of my departed Consort now in the Kingdome of God, were advized, that her children were falling into the Hands of this Gentlewoman, it would be a Consolation unto her.

And, I perceive, that it would be a more than ordinary Satisfaction unto the people of my vast Flock, more than an hundred to one, for me, to seek an Acquaintance with this Gentlewoman.

Finding my Spirit much disposed unto it, (and being hastened by a Coincidence of many uneasy Circumstances,) I did

On 14 d. 5 m. *Wednesday*, give my first Visit, unto that lovely Gentlewoman. I was entertained with more than ordinary Civility, Affection, and Veneration. And I found her to be an abundantly more agreeable Person, than ever I imagined. I see, shee will be a great Gift of Heaven unto me, an astonishing Reparation of my Loss, and Compensation of all the Grief I have mett withal. If I may

<sup>1</sup> Two lines are here struck out.

<sup>2</sup> The name of her first husband was Richard Hubbard, a mariner, of Boston.

<sup>3</sup> Some words struck out.

live to see her illuminating my Family, I shall reap a rich Harvest of the Prayers, the Tears, the Fasts, and the Resignations, with which I have been so long addressing Heaven, under the deplorable Circumstances, of about fifteen Months together.

17 d. 5 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study, to obtain a good Progress and Success of the affayr, which I am now managing; and a Deliverance from any further Vexation, Temptation, or Encumbrance by the young Gentlewoman, that has vexed me with so many of her Wiles, and by such exquisite Methods been trying to ensnare or trouble me.

The Rage of that young Gentlewoman, whom out of obedience to God, I have rejected, (and never more pleased God than in rejecting of her Addresses to me,) is transporting her, to threaten that she will be a Thorn in my Side, and contrive all possible Wayes to vex me, affront me, disgrace me, in my Attempting a Return to the married State with another Gentlewoman. Instead of using other Contrivances, to quell the Rage of a Person, who is of so rare a Witt, but so little Grace, that I may expect unknown Damages from her, I carried her to the Lord Jesus Christ. I pleaded, that my Lord Jesus Christ is able to do every thing; that He can restrain Satan, and all Satanic Influences at His Pleasure; that my Temptations had already proceeded a great Way; and His Name would suffer, and His poor Servant would sink, if He should permitt them to proceed any further; and that I had out of Obedience unto Him, exposed myself unto the Rage, by which I was now likely to be incommoded. And I concluded still, with a triumphant Faith in my Lord Jesus Christ, for my Victory over the Mischiefs which threatned me.

Behold, within a few Dayes, the Gentlewoman without my seeking it, sent me a Letter, with a Promise under her

Hand, that she would offer me none of those Disquietments, which in her Passion she had threatned. I was astonished at this work of Heaven; and with the Tears of a raptured Soul, I offered up a Sacrifice of Love and Praise unto the Lord.

My Conversation with the lovely Person, to whom Heaven has directed me, goes on, with pure, chaste, noble Strokes, and the Smiles of God upon it.

And the Universal Satisfaction which it has given to the People of God, thro' town and Countrey, proclames itself, to a Degree which perfectly amazes me.

The extreme Heat of the Weather (with some other Inconveniencies, by the Carpenters making some Addition to my Habitation,) putt me by, from keeping a Fast this Week, as I might else have done. But,

31 *d. 5 m. Satureday.* I sett apart for such Exercises.

About this Time, I was for two or three Dayes followed with a strong Fancy, that I should be taken away by Death, before my Return to the married State. I concluded, this Fancy to be ordered for my Trial, whether I could submit unto such a Dispensation of Heaven. Accordingly, tho' I have a Prospect of arriving speedily to the Enjoyment of a most lovely Creature, and of astonishing Mercies to my Family in and with that lovely Person, yett when I thought of going away to my Lord Jesus Christ, in the heavenly World, I found my Soul swallow'd up in Triumphs and Raptures of Resignation unto the Will of God, if He will so order my Condition for me. I did with Tears of Joy consent unto such a Dispensation!

From hence I gathered several comfortable Things; whereof one was, that I am in very deed passed from Death to Life.

The horrible Storm of Temptations that has been of late harassing of me, is after a strange Manner calm'd and Ceas'd; and I am now speedily returning to the married

State, in more happy Circumstances, that I could have imagined. I was desirous, that my Lord JESUS CHRIST, should have some special Revenues of Glory, from the *Temptations* (and all the Afflictions) that have befallen me. Wherefore I fitted for the Press, a Discourse, which I entituled; GREAT CONSOLATIONS; or, *A brief Essay upon the Joy of a Tempted Christian, triumphing over his Temptations*. And I gave it unto the Printer.<sup>1</sup>

14 d. 6 m. [August.] Satureday. Designing the next Week, to return unto the married State, I sett apart this Day, by Prayer with Fasting to seek the Blessing of God, upon me, in that Affayr; that all my Sins may be pardoned, and that no Guilt may accompany me, to procure me Chastisements from Heaven in the State whereinto I am entring; and that all the Circumstances of the next Week, may be mercifully directed and ordered by the Lord.

The dreadful Calamities of our poor Plantations, upon which the Indians are now committing their cruel Depredations, did also call me, and cause me, to ly in the Dust before the Lord.

18 d. 6 m. Wednesday. THIS is the Day, the joyful Day, wherein my glorious Lord JESUS CHRIST brings me, to the rich Harvest of my Prayers, my Tears, my Resignations. I am in the Evening of this Day, to receive a most lovely Creature, and such a Gift of Heaven unto me, and mine, that the Sense thereof almost as often as I ponder thereon, dissolves me into Tears of Joy.

I resolved, that I would spend the Day in Heaven, if the Lord would please to open unto me His Heaven. I spent the whole Day in my Study, devoting it as a solemn THANKSGIVING unto the Lord. I gave Thanks for the various and marvellous mercies of God unto me, and I sang His Praises, with a Repetition of Devotions, wherein my Soul melted into Tears, felt the Love of God unto me,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1703.

in all that has befallen me. But I gave Thanks very particularly, for my astonishing Preservations, from undoing myself, my Ministry, and my Family, under the amazing Temptations, which in the Time of my Widowhood, I have mett withal; and for my being brought at length, so near to the Enjoyment of a most amiable Person, and the most agreeable Consort (all things considered) that all *America* could have afforded me. The forming and finding of this excellent Creature, hath been a signal Work of my Lord Jesus Christ; and His glorious Angel has doubtless been employ'd about it!

God made this Day, to be unto me, a Day of more than ordinary Entertainments from the heavenly World. I was this Day in the Spirit, filled with the Love and Joy of the Lord. I now know, that God has loved me with an everlasting Love, and hath yett great Things to do for me, and by me.

In the Evening, my Father married me, unto a Wife, in finding of whom, I have to my Astonishment found Favour of the Lord.

I thought I should glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, and approve myself an exemplary Man, if, as I never declined any Service unto the Lord, for any Affliction, so neither should I for any Enjoyment. Wherefore, I preached the Lecture on Thursday, the Day after my Marriage; and as I preached to a vast Assembly, so I preached with a great Assistance; I had a more than usual Presence of the Lord with me, in all the Service before me.

Returning Home, as I was alone, I had my Soul even ravished with the Thoughts of the Divine Favour to me; resolving hereupon to lay myself out in the Service of my dear L[ord] Jesus Christ, and of His Churches, unto the uttermost.

I then repaired unto an handsome Entertainment, which the Brother of my lovely Consort made for the Ministers

of this, and the neighbouring Towns, as well as our several Relatives; in the close whereof, we sang the Close of the *Ninetieth* psalm.

On *August 24. Tuesday.* I brought my lovely Consort home; and made an agreeable Entertainment at my House, for the Relatives of both.

*28 d. 6 m. Satureday.* I spent this Day, in my Study; devoting it unto the Exercises of a secret Fast before the Lord.

One special Errand I had unto Heaven this Day was, that inasmuch as I had enjoy'd more than ordinary Experience, of the Lord's being the *Hearer of Prayer*, I might have the *Spirit of Grace and of Prayer* poured out upon me, to render me more a *Man of Prayer* than ever I have been in my Life before.

I proposed also, with my Cries to Heaven for Mercies of a more general Importance to our own Land, and the French Protestants, etc. to join my Cries for Blessings on my recruited Family, and for Grace rightly to improve the Favours of the Lord.

These Papers do not now fill so fast as they did. The Month of *September* passes away, with little Matter afforded for these Memorials.

There are two Reasons for it.

First, I sacrifice much Time, to the Visits of my Friends, who visit me, with Congratulations of my happy Return to the married State.

But, then, that which is more considerable, is, that in my Return to the married State, I am reaping an astonishing Harvest, of the Prayers, and Fasts, and Mortifications, which engrossed so much of my Time in the Months that are past.

God has delivered me, from wonderful Temptations and Confusions; and He has bestow'd upon me, a most amiable<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words "and admirable" have been struck out.

Consort. Her Prudence and her Goodness, accompanied with a grateful Personage, are an astonishing Answer to the Supplications, which I have made unto God, and which His People have also made for me. I must here enter this Testimony for the Lord, that *He is Good unto them that wait for Him, unto the Soul that seeketh Him.*

However, I am not now in such Distresses, as caused me and called me, a while ago, to multiply my Dayes of *Humiliation.*

Only, the Lord now awakens a just Fear in me, lest my *Prosperity* prove a Disadvantage to my *Interiour*, and lest a sensual, casual, insipid Frame of Spirit grow upon me. *Lord! make me, and keep me watchful, I pray thee, I pray thee!*

23. d. 7 m. [September.] Thursday. I should have kept a Day this week, in the Duties of a *secret Fast.* But a *public* One this day took me. The whole Province is this day crying to God, concerning our own Condition, and that of the Church and World abroad at this Day. And I bear my part, with my Congregation, in it.

About this Time, I have my Soul awakened, importunately to beg three Favours of the Lord.

First, that CHRIST may appear to me, the most *glorious* of all Objects.

Next, that SIN may appear to me, the most *odious* of all Objects.

Thirdly, that the *Heavenly World*, may be as *real* to me as any thing upon *Earth.*

14 d. 8 m. [October.] Wednesday. Being to morrow to conclude my Lectures on *The Wiles of the Devil*, I thought it proper for me, to sett apart this Day for the Devotions of Prayer with Fasting before the Lord; that so I may obtain the Pardon of all my Follies, wherein the *Wiles of the Devil*, from time to time have circumvented me; and that I may also obtain a Presence of the Lord with me,

tomorrow, and the Acceptance of these and my other Labours among His people.

And it now being a Time, that our Ships are coming in from *London*, I judg'd it proper for me, to humble myself before the Lord, that I may be prepared for whatever Tidings may be coming to me from thence; particularly, relating to the Books that I have sent over thither to be published; and that, if it may be, I may be comforted with Tidings concerning the Acceptance, which my Labours find among the People of God.

On the Day following, the Lord was mercifully with me.

And on this Day, I received Letters from *England*, which give me surprising Informations concerning the Acceptance which my *Church-History* meets withal, from one End of *England* unto the other, and of the Influence which it is like to have upon the evangelical Interests.<sup>1</sup>

23 d. 8 m. *Saturday*. I sett apart this Day also, for the Duties of a religious Fast, in my Study.

One special Errand upon which I now went unto the Lord was, that the Composures which I have sent unto *London*, may not be lost.

As also that I may be directed and assisted, in regard of some other Composures, which I have now before me.

There was one particular Matter of Thought and Prayer which I had now to carry before the Lord.

My five Lectures on *The Wiles of the Devil*, are desired by many good people, to be published by the Press. I thought, it might push my Revenge upon the *Devil* home, and prove a Service unto the Interests of Christianity, if I should proceed unto this Publication. But the Expence was one Discouragement. So I carried the Matter unto the Lord; I humbled myself before him, for my great

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Mather gives in the *Life of Cotton Mather*, 64, an incident in Mather's life, when on October 10, 1704, he was sent for by one George Fielding, a man noted for his wickedness and for his abuse of Dr. Mather, and then lying on his death bed. The man's remorse is made an opportunity to picture Mather's magnanimity.

unworthiness to be used in any Work for His Name, and Church; and especially, for defeating the *Wiles of the Devil*, inasmuch as I had myself so frequently and horribly been deluded by his *Wiles*. Nevertheless, I pleaded, that the same *sovereign Grace*, which had hitherto made use of me, might still do so; and the Lord Himself best knew, what would be of any use unto His Interests. I entreated of Him, that, if He would have me to proceed, with an Offer of my Lectures, to the public, He would by some encouraging Circumstances make my Way plain before me. So I left it with the Lord.

Within a few Hours, there came to me, a Gentleman, one of the Council, (Mr. *Eliakim Hutchinson*,) with a Proposal, that, I would publish my Lectures on the *Wiles of the Devil* adding, that all the Paper which the Impression would call for, was in his Storehouse, and at my Service, if I would accept of it. I wondered at this Occurrence!

But now seeing my Way plain before me, I went on to transcribe, and fitt up, the poor Discourses; which (tho' it were a laborious Task) the Lord helped me to do. So I give the Book unto the Booksellers, entituled; *The ARMOUR OF CHRISTIANITY*.<sup>1</sup>

Partly the Encumbrance of my preparing so much Work for the press, and partly the Variety of my other Employment, hinder my entring of many Things in these Papers, that should have been remembred.

And many of my Designs to serve Christ, and do good, are only in the Lord's Book of Remembrance. But some of them are in the Memorials of the Societies with which I am continually contriving Methods to promote Religion.

20 d. 9 m. [*November.*] *Saturday*. I was again with Prayer and Fasting, in Secret before the Lord.

Little that was memorable occur'd unto me.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Timothy Green for Benjamin Eliot, 1704.

Only I perceive, that this Year is like to be a *bearing Year* with me.

Oh! the Free-Grace, the Favour of Heaven, to the Chief of Sinners!

On the Lord's-day in the Evening (21 *d.* 9 *m.*) I preached a Sermon unto our *young Men*, on Joh. 21. 20. *The Disciple whom Jesus Loved*. The young Men desired a Copy of the Sermon, that it might be published. So I gave it 'em. It is entituled, JEDIDIAH. OR, A FAVOURITE OF HEAVEN DESCRIBED.<sup>1</sup>

About this time I endeavoured several Services to my Country, by writing Letters, to the Lord-president of the Queen's Council, and the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Queen's Principal Secretary of State, and some other Persons of Quality.

18 *d.* 10 *m.* [December.] *Saturday*. I sett apart the Day, for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study;

One special Errand unto Heaven was, that my Book of, *The Confirmed Christian*, might not be lost.

About this Time, I did a Service, which tho' *small* for the *Labour*, I hope, will prove *great* for the *Effect* of it. I composed a Sheet, entituled, METHODS AND MOTIVES, FOR A SOCIETY TO SUPPRESS DISORDERS.<sup>2</sup> I have given some Accounts of the *Reforming Societies* in the English Nation; I have directed, how every little Town may come to have such a *Society* in it. I have declared, what excellent Things may be done by such a *Society*. I have animated good Men, to unite in such an Undertaking. And publishing of the Sheet, I contrive a Way to send it into all Parts of the Country. It may be, the Lord will prosper this Endeavour, and some notable Things may be done for God and Christ, and Religion, from one End of the Land unto the other.

About this Time, the Death of a vertuous Gentlewoman,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

and my Desire to take such an Opportunity to make Poetry subservient unto the Designs of Vertue, I composed a large Elegy, upon her; entituled, *Εὔρηκα*, OR A VIRTUOUS WOMAN FOUND.<sup>1</sup>

The Gentleman, her Husband, published it.

15d. 11 m. [January.] *Saturday*. Setting apart this Day, for Prayers with Fasting, before the Lord, it proved a Day, not without some special Impressions and Enjoyments from Heaven vouchsafed unto me.

Especially when I was in one Part of this Day, sitting as before the Lord, and thinking on the Purposes of sovereign and infinite *Grace*, to make me *happy*, in the Fruition of God and of His Christ, forevermore. I was dissolved in Tears, and my Soul was transported with Raptures of *Love* to God, and the *Love* and *Joy* of God so raptured me, that I readily consented unto it, that if the *Service* and *Interest* of God required my being either *annihilated* or *miserable*, it should be so; I was willing it should be so; I was wholly *sacrificed* unto God in a *Flame of Love*; I was willing to be *anything*, yea, to be *nothing*, if the Great God may be *glorified*. And then an astonishing *Assurance* ensued upon it, that so far would my God be from ordering my being *annihilated* or *miserable*, He would forever take pleasure to glorify Himself in heaping inconceivable *Blessedness* upon me.

God having in this Month, made me victorious over great and strong Temptations, He rewards me by raising me to a very intimate Conversation with Heaven. He teaches me to spend my Time unto better Advantage, than I have often done. He makes me very diligent in my Studies. He helps me with Diligence to dispatch Abundance of Services. He makes me more prayerful, more fruitful, and more watchful. He smiles upon my publick Actions. His Light shines upon my Tabernacle.

<sup>1</sup> Her name was Mrs. Mary Brown. Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, 1703.

About this Time, I finished a large Discourse about the blessed *Chiliad*, at the Desire of the Minister of *Salem*. I entituled it, PROBLEMA THEOLOGICUM or, *An Essay, concerning the Happy State expected for the Church on Earth in the Latter Dayes; Endeavouring to demonstrate, that the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be at the Beginning of that Happy State; with some Thoughts about the Characters and Approaches of it.*<sup>1</sup>

I sent it afterwards unto a Bookseller in *London*; with some Alteration of the Titlepage.

2 d. 12 m. [February.] Wednesday. I am to morrow, to entertain a Congregation (and perhaps, a very great one,) with a Discourse upon the Improvement that a baptised Christian should make of his *Baptism*. That so my Mouth, (my sinful Mouth,) may be accepted by the Lord, and made as His Mouth unto His People, I thought it proper this Day to lay my Mouth in the Dust. I humbled myself before God, with Fasting and Prayer, that I might obtain the Pardon of all my Sins, and particularly, my not improving my *Baptism* as I should have done, and not having lived in that Purity and Sanctity, that is required of the *Baptised*. It seem'd unto me, a necessary Preparation for my preaching on common Sins, to gett the Pardon of my own; and for my pressing of Graces and of Dutyes, to bewayl my own Miscarriages and renew and revive my Resolutions.

I obtained some Assurance, that the Lord will to morrow afford me much of His gracious Presence.

And I spread before the Lord, the many other Cases, which this Day were proper to be mentioned.

But there fell out one Thing something remarkable.

I had some Thoughts, that my Discourse of *Baptism*, if the Lord please, might prove serviceable unto the evangelical Interests, and might serviceably be published unto

<sup>1</sup> See p. 571, *infra*.

the Churches of the Lord. I laid the Matter before Him, and ask'd that He would order some Encouragements for it, if He had any Service to be done by this Discourse unto His People.

Behold, in the Evening there was brought unto me the Summ of ten peeces of Eight, from a worthy man, as far off as *Rhode Island*, who had understood, that a month ago, I had at the Lecture begun a Discourse of *Baptism*, which I am to morrow to finish; and now presented me with such a Summ to forward the Impression of it.

On the Day ensuing, I preached to a vast Assembly, with a great Assistence.

My Discourse, I give to the Bookseller, entituled, A TREE PLANTED BY THE RIVERS OF WATER; or, *An Essay upon the Godly and glorious Improvements, which Baptised Christians are to make of their Sacred Baptism.*<sup>1</sup>

#### THE COURSE OF MY PUBLIC MINISTRY.

14 d. 12 m. [February.] 1702. I preached on 1. Cor. 1. 30. *Union with Jesus Christ.*

18 d. 12 m. *Thursday.* It was a general Fast. I preached on Job. 9. 28. *Sorrowful Christians being afraid of all their Sorrowes.* (My own sad Condition.)

21 d. 12 m. I returned unto my Course of Sermons, on the Gospel to the *Ephesians*. I preached on Eph. 1. 15. *Handling (besides other preliminary Lessons) Faith apprehending of a Jesus, and a Lord.*

28 d. 12 m. I preached, on Isa. 56. 2. *The Doctrine of the Sabbath.*

4 d. 1 m. [March.] 1703. *Thursday.* I preached, on Rev. 1. 10. *The Institution and observation of, the LORDS DAY.*

7 d. 1 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 15. *Love to all the Saints.*

14 d. 1 m. I preached, on 1. Cor. 1. 30. *Christ made Wisdome unto us.* (And I administred the *Eucharist*)

18 d. 1 m. *Thursday.* I preached the Lecture on Rom. 2. 4. *The use to be made of the Divine Goodness.* Applying it unto the

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Bartholomew Green for Samuel Phillips, 1704.

Condition of the Town, præservèd in, and restored from, the Sorrowes of the late Winter.

21 d. 1 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 16. *Secret Prayer.*

24 d. 1 m. *Wednesday.* I preached, at a Fast kept by the People of *Woburn*, praying for Direction in their Choice of a *Pastor*, on Eph. 1. 9. The use of the Dispensacõn of the *Gospel.*

28 d. 1 m. I preached on Psal. 17. 4. *The Pathes of the Destroyer.*

1 d. 2 m. [April.] *Thursday.* I preached the Lecture, on Philem. 4. *My prayers.* Inculcating of *secret prayer.*

4 d. 2 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 17. Considerations of God, as the *God of our Lord Jesus Christ* and the *Father of Glory*; in our Prayers to Him.

8 d. 2 m. *Thursday.* T'was a Thanksgiving thro' the Province, for Successes against the French. I preached on Isa. 43. 14. Great Things done in the world, *for the Sake* of the Church.

11 d. 2 m. I preached on Act. 21. 14. *Resignation to the Will of God.*

18 d. 2 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 17. The Spirit of *Wisdom*, and *Revelation*, bringing us to the *Knowledge* of God in our Lord Jesus Christ. (With surprising Assistences.)

25 d. 2 m. I preached, on, Psal. 30. [tit.] *The Dedication* of our *Houses* unto God.

29 d. 2 m. *Thursday.* I preached, the Lecture, on 1. Sam. 20.

29. A *Family-Sacrifice.* (Greatly assisted of Heaven.)

2 d. 3 m. [May.] I preached, on Eph. 1. 18. *The Eyes of the Understanding enlight'nd, to know the Hope of the Calling of God.*

5 d. 3 m. *Wednesday.* I preached, the Lecture at *Reading*, on Eph. 1. 17.

9 d. 3 m. I preached, on 1. Cor. 1. 30. Christ made *Righteousness* unto us. (And I administred the *Eucharist.*)

16 d. 3 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 18. *The Riches of the Glory* in the *Inheritance of God*, in the *Saints.*

19 d. 3 m. *Wednesday.* A Fast was kept in our Congregation, to obtain the Fear of God, for the rising Generation. I preached on Exod. 15. 2. *Choosing* the Great God, and our *Father's God*, for our *Own God*; and providing an Habitation for Him.

23 d. 3 m. I preached, at Salem, A.M. on Eph. 1. 18. *The Riches of Glory* in Heaven. P.M. on Eph. 1. 12. Inviting both *old* and *young*, to lay hold on it.

30 d. 3 m. I preached again, on Eph. 1. 18. *The Riches of Glory*, etc.

3 d. 4 m. [June.] *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, (being suddenly putt upon it,) on Hos. 9. 12. The sad State of a people, from whom *God is departed*.

6 d. 4 m. I preached, on Rom. 8. 18. The *Suffering* of the present Time, and the *Glory* of the future State; and the *Reckoning* of the former to be of no Weight against the latter.

13 d. 4 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 19. The *exceeding Greatness* of the *Power* of God.

20 d. 4 m. I preached, on Jam. 1. 2. The great Joy, which a good Man may have under *all Sorts of Temptations*. (It being with myself a Time of sad and sore Temptations.)

24 d. 4 m. *Thursday*. I preached, on Eph. 6. 11. The *Wiles of the Devil*.

27 d. 4 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 20. The *Power* of God, in the *Resurrection of Christ*.

4 d. 5 m. [July.] I preached, on 1. Cor. 1. 30. Christ, made *Holiness* unto us. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

11 d. 5 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 20. God setting of Christ at His own *right Hand*, in *heavenly Places*.

18 d. 5 m. I preached, on Prov. 28. 26. *Walking wisely*; general Rules for it.

22 d. 5 m. *Thursday*, I preached on Eph. 6. 11. The *Wiles of the Devil*; to draw men into *Sin*; and to defeat the Good that should be gott by the Means of Good.

25 d. 5 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 21. Christ, *far above* all Things in all Worlds.

1 d. 6 m. [August.] I preached, on Prov. 25. 26. The *Wisdom* to be exercised in a Christian Walk about making our *Prayer*, and spending our *Time*.

9 d. 6 m. I preached on Eph. 1. 21. The *World to come*.

15 d. 6 m. I preached, on Prov. 28. 26. The *Wisdom*, to be expressed, in beleving in *Christ*, and in subduing of *Sin*.

19 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Eph. 6. 11. The *Wiles of the Devil*, to hinder the *Conversion* of the Unregenerate.

22 d. 6 m. I preached, on Eph. 1. 22. Christ, the *Head* of the Church.

29 d. 6 m. I preached again, on Eph. 1. 22. Christ the *Head* of the Church. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

5 d. 7 m. [September.] I preached, on Eph. 1. 22. The Church, the *Body* and *Fulness* of Christ.

12 d. 7 m. I preached, on Prov. 28. 26. The *Wisdom* to be exercised in attending on *Ordinances*, and observing of *Providences*.

16 d. 7 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Eph. 6. 11. The *Wiles* of the *Devil*, to hinder the Duties of a *Christian Conversation*.

19 d. 7 m. I preached, on Eph. 2. 1. *Death* in *Trespases* and *Sins*.

23 d. 7 m. *Thursday*. A general Fast; I preached on Isa. 42. 24. God ordering His People to be *spoiled* and *robbed*, for the Chastisement of their Sinning against Him.

26 d. 7 m. I preached on Prov. 28. 26. The *Wisdom* to be exercised in our *general Calling*, and in our *personal Calling*.

3 d. 8 m. [*October*.] I preached, on Eph. 2. 2. The *Walk* of the unconverted Sinner, and the *Change* of the Converted, from what he was *in Time past*.

6 d. 8 m. *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Dedham*, on Eph. 1. 18. The *Riches of Glory*, in Heaven.

10 d. 8 m. I preached on John 5. 2. The *Purging* of the fruitful C[hristian] to produce *more Fruit*, and the taking away of the *Fruitless*.

14 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture concluding my Discourses on Eph. 6. 11. *The Wiles of the Devil*.

17 d. 8 m. I preached on Eph. 2. 2. Walking after the *Course of this World*.

24 d. 8 m. I preached on 1. Cor. 1. 30. *Redemption* by Christ. (And I administered the Eucharist.)

31 d. 8 m. I preached on Eph. 2. 2. The Prince of the *power of the Air*, and of the Spirit working in the Children of *Disobedience*.

7 d. 9 m. [*November*.] I preached on Jer. 45. 5. Against *seeking for ourselves*, the *great Things* of this World.

14 d. 9 m. I preached on Eph. 2. 3. The abasing Points wherein the best of Men may see themselves in the same Level with the worst of Men.

21 d. 9 m. I preached on Rom. 14. 7. 8. [Not] *living* or *dying* unto ourselves, but unto the Lord.

25 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Judg. 2. 14. The Condition of a People delivered into the Hands of *Spoilers*.

28 d. 9 m. I preached (it being a very stormy Time,) on Psal. 61. 2. The Shelter, in the *Rock*.

5 d. 10 m. [*December*.] I preached, on Gal. 3. 27. The Improvement which the *baptised*, should make of their *Baptism*.

9. d. 10 m. *Thursday*. A Thanksgiving thro' the Province. I preached on Jer. 25. 6. The Lord's doing His People *no hurt*.

12 d. 10 m. I preached, a second Time, on Gal. 3. 27.

19 d. 10 m. I preached on Psal. 89. 6. The Incomparableness of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Preference which the Christian gives to Him. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

26 d. 10 m. I preached, on Job. 22. 29. The Tempers and Blessings of the *humble*. (It being an humbling Time.)

2 d. 11 m. [*January*.] I preached, a third Time, on Gal. 3. 27.

6 d. 11 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on 1. Pet. 3. 21. The *conscientious* Improvement of *Baptism*.

9 d. 11 m. I preached, on Eph. 2. 3. *Original Sin*.

16 d. 11 m. I preached, on Psal. 19. 13. The *Dominion of Sin*.

23 d. 11 m. I preached, on Eph. 2. 3. My second Sermon on *Original Sin*.

26 d. 11 m. *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Dedham*; on 1. Cor. 1. 30. *Redemption* by Christ.

30 d. 11 m. I preached, on Luk. 1. 38. A *Consent* unto the glorious *Truths* and gracious *Tenders*, of the Gospel; and earnestly bespoke it.

3 d. 12 m. [*February*.] *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture on 1. Pet. 3. 21. finishing my Discourse, on the Improvement of *Baptism*.

6 d. 12 m. I preached, on Eph. 2. 3. *Desires* of the *Flesh*, and of the *Mind*.

TO SAMUEL PENHALLOW.

M. H. S.

BOSTON, 4 d. 10 m., 1704.

Sir, — No ordinary Essay can bring me out of your Debt. I am vastly indebted unto you, for your communicative Goodness, which multiplies Kindnesses upon me, I am under a pleasant Load of obligations unto you; very particularly for your imparted Papers. Every thing from you, would be welcome to me, if there were no more to render it so, but only that it is from *you*. But there is also an Intrinsic usefulness in the Things themselves, to render them yett more welcome. I beseech you to go on, in this way of gratifying one of your Sincerest Friends. I have nothing to Return you, but a few of the latest Composures, which our Press has help'd into the World. It may be, some of them will be acceptable to some of your lovely Children: Especially to your Eldest, whom I more particularly know and Love.

Her Companion, my Daughter *Katy*, is yesterday taken Dangerously and Violently sick of the *Scarlet Feavour*; and we are with much Care and Fear waiting the event of the Sickness. My next Daughter, was taken ill of the same Distemper, at the same Time. And my only Son, who has been longer down is yett very ill of it. My Family is on these Accounts very much under the fatherly Chastisements of God. God make me and mine Gainers by his chastising Dispensations; and preserve our Neighbourhood, from the spreading of a Calamity, which I doubt is becoming Epidemical.

Under such Encumbrances, I have scarce Time to write a Letter.

About our Friend Col. *Hobby*, all that is proper to be *Spoken*, at present, is, that the principal Ministers of State, offered him, to introduce him into the Government of *N. England*, if either he, or the Gentlemen of the Countrey, would prefer any Complaints against the present Governour. He generously answered, that if the Gentlemen of the Countrey had no Complaints to make, for his part, he should make none; whereupon there was at present no further Proceeding. I confess, herein he did but follow my poor Advice; for I had said unto him, that I would by no means have him do any Thing to unhinge the present Gentleman.<sup>1</sup> [But, things were operating; and C. H. chose to delay what services he had to do for the Countrey, till our Ships were gone; for there were some to come over in them, who were very much in the Interests of him that is now at our Helm; You know them. etc. etc.]<sup>2</sup>

I have nothing at this Time to add, but that with mine and my Wife's hearty Service to you and yours, (and her Thanks for your kind Present,) I am, Sir, Ever yours,

C. MATHER.

<sup>1</sup> See Hutchinson, *History*, II. 153.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence enclosed in brackets was struck out, but is clearly legible, indicating an intention on Mather's part that his correspondent should be able to read it.

1705

THE XLIII<sup>D</sup> YEAR.

Libera me, quaero Domino, ex mortali illo carcere; verum tamen si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem. So said Martin of Tours.

How the sons of good Men prove useful to them, See *Lutheri Quæstiones Sacr.* p. 84.

THE XLIII<sup>D</sup> YEAR OF MY LIFE.

12 d. 12 m. [February.] 1704. *Monday.* Being this Day, two and forty Years old, I spent the Day in my Study, and I distinguished it, with my THANKSGIVINGS, and Amazements, before the Lord, for His merciful Sparing of my Life to this Age, and for the astonishing Mercies, with which He has filled my Life.

About this Time, I wrote an Account of the present State of Christianity, among our Christianized Indians; which Account, having a Tendency to do many good Services, as well as to answer the Desires of the Corporation in *London*, for whom several others, with me, are Commissioners to look after that considerable Affayr, it was, by order of the Commissioners published. It is entituled: A LETTER ABOUT THE PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTIANITY, AMONG THE CHRISTIANIZED INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

1 d. 1 m. [March.] *Thursday.* The Year begins well. It begins with a general Fast, throughout the Province. The Lord graciously assisted me in the Services of the Day. And He made my Discourses on, *Pouring out the Soul before the*

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Green. The letter was addressed to Sir William Ashurst.

*Lord, a Cure of Sadness*, to be exceeding Serviceable and Acceptable, unto Multitudes that were under *Sadness*.

About this Time, I enjoy'd some singular Consolation in my Soul, from an Experience, that whatever Dispensation of God embittered Sin into me, and recovered me from the Hazards of Sin, tho' the Dispensation were never so bitter, my Soul took a wonderful Satisfaction in it, was glad of it, lov'd and bless'd God for it.

9 d. 1 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting, in secret Places.

My Soul was this Day full of Contritions and Abasements; but I arrived unto an astonishing Experience.

I considered the Afflictions which had many Wayes been exercising of me. I considered the Holiness of God, as glorified in chastising me with all these Afflictions for my sins against Him. I took part with the Holiness of God against myself. I think, I can truly say, that I found a Principle within me, inexpressibly gratified, and satisfied and rejoicing, that the Great God was glorified, even by my own being broken with miserable Circumstances. But then I cannot express the Assurances, with which the Lord irradiated me, that He would bring me near unto Himself, and not pour out His Wrath, but His Love, upon me forevermore.

10 d. 1 m. *Saturday*. Tis my Grief and Shame, that tho' I live in the very frequent Practice of *Self-Examination*, yett I have so rarely recorded the Method and Result of that Exercise. I hope I shall force the Time so far, as to gett into my Memorials, more of such Proceedings, than I have done heretofore; and that inasmuch as my Death now approaches, more of my Accurate Præparation for it, will be seen in these reserved Papers.

This Evening, 2 d. 4 m.<sup>1</sup>

16 d. 1 m. *Friday*. About this time, the Holy Providence of God, ordered a very strange Coincidence of many

<sup>1</sup> No entry was made under this date.

Things, whereupon Reproaches were multiplied against me, and my Enemies reproached me with many Falshoods, and such things as had a Tendency to hurt my Serviceableness, and strike out the Apple of my Eye.

On this Occasion I thought it proper to lay myself in the Dust before the Lord, and spend at least one Day every week in Humiliations and Supplications. I did so this Day, as I had also done this Day se'nnight.

I confessed, and bewayled, my many Sins, before the Lord; and such Sins especially, as my unjust Reproaches might lead me to think of, and of which I might apprehend them to be the just Chastisements.

From the Dust, and from the Depths, I cried unto the Lord, for the Pardon, of these my Sins; and pleaded the great Sacrifice, as my only Refuge.

I cried unto the Lord, that my Opportunities to do good might be still rescued and præsaved, from all that may threaten Damage unto them.

And I considered, that tho' my whole Time all the Day long, and all the Week long, is employ'd in a continual Contrivance of raptured Zeal to do good; yett few Men meet with such Clogs in it, from the Malignity of evil People as I do; and, if I had jogg'd on in an indifferent Manner as others do and less thwarted and vexed the Divel in his Interests, I might have been as little envied and maligned as they; but I resolved, that I would not at all abate of my Endeavours to be universally serviceable.

About this Time, among other Endeavours to be serviceable, I considered, that our Christianized *Indians*, need a better Acquaintance with the Lawes of the Province against punishable Wickedness. An Abstract of the said Lawes, turned into their Language, and printed for them, to have the same scattered among them, I was advised, that would be greatly beneficial to them. I composed such an Abstract, and procured another to translate it, that it might

be accordingly published. I suited their Genius with this Title: HATCHETS TO HEW DOWN THE TREE OF SIN, WHICH BRINGS FORTH THE FRUIT OF DEATH.<sup>1</sup>

23 d. 1 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, as I did this Day se'nnight, that I might obtain the Pardon of my many and mighty Sins, and the Rescue and Increase of my precious Opportunities to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, which my Sins have horribly forfeited.

6 d. 2 m. [*April.*] *Friday*. I sett apart this Day for Prayer with Fasting in my Study. That I might obtain Abundance of Grace, to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ, and Acceptance in my Desires and Studies to glorify Him: and a Blessing on many particular Services, which I have now before me.

12 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. This Day, a solemn and public Thanksgiving was attended, for Successes against the common Enemy. I enjoy'd considerable Assistences, in the Service of the Day.

But it is with me a Time of so many and various Employments that I cannot find the Time to write so much in these poor Memorials as I did use, and would chuse to do. And indeed, those Employments do putt me by, from some Things, that would have been proper Materials for these Memorials.

20 d. 2 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting before the Lord. And one special Intention of it, was, to obtain this Favour of Heaven, that the Spirit of the Lord (whom I have many Wayes grieved) would not withdraw from me, but fill me and lead me, and act me wonderfully, and that I may particularly enjoy His most gracious Presence with me, in præparing and uttering the Sermon, with which I am to entertain His people, in my approaching Lecture.

My Soul was dissolved into Tears, when I was pouring out these my Desires before the Lord.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green. The translation was probably the work of E. Mayhew.

26 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. After many Resignations of myself unto the Spirit of God, and many Preparations of Soul for it, I enjoy'd some good Answer of my Prayers, in a special and signal Presence of God, accompanying my Endeavours at the Lecture, to *prophesy over the dry Bones*, and utter quickening Words unto the Hearers.

But I had not Opportunity to finish what I begun.

4 d. 3 m. [*May*.] *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study. The Occasions were such, as my other such Dayes have lately been employed upon.

And I had one Occasion more. For, my dear little *Nanny* is again visited with a violent Feavour and unto all Appearance now drawes near unto the Gates of Death. God sanctifies the Condition of that pretty and lovely Child unto me. God awakens me by her Sufferings, to mourn for my Sins against Him, and to think, what special Duties He calls me to. And I cannot be at rest, until I have obtained of the Lord, that this Child shall in spiritual Blessings have an abundant and glorious Compensation for all her temporal Sufferings.

Unto the Surprize of us all once again the Child recovered.

About this Time, the Minister of *Taunton* publishing a Sermon, about the Wayes to encourage Goodness, I composed a PREFACE unto it; and therein embraced an Opportunity to anticipate the Devices that Satan may have to hurt a glorious Work of God which has lately been done, in bringing that popular and vicious Town to a wonderful Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

21 d. 3 m. *Munday*. The over-ruling Providence of Christ, compelled me, even against my Will, to take a Journey unto *Sudbury*. But there the Lord made a singular Use of me, to glorify Him, in a Council of eleven Churches (whereof ours was one,) mett there together, on a deplorable

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Danforth, *Piety Encouraged*, printed by B. Green, 1705.

Occasion. The unhappy Minister of the Place, was, before this Council, convicted of many and horrid Scandals; for which we censured him, and suspended him.<sup>1</sup> There was a marvellous Presence of the Lord with us, in the Management of the whole Affair; but my poor Endeavours were by our glorious Lord, made of special Service in it.

On Wednesday Evening, I returned home, with the good Hand of God upon me. But the Uncertainty of my coming home, caused me to gett my Lecture to morrow supplied by another Person.

A very wicked Fellow in the Church of *Woburn*, exposing himself by his Wickedness to the Censure of the Church, he applyed himself unto me, among others, to consider his Case, in hope of some Releef. When I had considered it, I rather approved the Proceeding of the Church, and advised him unto Repentence.

Hereupon, he wrote a Letter of Lyes, Reproaches, and Calumnies against myself particularly, unto some other Pastors and Churches, to obtain a *Council*. Some of the Pastors had so little Witt and Grace, as to read this Letter in their Congregations. It was, at first, a Trouble to me, and I look'd on it, as an holy Rebuke from God upon me, for my Unserviceableness unto His Churches, that I should have any base and false Representations of me, openly read in the Congregations of His People. I humbled myself before the Lord on this Occasion: but it issued in a secret Perswasion, that God was præparing me for *some Services, which He would accept me to do for Him, not in two or three Congregations only, but in all His Congregations from one End of the Countrey to the other.*

1 d. 4 m. [June.] Friday. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting in my Study.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. James Sherman. He removed to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1706, and to Salem, Massachusetts, where he died in 1718. The cause of his suspension is not known.

2 d. 4 m. *Saturday*. In the Evening, tho' my Self-Examinations are frequent, are daily, yett I now sett myself, with a more singular and exquisite Measure of Consideration, to examine, what Marks I can find in myself, that might carry me cheerfully thro' the dark Valley of the Shadow of Death, if I should be (which I have Abundance of Reason to look for,) immediately called into it.

I find, that renouncing all other Hope to be *forgiven* and *accepted* of God, I depend on a Glorious CHRIST, as my only *Atonement* and *Advocate*.

And that which encourages me to venture upon this Dependence, is not the Sight of any thing laudable in myself, to recommend me unto this Favour of Heaven, but the Free-Grace of God, which invites me to it, and thereby fills me with Admiration and Astonishment.

At the same Time, I find myself so affected with the Glory of my Lord JESUS CHRIST, that if I can be the Instrument of advancing His Glory in the world, and bringing others to acknowledge it, I am raptured with inexpressible Consolations. Especially, if by any of His Image on myself, others are led unto an Acknowledgment of His Vertues and His Praises, the Raptures of this Joy becomes unspeakable; I am one arrived unto the very Top of my Felicity. Yea, a Conformity to Him, in Sufferings, Injuries, Reproaches from a malignant World, makes me, even to rejoice in those Humiliations.

I find, that I am not without Sorrow for SIN, and Horror at it.

When strong *Temptations* to *Sin* assault me, my Manner is, to fly and cry unto God, that for the Sake of the *Death* of my *Saviour*, my *Sin* may dy; and that I may have the Deliverance from *Sin*, which the Blood of my *Saviour* has purchased for me.

When sad *Afflictions* have been sanctified for the Destroying or Preventing of my *Sin*, I can heartily bless God

for them; I look on the most *bitter* Things, to be *blessed* Things, if God thereby *withold me from Sinning against Him*.

I find, that I am never easy, except I find myself bringing forth some *Fruit unto God*.

I find, that I really reckon my *Opportunities* to serve God and His Interests in the world, the most valuable of all my *Treasures*.

I find, that no *Quality* endears any Person to me so much as the Fear of God, the Love of Christ, a Dread of Sin, and a Concern to lay Hold on eternal Life.

I find, that I have no Enjoyment, but what I can resign to God, if He call me to it, and a *Resignation* to, a *Satisfaction* in, the Will of God in every Thing, is not only pursued by me, but in some good Measure attained.

I find, that I have a *Compassion* for my personal Enemies, and am afraid of allowing in my Soul, a Wish of Evil to the worst of them all; but I wish their best Prosperity.

Q. Whether the Man that can find these *Marks* upon himself, may not conclude himself *mark'd out*, for the City of God?

My poor Life is now crouded exceeding full, of Employments and Services. And much of my Time, is to my Grief, employed in entertaining Applications to me, from discomposed Places, in many Parts, of the Countrey.

Not a Day passes me, wherein I am not employ'd in a Variety of Services; and a continual Contrivance to be serviceable, has indeed long been the very Strain of my Life, every Day that comes over my Head.

I am also a Member of several Societies, more than one or two, whose Business tis, *to devise Good*; and with these I still carry on many *Devices* of a more extensive Influence, for the Welfare of many.

Our *Society for the Suppression of Disorders*, in this Town, is composed from each of our three Churches. But their Number is too large, to admitt any more. And yett

there is a considerable Number that would gladly engage in the same noble Design with them. Wherefore I erected two more such *Societies*; one for the *North* End of the Town; one for the *South*. With these I have yett more Opportunities to be fruitful.

I am well content that as I have not the Time, to record an hundredth Part of the *Methods to bring forth Fruit*, wherein I am endeavouring to *glorify God*, so that they should be utterly buried in Oblivion, for this world, and that never any Notice upon Earth should be taken of them.

About this time died the aged and holy Minister of *Maldon*, (Mr. *Wigglesworth*:)<sup>1</sup> And having preached a funeral Sermon for him at *Maldon*, I there mett with his reserved Papers. From these I extracted some excellent *Memorials of Piety*, and added them unto his funeral Sermon. The Book I entituled: A FAITHFUL MAN DESCRIBED AND REWARDED;<sup>2</sup> and I gave it unto the Booksellers.

29 d. 4 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study.

Being still desirous, to bring more Glory to my Lord JESUS CHRIST, I fitted for the Press, a Sermon about, the Enjoyment of a Glorious CHRIST, as the great Blessedness which good Men desire, both for themselves and for their Children; whereto I appendiced a Discourse by way of Inference from that glorious Truth, which I delivered unto a Meeting of young Men, on a Lord's-Day Evening. I knew not presently how to procure the Publication of this little Book; for the Method wherein I expected it, mett with some odd Obstructions. But I committed it unto the

<sup>1</sup> Sewall notes: "Lord's Day, June 10, 1705. The Learned and pious Mr. Michael Wigglesworth dies at Malden about 9. m. Had been sick about 10. days of a Fever; 73 years and 8 months old. He was the Author of the Poem entituled The Day of Doom, which has been so often printed: and was very useful as a Physician." See note to *Diary*, II. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by B. Green. Two impressions of the title page are known; the one for Benjamin Eliot, and the other for Nicholas Buttolph.

Lord; and entreated, that He would accept my Endeavour to serve Him. Immediately the Obstructions vanished; and I gave the Book unto the Printer; tis entituled, PARENTAL WISHES AND CHARGES.<sup>1</sup> I hope, to make special Use of it, in my pastoral Visits; in which usually I give away half a dozen Books, more or less, every Day that I make them.<sup>2</sup>

8 d. 5 m. [July.] *Lords-Day*. As we were this Day singing, in our great Congregation, those words, in Psal. 18.23.

*With Persons merciful that are,  
Thou merciful thyself will show.*

My mind make thyself this Reflection:

I see no Person miserable, but my Heart is very sensibly touched with their Miseries, I would, if I could, with all my Heart, help them in their Miseries. I have no Pleasure comparable to that of doing Acts of Mercy, Kindness, Goodness. I do them every Day, and have an Heart insatiably disposed unto the doing of them. I show Mercy to my very Enemies, and never decline doing them any Good that I have any Opportunity to do. I beg of God, that He would show Mercy to them. When I see the glorious God revenge upon them with dreadful Dispensations, the Wrongs which they have done to me, I am inwardly troubled at their Confusions. If I should hear and see the Lord offering me, to strike them for my sake, I should Intercede for them, and cry to God, that He would spare them and make them happy.

Then thought I: All this *Mercy* in me, is but a faint Ray, from that vast and bright *Sun* of *Mercy*, that shines in the Infinite God. And it is upon me a *Token for Good*,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Green.

<sup>2</sup> "1 d. 5 m. *Mary Dutton*, applying herself to the Church with a pœnitent Acknowledgement of her Offences, for which the Rebukes and Censures of the Church had been laid upon her, and with Testimonies of her laudable Conversation and Behaviour in the years that have last passed over her, she was this Day released from the Sentence of excommunication, and restored unto the communion of the Church." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

that the Great God will be infinitely more *merciful* to me, than I can be to any of my Fellow-Creatures.

The Thought hereof dissolved me into Tears, and filled me *with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory*.

25 d. 5 m. As a further Prosecution of a Thought lately entred in these Memorials, I may mention it, (only by way of Illustration,) that this Day, a Thunderstorm coming up, the Lightnings were very fierce and quick about us.

Thought I; for whose Preservation shall I now make my Prayer. For my own? Or, there are two or three People in this Town, who persecute me with a brutish, divelish, unreasonable, and unaccountable Malignity: Shall it be for theirs? My Heart immediately fell in with the latter. And I pray'd unto God, that He would preserve those poor Creatures, and pardon them, and not make them Exemples of His Indignation.

27 d. 5 m. Friday. Setting apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting in my Study I was admitted into some near Communion with Heaven.

Especially, when I was making one Request before the Lord. I entertained a Purpose, to attempt a Course of Sermons, that should, if the Lord spared my Life, go thro' a *Body of Divinity*; with a singular Intention and Endeavour, to consider a Glorious CHRIST upon every Article; what Relation every Article has to a glorious CHRIST; what Interest a glorious CHRIST has in every Article; and, what Illustrations upon all may be fetched from Him. I proposed and purposed in this Matter, to do a Work, that had never yett been done, except now and then with feeble Essays, in the Church of God: and hereby to help forward the Arrival of the Church to that State, whereof the Character shall be a *Fulness of CHRIST*, and the *Glory* of CHRIST shall be more considered than formerly. Spreading before the Lord, my Desire, to be accepted and assisted in such a Service, whereof I am so unworthy, I

had wonderful Assurances, that He even took Delight in me, and that an Angel of my Glorious CHRIST, had wonderful Offices, and Kindnesses to do for me.

There being a great Want of *household Piety* in many Houses of the Countrey, and there being a great Zeal raised in many pious Men, to do or wish, for the promoting of it, I was willing to produce an Engine that might be serviceable unto this holy Intention.

I composed a brief Discourse, which consisted of two Parts. The first Part contained some reasonable Considerations, laid before the Reason and Conscience of a prayerless Householder, to awaken him unto his Duty of praying with his Family. The second Part contained some Directions, how the Gift of Prayer might be obtained by Persons of the most ordinary Capacity, and so the most ordinary Objection against Family-prayer be effectually answered. I entituled this Discourse, FAMILY RELIGION. And I printed a thousand of them.<sup>1</sup> These I bound up in Bundles that had convenient Parcels in them; and printed a short Letter to be added unto each of the Bundles; entreating the Person, whose Name I inserted with my Pen, to find out what *prayerless Families* there may be in the Town where he lives, and to lodge these Essayes of Piety in them. So I concerted with some of my Friends a way to convey a Bundle to every Town in all these Colonies, and unto some other Places.

Lord, accept my poor Endeavour, and lett there be good and great Effects of it; I pray thee! I pray thee! Thus I see the Lord employing me in *Services for Him, not in one or two Congregations only but in all His Congregations, from one end of the Countrey to the other.*

<sup>1</sup> "It had a second Edition in this Countrey. It was also reprinted in *London*." *Written in the margin.* The second impression, "reprinted by B. Green," appeared in 1707, and again, by the same printer, in 1714, with Mayhew's translation into the Indian tongue it continued in print. Two later Boston issues (1720 and 1727) are known and one of Newport, R. I., 1740.

10 d. 6 m. [August.] Friday. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting before the Lord.

The Occasions, were much the same, that thus employ'd me a Fortnight ago.

But I was especially solicitous to lay before the Lord with suitable Resignations and Supplications, my Intentions of a Journey to *Salem* the next Week; that it may prove a Serviceable and a comfortable Journey.

Some of my bitterest Confessions this Day before the Lord, were, that a vast Variety of successive Temptations has assaulted me. But I have alwayes miscarried under my Temptations. Tho' the Temptations have not alwayes gained the Point pursued in them, yett my Miscarriages under them have been great Provocations unto God. A Reflection upon the more signally *temptational Part of my Life*; exceedingly abased me before the Lord. It caused me mightily to fly unto the Sacrifice, and the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, who was tempted, and never sinned, but alwayes came off a Conqueror and Glorified God.

15 d. 6 m. Wednesday. After some Trial of my Resignation, both in regard of my Health, and of the Time, I enjoy'd this Day, a very comfortable Journey, to *Salem*: accommodated with a pleasant Chariot, and the company of three young Gentlemen, who very lovingly attended on me. I arrived at *Salem*, after the publick Assembly was mett for the Lecture; but coming in, they made me preach the Lecture. On the Day following I travelled unto *Ipswich*; where I also preached the Lecture. The next Day I returned unto *Salem*. And there, on the Lord's-Day, I enjoy'd a more than ordinary Presence of the Lord with me. The Lord in Secret more than once cast me into a Flood of Tears, with Assurances, that He would be mightily with me. And I found Him to be so; I found and saw, a Flood of Tears, issuing, I hope, from quickened Souls in the great Congregation. I hope, that my Journey has now

(as often heretofore) left a sensible Impression of Religion where I have come. On the Tuesday I returned home, with a merciful Providence of God watching over me.

24 d. 6 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting in my Study. But without any remarkable Occurrence in it.

In the Beginning of *September*, pretty much of my Time was taken up in præparing of Matters, for the Service of the Churches: The Ministers of the several Associations in the Province, having ordered their Delegates, to meet at *Boston*, that so they might there make Proposals, for the more convenient Management of many Things, in the Churches throughout the Land; especially, when their Necessities call for *Councils* to be convened.

13 d. 7 m. [*September.*] *Thursday*. What cause has the Chief of Sinners, to be astonished, at the Grace of Heaven, that continues to employ him, in Service for the dear Interests of the Lord Jesus Christ!

I am one of the most foolish and filthy and forlorn Sinners in the world; but sovereign Grace will still triumph over my infinite Unworthiness.

It has been desired of me, that I would give the Publick, a Discourse on that Point, How Christians may so manage their Visits, as to best answer the noble Designs of Christianity? I did it this Day; after I had exceedingly humbled myself before the Lord. The Lord was mightily present with me; (as indeed He has been in the other Exercises of my Ministry of later Time:) The Sermon proved exceeding acceptable to the People of God. In the Evening, the Publication of it, was, by a considerable Number of good Men proposed. So I gave it them. It is entituled; THE RULES OF A VISIT.<sup>1</sup>

That the Mercy of the Lord unto me, in this Matter, may be the more signalized, it was putt into the Hearts of

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Timothy Green.

the reforming Societies in this Town, to divide all the colonies of New England between them, and to provide, that at least a Couple of the Books, be sent into every Town in the Countrey; one directed unto the Minister of the Place; the other having upon it this Inscription, *To be Lent*. Thus I shall have another precious Opportunity, to glorify the Lord, in every Town throughout New England. I shall *serve the Lord, in all His Congregations, from one end of the Countrey to the other*.

I cannot wholly deny, that *fruitful* Visits, have been a special Article of Contrivance and Endeavour in my Life. And, I must observe it unto the Glory of the divine Mercy and Wisdome; I have rarely made it my Study to be exemplary in any one Thing, but the Lord has accepted me to write some thing on that Thing, and have my writings read, and spread, and priz'd among His People.

29 d. 7 m. *Wednesday*. This Day, I was carried unto *Readding*, with some remarkable Circumstances. There I preached the Lecture, to a great Assembly gathered from the neighbouring Towns, with remarkable Assistences of Heaven.

31 d. 7 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting in my Study, to obtain the Pardon of Sin, and other Mercies of God. And in the Evening, I pray'd and preach'd with a Meeting of Christians. But without anything remarkable.

Oh! the *marvellous Kindness*, which the Lord shows unto me, before I come to the *strong City!* His Kindness in employing my poor Labours, to assist the Travel of His People, to the City!

I considered with myself, that the Glorious Lord would be exceedingly glorified, if His People would entertain right and sweet Thoughts, of Him, under all His afflictive Dealings with them; and live upon the Satisfactions of afflicted Christianity. I gave the Town a Lecture on that noble

Subject; and so wrote my Sermon as to have it ready for publication, if it should be desired.

I then mentioned the Matter unto the Lord, and offer'd my Sermon unto Him, that being sprinkled with the Blood of Jesus, it might be accepted, if He please, for the Service of Religion among His People. To my Surprize, my Notes were immediately desired of me, by those, who carried them unto the Book-seller. And they are published under the Title, of, *MARE PACIFICUM, A short Essay, upon those Noble Principles of Christianity, which may always compose and Rejoice the Mind of the Afflicted Christian.*<sup>1</sup>

Yea, more than this; the Gentleman who was principally concerned in the publication, did of his own Accord, present one of the Books, to every Town in these Colonies, to be lent among the Inhabitants. Thus have I a strange Opportunity once again, to *serve the Lord, in all His Congregations, from one End of the Countrey to the other.*

O sovereign GRACE! What, what art thou doing for the Chief of Sinners? Never was there a Wretch more worthy to be abhorred, rejected, and horribly destroy'd of Heaven than I. And yett the *sovereign Grace* of Heaven, still pitties me, yea, still employes me.

I apprehended, that the Notion of a *Christian* considered as a *Temple* of God, being well cultivated, would prove a considerable Service to the Interests of Christianity, in the World. I sett myself to prosecute and illustrate this Notion, in a Discourse on that Subject, not altogether unaccurate. Having finished my Discourse, I presented it, and resigned it, unto the Lord, and entreated Him, to interpose with His good Providence, for the Publication of it, if it might be useful unto the Designs of His holy Religion, that it should be published.

Behold, a worthy Person more than fifty miles to the South-ward, having on some Occasion a Sight of the Manu-

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Green, 1705.

script, sent Money unto the Printer, to bear good Part of the Charges of the Impression. So he undertakes it. It is entituled, *The CHRISTIAN TEMPLE*.<sup>1</sup>

18 d. 8 m. [October.] *Thursday*. The Lord helped me, to glorify Him, with extended Praises, and with the Tears of a melted and a thankful Soul, on this Day; which was publicly kept as a *Day of Thanksgiving thro' the Province*.

About this Time, I considered with myself, that within a very little while, no less than *seven* young Ministers, brought up among us, had been taken away by the Stroke of *Death*. I considered, that for me to make the *Death* of these young Gentlemen, serviceable unto the same religious Purposes, which they would have made the End of their Life, would many Ways glorify God. I considered, that a public Acknowledgment of their good Character, might be of great Use to animate others unto a Pursuance of such a Character. I thought a *Funeral-Sermon* for these Persons, while our General Court was now sitting, might help to make all the Countrey hear the Voice of God in the Death of the seven Ministers. I thought, the Publication of the *Sermon* by the Press might be profitable to others, and especially to the Flocks that had sometimes enjoy'd those Ministers.

Accordingly, I preached such a Sermon, at the Lecture; about, *Readiness for the coming of the Lord*. I then gave it, unto those who undertook to publish it. It is entituled; *VIGILANTIUS or, a Servant of the Lord found Ready for the Coming of the Lord*.<sup>2</sup>

I added, AN *ELEGY* upon the young Ministers. And the Character of a *True Divine*, transcribed and translated, from an Oration of the excellent *Witsius*: to serve the Designs of Piety, in the Ministry of the Countrey.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green, 1706.

<sup>2</sup> The young ministers were Edward Tompson, of Marshfield; John Morse, of Newton; Jabez Wakeman, of Newark, N. J.; John Hubbard, of Jamaica, N. Y.; John Wade, of Berwick, Me.; Andrew Gardner, of Lancaster; and John Clark, of Exeter, N. H. The book was printed by B. Green, 1706.

16 d. 9 m. [November.] Friday. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting in my Study.

This Day, I arrived unto some Satisfaction, that my many and horrid Sins are pardoned, thro' the Sacrifice of my Lord Jesus Christ, unto which I fly as unto my only Atonement.<sup>1</sup>

But my Satisfaction grew into yett more Serenity, the next Lords-Day, at the Table of the Lord.

#### SELF-EXAMINATION.

Designing to examine my State before God, (and a dying Man, as I am, had need make thorough Work of Self-Examination!) my Mind was visited with such Thoughts as these.

The Oracles of God, make a Distribution of Man, into three Parts, the *Spirit*, the *Soul*, and the *Body*. The *Anatomy* is admirable; the Consideration of the Distribution would be of no little Consequence. The *Spirit* is the rational Mind; created and infused, by an immediate Operation of God. The *Soul*, is a vital Flame, convey'd from our Parents; the next Seat of our Passions; of so fine a Temper that it can strike the *Spirit*, and yett of so gross a Temper, that it can also move the *Body*; tis the *Soul* by which all meer *Animals* are actuated. The *Body*, is the obvious Receptacle and Habitation of these wonderful Agents.

A Man bitten with a *mad-Dog*, has not only his *Body*, but his very *Soul* also poisoned. The Poison siezes and pervades the nervous Fluid; the *Archæus* is all enraged. The *sensitive Soul*, has a canine Fury now sensibly enraging of it. The *Spirit* of such a Man will cause him to say to his Friend; *You are my Friend, I would not hurt yee; but half an hour hence, my Fitt will come upon me; I shall then bite yee, if you are in my way; I advise you to bind me fast, or keep out of my Way.* Notwithstanding this Knowledge of the Man, and this Advice; yett when his Fitt arrives, the *Spirit* must knock under and ly fetter'd; the man will grin and snarl and bite like a Dog; and his *Dog-bitten Soul* will show him the Face of a Dog; in a looking Glass. He has drunk water, in his Thirst; but the Water putt his

<sup>1</sup>“25 d. 9 m. *Job Hiliard* and *Hannah Tout* having been convicted of a course of Drunkenness and other Scandals, and being impoenitent, after many means used with them, they were this day, with the most public and solemn Circumstances of an *Excommunication*, cast out of the Church.” *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, 11.

parch'd and *poison'd Glands*, to horrible Torment. The poor *Spirit* of the man commends *Water* to him again; he goes to drink; but the Horror which his *Dog-bitten Soul* conceiv'd at the exquisite pain which the *Water* had given him, will by no means permitt him to touch it; he perishes in his *Hydrophobie*.

There are numberless Instances, wherein both the *Affections*, and the *Aversions* of the *Soul*, have the perfect *mastery* of the *Spirit*.

The *Soul* of every man is *Dog-bitten*, or, which is as bad; *Serpent-bitten*, or, *Divel-bitten*. *Original Sin* has depraved it; the *Venom* of *original Sin* has over-run it.

A *regenerate Spirit*, a *sanctified Spirit*, chuses above all Things, to glorify *God*, and His *Christ*; and it has gotten an *Empire* over the *Soul*, in doing of it.

As far as the *Spirit* gains in its *Empire* over the *Soul*, by divine Considerations, thus far, and no farther, is the *Work* of *Sanctification* carried on.

Briefly. The *Spirit* of an ungodly *Man* may refuse to gratify the *criminal Desires* of his carnal *Soul*, in many Instances. But then tis alwayes upon Considerations that arise not above the *Level* of *Carnality*; tis either, because the Things will hurt his *Health*, or *blast* his *Name*, or *sap* his *Estate*, or disoblige the *Friends* on whom he has depended or perhaps, as among the *Roman Catholics*, he may propose to himself the *Glory* of making himself *Righteousness*.

But if once it come to this; that I may gratify the *criminal Desires* of my *Soul*, and these also become violent and impetuous; and I may do it without any præjudice in the *World*, unto any of my *sæcular Interests*; But now, my *Spirit* abhors, rejects, denies these criminal Gratifications of my *Soul*, only upon these Considerations; *No; the Great God will see it, and be offended; I shall ungratefully abuse the Blood of my Redeemer; the Holy Spirit that would seal me for the Day of Redemption will be grieved! I shall render myself unmeet for the Inheritance of the Saints in Light.* If by these pure Considerations (as also without proposing to make myself thereby a *Righteousness*,) my *Spirit* has the *Force* to go quite another way, then my *Soul* would have it; then I have most certainly a *regenerate Spirit*. The *Discovery* of a *regenerate Spirit*, is not altogether so difficult as many may imagine it. This one *Trial*, will plainly and surely discover it. If my *Spirit* will fly *Godward* and *Christward*, (as I find it will) when my *Soul* raves to be going *Sinward*, and they are not Considerations fetch'd from *Flesh*, but from *God* and *Christ*, that give my *Spirit* the *Victory* over my *Soul*, I have then a *Spirit*, that is most certainly

renewed by the *Spirit* of God. And tho' there may be particular Instances, in which the *Ferment* of *Sin*, in my *Soul*, enflamed by furious *Temptations* of *Satan*, may overwhelm the Choice and Voice of my *Spirit*, yett the Spirit of God, will never lose the hold He has taken of me. This Hypothesis a little solves the Phenomena of the *Dogtricks* often found in some whom we yett own for *Godly Men*.

10 d. 10 m. [December.] *Monday*. The miserable Condition of *Watertown Farms*, calling for a *Council* of the neighbour Churches, I went thither this Day.<sup>1</sup> It was a good Providence of the Lord, that carried me thro' this Journey of near twenty Miles, at such a Time of the Year. My Calash once oversett on the Road, and I was thrown out, but I received no manner of Harm. We found affayrs at the Place under woful Entanglements, and when the public Hearing on *Tuesday* was over, I was extremely distressed, because I perceived the Council would be mightily divided. In my Distress I look'd up unto the Lord, with Hopes, that inasmuch as we were doing our Duty, the glorious Head of the Church would now take His Opportunity to interpose with His precious Influences. He did so! He strangely irradiated my Mind with Impressions, whereof I made a Proposal to the Council. The Council, tho' they came together full of Prejudices and Præpossessions, leading them contrary Wayes, did immediately unite in my Proposal. They desired me to draw it up. I did so, and they voted it. And on *Wednesday* in the Afternoon, I returned home, with a watchful Providence of the Lord concerned for me.

14 d. 10 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study.

In the Afternoon, I went and preach'd and pray'd with a Meeting of the Neighbours, who were employ'd in the like Exercises.

<sup>1</sup> Watertown Farms, now Weston. The issue was over Mr. Joseph Mors, who had served the church since 1702. He ceased to preach, by order of a church council, in April, 1706. 200th Anniversary, *First Parish, Weston*, 61.

Nothing remarkable Occurred in the Day.

Only this I can testify for the Lord, that Cries to God for Grace to purify us, and glorify Him, when made with fervent Pleas that such Grace has been purchased for us by the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, alwayes have wonderful Answers, often have immediate ones.

26 d. 10 m. — There came upon us a very cold Season. Being supported and surrounded with comfortable Circumstances, at a Season so uneasy, I sett myself to consider the Condition of those who were not so comfortably provided for. *My Soul was grieved for the Poor!* What I could afford, I sent abroad unto such necessitous Ones, as I could hear of in the Neighbourhood; I did it, by the Hand of my Wife, because my own want of Health hindred me for three Dayes, from going abroad. But I was distress'd, because my own Means would not hold out, for such a Diffusion of Alms as I desired. Behold, the Providence of Heaven! While I was in this Distress, a young Gentleman of a liberal Soul in my Neighbourhood, visited me, and supplied me with a considerable Summ of Money, to be scattered among the Indigent. Being thus happily supplied, I went on with my Design of helping the Miserable, and caused the Hearts of many to sing for Joy. And in almost every Visit that I made unto any Persons of any Capacity for it, while the sharp Time continued, I insinuated into my Friends, my Exhortations to a liberal Consideration of the Poor.

I would not have mention'd this Matter; inasmuch as indeed, no little Part of my Life, is taken up in promoting Intentions of Charity; but only because I would observe how ready the Glorious Lord in His Providence is to assist my poor Intentions!

The Lord will make His poor Servant, *fruitful* in the *Winter* too.

The Providence of Heaven ordered it, that a good Man, in the southern Parts of the Countrey, being affected with

the Essay, which I published in the Summer about *Family-Religion*, desired me to write another Essay, upon *Closett-Duties*, and furnished the Printer with Money to bear a good Part of the Charges of the Impression. Wherefore, I composed a Discourse, on the Employments, to be used by a Christian in his Retirements, and contrived it into as profitable an Essay as most that I have been concerned in. Holy *Supplications*, and holy *Meditations*, are the Exercises commended in this little Book, with both Arguments and Directions for them. The Book is entituled, THE RELIGION OF THE CLOSETT.<sup>1</sup>

11 d. 11 m. [January.] Friday. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study. I enjoy'd something of a gracious Impression from God, in the Duties of the Day. I made a Recapitulation of the humbling Things that had befallen me; and I confessed and bewayled the Special Miscarriages, by which I had rendred myself most worthy to be Humbled with such Dispensations of Heaven. I repaired unto the Sacrifice of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and felt an Hope and Joy quickened in my Soul, for my Atonement by that Sacrifice. I implored the Favours of God, upon my Opportunities to glorify Him; and commended into His Hands, my particular Intentions to glorify Him.

I still asked, for a Blessing on my Manuscripts which have so long lain unpublished in *England*.

About this Time, That I might invite well-disposed People, unto an Action of great Charity and Usefulness, I composed a Scheme, of erecting and supporting, CHARITY SCHOOLS, for the Education of *poor Children*, and I published the Proposals, that ingenious and judicious Men might consider of them.

24 d. 11 m. Thursday. There was a Day of *Thanksgiving* celebrated, thro' the Province, for the Smile of Heaven on the Arms of the Allies against *France* in the year past.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Green. The work ran to a fourth edition in 1715.

On this Day, as on some other such, my public Addresses to Heaven, were carried on with much Fervour and Rapture. For the best Part of two Hours together, my Soul kept soaring and flaming towards Heaven, in the wondrous Praises of God.

Such Length in this kind of Devotions, being somewhat *unusual*, and unto some Folks (I fear'd) *uneasy*, I took occasion in my Sermon, to make this Apology for it.

Preaching, on Psal. 136. 26. I observed by the by, that the Word, which we translate, *give Thanks*, originally signifies (besides other things) to *spread abroad*, whereupon I added.

I will always take leave, when I can, to exemplify this Exposition, in *one Effort of Christianity*. In our *Dayes of Humiliation*, we are for *large and long Prayers*. We will not lett *one Hour* limit our Prayers. When our *Dayes of Thanksgiving* arrive, we are then for *short Praises*. *Contracted Praises* we seem to think *sufficient*: We complain of *enlarged Praises*. Brethren, it shall not be so. No; we will *enlarge and expand* in our *Thanksgivings*. An heavenly Mind will soon see, that in our *Thanksgivings*, there is an Abundance to be uttered. The *longest Day* in the year, is *too short*, for an heavenly Mind, to utter half, that comes pouring in upon it, when it is *rap't up* in the *Praises of God*. Our Minds are to *spread abroad* in this *heavenly Exercise of praising the God of Heaven*. Syrs, we have a *boundless ocean* before us, on which we may expatiate with *Wonders and Praises*, till we are even swallowed up!

6 d. 12 m. [February.] *Wednesday*. The several *Societies for the Suppression of Disorders*, with my *Society for the Propagation of Religion*, mett at my House this Day; (more than forty Persons;) where we spent the day in the Duties of a religious Fast; that we might obtain a Blessing from Heaven, on our *Essayes to do Good*, and their Acceptance thro' the Blood of our Saviour; and Assistance in our further *Essayes*; and an Effusion of the Spirit of Grace, to do that good, in our own Land, and thro' the whole World, which is beyond the reach of our *Essayes*.

It was a desirable Day. And I was desireably help'd of Heaven, in preaching a Sermon about *Zeal*; (tho' I had sore Pains in my Head and Jaw, thro' a severe Cold, afflicting of me.)

My little *Nanny* is again this week, brought nigh to Death, by a violent Feavour. But the Hearer of prayer, to our Admiration again restores her.

*Memorandum.* I have had of late Years, many great and strange Accessions to my *Library*.

I see a marvellous Favour of God, and Answer of Pray'r in this matter. I have not indeed kept the Memorials thereof, so particularly upon the several Occasions, as I might have done. But I will not have unmention'd, a Present of Books made me this Winter, from the united Library of our three famous *Shepards*;<sup>1</sup> which enriched me, not only with printed Books, which very low prized, might be counted worth more than 12 lb. but also with *Manuscripts* of each of those three worthy Men, which are vastly more valuable than all the other Books, with which their Library has furnished me.

The principal Reason of my mentioning this Matter, is because of something, that I find recorded in the 34th year of these *Memoirs*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge (1605-1649); Samuel, of Rowley, his son ( -1688); and Thomas, of Charlestown, another son (1635-1677), are probably intended.

<sup>2</sup> This matter is not to be found in the record of the thirty-fourth year, 1696, and is an illustration of the manner in which Mather prepared the later from the earlier records. The latter must have been much more voluminous and even more wandering than the second editing; indeed there is no way of telling how often he went over his writings, and how many times he saw fit to recast the whole, or some parts of them. That he was assiduous in reading them certain marks on the paper show, as sentences are struck out in a quite different color of ink from that used in the original entry. That a man should so carefully work over these attempts to express what is passing in his religious experience offers good evidence of his self-absorption and morbid conception of his own importance.

THE DISPOSITIONS OF MY MIND, RELATING TO A GREAT REPUTATION IN THE WORLD.

Many, and many a Time, have Thoughts of this Importance, been rolling in my Mind; and my Mind, is, I hope, formed into a Compliance with them.

There is an horrid *Idolatry* committed, when we take Notice of this and that considerable in any *Man*, and consider not at the same Time, the Great GOD, as the Author and Fountain of all this Excellency. We must look upon *Man*, as Nothing, any further than what the Great God makes him to be; and when we look upon any thing that looks great or good in any man, it must be with sensible Acknowledgments, *that all this comes from GOD*.

The most of Men, will celebrate the Learning, the Vertue the Conduct of an eminent Person, without the least Observation of the Great GOD in all; much less do they give all the whole Glory of all to GOD, and behold *Man*, as no other than a *Vessel*, chosen by the sovereign Grace of God, to exhibit something of His own Glory, in the Points which render the man observable.

I tremble, I tremble, at the Thoughts of having a *great Name*, in the World, or being admired and applauded, and mightily talked of. The only Reason of this Regret on my Mind, is, because they who talk of me, will not have the Piety to look further than *me*; my sorry Name, will have sacrilegiously lodg'd upon it, some Regards, that should be transferred unto the glorious Name of GOD alone. Indeed, there will be no *Iniquity* charged upon me, for the *Sacrilege* which others will thus fall into: but yett, it will be my *Infelicity*; I shall reckon myself unhappy in being the *Object*, upon which any shall sinfully terminate the Honours and Praises, which belong only to GOD: I abhor it wonderfully!

I shall rejoice in it, if any *Lovers of GOD* shall say, *the God of all Grace has disposed that Servant of His, to do vertuously!* or, *the Power and Wisdom of God, has carried that Servant of His, well through Labours and Sufferings!* But I cannot approve of it, that any People should say of me, *Mr. Mather is a man of such and such Accomplishments!* Or, *Mr. Mather has accomplished such and such notable Matters, and acquitted himself bravely in them!*—and stop there, and see not GOD in all, yea, see not that GOD is all. Now the People who so stop in the Creature, are almost all the World. And for this Cause, I even deprecate a *great Fame* in the World; I cannot with *Pleasure* think of it; it is with *Horror*, if ever I think of it.

For this Cause, I am glad, my very Spirit is full of Gladness, that there is no more Notice taken of me. And, when I have had a Prospect of easily doing some Things, that would have contributed not a little, unto my having a *Name* among the *learned Men* of the Earth, but I could not see any direct Subserviency to the *Name* of the Great GOD, and of His glorious CHRIST, in the matters, I have therefore, even for that very Cause alone, declined them.

#### AN ENCOURAGEMENT.

I have seen and read, how some very *little Men*, have been the first Occasions and Instruments of *great Things* in the World: as a single *Hair*, applied unto a *Flyer*, that has other wheels depending on it, may pull up an Oak, or pull down an House. This Consideration has encouraged me, who am among the most inconsiderable Persons upon Earth, to be always watching, and often thinking, *what Good I may do in the World!* I have made it an Encouragement unto me, to be continually looking after Opportunities, to be serviceable unto the Interests of a Glorious CHRIST, and of His People, yea, and of all People in the World.

I have more particularly seen, how indefatigable some are, to do Mischief in the World, and embroil Mankind and pursue their own sorry and sordid Interests; and how much hurt, one little Wretch may do. I have concluded upon it, that I ought to do more for the Interests of my glorious LORD, than any carnal Men can do for their own; and that it might be possible for me, to do as much good as a little Wretch, not beyond my own Dimensions, may do hurt, unto our Fellow-Creatures. This has done much to inspire my poor Activity.

#### SOME SPECIAL POINTS, RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF MY CHILDREN.

I. I pour out continual Prayers and Cries to the God of all Grace for them, that He will be a Father to my Children, and bestow His Christ and His Grace upon them, and guide them with His Councils, and bring them to His Glory.

And in this Action, I mention them distinctly, every one by Name unto the Lord.

II. I begin betimes to entertain them with delightful Stories, especially *scriptural* ones. And still conclude with some *Lesson* of Piety; bidding them to learn that *Lesson* from the *Story*.

And thus, every Day at the *Table*, I have used myself to tell a

*Story* before I rise; and make the *Story* useful to the *Olive Plants* about the *Table*.

III. When the Children at any time accidentally come in my way, it is my custome to lett fall some *Sentence* or other, that may be monitory and profitable to them.

This Matter proves to me, a Matter of some Study, and Labour, and Contrivance. But who can tell, what may be the Effect of a *continual Dropping*?

IV. I essay betimes, to engage the Children, in Exercises of Piety; and especially *secret Prayer*, for which I give them very plain and brief *Directions*, and suggest unto them the *Petitions*, which I would have them to make before the Lord, and which I therefore explain to their Apprehension and Capacity. And I often call upon them; *Child, Don't you forgett every Day, to go alone, and pray as I have directed you!*

V. Betimes I try to form in the Children a Temper of *Benignity*. I putt them upon doing of Services and Kindnesses for one another, and for other Children. I applaud them, when I see them Delight in it. I upbraid all Aversion to it. I caution them exquisitely against all Revenges of Injuries. I instruct them, to return good Offices for evil Ones. I show them, how they will by this *Goodness* become like to the Good GOD, and His Glorious CHRIST. I lett them discern, that I am not satisfied, except when they have a Sweetness of Temper shining in them.

VI. As soon as tis possible, I make the Children learn to *write*. And when they can *write*, I employ them in Writing out the most agreeable and profitable Things, that I can invent for them. In this way, I propose to fraight their minds with *excellent Things*, and have a deep Impression made upon their Minds by such Things.

VII. I mightily endeavour it, that the Children may betimes, be acted by Principles of *Reason* and *Honour*.

I first begett in them an high Opinion of their Father's Love to them, and of his being best able to judge, what shall be good for them.

Then I make them sensible, tis a Folly for them to pretend unto any Witt and Will of their own; they must resign all to me, who will be sure to do what is best; my word must be their Law.

I cause them to understand, that it is an *hurtful* and a *shameful* thing to do amiss. I aggravate this, on all Occasions; and lett them see how *amiable* they will render themselves by well doing.

The *first Chastisement*, which I inflict for an ordinary Fault, is,

to lett the Child see and hear me in an Astonishment, and hardly able to beleeve that the Child could do so *base* a Thing, but beleeving that they will never do it again.

I would never come, to give a child a *Blow*; except in Case of *Obstinacy*: or some gross Enormity.

To be chased for a while out of *my Presence*, I would make to be look'd upon, as the sorest Punishment in the Family.

I would by all possible Insinuations gain this Point upon them, that for them to learn all the brave Things in the world, is the bravest Thing in the world. I am not fond of proposing *Play* to them, as a Reward of any diligent Application to learn what is good; lest they should think *Diversion* to be a better and a nobler Thing than *Diligence*.

I would have them come to propound and expect, at this rate, *I have done well, and now I will go to my Father; He will teach me some curious Thing for it*. I must have them count it a *Priviledge*, to be taught; and I sometimes manage the Matter so, that my Refusing to teach them Something, is their *Punishment*.

The *slavish* way of *Education*, carried on with raving and kicking and scourging (in *Schools* as well as *Families*,) tis abominable; and a dreadful Judgment of God upon the World.

VIII. Tho' I find it a marvellous Advantage to have the Children strongly biased by Principles of *Reason* and *Honour*, (which, I find, Children will feel sooner than is commonly thought for:) yett I would neglect no Endeavours, to have *higher Principles* infused into them.

I therefore betimes awe them with the *Eye* of God upon them.

I show them, how they must love JESUS CHRIST; and show it, by doing what their Parents require of them.

I often tell them of the *good Angels*, who love them, and help them, and guard them; and who take Notice of them: and therefore must not be disoblighed.

*Heaven* and *Hell*, I sett before them, as the Consequences of their Behaviour here.

IX. When the Children are capable of it, I take them *alone*, one by one; and after my Charges unto them, to fear God, and serve Christ, and shun Sin, *I pray with them* in my Study and make them the Witnesses of the Agonies, with which I address the Throne of Grace on their behalf.

X. I find much Benefit, by a particular Method, as of *Cate-*

*chising* the Children, so of carrying the *Repetition* of the public Sermons unto them.

The Answers of the *Catechism* I still explain with abundance of brief *Quæstions*, which make them to take in the Meaning of it, and I see, that they do so.

And when the Sermons are to be *Repeated*, I chuse to putt every *Truth*, into a *Quæstion*, to be answered still, with, *Yes*, or, *No*. In this way I awaken their *Attention*, as well as enlighten their *Understanding*. And in this way I have an Opportunity, to ask, *Do you desire such, or such a Grace of God?* and the like. Yea, I have an Opportunity to demand, and perhaps, to obtain their *Consent* unto the glorious Articles of the *New Covenant*. The Spirit of Grace may fall upon them in this Action; and they may be siez'd by Him, and Held as His *Temples*, thro' eternal Ages.

#### SEVERAL POINTS OF CONDUCT.

If I hear that any Person has done me *Wrong* in Word or Deed, I find it is often (tho' not alwayes,) the best way in the World, *not to lett them know, that I have any knowledge of it*. The best way is, to forgive and forgett the Wrong, and bury it in *Silence*. For, besides the Consideration due to the internal Advantage reaped by such Christianity, there is this to be considered; such is the Malignity in the most of Men, that they will *hate* you, only because you know, that they have *wrong'd* you. They will as far as they can *justify* the Wrong they have done; and because their wicked Hearts imagine, that you must needs alwayes bear a *Spite* unto them for the *Wrong* you have received from them, they will bear a *confirmed Spite* against you on that vile Account. Whereas, I have often found, that my *Concocting* with Patience and Silence, a Sleight, or an Hurt, that has been offered me, has been *followed* (and *rewarded* by God) with this Consequence, that the *very Persons*, who have wrong'd me, have afterwards been made Instruments of *signal Service* unto me.

When any remarkable Affliction befalls me, I sett myself to consider, *what Advantage I may contrive to my Flock, and to the People of God, out of this Affliction*. The Affliction awakens me to *preach*, and perhaps to *write*, those Things, which may be of general Advantage. I think with myself, it may be the Lord intends now to make me bear some special Fruits for His Glory and Service, in His Churches, which else would never have been found upon me. And I can truly say, that tho' *Affliction be not joyous but grievous*, yett the very Prospect of this Effect while I have been but entring into the Darkness

which I saw coming upon me, and while I have been yett in the Dark, as to the particular Benefits and Revenues for the Service of Religion which could arise from it; it has caused my Spirit exceedingly to triumph over Troubles; I have with a triumphant Satisfaction rejoiced, in it; that the Lord would please to send Sorrowes, with such admirable Designs upon me.

When I have been persecuted with any Calumny, or calumnious Malignity, wherein I could plainly perceive *Satan* seeking to damnify my Opportunities to be serviceable; or when any furious Temptations of *Satan* have in a more internal Way assaulted me; I have sett myself to consider, *how to prosecute a Revenge upon Satan!* It has been a Contrivance of great Consequence in my Ministry; By the *Devices of Satan* against me, to be provoked unto the Taking of such *Steps*, and the Preaching and Writing of such *Truths*, as may render the *Divel* remarkably a *Loser* by going to meddle with me. *The God of Peace* has given me astonishing Experiences of His Favour to me in this matter.

If I understand, that any *Injury*, either in *Word* or *Deed* has been offered unto me, instead of all passionate Excursions, I immediately sitt myself to think, "*What Benefit shall I fetch out of this Injury?* In what Vertue, in what Duty, in what good Action, shall I now, upon this Provocation, endeavour to shine more, that I did before?" And immediately repair to the God of all Grace, for the Help of His Grace, in a matter so desirable: Yea, and this not without a Petition to God, that He would pittie and pardon, and give a better Mind, and with it all Manner of Good, unto them who have offered the Injury.

#### RELATING TO MY FLOCK.

Tis my watchful and constant Study, that never any Person of my Flock, (or indeed any other,) comes fairly in my way, but I lett fall some Word or another, that I design to prove some way serviceable to them.

I endeavour generally to sett apart one Afternoon in a Week, for *pastoral Visits*; and in these I address all sorts of Persons, good and bad, old and young, with as exquisitely contrived Admonitions of Piety, as ever I can. I find a marvellous Presence and Blessing of God, in these *pastoral Visits*.

Whenever I make any *occasional Visit*, I do not know, that I ever miss of contriving how to make my Visit profitable, serviceable, edifying unto those to whom I make it.

I am continually scattering Books of Piety into the Hands of my Flock; and often do it, with this Advice; *Remember, that I am speaking to you, all the while you have this Book before you!* so there is not a Day in the year, in which I am not preaching to many of them.

It is a Rule with me, rather to suffer, and bury in Silence, any manner of Injuries and Abuses, from absurd People in the Flock, than to manage any *Contention* with any of them on any Occasion.

Lett the Matter or Issue of the Controversy be what it will, I shall gain more, in regard of the great Interest, by remitting of my Right, than by pursuing of it.

And in the Services of Christianity, I make no manner of Difference, between those that abuse me, and those that value me. If I make any Difference, tis by being readier to serve the former, than the latter.

Tis admirable to see, how this Conduct will conquer the Follies and Humours of unreasonable People.

In my public Ministry, if at any Time, (as I do oftentimes) I go thro' a Course, either of Themes depending on One another in the Body of Divinity, or of Texts as they lay together in any Paragraph of the Scripture; I make much Prayer before the Lord, (even with Fasting) for His Direction and Assistance, before I undertake it. But I still reserve myself a Liberty, usually every other Lord's-Day, to discourse on *occasional Subjects*; and for my Direction in these, I consider the particular Conditions, Occurrences, Temptations, of the Flock; and endeavour as well as I can to suit them with the Word of God.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE COURSE OF MY PUBLICK MINISTRY.

1704. 8 d. 12 m. [February.] I preached on Eph. 2. 18. *Access to God, thro' the Christ of God, by the Spirit of God.*

15 d. 12 m. I preached, Job. 24. 19. *Death, as effectually and observably as a Thaw does the Snow, consuming the sinful Children of Men. (At a Time of Thaw.)*

1705. 1 d. 1 m. [March.] *Thursday.* A general Fast, thro' the Province. I preached on, 1. Sam. 1. 15, 18. *Pouring out of the Soul before the Lord under sad things, a Cure of all the Sadness.*

4 d. 1 m. I preached on Mat. 23. 3. *They say, and do not; the Religion of some Folks, lying only in good Words.*

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Mather, his wife, was admitted to the Second Church, December 24, 1705.

11 d. 1 m. I preached, on, Gen. 49. 10. The Glories of our Lord Redeemer, signified in the Name of *Shiloh*. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

18 d. 1 m. I preached, on Eph. 2. 19. All *Saints* having a part in the *City* of God.

25 d. 1 m. I preached, on 2. King 4. 26. *All well*, in the Dealings of God with His People. (Because many of my Neighbours have lately mett with great Afflictions.)

29 d. 1 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture; on Ps. 90. 16. A Christ the glorious Work of God, and the great Blessing desired by the Godly, for themselves, and for their Children.

1 d. 2 m. [*April*.] I preached, on Eph. 2. 19. Beleevers belonging to the *Household* of God.

8 d. 2 m. I preached, on 1. Thess. 5. 22. *Abstaining* from all *Appearance* of Evil.

12 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. A Day of *Thanksgiving*, thro' the Province. I preached on Job. 37. 14. About, *considering* the *wondrous Works* of God.

15 d. 2 m. I preached on Eph. 2. 20. Christ the *Corner-stone* of the Church, and the *Word* of Christ laid in the *Foundation* of the Church.

22 d. 2 m. I preached, on 2. Sam. 12. 7. An Essay, to *convince* men that *they are* indeed what *they are*.

26 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture on Ezek. 37. 4. *Life* convey'd unto *dead Souls*, by bringing the Word of God unto them.

29 d. 2 m. I preached, on Eph. 2. 21. The Church being a *framed*, and a *growing*, and an *holy Temple*; and all thro' *Christ*.

6 d. 3 m. [*May*.] I preached, on Eph. 2. 22. A *particular Church* being a *Temple* of God. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

13 d. 3 m. I preached on Eph. 2. 22. Every Godly Person being a *Temple* of God.

20 d. 3 m. I concluded the Discourse I began the last Lord's-Day. And all my Sermons, on the Gospel in the two first Chapters to the *Ephesians*. About 105 Sermons.

27 d. 3 m. I preached on 1. King 3. 5. God giving the best of Blessings, yea, all Blessings, to them that first Chuse and Ask the best of Blessings.

3 d. 4 m. [*June*.] I preached, at our Old Meeting-house; on Eph. 2. 21.

10 d. 4 m. I preached, on Exod. 34. 24. On Men's not being *Losers*, by *Obedience* to God.

13 d. 4 m. *Wednesday*, I preached [the] Lecture, at *Dedham*; on Eph. 2. 6. Beleevers being *already saved*, and by *Grace*.

17 d. 4 m. I preached, A. M. at the Old-Meeting-house, on Eph. 2. 4. The *Great Love* of God, unto His chosen. And, P.M. at my own; on Rev. 2. 10. *Faithfulness to Death*, rewarded with a *Crown of Life*.

21 d. 4 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on 1. Cor. 3. 16. A Good Man, a *Temple* of God.

24 d. 4 m. I preached both parts of the Day, at *Malden*, A.M. on Rev. 2. 10. P. M. on Eph. 2. 17.

1 d. 5 m. [July.] I preached on, Isa. 9. 2. The Enjoyment of a Glorious *Christ*, making amends for the *darkest* Afflictions.

8 d. 5 m. I preached on Psal. 125. 4. Who are the *Good*, and the *Upright*, and that God will *do good* unto them.

15 d. 5 m. I preached, on, Rom. 8. 10. The *Body dead* because of *Sin*, but, *the Spirit, Life* because of *Righteousness*.

19 d. 5 m. *Thursday*, I preached the Lecture, on 1. Cor. 3. 16. and finished what I began a Month ago.

22 d. 5 m. I preached, on Psal. 125. 5. Them who *turn aside* unto *crooked Wayes*, being *led forth* with *Workers of Iniquity*

29 d. 5 m. I preached, on Phil. 1. 6. A *good Work* of *Grace*, begun, and perfected, by the God of all *Grace*, upon His People.

5 d. 6 m. [August.] I preached, on Luk. 12. 40. Being *ready* for the coming of the Lord. (The Death of a worthy young Minister quickened me.)

12 d. 6 m. I preached, on Mat. 7. 19. The Fate of *Trees*, which do not *bring forth good Fruit*.

15 d. 6 m. *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture, at *Salem*, on Psal. 125. 4.

16 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, at *Ipswich*; on 1. King. 3. 5.

19 d. 6 m. I preached at *Salem*, on Ezek. 37. 4. *Quickening Words*, prophesied over *dead Souls*.

26 d. 6 m. I preached, on Joh. 6. 54. *Eating the Flesh*, and *Drinking the Blood*, of Christ. (And administred the Eucharist.)

28 d. 6 m. *Tuesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Roxbury*; on Psal. 125. 4.

2 d. 7 m. [September.] I preached on Psal. 119. 165. Serious Religion lying in *Love* to the *Law* of God; the *great Peace* of them that have it; and their Freedom from *offences*.

9 d. 7 m. I preached on, Dan. 5. 27. The *Confusion* of being

*found wanting*, in the Balances of God. (Our being driven to take all our Money daily by the Scale, raising these Meditations.)

13 d. 7 m. *Thursday*. I preached, the Lecture, on Mal. 3. 16. How Christians are to manage their *Visits*.

16 d. 7 m. I preached on, 2. Cor. 13. 14. The first Article in the *Benediction* of the N.T. *The Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ*.

19 d. 7 m. *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Redding*; on 1. King 3. 5.

23 d. 7 m. I preached on, 2. Cor. 13. 14. *The Love of God*.

30 d. 7 m. I preached on, 2. Cor. 13. 14. *The Communion of the Holy Spirit*.

7 d. 8 m. [*October*.] I preached, on Rom. 1. 18. Holding the *Truth*, in *unrighteousness*.

11 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on 2. Kings 4. 26. *The Satisfactions* of *afflicted Christianity*.

14 d. 8 m. I preached, a second time, on Rom. 1. 18.

18 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. A Day of general Thanksgiving. I preached on Psal. 138. 3. All the *Perfections* of God employed, for to *magnify* the Truth of His *Word*.

21 d. 8 m. I preached on Math. 20. 32. Christ, *offering* a Relief to all our Miseries, and inviting us to ask for it. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

28 d. 8 m. I preached on, Luk. 20. 3. Those *Quæstions* of the Lord, which being putt unto us, may putt us into much Confusion.

4 d. 9 m. [*November*.] I preached on, Rev. 14. 3. *The Songs* of Piety, which can be learnt and sung by none but the truly Pious.

8 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Matth. 24. 44. Being *Ready* for the coming of the Lord. (A Sermon occasion'd by the Death of seven young Ministers; with whose laudable Characters also I entertained the Auditory.)

11 d. 9 m. I preached, on Rom. 13. 14. *Putting on the Lord Jesus Christ*. (It being the Time, that we are putting on our Garments for the Winter.)

18 d. 9 m. I preached, on Rom. 13. 14. *Not making Provision for the Flesh*, in the Lusts of it.

25 d. 9 m. I preached, on Prov. 14. 34. *Sin a Reproach* to any people. (On the occasion of two Excommunicated by the Church, for a Course of Drunkenness.)

2 d. 10 m. [*December*.] I preached, on Matth. 7. 13. *The wide Gate*, and *broad Way*, that leads to *Destruction*.

6 d. 10 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Job. 31. 6.

Being *weighed* in the *even Balances* of God. (From the frequent use of the Scale, for our Coin.)

9 d. 10 m. I preached, on Matth. 7. 14. The *strait Gate* and *narrow Way*, that leads to *Life*.

16 d. 10 m. I preached on, Psal. 132. 4. 5. Not indulging sinful *Delays*, to become an *Habitation*, of God ourselves or to seek and serve the *Habitations* of God; His church. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

23 d. 10 m. I preached, on Joh. 1. 48. *Nathanael* under the Figtree. *Closett Duties*.

30 d. 10 m. I preach'd on, Isa. 55. 10. 11. The Word of God, like the *Rain* and *Snow* (whereof now much is falling,) not coming for Nothing.

3 d. 11 m. [January.] *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on, Luk. 4. 5. A *Moment of Time*, sufficient to survey all the Glory of this World. (It being a Time, the Coldness whereof call'd for a very short Sermon.)

6 d. 11 m. I preached on, Psal. 121. 3. The *watchful Providence* of God, at work, for the keeping of His people.

13 d. 11 m. I preached on Psal. 132. 15. God (both in a literal, and a spiritual Sense,) a good Provider for *Zion*, and for the *Poor* of it.

20 d. 11 m. I preached, on Psal. 147. 2. The Building of *Jerusalem*. To encourage my Neighbours, to do more in building the church.

24 d. 11 m. *Thursday*. A Day of public Thanksgiving. I preached on Psal. 136. 26. *Giving Thanks* to the *God of Heaven*, because of His *ever-enduring Mercy*.

27 d. 11 m. I preached, on Matth. 22. 13. *Gnashing of Teeth in outer Darkness*. Taking Advantage from the present Season, to represent the unspeakable Anguish of the damned.

31 d. 11 m. *Thursday*. I preached, the Lecture; on Isa. 27. 3. The Lord's *keeping us Night and Day*. (To promote in the Town, a due Thankfulness for our continual Præservations.)

3 d. 12 m. [February.] I preached, in the Forenoon, (my Father being indisposed,) on Psal. 48. 14. The Lord's being our God, and our Guide, and this forever. (To assist many who are now joining to the Church, in the great Action of entering into Covenant with God.)

I preached in the Afternoon, on, 2. Pet. 1. 10. *Giving Diligence*, to make our *Calling* and *Election* sure. (To assist them; in examining of themselves.)

10 d. 12 m. I preached, on, Isa. 55. 1. Our Invitation to the Benefits of a Glorious Christ, *without Money*; and our Poverty and Wretchedness, no Discouragement. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

God never required or expressed any such thing of any man, that he should Register every occurrence of his Life. For such an Attempt were to justle out more necessary and important Duties. Upon this and many other accounts, it is both unwarrantable and Impertinent.

Rob. Fleming, of the ministerial work.

1706

THE XLIV<sup>TH</sup> YEAR.

HOW MY TIME IS TAKEN UP.

Alas, for a very great Part of my Time, I am *dead*. It is consumed in *Sleep*. Thro' my *Feebleness*, and, I doubt, I may more truly say, thro my *Slothfulness*, I sweel away the precious Morning. I rise not until *seven* or *eight* a Clock.

1. Risen, I first sing my Hymn, TO SHOW FORTH THE LOVING-KINDNESS OF GOD IN THE MORNING.

2. Then I write some short Paragraph, upon which I had employ'd my *rising Thoughts*. Hereby sometimes I have insensibly præpared whole *Sermons*, which ly by me, to be used upon Occasion.

3. I proceed hereupon to add something unto my Amassment of *Illustrations*, with which, I hope one day to send out our *Biblia Americana*, and of which I have gott ready very many Thousands.

4. Then I make my *morning Prayers* in my Study; in which, besides my constant Petitions I fetch new Matter of *Supplication*, from what I have been writing just before.

Thus I do on the *Lord's-day* Mornings, as well as on the rest.

5. Going down to my *Family*, I *read* a Portion of the sacred Scriptures, and fetch a *Note* out of every Clause, and then *pray* with them, turning what I had read, into *Prayer*.

6. I Return to my *Study*, and pursue what Work I have lying before me.

7. At the *Table*, when I come to *Dinner*, I am solicitous to contrive some Discourse, by which the Minds of the *Family* may be edified. I rarely sitt down, without relating to the Children some *Story* out of the Bible, from whence I inculcate some *Lesson* upon them, or, it may be some other *Story*.

8. Then I return to my Study, and usually pour out some *short Prayer* unto the Lord.

9. One afternoon in the Week, I sett apart for *Pastoral Visits*; a most laborious, but a most profitable Undertaking.

10. Sometimes, in other Afternoons, I not only follow my Studies, but also step abroad, upon *Visits of Civility*. Even in these also, I perpetually contrive to *do some Good*, I would be alwayes *at Work for God* in them.

11. About the Shutting in of the *Evening*, I first, constantly hear the Children say a part of the Catechism. Then I take two or three Verses of a *Psalm*, and read the Paragraph, with an *Observation* upon every Clause and *sing* it, and so *pray* with my *Family*. The *Evening-prayer*, besides what Matter the *Psalm* afforded for it, I make chiefly to consist of *Thanksgivings*.

12. After this, either I Retire to my Study, or else give a Visit unto some agreeable Neighbour, wherein I ever study to be serviceable.

13. Coming to my *light Supper* about ten a Clock, I make it an Opportunity to sitt and talk, as edifyingly as I can, with the adult Part of my Family.

14. Then I retire to my Study, and I consider what *Mercies* I have received in the Day; and what *Follies* I have committed in the Day; which I do on my Knees acknowledge before the Lord. And I renew some *Action of Piety*, by which the Welfare of my Spirit may be so secured, that if I dy this Night, I may dy comfortably. And, if any one have done me any *Kindness* (yea, or any

*Mischief*) in the Day, or have ask'd a Remembrance in my Prayers, I mention these by Name, with agreeable Supplications before the Lord.

Going to Bed, I carry some agreeable *Book* with me; and read until I fall Asleep; which is rarely much before *eleven* a clock: oftner *after*, than before.

My *Sermons* engross no little Part of my Time; and it is fitt that it should be so.

When I begin to study a *Sermon*, I usually make a *Prayer* to the Glorious Lord, for Direction and Assistance. When I finish, I return solemn Thanks unto the Lord on my Knees, and pray that it may be sprinkled with the *Blood of the Lamb*.

17. The *Education* of my *Children* to learn them *Things*, and sett them *Talks*, which none else can, spends me no little *Time*.

18. The Care of the *Sick*, in such a very populous Place, as that whereof I am the Servant, employs Abundance of Time: *Abundance of Time*, truly. Not only my own Congregation, but the Rest in the Town, send for me.

19. 'Tis an incredible Deal of Time, that I must sacrifice, unto the *Satisfaction*, (and I perpetually endeavour, that it may be unto the Edification) of those that make their *Visits* unto *me*.

20. Not only my Neighbours repair to me, with daily Applications, but also upon the Necessities of almost all the Churches throughout the Countrey, I am applied unto; and my Help to them in their Difficulties and Necessities, procures a vast Encumbrance.

21. I am related unto fourteen or fifteen *religious Societies*. Every one of them expect Services from me. I am at times with all of them; every week ordinarily with several of them.

22. I write many *Treatises*, on a *copious Variety* of subjects; I compose and publish usually, as many every Year

as there are Months in the year. And some of them cost more than a little Study. The very Correction of the *Press-work*, is *work*. Many of these am I continually giving away; I suppose, at least *six hundred Books* in a Year.

23. Seldome any *new Book* of Consequence finds the way from beyond-Sea, to these Parts of *America*, but I bestow the Perusal upon it. And, still, as I read, I note Curiosities in my blank Books, which I entitle, *Quotidiana*.

24. I maintain many Correspondencies by *Letters*, with such as are abroad. But here, I evermore study how to make this part of my Conversation, like the rest, *useful* to those with whom I am concerned.

25. On the *Lord's-Day Noons*, I read and think, much about the *Prophecies* that concern the Characters and Approaches of the great *Sabbatism*, which comes with the Kingdome of God; and I usually in the Dust before the Lord, make a large *Prayer*, about the Condition of the Church in the World: *Zion* in the *Dust*.

26. After my Return from the publick Service of the Afternoon, I *catechise* my Family, and go over what they heard in the Public, and *sing* and *pray* with them. When tis dark, I go sitt with my Father.

27. I often sett apart *whole Dayes*, either for Prayer with *Fasting*, or for *Thanksgiving*. I rarely lett a Fort-night pass without *one* of them. Else *Christianity* languishes with me.

28. Sometimes I have my *Vigils*. I watch deep in the Night, with Supplications unto the Lord, from the Dust, where I cast myself prostrate before Him, on special Occasions.

29. As I walk in the *Streets*, or sitt otherwise unemploy'd, especially at *Funerals*, and at *Festivals*, I contrive, what *suitable Blessings*, I may ask of God, for those that are before me; and I form *ejaculatory Prayers* to Heaven, for those Blessings on their behalf.

30. I take frequent *Opportunities* ordinarily every day, to fetch wholesome *Admonitions* for myself, by way of *occasional Reflection* upon such Objects as occur unto me.

31. The Management of the *Discipline* in the *Church*, whereof I am a Servant, calls for very much of my *Time*; The *Examination* of such as ask Admission unto the *Covenant*, or, unto our *Communion*; the Enquiry after their Conversation; And the *Animadversion* upon such who are under the Inspection of the Church, but fall into *Misdemeanours* of one sort or another, or have Contentions arising among them: This is no small Employment, in so large a Congregation, as that which I am to serve.

The Reason of my noting down these *Articles of Employment*, which engross my *Time*, is, because I doubt, I shall not bring *each Action* of *every Day* under so *explicit* a *Dedication* to the Great God, and His Glorious CHRIST, as were desireable in my *Living to Him*. And therefore, I would often look upon these *Heads of Action*, and study, and contrive, and resolve, the *Glorifying* of the LORD, in all that shall be done in all; and so it may still be said, that I am at work for Him.

#### MY CORRESPONDENCIES.<sup>1</sup>

Europæan.

1706.

In Holland.

Dr. Herman Witsius; Professor of Theology at Leyden.

Dr. Melchior Leydeszker, Minister at Rotterdam.

In England.

At Witney; My Brother, — To be Left with Mr. John Soden, at the Twisted Posts, in Token-house-yard; London.

At or near London; Sir Henry Asshurst, at Kensington.

Sir William Asshurst;

Sir Edmund Harrison.

Several Ministers of State, occasionally written to.

Mr Daniel Burgess; (in Russel-Court, in Drury-Lane, near the Strand.)

<sup>1</sup> This list is on a smaller sheet of paper than the Diary, but is attached by wafers at this point.

Mr. Thomas Reinolds, Minister.

Mr. John Spademan, Minister.

Dr. John Edwards, to be left with Mr. Jonathan Robinson, Bookseller etc.

Mr. Robert Hackshaw, Merchant, at Hogsdon.

Richard Whittingam, Esq.

Mr Richard Mount, on Tower-hill.

Mr. Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three Crowns, in Cheap side.

Mr. Jonathan Robinson, at the Golden Lion, in Pauls Church-yard.

Mr Richard Chiswel, at the Rose and Crown, in Pauls Church-yard.

Mr. Brabazon Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons in Cornhil, over-against the Royal Exchange.

Mr. Benjamin Harris; at the Boars Head, in Grace-Church-Street. In Lancashire.

In Yorkshire

In Scotland.

At Glasgow; Mr. James Brown, Minister of the Gospel.

Some of the Ministers of State, on certain special Occasions; particularly,

The Earl of Southerland.

The Earl of Forfair.

In Portugal. Mr. [        ] Jackson.

American.

At New York, Mr. Elias Nean;

Mr. John Dupeister.

On Long Island, Henry Smith Esq, at Georges Mannor, in Brookhaven.

His wife, Mrs. Anna Smith.

His mother, M. Martha Smith

Mr [        ] Goodhue, at Jamaica.

At Jersey; John Royse, Esq, at Piscataqua.

At Pensylvania; Mr Jedidiah Andrewes, Minister at Philadelphia.

At Virginia, Mr Francis Makemie; at Pocamuk.

At Carolina,

Mr Archibald Stobo, Minister at Charlstown.

Nicolas Trott, Esq.

At Barbados, Mr. James Aynsworth,

Mr William God-man.

At Antigua, Colonel John Byam,

Major Walter Long.

Captain James Porter.

At Nevis, Colonel Richard Abbot,

Thomas Belman, Esq.

At Christophers, Colonel Walter Hamilton.

At Monserrat, Mr [ ] Finch

At Barmudaz Mr. John Fowle, Minister.

At Jamaica.

In N. England.

The Occasional Ones, numberless. When any good Intention is to be promoted, or, when they address me in their Difficulties.

The more stated:

Mr. Samuel Mather, at Windsor.

Mr Nathaniel Clap, at Rhode Island.

Mr John Sparhawk, at Bristol.

Mrs. Sarah Nudigate, at Bristol.

Mr Roland Cotton at Sandwyche.

Mr Nicolas Noyes at Salem

Stephen Sewal, Esq.

Mr Edward Payson, at Rowly

Mr John Cotton, at Hampton.

Samuel Penhallow, Esq. at Portsmouth.

Mr. Samuel Keaies, at Portsmouth.

1705

THE XLIIII<sup>TH</sup> YEAR OF MY LIFE.

12 d. 12 m. [March.] Tuesday. Being this Day to finish the *forty third* Year of my Barren Life, I sett apart this Day, to be spent in my Study; Devoting it partly to Praises unto the Glorious LORD, for the wondrous Favours, which He has been heaping on me, for three and forty years together; partly to Prayers, for the Pardon of the Sins committed in these Years; which I confessed and bewayled before the Lord, and pleaded the Sacrifice of His Christ,

as my only Atonement; and for the Mercy which may in the little Time that remains, be needful for me.

The Beginning of my *forty-fourth* year, finds me very full of Employments, and every Day cheerfully bringing forth Fruit unto God, in very many Instances.

It is no little *Satisfaction* unto me, to enjoy this Favour from God, that tho' I have a vast Variety of Employments, and I must apply myself to every one of them, with as much Vivacity, as if I had nothing but that one Thing to do, yett the Lord comfortably carries a feeble Creature thro' them all.

I cannot, but mention my happy and joyful Experience of one Matter, that my Children may be quickened unto a following of the Exemple.

Retiring into my Study, every Night, the last Thing I do, before I go to my Bed, I there on my Knees, confess the Mercies of the Day past, with Wonders and Praises, and where any of the Children of men, have been Instruments used in them, I ask a particular Blessing of God, on those Persons; I confess also, the Errors of the Day past, and fly to the Blood of a Glorious CHRIST for the Pardon of them, with Prayers for Grace to walk more exactly before the Lord. And then, I renew my Choice of the Great GOD, according to His Covenant, and give up myself unto Him, and do some Action that is peculiar to the regenerate State; that so if my Death be now to overtake me, it may not find me unprepared for it.

The Consolation of making such a Conclusion to every Day, truly, tis *unspeakable and full of glory*. Children, do thus, and you shall find it so!

I have not the Liesure, to write down a thousandth Part of those *Thoughts*, which visit my Mind, relating to God and Christ and the spiritual and heavenly World. Multitudes, Multitudes of them, especially in the way of making *occasional Reflections*, are every Day shaped in my

Mind; which, tho' I remember them not, I hope, leave some Impression upon me.

Yett, if I could find the Liesure, I would fain enter in my Memorials now and then, some Thoughts, that carry in them a peculiar Advancement of my Soul, towards the Perfection, after which I am aspiring.

One of them, which has been of late singularly useful to me, in my pressing after the true Temper of Christianity, is this.

I see all Creatures every where full of their *Delights*. The Birds are singing; the Fish are sporting; the Four-footed are glad of what they meet withal; the very Insects have their Satisfactions. 'Tis a marvellous Display of infinite Goodness. The Good God has made His Creatures capable of *Delights*; He accommodates them with continual *Delights*. Their Delights are the delicious Entertainments of His infinite *Goodness*. His *Goodness* takes Pleasure, and is delighted, in the Delights of His Creatures.

Well; is there no way for me to *resemble* and *imitate*, this incomparable *Goodness* of God! Yes; I see my *Neighbours* all accommodated with their various *Delights*. All have *some*, and some have *many*. Now, I may honestly make their *Delights* my own. I may rejoice in the *Delights*, which I see the *Goodness* of God bestowing upon them. I may make their Prosperity, not my *Envy*, but my *Pleasure*. I may be glad, at all the good, that I see done unto them. Oh! the Glory, oh, the glorious Joy of their Goodness! Lord, imprint this thy Image upon me.

#### ANOTHER MEMORIAL FOR PRACTICE.

I would live under a mighty Awe of that word; Rom. 2. 1. *Thou art inexcusable, O Man; for thou that judgest, doest the same Things.*

Tho' it should be rarely, and with Aversion and Moderation, and never but upon just Occasion, and for the Advan-

tage of the Hearers, that I speak of any Evil observable in any Person; yett sometimes tis necessary to mention censurable Things, that are to be observed in other People; or if I do not myself speak of them, I shall hear of them from others.

Now, the Miscarriages of other People, I would never have to be mention'd where I am, and especially by myself, without such Thoughts [as] these thereupon formed in me.

*Lord! so should I miscarry, if left unto myself, Lord, præserve me, from ever falling into such a Miscarriage.*

*Lord, give me to excell in Vertues and Praises just contrary to this Miscarriage.*

Which, what they are, I would employ my best Ingenuity to consider; and accordingly to shape my *Resolutions*.

I am exercised in my Family, with the want of good *Servants*. This causes me, with many Supplications to committ the Matter unto the Lord. I also loathe and judge myself before the Lord, for my serving Him so poorly; and for the Defects in my Endeavours, to make my Servants become the Lord's. I plead, that my Glorious CHRIST appeared in the *Form of a Servant*; and therefore the Lord would grant good *Servants* unto those that were alwayes at work for Him, and wanted the Assistences of such living Instruments. I resolve, that if God bless me with Good *Servants*, I will serve Him with more Fidelity and Activity; and I will do something that not only my own Servants, but other Servants in this Land, and abroad in the world, may come to glorify Him. I have Thoughts, to write an Essay, about, the Christianity of our *Negro* and other *Slaves*. I must wait the Issue of these Devotions.

8 d. 1 m. [March.] Friday. This Day, I sett apart for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study to obtain a Blessing of God, on my Ministry, and my Family, and on His Churches, especially some very discomposed ones in the Countrey, and on the Changes expected by the Countrey.

I enjoy'd some Communion with, and Impression from, Heaven, in the Duties of this Day.

*Memorandum.* In my Prayers for our *Captives* in the Hands of the *French* and *Indians*, tho' sometimes I do unaccountably, and against my strongest and most formed Resolutions, forgett to mention them; which makes me say to some of my Friends, I am afraid the Time of their full Deliverance will not yett come: yett when I am in our great Congregation pouring out Supplications for them, I do with a Mind irradiated from Heaven, express, as even compelled so to do, my Assurance, that some of the *Captives* will be gloriously delivered, and that we shall in that very Place have Opportunity to glorify Him with singular Praises on that Occasion.

Tho' I have been humbled, with such a wondrous Defeat of a *Particular Faith*, in one famous Instance; which has caused me for diverse Years, to be rather shy than otherwise, of any thing having such a Tendency; yett, behold, it will again make its Illapses upon me. Lett me diligently observe the Consequences!

22 d. 1 m. *Friday.* I sett apart this Day, for the Exercises of a secret Fast, in my Study; on such Occasions, as procured my being this Day fortnight thus before the Lord.

About this Time, sending my little Son to School, where the Child was learning to read, I did use every Morning for diverse Months, to write in a plain Hand for the Child, and send thither by him, a *Lesson* in *Verse*, to be not only *Read*, but also gott by Heart. My Proposal was, to have the Child improve in *Goodness* at the same time, that he improv'd in *Reading*. Upon further Thoughts, I apprehended, that a Collection of some of them would be serviceable to the Good Education of other Children. So I lett the Printer take them, and print them, in some hope of some Help is thereby contributed unto that great Inten-

tion of a *good Education*. The Book is entituled, *GOOD LESSONS FOR CHILDREN; or, Instructions, provided for a little Son to learn at School, when learning to read.*<sup>1</sup>

(It quickly has a second Edition.)

The sovereign Grace of Heaven, is pleased still to continue my Opportunities, to bring forth Fruit, for His People and Interests. He accepts my poor Labours, and employes them for the Good of others, notwithstanding my very great Unworthiness. A Sermon which I lately preached unto our *young people*, is by them called for. So I give it unto the Printer. It is entituled; *A YOUNG FOLLOWER OF A GREAT SAVIOUR, or, An Essay to rescue young People from those Enemies of a Glorious CHRIST, that would hinder them from Following of Him.*

5 d. 2 m. [April.] Friday. Instead of employing this Day, in the Duties of a secret Fast, I sett the Day apart for the Exercises of a secret THANKSGIVING.

I saw myself surrounded with Favours of Heaven, which indeed call me to be abounding in such Exercises.

But in the Exercises of this Day, I had little different from what has been with me formerly on such Occasions. The Raptures of a Soul fill'd with Love to the Great God and His Glorious Christ, and rapturous Contemplations of His Greatness and Glory, were this Day, no Strangers to me. Tho' thro' my Sloth, I enjoy'd them not in such a Degree, as I might have done.

The Action of this Day, which was the most singular, was this. In the Beginning of the Day, I sett myself, in the most abasing Manner, to acknowledge and glorify the *Justice* of God, in all the *Sorrowes* that I have mett withal; to render unto the Lord, the Glory of His *Justice* in all my *Sorrowes*.

About this Time, I was assisted of Heaven, to dispatch a Peace of Work, which I have had many Thoughts of

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Green, 1706.

undertaking even for diverse Years, and which has been the Subject of many Prayers that I have poured out unto the Lord; Tho' I have not now managed it, just in the manner, and so largely, as I had once intended.

I considered, that the illustrious *Doctrines of Grace* have many Enemies in the World, and that the Enemies thereof increase among ourselves. I considered, that very many, who profess the *Doctrines of Grace*, do turn them into *Wantonness*, and many Ways pervert them. I considered, that to explain and maintain these *Doctrines*, and at the same Time to rescue them from the Abuse, which the corrupt Hearts of Men often made of them, would be a sensible Service to the Interests of Christianity.

And I thought, the best Way of handling these *Doctrines*, would be with a perpetual Strain of *Usefulness*; or, to demonstrate what *holy* and *useful Doctrines* they are, by exhibiting every Article of them still, with such Demands of *Holiness*, as are always to accompany them. I was desirous to proceed with an *Essay*, of such Intentions.

And that my slothful Delay of my *Essay*, might no longer continue upon me, the Lord ordered it in His Providence that Letters come to me from other Parts of the Countrey, to putt me upon it.

*Not I, but the Grace of God with me*, finished the Treatise; which I have entituled, FREE-GRACE MAINTAINED AND IMPROVED. or, *The General Offer of the Gospel, managed with Considerations on the Great Things done by special Grace, in the Election, and Redemption, and Vocation of them who embrace the offer. And the Illustrious Doctrines of Divine Prædestination and Humane Impotency, rescued from the Abuses, which they too frequently meet withal, and rendered (as they are) highly useful to the Designs of practical Piety.*<sup>1</sup>

Oh! that this poor *Essay* may be accepted and prospered by my Glorious LORD!

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green, 1706.

My very dear Friend, Mr *Bromfield*, must be mention'd by me in these Memorials, as the great Instrument of procuring a Publication unto this Book, and unto many others which have served the Churches of God. The Lord reward unto him, and unto his Family, all the Service which he has in this Way, or any other done, unto His People!

18 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. This Day was a public *Fast*, thro' the Province. I enjoy'd a very gracious Presence of God with me, in the Duties of the Day.

My Heart was very singularly comforted this Day, in Meditations on that Word; Joh. 15. 7, 8. *If yee abide in me, and my words abide in you, yee shall ask what you will, and it shall be done unto you; herein is my Father glorified, that yee bear much Fruit.* I thought, that if I took Delight in *Serving* of God, it was an happy Token of His taking Delight in *Hearing*, and *Helping* and *Saving* of me. I thought, that if I were a Man alwayes *bringing forth Fruit* unto God, and thereby giving Demonstration of my *Abiding in His Christ*, and having *His Words alwayes with me*, it was an happy Symptom that my *Prayers* would be accepted with Him.

Now I hoped, He had brought me to something of that character.

24 d. 2 m. *Wednesday*. Tho' I were the last Week engag'd in a *Public Fast*, I thought it necessary now to be employ'd in a *secret one*.

I sett apart this Day, to humble myself before the Lord in *Prayer* with *Fasting*, and bewayl my own exceeding Sinfulness.

The Lord brought my Heart unto a great Contrition before Him, in the Sense of my Foolishness and Filthiness, which is all known unto Him.

With His Help I fled unto the *great Sacrifice* of a Glorious CHRIST, for my Atonement.

And I found my Soul comforted with one comfortable

Symptom of my having my Sins all forgiven me. My Lord JESUS CHRIST has expressly said, Matth. 6. 14. *If yee forgive Men their Trespases, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you.* Now, I found my Heart mightily under the Power of a most forgiving Disposition, towards the worst Enemies I had in the World. And as a Proof and Fruit of it, I cried unto God most heartily and earnestly, that they might be all of them happy, and every one of them have Goodness and Mercy, following of them, and never fare in any one Thing the worse for all the Ills and Wrongs that I may have suffered from them. I found my Heart really desirous of it.

One of the Supplications, which I saw unspeakable Reason, this Day, with unspeakable Ardor to insist upon, was; that the Wrath of God may not for my Sin, break forth either against my Children, or against my People. I am afraid, I am afraid, lest my Sin may expose *them*, to the terrible Strokes of Heaven.

Among other points of my Serviceableness upon which I this day implored the Smiles of Heaven, one was my Essay to draw a lively and lovely Picture of *primitive Christianity*; which I am to morrow to finish at the Lecture. I thought it necessary to humble myself before the Lord exceedingly, especially for my own want of the *primitive Christianity*, that so I may have my Essay upon it, accepted of the Lord.

This Day, I found my Spirit, when I lay prostrate in the Dust before the Lord, not only desiring of but also in some desirable Degree arriving to, these *Attainments*.

The Great God, and His Glorious CHRIST, have swallow'd me up. I would be alwayes *thinking* on Him, alwayes *acting* for Him, and relish nothing any further than I find it assist me in *acknowledging* of Him.

I can cheerfully refer myself to Him, and be satisfied in all His Dispensations towards me, because I am sure

whether I see it or no, that His *Wisdom* does consult His *Glory* in all that befalls me.

Hence my own *Will* is now very much abolished; I find the *Will* of God wonderfully absorbing of it. And I grow towards an Extinction of all my *own Interests*; to know no *Interests* but *the Lord's*.

My *Love* to my *Neighbour* improves to a very sweet Serenity. I take an unspeakable Pleasure in all Manner of *Beneficence*. If I can see *Opportunities* to *do good* unto any, I need no *Arguments* to move me to it; I do it naturally, delightfully, with Rapture. I seek for such *Opportunities*. I am ambitious of nothing so much as to be universally *Serviceable*. I rejoice in the *Prosperity* of others; it is pleasant unto me, to see the *Smiles* of God upon them. I am afraid of allowing in myself, the least *ill Wish* towards my *personal Enemies*; or such as have done Ill to me. It would be an *Affliction* unto *me*, if I should see God afflicting of *them*, for my sake. It is an easy thing unto me, to *forgett* how unkind and unjust they have been, and to *load* them with Kindnesses.

There is this Enjoyment added unto the rest. As I am *Nothing* before *God*, so I am willing to be *Nothing* among *Men*. I have no Fondness at all, for Applause and Honour in the World. It is with a sort of Horror, if I perceive myself *applauded*. I have a Dread of being *honoured*. I am gott above *Anger* at those, who think or speak meanly of me. I take abundance of *Shame* to myself; I bear with submission the *shaming* Rebukes, that Heaven smites me withal. I can submit unto it, to be *despised of Men*. If I am grossly *reproached*, I hardly durst appear in my own Vindication, against the falsest *Reproaches*, because I am sensible of so much *Evil* that might be truly spoken of me.

In the midst of my *Humiliations*, I ought to give Thanks, for these *Dispositions*. They are precious Works of God, produced by the Almighty Spirit of Grace, in one that is

the Chief of Sinners. I note them down, that I may look upon them, with Advantage; especially if I find the Vigor of them at any time abated in me.

I considered with myself, that it was hardly possible for me, to do a more grateful or hopeful Service unto Religion, than by describing the *primitive Christianity*, and acquainting the People with such admirable Flights of Religion, as I often find in the Lives of the *primitive Christians*. I thought, that if the Blessing of God accompanied such an *Essay*, it might have some Tendency to revive the *primitive Christianity*, in many that profess the *Christian Religion*, and are waiting upon God, for the Influences of His Grace upon them. The Lord assisted me, to finish my Picture of the *primitive Christianity* at three Sittings, in the monthly Lectures of *Boston*. And now, I proceeded hereupon, at the Desire of many, to committ my *Essay* unto the Press, that so it may give to all the Countrey a Collection of the most sparkling Passages in the primitive Church-History, and forward the Designs of universal Goodness. It is entituled; *THE GOOD OLD WAY, or, Christianity described from the Glorious Lustre of it, appearing in the Lives of the Primitive Christians.*<sup>1</sup>

3 d. 3 m. [May.] Friday. I sett apart this Day, for *Prayer* with *Fasting* in my Study.

One special Employment for this Day, was to obtain from the Lord, a Protection for my Countrey, against a terrible French Fleet, that is now making horrible Desolations in the Islands of the *West-Indies*, and threatens to visit us also.

7 d. 3 m. Tuesday. The Church of *Maldon*, has long been embroil'd with much Contention and Confusion. It has pleased the Lord, lately to accept and prosper some of my poor Endeavours, to putt an End unto the main Occasion of their Contention. The Church by their Vote

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green, for Benjamin Eliot, 1706.

made Choice of me, that I should go over unto them this Day, and be the *Moderator* of their Meeting (because they are destitute of a Pastor,) and manage the Votes which they were to pass, on the thorny Points which they had before them. Accordingly this Day, I went over to *Maldon*, and with the good Hand of God upon me, I went thro' the Action, which putts a just Period unto their Differences, and also diverts the Trouble of an ecclesiastical Council, which was præparing to come unto them. I addressed them, with Discourses, that seem'd to be bless'd of Heaven to bring the People into a desireable Frame. The God of all Grace keep them so!<sup>1</sup>

The Service I last attended helped to bring upon me, what was beginning before. A very troublesome Share, in a most obstinate Cough and Cold; which was now afflictive to many about the Countrey.

It prevailed so far upon me, as to lay me by from the public Service of the *Lord's-Day* ensuing.

The Lord sanctified unto me, this Humiliation. It made me sensible, of my being too unthankful, for that singular Favour of God, which I have enjoy'd, in that one of my feeble Constitution has been so little obstructed from the public Service wherein I have been engaged.

I mourned for this my Unthankfulness, and for all that Unfruitfulness and Iniquity, by which I have provoked the Lord justly to reject me from serving Him.

I thought, if I lived ever to serve the People of God, with any more public Administrations, I would labour still after more exquisite Usefulness in them.

And the *Lympha* of my Blood, being tainted with those *Miasmata* of the Air, which have produced these ill effects

<sup>1</sup> After the death of Michael Wigglesworth in June, 1705, the church at Malden was without a pastor for some time. In May, 1706, a town meeting decided between Joseph Metcalf and John Barnard, in favor of the former. Sufficient opposition existed to defeat his settlement, and the place remained unfilled until 1709, when David Parsons was chosen. Corey, *History of Malden*, 463-471.

upon my Health, it led me, with new Acts of Contrition, to bewayle my Original Corruption, wherewith I am universally tainted.

My Speech ought now to be more useful than ever; after a *Cough* that gives Interruption to it.

In these and such Points, I was desirous to gett good by my Malady, before it left me: and more desirous to gett this good, than that my Malady should leave me.

By a Blessing on proper Means, the Malady so asswaged, that I was assisted the Lord's-day after, beyond my Expectation, in public, and various and lengthy Exercises.

23 d. 3 m. *Thursday*. This Day was kept by the North-Church, (and the other good People of the Town joining with them) as a Day of Prayer; and my Lecture transferred, from the Old Church to ours.

I enjoy'd precious Assistances of Heaven, in the work of the Day; tho' I had unhappy Remainders of my troublesome Cough yett upon me.

The distressed Condition of the American Islands. Our own Dangers. Our Captives. The excessive Colds and Rains of the Season. The desire of Grace from Heaven for the rising Generation. These were the special Occasions of the Day.

28 d. 3 m. *Tuesday*. My Health has been languishing for a Month together. This awakened me to dispatch at a great rate, a Work which I have been more than ordinarily desirous to finish before I dy. Tho' my extraordinary Application to that Work, upon this Excitation, was doubtless a Disadvantage to my Health, yett the Lord favoured me with a singular Success in it. I dispatched that in three Weeks, which I thought would have employ'd me more than so many Months. And on this Day I finished my BIBLIA AMERICANA. So finished it, that there is no Necessity of my casting in any more, to my vast amassment of *Illustrations* upon the Divine Oracles;

Tho' doubtless, I may be occasionally and continually adding thereunto, till the Manuscripts are dismiss'd out of my Hands for Publication. T'wil be two large Volumes in *Folio*; and I am now to wait upon the Lord, for His Direction, how to obtain a conveyance of the Manuscripts, into those Hands, that may publish them for the Service of His Churches.

On this Day, having so happily finished my great Work, I solemnly gave Thanks unto the Lord, for His wonderful Smiles on my Undertaking, and I sang Psalms agreeable to such a joyful Occasion.

31 *d.* 3 *m.* *Friday.* Tho' I am very ill and low, with my Cold and Cough yett prevailing upon me, I sett apart this Day, for the Duties of a secret Fast; which after a feeble Manner I attended.

The Recovery of my broken Health, was one special Request, which this day, I spread before the Lord.

In the Beginning of *June*, I did, with the Help of Heaven, dispatch a Work, which my Heart was greatly sett upon; a Work which may prove of everlasting Benefit unto many of the Elect of God; a Work which is calculated for the Honour and Interest of a Glorious CHRIST; and a Work, which will enrage the Divil at such a rate, that I must expect, he will immediately fall upon me, with a Storm of more than ordinary Temptations; I must immediately be buffeted, in some singular manner, by that revengeful Adversary. And the late Calamities on the *American* Islands, I thought, had a Voice in them, to quicken my doing of this Work. I wrote as well contrived an Essay as I could, for the animating and facilitating of that Work, the Christianizing of the *Negroes*. It is entituled, THE NEGRO CHRISTIANIZED. *An Essay, to excite and assist that Good Work; the Information of the Negroes in Christianity.*<sup>1</sup> And my Design is; not only to lodge one of the Books, in every Family of

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green.

*New England*, which has a *Negro* in it, but also to send Numbers of them into the *Indies*; and write such Letters to the principal Inhabitants of the Islands, as may be proper to accompany them.

19 d. 4 m. [June.] *Wednesday*. The unhappy and criminal Action of some that are detected by our General Assembly, in carrying on an unlawful Trade, with our French and Indian Enemies, has begun a new Day of Temptation upon the Land; and raised a mighty Flame among the People. There will be great Expectation, and Observation, of what I shall say in the Lecture to morrow.<sup>1</sup>

I have also some Journeys of Consequence before me; particularly, I have some Thoughts of going next Week to *Andover*, where the People have often solicited a Visit, and a Lecture, from me.

On these (and many more) Occasions, I sett myself to seek the Lord this Day, with Prayer and Fasting, in my Study.

25 d. 4 m. *Tuesday*. Having been much solicited, by the People at *Andover*, a Town almost thirty Miles off, to come and preach a Lecture there, I did this Day undertake the Journey. The Lord mightily smiled upon my Journey, in all the Circumstances of it; and in præserving my Calash from over-setting, when the bad Way brought me into extreme Danger of it. Several young Gentlemen very kindly accompanied me in the Journey which added more than a little, to the Consolations of it. On the Day following, I preached the Lecture at *Andover*, to a great Assembly, of that and the neighbour Towns, and with a great Assistance from Heaven. After the Lecture I returned the bigger Part of the Journey homewards; and on Thursday-morning I arrived Home, with many Testimonies of the Divine Favour to the Chief of Sinners.

The Labour of this Journey, and the extreme Faintness

<sup>1</sup> One of Mather's brothers-in-law was involved. See pp. 581, 589, *infra*.

of the Weather, on the Friday following, made me omit, such a Day of Prayer in my Study, as I would else have then attended.

There was a singular Providence of Heaven over me, in my Timing of this Journey. For immediately upon it, a Descent of Indians from *Canada*, on this very Part of the Countrey, rendred the Road so unsafe, that I durst by no means have travelled it. Yea, being desirous to do some good on the Road in the Woods, I called some Children to me which I mett there, and bestowed some Instructions, with a little Book upon them; which I understood afterwards, made no little Impression on the Family. But it proved a Family, which in a few Dayes the Indian visited, and murdered the Mother, and several of the Children in it.

About this Time, considering the great Advantage, of erecting and maintaining *private Meetings* of Christians, and these *Meetings* of several Sorts, for the carrying on the Exercises and Intentions of Religion, I was willing to do some special Thing for the Revival of them about the Countrey. Wherefore I wrote a Sheet for this Purpose; designing to send it into the several Towns of these Colonies. It is entituled; PRIVATE MEETINGS ANIMATED AND REGULATED. *A short Essay to præserve and revive the ancient Practice of Lesser Societies, formed among Religious People, to promote the Great Interests of Religion.*<sup>1</sup>

11 d. 5 m. [July.] *Thursday*. A Fast was kept, (at my instigation) by the Christians of this Town, at the *South-church*. I enjoy'd a gracious Assistance of Heaven, in carrying on part of the Exercises of the Day.

About this time, to give a further Stroke unto the Intentions of promoting early Piety, having preached a Sermon on a Lord's-Day to my Great Congregation, with

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Green, in twenty-three pages. Mather's use of the word "sheet" is misleading in judging the size of the publication.

an Appendix to it, unto a great Meeting of young People assembled on the Lord's-day Evening. The Discourse was desired by the young People, who published it. It is entituled; HEAVENLY CONSIDERATIONS. *The Joy of Heaven over them that answer the Call of Heaven, or, Powerful and Wonderful Motives to Repentance and Early Piety; fetch'd from the Joy of Heaven over every Repenting Sinner on Earth.*<sup>1</sup>

26 d. 5 m. *Friday.* Altho' two Dayes ago I bore my Part and pray'd and preached with a Society of Christians who kept a Fast, in our Neighbourhood, I sett apart this Day for *Prayer with Fasting*, in my Study.

One principal Request, which I had to present before the Lord, was, that the Lord would please to accept my *Biblia Americana*, and mercifully direct me how and when to send that Work over for *England*, and raise up Encouragement for the Publication of it. Such a Resignation to the Will of God, as was proper on this Occasion, I now endeavoured.

11 d. 6 m. [*August.*] *Lord's-day.* The Lord has lately brought home unto us, between forty and fifty of our *Captives*; tho' many more are yett left behind. I am visited by many of them, every Day; and I have Opportunity, by putting Books into their Hands, and otherwise, to do good unto them. They agreed that they would this Day appear in our Congregation; and the Lord, having first annihilated me by an ill Turn upon my Health, assisted me to glorify Him on this Occasion. We gave Thanks together, in the great Congregation; and I preached unto them a Sermon, on the great Things done by the Lord for them.

On the day following, I composed a Collection of Memorables relating to the *Captives*; the marvellous displayes of the Divine power and Goodness, towards many of them, especially in Deliverances; the Means of their Constancy

<sup>1</sup> Printed by B. Green, 1706.

under Temptations to Popery; and edifying Poems written by some of them, to confirm their Children; and, a Copy of a *Pastoral Letter* written by the worthy Minister,<sup>1</sup> who is now a Captive; (that so he may be doing Service, even when confined from Serviceableness:)

And I gave this Collection to the Bookseller, that it may be published, and the Lord glorified, and His People edified. It is entituled, GOOD FETCH'D OUT OF EVIL.<sup>2</sup>

In a weeks time, he sold off a thousand of the Impression.

I have a stong Perswasion; (I would say, a *Particular Faith*, but having been *once* buffeted in that Experience, I durst hardly any more countenance it;) that I shall yet see more of our Captives returned, and that I shall particularly have Opportunity, to sitt with the pious Minister who is now in Captivity, and study and contrive, and unite Counsils with him, about Revenues of Glory to the Lord, from what he has mett withal.<sup>3</sup>

22 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. A Day of Prayer with Fasting, is kept this Day in the Old church. The largest Portion in the Exercises of the Day fell to my Share. I enjoy'd a great Assistance of Heaven.

But the Labours of this Day, and of the Week, diverted me from spending the Day following in the Devotions of a secret Fast, as else I would have done.

Indeed, I have great Cause, to acknowledge the Favour and Power of the Lord, which carries a feeble Creature, thro' so many Services.

On the Lord's Day, I was engaged in almost continual Speech, from two a Clock to nine; three Hours of it, in a vast Assembly. Two Hours of it, with the young Men in the Evening.

On Wednesday I travelled unto *Redding* and preached the Lecture there.

<sup>1</sup> John Williams.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by B. Green, 1706.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 575, *infra*.

Yesterday, was the public Fast. And yett (weary) I outlive these Fatigues.

30 d. 6 m. *Friday*. The Lord orders for me, ordinarily every Lord's-Day a very *great Auditory*. In this my *great Auditory*, I see a Confluence of many, many most undeserved Mercies. O the precious Opportunities to do good, granted unto the unworthiest of Men!

I thought it proper to sett apart a Day, to be spent in a secret *Thanksgiving* to the Lord, in special for this very singular Favour of Heaven. I did so. I spend the Day after my usual Manner of spending such Dayes. But the singular Favour which especially caused my being thus before the Lord, I considered with the many Aggravations and Circumstances of it. And I concluded with Resolutions, in the Strength of Heaven;

First, That I will mightily study to serve and feed such a vast Congregation; which indeed has none in all the Land comparable to it; few in the World.

Secondly; that I will proceed upon the noble Intention of exhibiting a Glorious CHRIST, unto the Congregation, with Discourses that shall rescue and ascribe unto Him, the Glory which belongs unto Him in all the Articles of our holy Religion.

In the Beginning of *September*, the Lord enables me to glorify Him, in many Services. But it is a vast Satisfaction unto me, to be every Day doing a Variety of Services, not only in the Exercise of such Graces as the Occasions of every Day do call for, but also in a way of communicating Benefits to those that are about me: by Alms, by Books, by Letters, and by watchful Discourses: and then to forgett all the Services; to lose all Remembrance of them; to press after more, as if I had hitherto done just nothing at all: *nil credens actum, dum quid superesset agendum*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>“*Mary Cox*, having abandoned herself to a Course of Drunkenness and other scandalous Impieties and Enormities, which have procured her to be sent unto the

11 d. 7 m. [September.] Wednesday. After præparatory Humiliations and Resignations, I took this Day a Journey to *Salem*; exceedingly accommodated both with a Chariot and Company for my Journey.

I arrived soon enough, to preach the Lecture. The Rest of the Week, I spent in Conversation with many Friends, who obliged me with very kind Entertainments.

On the Lord's-Day, I preached again, to a great Assembly and with a great Assistence.

On Munday in the Afternoon, being weary of my Approaches toward Idleness, I returned home; in all Circumstances highly favoured of the Lord.

20 d. 7 m. Friday. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting, in my Study. Nothing occur'd, that calls for any special Record of it.

In the latter End of this month, and the Beginning of the Next, I have my Time exceedingly swallowed up, in many important Services.

I compose (and by the Fleet now going for *England*, I send over to be published,) an Account of my *Biblia Americana*; as *Prodromous* and *Engaging* for that work; it is entituled; AN AMERICAN OFFER to serve the Great Interests of Learning and Religion in Europe.

Lord, accept and prosper, this Design of Service to thy Churches.

I write Letters unto diverse Persons of Honour both in *Scotland* and in *England*; to procure Settlements of good *Scotch* Colonies, to the Northward of us. This may be a thing of great Consequence.

I not only write Letters, unto the most eminent Persons, in all the Islands, to promote the Design of Christianizing the *Negroes*; but I also apply myself unto Sir work-house; as a disorderly Liver, she had this Day the Censures of the Church passed upon her and was cut off from her standing among the Disciples and in the visible Kingdome of the Lord." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church.* 11.

*William Ashurst*, and by him unto the Parlaiment, to procure an *Act of Parliament* for that Intention.

I write Letters to the General Assembly at *Connecticut*, to awaken their Zeal, to Christianize their *Indians*; and our Commissioners for the Indian-affayrs do join with me, in signing them.

But it is an Impertinence in me, to remember these Things. I omitt many more, that might be mentioned as well as these.

At this Time also, I bestow'd more adapting Circumstances for the Press, upon a Treatise, which I composed three or four Years ago, about the blessed Kingdome dread *Chiliad*. And I now sent it away unto an eminent Bookseller in *London*, that if the Lord of that Kingdome shall please, it may be published. The Title which I now gave it, was to this Purpose; PROBLEMA THEOLOGICUM. *An Essay, to Demonstrate a Truth of Great Importance in the Hope and Life of Christianity; but hitherto too little received or understood by the Christian world. Or, unanswerable Demonstration, that the second Coming of our Saviour from Heaven, will be at the Beginning of the Happy State, which we are to expect for the Church upon Earth. And the true Doctrine of the Chiliad so explained, as to answer and remove the Prejudices which have usually encumbred it.*<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the wicked *Quakers* having made their Addresses and Complaints and Clamours, at home in *England* against the Countrey, whereof an Account was address'd unto us, by the Independent Ministers in *London*; as if we had persecuting Lawes among us: I thought this a good Opportunity, not only to vindicate my injured Countrey, but also to discover more and more of the wicked Spirit of *Quakerism*, and to demonstrate, that their *Light within* is a *dark, feeble, sinful Creature*, and that to sett it up for *Christ and God*, which is done in *Quakerism*, is a

<sup>1</sup> No such publication has been found. See p. 502, *supra*.

very horrible Idolatry. I composed a Treatise on this Occasion; and sent it over unto the Ministers in *London*; under this Title: NEW AND REMARKABLE DISCOVERIES OF THE SPIRIT OF QUAKERISM.<sup>1</sup>

About this Time, I undertook, and with the Help of Heaven, I quickly finished, a Work, which cost me more than a little Study, and, if Heaven please may do more than a little Service. The Apostasy of some few of our People to *Popery* in *Canada*, awakened my Concern, to have our People better fortified, not only against the *Wiles* of *Popery*, but also against the *Snares* of all other Errors, whereby they may be endangered. Wherefore, having fitted, both the *New English Catechism*, and the *Assemblies Catechism*, to be more easily conquered by our Children, I accompanied these Composures, with, *Supplies from the Tower of David, or, A Catechism, which arms Christians of all Ages to refute the Errors, which most commonly assault the Cause of Christianity; and to præserve the Faith once delivered unto the Saints*: In seven ESSAYES; (namely Against *Popery*, and *Quakerism*, and *Socinianism*, and *Pelagianism*, and *Antinomianism*, and *Anabaptism*, and *Antisabbatarianism*;) each of the Answers, which have in them the Marrow and Substance of all the Volumns written on controversial Divinity, concludes with a pertinent *Scripture*, which alone may serve to Answer and to Defend the Quæstion. And all the Essayes end with *Desires*, relating to the Truths which had been defended; such *Desires* as, if the Hearts of men come to be enflamed with them, they will never part with the Truths, which have made such Impressions upon them. In this Book, there are several other *Instruments of Piety*. The Whole is entituled, THE MAN OF GOD FURNISHED.<sup>2</sup> My Design is, to have it pub-

<sup>1</sup> In all probability this was never published.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by B. Green for Samuel Phillips. A second edition appeared in 1721 under the title *The Way of Truth laid out*.

lished, with the Countenance of *the Ministers of Boston: and Salem*. And addressed unto both *Ministers and Householders* in all parts of the Countrey. It is to me, a Child of many Prayers; and I am waiting to see, how far the Lord will prosper it.

17 d. 8 m. [October.] *Thursday*. It was a Day of *Thanksgiving* thro' the Province.

One of my more special Actions in the Day was, to make my Children, four of them, successively to come into my Study, and observe and mention to me, the special Mercies which they were sensible they had received of God; and then charge them immediately to retire, and give Thanks unto the Lord, and give up themselves unto the Lord, and beg to be possessed by the Spirit of the Lord.

About this Time, I considered, that in my continual Addresses unto People of all sorts, to sett upon the Practice of serious Religion, I am still answered by them, *that they can't*. They fearfully abuse the Doctrine of Man's Inability to turn to God and walk with Him, until supernatural Grace enable him, as if it were a very pretty Apology for their Continuance in their Slothfulness and Wickedness. I was willing to furnish myself, with an *Essay*, to clinch the serious Advice, which I leave with People, whom I would see take the Steps of *Wisdom*, and the *Well-advised*. So I fitted for the Press, a Discourse on that Subject; which was immediately printed, under this Title, A CONQUEST OVER THE GRAND EXCUSE OF SINFULNESS AND SLOTHFULNESS, or, *The Cause of God and Religion, pleaded against those, who make their Inability to do Good, their plea for their Continuance in a Way of Evil-doing*.

30 d. 8 m. *Wednesday*. This Evening, attended with many favourable Circumstances, for which the Lord had been sought unto, my Consort fell into Travail; and after a wondrous good and quick Time, was about three quarters

of an hour past 9h. at Night, happily delivered of a Son; to appearance, an hearty and an handsome Infant.

On the Lord's-day following, I baptised this my Son, and called him, SAMUEL. 'Tis my desire, to have him devoted unto the Service of the Lord, as long as he lives.

The Night before this Lord's-Day, I kept a *Vigil*. I spent good Part of the late Night, in Praises and Prayers unto the Lord; and prostrate in the Dust before Him, I gave up this Child, with all my other Children, unto Him; entreating Him, to make them His Children, and provide well for them, and assist me in their Education, and accept them in Service for Him.

The ensuing Week, was (as indeed every Week is with me thro' the Favour of God,) a Week fill'd with Services.

But the most Signal was, in the Lecture, when the General Assembly of the Province was present.

There are Plantations within this Province, which ly in horrid Paganism and Atheism; they have no religious Assemblies in them, no public or social Acknowledgment of a God. I have long been concern'd in several Essayes, to reduce these Plantations unto some Christianity; and I now made a loud Cry in the Ears of Heaven and Earth concerning them; so that the General Assembly are awakened to take Notice of it.

Preparatory to this Action, I kept a *Vigil*, in the Dust before the Lord. And I enjoy'd a gracious Answer, in the Presence of the Lord with me, when I came to stand among His People.

15 d. 9 m. [*November.*] *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for *Prayer*, with *Fasting*, in Secret, before the Lord.

Especially, to recommend unto the Lord, the Concerns of my Ministry, and my Family; and sollicit His Assistance and Countenance unto the many Services, wherein I am engaged.

One special Exercise of this Day was this, writing a

Book, to præserve our Churches from the Errors, which may threaten them, I conclude each of the *seven Essayes* which compose the Book, with the DESIRES, which a Mind *enlighten'd* with the foregoing Truths ought to be *inflamed* withal: *Desires*, which if they be enkindled in the mind, the Truths of the Gospel, will in Spite of all Seducers, be forever præserted there. All the seven Bundles of those DESIRES, I formed this Day; and still as I formed them, I then spread them as my PRAYERS before the Lord. I thought this as agreeable a Devotion as I could insist upon.

The next week, it pleased the Lord, to grant a safe and quick Return, (an Harvest of many Prayers,) unto near threescore more of our Captives. and among the rest, unto the pious and worthy Minister, Mr. *Williams*, after he had spent almost three Years in a sad Captivity.<sup>1</sup>

I now, satt with him, and studied and contrived and united Counsils with him, how the Lord might have Revenues of Glory from his Experiences. And I particularly employ'd him, to preach my Lecture, unto a great Auditory (the General Assembly then also sitting) and, directed him, to show how great Things God had done unto him.<sup>2</sup>

I now also, (at the Desire of my young Men,) gave to the Printer, a Discourse entituled, THE BEST ORNAMENTS OF YOUTH. *An Essay, on the Good Things, that are found in some, and should be found in All, Young People, and which, wherever they are found, Heaven will take a favourable Notice of them.*<sup>3</sup>

Among the many Trials and Sorrowes and Humiliations, which the Holy One has appointed for me, one of the least

<sup>1</sup> Williams, with fifty-seven others, was taken prisoner by the Indians on February 28, 1704. Sewall sent him some letters and gifts.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 568, *supra*. The lecture is printed in *The Redeemed Captive returning to Zion*, published by B. Green, in 1707, with a narrative of John Williams's experiences. The book has been frequently reprinted.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Timothy Green, 1707.

has been, the Affliction of having some very wicked Relatives. Especially, I have two Brothers-in-Law, which can hardly be matched in all *New England* for their Wickedness; namely, J. O. and J. P. <sup>1</sup> I have never done these

Creatures any Wrong in my Life; I have essay'd numberless Wayes to do them good. But Satan inspires them, even to a Degree of sensible Possession. A satanic Rage against me, possesses their Hearts and their Tongues, to the Horror of all sober People, that are acquainted with it.

I have thought it my Duty, not only to endeavour an exemplary Patience under their Outrages; and a Forbearance of every thing that might look like a Revenge upon the Wretches: but also, to consider, what Use I should make of these Humiliations, what Revenues of Glory may arise to a Glorious Christ, and the Interest of His excellent Religion, from them.

It has been an unspeakable Satisfaction, unto me, to see some Conformity unto the Sufferings of my Lord Jesus Christ, in my Afflictions; for He had Brethren who beleeved not on Him; Brethren who treated Him as if He were an Imposter.

I have exceedingly abased myself before the Lord, for my not having done so much as I should have done, to take all my Relatives in the Netts of Salvation. And I have resolved, that I would be awakened unto the most fervent and lively Essayes, to engage the Rest of my Relatives, in the Service of the Lord.

I have thought of some other Wayes, to make my Vexation serviceable unto the Churches of God; which I shall not mention perhaps, till (if the Lord please) the Time arrives for my Executing of them.

What I am now to take Notice of is this: the first of these Prodigies, namely J. O. married my lovely Sister *Hannah*. A most ingenious and sweet-named, and good-carriaged

<sup>1</sup> John Oliver and John Phillips.

Child; one that would have been a Wife, to have made any Gentleman happy; but married unto a raving Bruite. The Fellow, whom they called her Husband, perfectly murdered her, by his base, and abusive Way of treating her; and he chose to employ in a special manner, the Ebulitions of his Venome against me, to weary and worry her, out of her Life, who loved me dearly. She has for diverse Years, languished under incurable Bleeding at the Nose; and an universal ill Habit arising from it; and at last, on

1 d. 10 m. [*December.*] *Lord's-Day*, the pangs of Death came upon her. Her Death was long, and hard, and has awakened me, more than ever, to pray for an easy Death. She kept in her dying Distresses, much calling on me; her *Brother*, her *Brother!* As I had heretofore, used all possible Diligence and Contrivance, to prepare her for her Death, so I now assisted her, as well as I could, in her last Hours. I pray'd with her six Times this Day; and in the Night following she died.

The Monster, to whom she owes her Death, now with anguish, bears a most honourable Testimony for her; as the best Wife, in the World; and a great Exemple of Piety. And from a convinced Conscience, he now also speaks of *me*, with no little Pretence of Honour and Acknowledgment.

Indeed, she had cause to bless God for this Wretch; for he was a great Occasion of her growing a serious and gracious Christian, weaned from this World, and fitted for a better.

She was buried in my Tomb, the *Wednesday* following.

And on the next *Lord's-Day*, I endeavoured to make her Death serviceable to the living, by preaching on, Job. 30. 23. *I know, that thou wilt bring me to Death.*

3 d. 10 m. *Tuesday.* Tomorrow there is to meet at *Woburn* a Council of the Neighbour-Churches, about the Differences and the Disturbances arisen there. Both my

Health, which has been diverse Weeks much impaired and the Funeral of my Sister to morrow to be attended, will not allow my being there, as I should have been. I have poured out many poor Prayers before the Lord, for that Church; that Peace might be restored unto it, and the glorious Gospel and Kingdome of the Lord in it, might be freed from its present Encumbrances. This Day I sett apart some time extraordinary for Supplications; to obtain the Presence of the glorious Head of our Churches, with the Council to morrow, and a good Issue of their Consultations.

And lest the Supplications of the *Day* should not be enough, I did in the *Night* keep a *Vigil* before the Lord, on that Occasion; and with solemn Resignations putt the whole Matter into His glorious Hands.

It pleased the Lord, to interpose beyond Expectation, and bring the Affayrs of *Woburn* into a comfortable Condition, and putt an End unto the Division there, with the Confession and Repentance of those that occasion'd it.

13 *d.* 10 *m.* *Friday.* I sett apart this Day, for solemn THANKSGIVINGS to God, for His many and marvellous Favours to me; especially in my *Ministry*, and in my *Family*.

But above all, I this Day singled out, especially two comprehensive Mercies of God unto me, which call for my wonderful Acknowledgments.

The one, that altho' I have been a Person buffeted with extraordinary Temptations, wherein Satan has designed with exquisite Contrivances, to spoil that work, which the sovereign Grace of God has intended me for, and I have greatly miscarried in Secret many Wayes under my Temptations; yett my Adversary has not prevailed so far, as to make me a public Exemple of Scandal and Hissing and Horror, and the Astonishment and Execration of all the Churches.

The other, (which is a Continuation of the former,) that notwithstanding my lothsome Sinfulness and Filthiness, the Lord has taken me, the most unlikely, and the most unworthy Creature, in all my Generation, and used me in Services for His Name; such Services as few in my Generation have been admitted unto.

By way of Thankfulness to the Lord, one thing that I resolved, with His Help, was this.

It was my Resolution, that I would study some singular Way, in which, my Sins, (my pardoned and covered Sins! O rich Grace, towards the Chief of Sinners!) may afford some great Revenues of Glory to the Lord. This I thought, might be, by Preaching (and perhaps printing) a Discourse on that Subject: *Unto what special Flights of Piety, should the Pious be awakened, by their being left to stumble into any Points of Iniquity.*

In the Afternoon of this Day, I visited a Society of devout Women, who were keeping this, as a Day of private and solemn *Thanksgiving* unto God. I prayed with them; and I preached to them, on, 1. Sam. 2. 1. It may be, I am the only Man in the World, that has preach'd unto *such an Auditory!*

This Day, a surprising Thing befel me. Some Gentlemen of our Church, understanding (without any Application of mine to them for such a Thing,) that I wanted a *good Servant* at the expence of between forty and fifty Pounds, purchased for me, a very likely *Slave*; a young Man, who is a *Negro* of a promising Aspect and Temper, and this Day they presented him unto me. It seems to be a mighty Smile of Heaven upon my Family; and it arrives at an observable Time unto me. I putt upon him the Name of *Onesimus*; and I resolved with the Help of the Lord, that I would use the best Endeavours to make him a Servant of Christ, and also be more serviceable than ever to a Flock, which laies me under such Obligations.

In pursuance of my late Resolution, I presently composed a Discourse, which I entituled, A TREACLE FETCHED OUT OF A VIPER; *A brief Essay upon Falls into Sins; directing How a Recovery out of such Falls, may be attended, with a Revenue of special service and Glory to God from the Fallen Sinner.* My Purpose is to publish it speedily, at *my own Expence*; and to disperse it especially among such as I may observe to be *fallen* into any Iniquity.<sup>1</sup>

4 d. 11 m. [January.] Satureday. Tho' it would be a gross Impertinence and Futility in me, to record my *Alms-Deeds*, wherein I would abound continually; No, tis a vast Pleasure unto me to forgett them. Yett now and then to mention a particular Contrivance about works of Liberality, may be profitable unto my Sons, to whom I leave these poor Memorials. I will therefore mention what I contrived and performed in the Week, which is now concluding.

I have often taken some Care of the more Godly Poor, as the Necessities and the Difficulties of the Winter have been coming on. But I thought I would now take some care of the Poor, that have not a Character of Godliness upon them. So I found out ten or a dozen such People, and I carried them some Releef of Money, and I gave them the best Counsil I could, and I left also a good Book in their Hands to direct and excite the Practice of serious Religion in them. Who can tell, but in this Way of treating such poor Creatures, there may be some of them won over to the Wayes of Piety!

6 d. 11 m. Munday. This Day, I thought, I would carry on my Stroke at Alms-deeds, with a Complication of Contrivances.

I wrap'd up seven little Distinct parcels of *Money*. I annexed, seven little Books about *Repentance*. And seven of the *Monitory Letter* against profane *Absence* from the *public Worship* of God.

<sup>1</sup> It was printed by B. Green, for Benjamin Eliot.

There is a Town in the Countrey, namely, *Salem* which has many *poor* and *bad* People in it; and such as are especially scandalous for staying at Home on the *Lord's-dayes*. I sent these Things with a nameless Letter to the Minister of that Town. I desired him, and empowered him, to dispense this Charity, in his own Name; hoping thereby the more to ingratiate his Ministry to the people. I entreated him, to find out seven Families of People answering the evil Character aforesaid; and lodge with them, the Charity, and the Books that accompanied it; and bestow his own holy Counsils also upon them. Who can tell, how far the *good Angels* of Heaven, may co-operate in these Proceedings! And how far the Holy Spirit of God may make them serviceable for the best of Purposes.

10 d. 11 m. *Friday*. I sett apart this Day, for Prayer with Fasting in my Study. And I was without some comfortable Symptomes of my being not altogether forsaken of the Lord, in spreading my Supplications before Him.

One special Errand, which I had unto Heaven this Day was this.

My Father-in-Law at *Charlestown*, has of late been in a very froward and evil Frame. The elder of his two wicked Sons, has been lately fined by the General Assembly of the Province, for his unlawful Trade with the Enemy.<sup>1</sup> The Crime of the Traders, whereof he was one, fill'd the Countrey with a mighty Inflammation. On that Occasion it was necessary for me, to bear my Part with the other Ministers, in a faithful Testimony.

And I did my Part, as easily, and as modestly, tho' as faithfully, as I could. The humoursome old Man, is so very unhappy, as to be enraged at me; and express himself, as I hear, very enragedly and abusively. The Spirit of *Eli* seems lamentably to have taken possession of him. His two wicked Sons do also strangely manage

<sup>1</sup> See p. 565, *supra*. John Phillips was the eldest son.

him. And, now, tho' I have studied so very much to be a Blessing unto his Family, yett he treats me very unrighteously and ungratefully. And, I have great Reason, to apprehend, that tho' I have served him, with so much Dutifulness, yett, out of his Displeasure at me, for my doing but my Duty to God and His People, and from the Impression of his two wicked Sons upon him, He will deal unjustly with my Children, and forgett His Promises to their dying Mother.

In this Case, I have but one Remedy. There is no speaking to him. I must go to God, as *Jacob* did, when his Father-in-Law had already done him hurt, and he was afraid of his doing more.

So, I carried the Case unto the Lord. I humbled myself before the Lord, for my Sins, that had procured such afflictions, as I suffer in my Relatives.

And especially my not being so diligent as I should have been, to engage all my Relatives in serious Religion; tho' I cannot charge myself with being altogether negligent. I also lamented the Sins, of my Conversation with the Consort which I once had from the Family, where I am now ill dealt withal. And I sought for Pardon, thro' the Blood of the Lamb of God.

I besought the Lord, that He would show me, how to behave myself on this Occasion.

And that He would so order the matter, that I might be made better, and that good might come to His People also, out of my Exercises. I thought I should be glad of my Exercises, if my Pardon, and Wisdome, and Usefulness, might be the Effect of them.

I pray'd for a Blessing on each of my abusive Relatives, and pray'd that my Children may not be damnified.

And so, I left the Matter with the Lord; waiting for what Issue He will give unto it.

I do very frequently improve the Behaviour and Condi-

tion of my Children, and my own Way of treating them, into *Meditations* on GOD and CHRIST, and the Terms wherein I stand before Him. I have never had Opportunity to write these *Meditations*, any more than many thousands of others, wherein my Mind is continually, employing, and enriching, and rectifying of me before the Lord. But this Day I will take Notice of it. There fell out a little Accident in my Family, that so lively expressed the Circumstances of my own Transactions with Heaven, it really struck upon me, and I improved it in my Supplications.

My little Son waits upon his Grandfather every Day, for his Instruction, as well as upon other Tutors and Teachers This day, I sent him on an Errand, where the Person imposing on his flexible Temper, detained him so long, that his Grandfather was displeas'd at him, for coming so late; and his Punishment was, that his Grandfather, did refuse to instruct him, as he use to do. The Child unable to bear so heavy a Punishment, as that his Grandfather should not look favourably upon him, repairs to me, full of weeping Affliction. Hereupon, I applied myself with a Note, unto *my Father*, as an Advocate for the Child. I pleaded all that could be said by way of Apology for the Infirmary of the Child. I asked, that I might bear the Displeasur due for it, because of what had pass'd relating to it. I assur'd my Father, the Child should no more in this Way displeas'e him. So the Child was presently receiv'd into Favour with my Father; my Father look'd on him with a pleas'd Aspect, and bestow'd agreeable Illuminations upon him.

I thought, the Lord order'd this little Accident this Day, to raise in my Mind, the Thoughts of the Reconciliation, which the Son of God, who is my Advocate with the Father, would obtain for me, with God. And the Thoughts had a mighty and a melting Impression upon me.

About this Time, I finished another little Book for the Press: tho' when it will be published (or whether ever) I know not. The Sin of *Worldliness*, or, *Coveteousness*, undoes the Souls of Multitudes, who are not in any measure sensible of their Danger by that Sin. And it is eminently the Sin of my own Countrey. Some have solicited me to write upon it; which I have now done, under this Title: A VERY NEEDFUL CAUTION. *A brief Essay, to discover the Sin that Slayes its ten thousands and represent the Character and Condition of the Coveteous; with some Antidotes against the Infection of Coveteousness and Earthly-mindedness.*<sup>1</sup>

7 d. 12 m. [February.] Friday. I sett apart this Day, to humble myself deeply before the Lord, for my horrible Corruptions and Miscarriages. I could plainly discern on myself, grievous Marks of a Man abhorred of the Lord. And as one even ashamed to approach unto Heaven, I lay prostrate in the Dust afar off, crying out, *God be merciful to me a Sinner*. I loathed and judged myself before the Lord exceedingly. The Victories which Temptation had obtained over me, filled me with unspeakable Confusion. I thought, that as vile as I was, yett it was my Duty to look still unto the Lord, for Pardon and Healing. so I pleaded the *Great Sacrifice*. I cried unto a Glorious *Christ*, that He would be my *Advocate*. I begg'd I begg'd, that an holy Heart might be bestowed upon me; because a Glorious *Christ* had purchased it for me, and by His Death purchased the Death of my Sin. I begg'd, that the dreadful wrath of Heaven, might not break forth against me, nor against my Flock, nor against my poor Family, for my Sin. I pondered my own Discourse, about *Falls into Sins*; and my Spirit actually conformed unto every one of the Articles in it, that propose how a Recovery out of the *Falls* may be attended with special Revenues of Glory and Service to God.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Timothy Green.

I also carried unto the Lord, the Concerns of my Ministry, and of His People.

And in the Close of the Day, I went and preach'd and pray'd, with a Number of devout Families, who had spent this Day together, in Supplications before the Lord.

I will conclude this Year with the Mention of one unhappy Experience, which I have mett withal.

Many poor Servants of God, have been strangely distressed with Temptations to *Atheism* and *Blasphemy*. There has been in their Distresses, an evident Energy of Satan, lett loose to buffet them, and amaze them, and unhinge them wonderfully.

Temptations of another Importance have with a wonderful Importunity assaulted my sinful Soul. Tho' Satan has not proposed any grosser Pollution to me, yett he has made violent and surprising Assaults upon me, with a certain impure and foolish Idæa raised in my Soul; which has exceedingly abased me before the Lord. It is an incredible Force, with which the Satanic Energy hath at certain Times, bore in upon my Soul, that wretched Idæa; and the Presence of it there has made the Confusion of my Mind unutterable, and unsupportable. In this Molestation, indeed I have had infinite Cause to acknowledge my own wicked Heart, as that Fountain of Sin, which gives my great Adversary the Advantage to molest me. And I must make a bitter Acknowledgment of my actual Mis-carriages; by which I provoke the Holy One to permitt the Evil One to fall upon me, and I forfeit the gracious Assistance of the Lord. Yett I cannot but apprehend a more than ordinary Vexation from the fiery Darts of the wicked one, in these Humiliations; the special Seasons of their being shott into me; even when my Studies are most engaged in those Things that would be a Disservice to the Enemy: and the astonishing Violence of the Injections; rendring me for a while, scarce a reasonable Man:

these Things do intimate, from what Quarter they come upon me.

And that which more afflicts me is; that tho' I cry to God in the Battel, and plead the Sacrifice of a Glorious Christ, and His Compassion and Ability to succour the Tempted, for my Deliverance; yett the Uttermost that I can obtain is, for the Tempter to depart but for a Season; returns again upon me, in a Month or two, with more efficacy than before.

I think it not amiss, to record my Conduct on this deplorable Occasion: that so I may fix my Resolutions, to observe such a Conduct; and be the better confirmed in the Management of my Warfare.

First. I confess my own horrid Vileness, with a vast Contrition, with all possible Agony. I confess the Justice of God in all the Judgments that have ever come upon me; I confess, how just it would be with God, for to make me an eternal Monument of His dreadfulest Indignation. I mourn when I see upon myself, most awful Marks of one abhorred of the Lord. I bear with Patience and Silence all the Contempt which I may suppose cast upon me, from other Men, who may treat me injuriously; knowing myself to be a most loathsome Creature. I wonder at the matchless and sovereign Grace of Heaven, that I am honoured with Improvement in any Service for the Lord.

Secondly; yett I am not utterly discouraged, from flying to a Glorious Christ, as both my Sacrifice and my Advocate; that my Sin, tho' very black, may be all pardoned, thro' His Blood; that the Death of my Sin, which was on His Cross condemned to dy, may be accomplished; that the Holiness which has been by His Death purchased for me, may be bestowed on me; and, that the Commission granted unto Satan to annoy me, and destroy me, may be revoked. I think, if I should fall into Despair, (which I am sometimes ready to do,) as one utterly abandoned of

God, and having nothing to do, to fly unto the Great Sacrifice, this would be, to add Sin to Sin; and it cannot be my Duty, utterly to forsake the Lord.

Thirdly; tho' I am such a filthy Wretch, yett I must not forbear my Testimonies against Sin in others; my consciousness to my own being very sinful, must not make me decline all Testimonies against other Sinners. I perceive Satan would bring me to this. But then, Oh! with what Humility, Modesty, Tenderness towards the Infirmities and the Temptations of others, must I bear my Testimonies! I must not abate my zeal to do good in the World, and wherever I come: tho' I am very bad; yett I must not neglect my Endeavours that I can use, to do Good unto others. I discern a working of Satan this way upon me!

Fourthly; Besides my setting apart whole Dayes, for Prayer with Fasting before the Lord, that this wretched Man may be delivered, I would for a considerable while, sett apart some Time extraordinary every Day, in the most evangelical Strains to cry unto the Lord, that He would give me a very pure Heart, and sanctify me wonderfully, and chase away all that may be distastful to His holy Spirit in my Soul, or disagreeable to His holy Temple. At last, The Lord will arise, and save.

Fifthly; I have resolved, (and practised it;) that whenever the *vexing Idea*, begins to appear unto my Soul, my Spirit shall immediately form some holy Ejaculation unto Heaven. I will immediately send up some cry to Heaven, that shall be proper on such an Exasperation. I hope, this Way quickly to tire out Satan, and fetch in those Influences of Grace, which perhaps at length may make Satan repent his vexing of me.

Sixthly; lest an *hateful Idea* should gain upon me, and become *grateful* unto me, I do and will use myself, to awful Meditations, on the inexpressible Evil, which there would

be in it, if one of my peculiar Circumstances; one of my many and mighty Obligations, to the most unspotted Sanctity; should harbour or indulge in myself, any wicked Thing in the World.

Quære. Whether the Lord will not pity a vexed Servant of His, under such uneasy Temptations!

*Memorandum.* At the Table of the Lord, flying to the Lord Jesus Christ, for Salvation, from the Guilt, and the Power, yea, and the Presence of Sin, I have been comforted with Hopes, that I shall yett see the Favour of the Lord.

THE COURSE OF MY PUBLIC MINISTRY.

1705. 17 d. 12 m. [*February.*] I preached on Matth. 18. 20. The *Gracious Presence* of the Lord Jesus Christ with His People, assembling in His Name.

24 d. 12 m. I preached on Psal. 52. 8. *Being like a Green Olive tree in the House of God.* (On the Occasion of many and lovely Additions to our Church.)

28 d. 12 m. *Thursday.* I preached the Lecture, on Tit. 2. 10, 11. An Essay to draw the Picture of *Primitive Christianity*; in that Article of a *sober Life*. Designing with the Leave and Help of Heaven, to go on with it, in the other Articles. (An historical, and an entertaining Essay, to revive *primitive Christianity*.)

1706. 3 d. 1 m. [*March.*] I preached on Mar. 14. 51. *Young People* found among the Enemies of a Glorious CHRIST; and these, going to *lay hold* on such as they apprehend the Followers of the Lord. (Enjoying mighty Assistences, and Encouragements from Heaven.)

10 d. 1 m. I preached on Joh. 6. 37. An Essay to render the Doctrine of *Prædestination* useful, and rescue it from the Abuse commonly offered unto it. Being earnestly called upon to do so.

17 d. 1 m. I preached, on Joh. 6. 37. Christ receiving all them that come unto Him.

24 d. 1 m. I preached on Luk. 7. 47. *Forgiveness* for the greatest of Sinners; and *much Love* to the Lord Jesus Christ, the Evidence of it.

28 d. 1 m. *Thursday.* At the Lecture, I carried on my Design of describing the *primitive Christianity*; with the Article of a *righteous Life*.

31 d. 1 m. I preached on Psal. 131. 2. A Soul as a *weaned*

*Child.* (Beholding my Lessons in my own little Daughter, at this Time *weaning*.)

7 d. 2 m. [April.] I preached on, Prov. 9. 1, 2. The Church, a stable and stately *House*, whereof Christ the *Maker* and *Owner*; and a glorious Feast provided for His People there. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

14 d. 2 m. I preached on, Prov. 15. 8. The *Sacrifice of the Wicked an Abomination*. To rescue the Text from a common Abuse of it. (And to præpare for a general Fast.)

18 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. A general Fast thro' the Province. I preached on Prov. 15. 8. The *Prayer* of the *Upright*.

21 d. 2 m. I preached on Isa. 55. 2. The *Vanity* of all Pretences and Endeavours to obtain Happiness, without a Glorious CHRIST.

25 d. 2 m. *Thursday*. At the Lecture, I finished my Picture of *primitive Christianity*; with the Article of a *Godly Life*.

28 d. 2 m. I preached on Psal. 119. 94. The *Acts of Religion*, by which we may become the *Lords*, and the *Points of Salvation* which we may then expect from the *Lord*.

5 d. 3 m. [May.] I preached on 2. Tim. 3. 1. The *perillous Times* in the *last Dayes*. (On the Occasion of the Desolations brought by the French on the Islands, and threatned unto us also.)

19 d. 3 m. I preached, on Ps. 127. 2. *Except the Lord keep the City*; the *Vanity* of all Endeavours for our own Safety or Comfort, without the Blessing of God. (The Safety of this Town, being much considered at this Time.)

23 d. 3 m. *Thursday*. A Fast, at the North Church. I preached on Zeph. 3. 7. *Lessons of Piety* to be learn'd from Divine Judgments on the world.

26 d. 3 m. I preached, on, Psal. 37. 3. *Trusting in the Lord*, and *Doing of Good*, the assured Way to be well provided for in the worst of Times. (Because of the peculiar Temptations of this Time.)

2 d. 4 m. [June.] I preached, On Psal. 110. 1. Christ, both *God* and *Man*, and the *Lord* of all Men. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

9 d. 4 m. I preached on 1. Tim. 4. 7. *Exercising* oneself unto *Godliness*.

16 d. 4 m. I preached, on, 1. Tim. 6. 10. The *Love of Money*, the *Root of all Evil*. (On the Occasion of the Discovery of some of our people, detected of a wicked and bloody Trade, with our Indian Enemies.)

20 d. 4 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Prov. 14. 34.

Sin a *Reproach* of any People; and I endeavoured, in the most charming and winning Wayes that I could, to gett the *Reproach* of this people *rolled away*.

23 d. 4 m. I preached, on Job. 15. 11. The *Consolations of God*, not small.

26 d. 4 m. *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Andover*; on Ezek. 37. 4.

30 d. 4 m. I preached on Luk. 15. 7. *Joy in Heaven over one Sinner* that repenteth.

7 d. 5 m. [July.] I preached on Eph. 5. 5. The *Idolatry of Coveteousness*. Being particularly desired by some inquisitive Christians, to discourse on it.

14 d. 5 m. I preached on 1. Chron. 29. 11. God the *Owner of all Things*.

18 d. 5 m. *Thursday*. I preached on Luk. 12. 15. To Take heed and beware of *Coveteousness*. But because of the extreme Heat of the Season, I did not finish the Discourse.

21 d. 5 m. I preached on 2. Joh. 4. The *great Joy of seeing Children walking in Truth*.

28 d. 5 m. I preached on Psal. 110. 1. Christ *sitting at the right Hand of God*. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

4 d. 6 m. [August.] I preached on Gen. 4. 9. The Duty of every Man to be his *Brother's Keeper*.

11 d. 6 m. I preached, on Psal. 126. 3. The *great Things* done by the Lord for His People. (On the Occasion of the *redeemed Captives* now mett in our Congregation to give Thanks unto God.)

15 d. 6 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture and finished the Discourse begun a month ago; on Luk. 12. 15. *Coveteousness*.

18 d. 6 m. I preached on 1. Cor. 7. 35. All the Lessons of Godliness, being *for our Profit*.

21 d. 6 m. *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture, at *Reading*, on 2. Joh. 4.

25 d. 6 m. I preached on Joh. 8. 24. The miserable Death of those who *dy in their Sins*.

1 d. 7 m. [September.] I preached on, Joh. 6. 44. That Case, what should be said unto those, who make this their Answer to the Calls of the glorious Gospel, that they *cannot* obey the Calls. A Case for which I am entertained with daily and woful Occasions.

4 d. 7 m. *Wednesday*. I preached the Lecture at *Dedham*, on 2. Joh. 4.

8 d. 7 m. I preached, on Rom. 15. 11. Manly Christianity the Marks of one grown to some *Strength* in Christianity

11 d. 7 m. *Wednesday*. I preach'd the Lecture at *Salem*, on the same Subject.

15 d. 7 m. I preached at *Salem*, on 2. Joh. 4.

22 d. 7 m. I preached on Psal. 110. 1. The *Enemies* of a Glorious Christ made His *Footstool*. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

29 d. 7 m. I preached on 1. Joh. 5. 13. Our *knowing* from what is *written*, in the Word of God, that there is an *Eternal Life*; and whether we have the Marks of a Part in it.

6 d. 8 m. [*October*.] I preached on, Jam. 5. 20. The Conversion of a Sinner from the Error of a sinful way, and the Salvation of the Soul of such a Convert from Death: and the Blessedness of being Instrumental to such a work.

10 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Joh. 6. 65. The Doctrine of *humane Impotence*; defended against those who deny it, and rescued from those who abuse it.

13 d. 8 m. I concluded, what I began the last Lord's-Day.

17 d. 8 m. *Thursday*. It was a Day of general *Thanksgiving* thro' the Province: I preached on Deut. 32. 3. How we are to *ascribe Greatness* unto our God.

20 d. 8 m. I preached, on 1. King 14. 13. Some *good Thing* observable in young Persons.

22 d. 8 m. *Tuesday*. I preached, the Lecture at *Roxbury*, on 1. Joh. 5. 13.

27 d. 8 m. I preached, on Joh. 9. 15. One *knowing* a mighty and happy Change on himself, and yett not knowing some Circumstances relating to it.

3 d. 9 m. [*November*.] I preached on, 2. Tim. 3. 15. *Children* made wise to Salvation, by the Knowledge of the Holy Scripture. (And I baptised my Son *Samuel*.)

7 d. 9 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture, on Psal. 52. 8. The Mercies of being in the *House of God*, and like a *green Olive-tree* there.

10 d. 9 m. I preached, on 1. Pet. 2. 15. The Will of God, thus we should carry it well in the several *Relations* wherein He has placed us; *relative Christianity*.

17 d. 9 m. I preached, on Psal. 110. 2. The *Gospel*, the *Sceptre* of our Lord Jesus Christ. A *Glory* and a *Strength* in it; and issuing forth from *Zion*. (And I administred the *Eucharist*.)

24 d. 9 m. I preached, on Heb. 12. 11. The *peaceable Fruit* of

*Righteousness*, yeelded by Affliction, (being under some special Exercises.)

1 d. 10 m. [December.] I preached on, Psal. 126. 5. The *Joyful Harvest*, reap'd by them who sow in Tears. (With a special Eye to the Experience of it, by the worthy Minister now present in our Congregation, return'd from a long and sad Captivity.)

8 d. 10 m. I preached on, Job. 30. 23. How we *do* know, and, how we *should* know, that God will bring us to Death. (On the Occasion of the Death of my Sister.)

15 d. 10 m. I preached, on Job. 1. 1. Piety, the first, and chief of all Excellencies.

19 d. 10 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture (for another) on Gal. 3. 27. *Putting on Christ*. Fetching an Occasion to recommend a Glorious Christ, from the Time of our *Putting on* our *Winter-Garments*.

22 d. 10 m. I preached on 2. Cor. 7. 11. *Carefulness* to recover out of our *Falls into Sin*, with Advantage to the *Service and Glory* of God. (For a Cause mention'd at 13 d. 10 m. in these Memorials.)

29 d. 10 m. I preached on, Rev. 3. 19. *Be zealous*. (To kindle the Fire of *Zeale*, in the cold Season of the Winter.)

2 d. 11 m. [January.] *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture on, 2. Tim. 2. 1. The Marks of *manly Christianity*.

5 d. 11 m. I preached on Gen. 3. 15. The willing and friendly Obedience of the Sinner to *Satan*, till God *putt* into him an *Enmity* to the Service of Satan.

12 d. 11 m. I preached on Psal. 110. 3. The Faithful, being the *People of Christ*. (And I administred the Eucharist.)

19 d. 11 m. I preached on Gen. 3. 15. The *two Seeds*, the two Sides and Sorts, and Setts of People in the World; and characterised them.

26 d. 11 m. I preached, on Job. 5. 7. Man *born to Trouble*; a Picture of the matter, in *Sparks flying upward*. (A Subject seasonable, in the Winter.)

30 d. 11 m. *Thursday*. I preached the Lecture; on Isa. 55. 10, 11. (Much *Rain*, and *Snow*, falling this Day.)

2 d. 12 m. [February.] I preached on Gen. 3. 15. The *Enmity* between the two Seeds.

9 d. 12 m. I preached, on Heb. 10. 26, (rescuing it, from the desperate Sense commonly putt upon it). That the Sacrifice of a Glorious Christ, is the *only Sacrifice* now remaining for us; and how to express our Faith in that *Sacrifice*.

1707<sup>1</sup>

I have now such a vast Variety of Employments, (which indeed I have at all Times:) but there does therewithal occur so very little observable, or extraordinary, that these Papers, about this Time, receive but few Memorials.

One thing I will mention. In a Prayer at a Meeting of some Christians, I mentioned the sad Condition of our Frontiers, that notwithstanding the extreme Obligation which their dangerous and afflicted Scituation laid upon them, to be a very religious People, yett there was much Irreligion and Profaneness and Disorder in many of them. After the Prayer, some of them that were present, being touch'd with a Sense of the Matter, mov'd me to write a little Book, agreeable to the Condition of our exposed Plantations; which they would be at the Expence to send and lodge in all their Families. I sett upon the work, and enjoy'd a singular Assistence of Heaven, in drawing up the Admonitions of Piety for those Plantations. It may be, the Lord will bless this Essay, for much good, unto many poor People, in a Land of unwall'd Villages. I gave it the Printer; entituled; FRONTIERS WELL-DEFENDED.<sup>2</sup>

13 d. 5 m. [July.] *Lord's-Day*. I know not whether I shall do well, to take Notice of the Experiment, tho' tis like what I have several Times mett withal.

On the one side, the Defeat I have once had in a Particu-

<sup>1</sup> A fragment only, found among the papers of Thomas Wallcut, presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, September, 1879, by Rev. R. F. Wallcut.

<sup>2</sup> "Frontiers well Defended. An Essay to Direct the Frontiers of a Countrey Exposed unto the Incursions of a Barbarous Enemy, How to behave themselves in their Uneasy Station." Boston: T. Green, 1707.

lar Faith, has long rendred me afraid of ill-founded Enthusiasms; and it may bee, too ready, even to shake off some Impressions and Influences from the angelical Quarter, on my Mind.

On the other Side, it is possible, that my great Sinfulness, and Slothfulness, and Filthiness, and my forward Indisposition to attend unto such Things, may deprive me, of many Communications from the heavenly World with which I might otherwise be favoured.

However I will mention what this Day occur'd unto me.

I have a Brother-in-Law, Master of a Vessel, bound from *Barbados* to *Virginia*. We have Advice from *Virginia*, which renders it extremely suspicious, that the French have taken him. The Owner, does perfectly give over the Vessel for lost; and cannot be perswaded otherwise.

This Day, as I was pouring out Prayers before the Lord, with an Eye to this Matter, I felt an *Afflatus* on my mind, which gave me some Assurance, that my Brother-in-Law was yett safe and well; and that his Relatives having on this Occasion resigned him, they should now *stand still, and see the Salvation of God*: I express'd myself unto my Consort, that my Mind was well-satisfied, it would be so.

Behold, on the seventh Day after this, there arriv'd unto us, Letters from him, of his being well-arrived a[t] *Virginia*.

I considered, that it were very desireable to have our poor People in our Frontiers, well informed, and well defended, against the Delusions of *Popery*; lest any more of them should be carried Captives, as many of them have been, into a Popish Countrey. Wherefore, I composed a Catechism for that Purpose, to be added, unto my little Book for the *Frontiers*. I considered, that in *Maryland*, a Colony not very far from us, there were many Papists; and the Popish Clergy seduced many People on frequent Occasions. Wherefore I printed some hundreds of this Catechism by

itself, to be dispersed in *Maryland*. I considered also, that it was a Blessedness, to do a part in the work of this Day, the pulling down of the *Romish Babylon*. Accordingly, I entituled this little Peece of Work; THE FALL OF BABYLON.<sup>1</sup>

24 d. 5 m. *Thursday*. This Day was kept as a Fast, thro' the Province; with relation to the miserable Circumstances of our Expedition to *Port-Royal*.<sup>2</sup>

I enjoy'd gracious Assistences from the Lord, in the Work of the Day.

In my Family, I sett my Children, to consider, what Points they could find in themselves that needed Amendment; and resolve accordingly to amend themselves, and be and do better than formerly; And in the Evening to declare unto me, what Resolutions they have taken up.

I resolved, that if the Lord would hear our Prayers; in the Extremity of Confusion which is now threatning of us, and grant a good Issue and Return of our Expedition, I would sett myself to do some special Thing, for the glorifying of Him, as the Hearer of Prayers, or for the Encouraging of Prayers among His People.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful if there was a separate issue made of the *Fall of Babylon*, although its separate pagination suggests the possibility.

<sup>2</sup> Although the English clearly had the advantage in numbers and preparedness before Port Royal, and the French commander there, Subercase, had been taken by surprise, nothing was done. The cause has been laid to the inefficiency of the English commander, Colonel John March, and to his want of confidence in his troops. He retired with his fleet to Casco, to the great disappointment and not a little indignation of the Massachusetts authorities. Three commissioners were thereupon appointed to go to Casco: Elisha Hutchinson, Penn Townsend, and John Leverett. Rumors prevailed that the army at Casco was mutinous and disorderly. Leverett reported (July 8): "We discoursed with the officers of the Army by themselves, and opened our Commission; told them what we expected from them, and what they ought to demand from the Officers under them, and they again from the Souldiers. The Officers expressed their willingness to obey. We have also this day had the Captains with us, who say they are ready to go back to Port Royal, and that they were neither beat off, nor frightened away. We think it not proper to discourse of past matters, though we see they feel the Impression of our people's talk at home." *The Leverett Memorial*, 133.

<sup>3</sup> "After the army had lay there six weeks they set saill againe for Port Royal, where being arrived they did nothing worth remembering. Where the fault lay,

8 d. 6 m. [August.] Friday. The Lord, after my humble Supplications, and Resignations about it, gave me this Day, a comfortable Journey to *Salem*, (in Company with my Friend Mr *Makemie*,)<sup>1</sup> where I preached on the *Lord's-Day*; and returned home on the *Munday*.

22 d. 6 m. Friday. This Day, I sett apart, for the Services of a secret Fast before the Lord. I enjoyed somewhat more of Impression and Influence from Heaven upon me, this Day, than at many Times. I do this Day obtain Mercy for me, in my Family, and in my Ministry; and prepare for Tidings from *England*, concerning the Composures I have sent thither. I commend my whole Work, unto the Conduct and Blessing of Heaven; and particularly some Journeyes, that are quickly before me, in the Service of the Churches.

That I might serve the Designs of Christianity in as many Wayes as I could well devise, I fitted for the Press, my Discourses on *Manly Christianity*.

The Treatise is entituled, *MANLY CHRISTIANITY, A brief Essay, on the Signs of Good Growth and Strength, in the most Lovely Christianity*.

But I must wait the Lord's Time and Way for the Publication of it; not being at this Instant in a Way for it.<sup>2</sup>

2 d. 7 m. [September.] Tuesday. The over-ruling Providence of the Lord, carried me to *Hull* this Day; where a Council of several Churches assembled, for the composing of grievous Contentions.<sup>3</sup> We saw a surprizing and prosper-

whether in officers or souldiers, or both, is not my business to enquire. I shall only remark that the disappointment of that design speaks much of divine anger of which we are generally too insensible." *John Marshall's Diary, in 2 Proceedings*, I. 159. See *The Leverett Memorial*, 134-143.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 599, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> "31 d. 6 m. This Day, the church voted that Mr. Timothy Thornton, Mr. John Goodwyn [and] Mr. Robert Cumby, should join with Deacon Barnard, in managing the care of the Seats in the Meeting-house." *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, II.

<sup>3</sup> The minister at Hull was Rev. Zechariah Whitman, ordained September 13,

ing Presence of the Lord with us in our Undertaking. The Differences of that poor People were most happily healed. And my poor Tongue and Hand, were particularly employ'd in this Work. We returned home, the Day following with very great Satisfaction.

10 d. 7 m. *Wednesday*. This Day, the Glorious Lord carried me to the south Part of *Braintree*; where a New Church was gathered, and a Pastor was ordained.<sup>1</sup> The Action was carried on, with sensible Effects, and affecting Tokens, of the gracious Presence of the Lord. On this Occasion, I preached in the Great Assembly; and enjoy'd a marvellous Presence of the Lord with me. Oh! sovereign Grace; what shall I render to thee!

The People of the Place afterwards much desired a Copy of my Sermon, that it might be published, and preserved with them (and others) as the perpetual Monitor of their Duty. So I gave it them; entituled, *THE TEMPLE OPENING*.

11 d. 7 m. *Tuesday*. The Lord favoured me, with a comfortable Journey to *Salem*. On the Day following, I preached the Lecture at *Beverly*; which was the main Design of this Journey. On the Thursday I returned home.

That I might be the more prepared for, and assisted in the Service of the Lecture at *Beverly*, I was extremely broke, and faint and ill, with an unconquerable Pain in my Stomach. My Illness came on me in the Morning, and greatly distressed me. Yett the Lord graciously carried me thro' my Work; I preach'd with great Flame and Force; and when my Service was finished, my Sickness also was vanished.

The Fatigues of this Journey; and the many *Vigils*, which I have kept of late, preparatory to my Services; and

1670. He continued to officiate till near the time of his death, which took place November 5, 1726.

<sup>1</sup> The causes leading to the new or South Church are given in Pattee, *History of Old Braintree and Quincy*, 206. Hugh Adams was the pastor ordained this day.

some this Week particularly; excuse me from keeping a Fast in my Study, as else I would have done.<sup>1</sup>

TO SAMUEL PENHALLOW.

M.H.S.

BOSTON, 6 d. 12 m., 1706-7.

SIR, — Many months ago, I sent you, by a Captive-woman (who went by water from hence; I think, her Name was *Jurdain*;) a Number of Little Books, Entitled, *The Negro Christianized*; with my Desire to know from you, what Number of Christian Families in your province, you could Learn to have *Negroes* in them.<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as I have never since heard from you, it makes me suspect, whether my Packetts ever came to your hands; and therefore I now inform you thereof.

It is at present a dull Time for Intelligence, Foreign or Domestic; and so I do at present forbear any further Communication; Hoping, if I Live a few weeks Longer, to Entertain you with Several things that will not be unacceptable.

I heartily pray for your prospering in the Concerns of both worlds; and subscribe, Syr, Your sincere Servt.

Co. MATHER.

Enclosed, is an Extract I made, of the Memorial and Petition to the Q. and Council; which Procured the Destruction of the Illegal Commission against Connecticut, and their Deliverance from their Enemies; and a sore Disadvantage to the Enemy. Send it me again. As also, the Rhode Island papers.

<sup>1</sup> “19 d. 8 m. [1707.] John Barnard, having given Scandal, by the Liberty he took, of using the scandalous Game of *Cards*, when he was lately a Chaplain abroad in the Army, he this Day made his public Acknowledgement, which gave Satisfaction to the People of God.

“7 d. 10 m. *James Fowle*, having been convicted of profane Swearing, in his provoked Passion, his poenitent Acknowledgement, was this day presented to the Church and accepted.

“21 d. 9 m. [1708.] Sarah Bushnel, having been scandalously overtaken with the Sin of Drunkenness, her Confession and Repentance was this Day offered to the Church and accepted.” *Cotton Mather's MS. Records of the Second Church*, 11.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in 1706. See 564, *supra*.

TO SAMUEL PENHALLOW.

M.H.S.

BOSTON, July 8, 1707.

SIR, — You have greatly Renewed and Augmented my Obligations to you, by the Packets which I Lately received from you. I pray that you will persist in such Communicative Goodness, as there shall be opportunity.

You are so well informed, of what passes of Public affairs, abroad in the world; that you need none of my poor Informations.

I shall therefore Confine myself to that Particular Point, wherein you have commanded me to tell what I know. I knew nothing, when I received your Last Letters. But within these three or four Dayes, we understand. by Letters from *England*, that the Point aforesd will be certainly and suddenly accomplished. *At Fides, Penes Scriptores.*

Our Manner of Proceeding a Year ago, in that unprecedented way of Trying and Judging our Eastern Traders, is mighty Ill resented with the Government in *England*; and we do not yett know all the Consequences.

That brave man, Mr. *Makemie*, has after a famous Trial at *N. York*, bravely triumphed over the *Act of Uniformity*, and the other Pœnal Lawes for the Ch. of *England*. Without permitting the Matter to come so far as to Pleading the *Act of Toleration*, he has compelled an Acknowledgment that those Lawes aforesd, are but Local ones, and have nothing to do with the Plantations. The Non-Con[formist] Religion and Interest, is, thro' the Blessing of God on the Agency of that Excellent person, Likely to prevail mightily in the Southern Colonies. I send you, two or three of Mr *Makemies* Books,<sup>1</sup> to be dispersed among such of your People, as may need them.

I, pray, that a glorious Christ, may give you very much to know Him, and Serve Him. I am Syr, Sincerely yours,

Co. MATHER.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Makemie had, in 1707, when on his way to Boston, preached a sermon in a private house in New York without a license, for which he was arrested and imprisoned for two months. His narrative of the incident, *A Letter to Lord Cornbury*, was printed in Boston, in 1707, and is reprinted in Force's *Tracts*, iv. Since 1684 he had held relations with the Mathers, and never seems to have forfeited their esteem in his somewhat erratic career. Lord Cornbury, not without some truth, described him as "a preacher, a doctor of physick, a merchant, an attorney, a counsellor-at-law, and, which is worst of all, a disturber of governments." He died in Virginia, in 1708.

ESQUIRE BICKERSTAFF'S PRÆDICTIONS FOR 1708.<sup>1</sup> A.A.S.

I do not Lurk in the Dark; I am not wholly unknown in the world: I have sett my Name at Length, to be a mark of Infamy to mankind, if they shall find I deceive them.

My first prædiction is but a Trifle; yett I will mention it, to show how Ignorant these sottish pretenders to Astrologers are; It relates to *Partridge*, the Almanack maker. He will infallibly Dye, on the 29th of March next, about eleven at night, of a raving Feavour.<sup>2</sup>

*April* observable for the Death of many great Persons.

On the 4th, the A[rch] B[isho]p of Paris:

On the 11th, the young prince of Asturias, son to the D[uke] of Anjou.

On 14th, a great peer of this Realm, at his Countrey-house.

On 19th, an old Layman of great Fame for Learning.

On 23, an Eminent Goldsmith in Lombard-Street.

I could mention others, but it will be of Little Instruction to the world.

Public Affairs; on 7th, an Insurrection in *Dauphiné*, not quieted in some months.

On 15th, a violent storm, on the South-East of France, which will destroy many of their ships.

The 19th, famous for the Revolt of a whole Province or Kingdome, Excepting one City; by which the affayrs of a certain prince in the Alliance, will take a better face.

*May 7*, the Death of the Dauphin, after a short sickness, and grievous Torments with the Strangury. He dies Less Lamented by the court, than the Kingdome.

9, A marshal of France will break his leg, by a Fall from an Horse. I have not been able to discover, whether he will then Dy or not.

11, Will begin a most important Siege, which the Eyes of all Europe will be upon.

19, Three noble Ladies of this Kingdome, will against Expectation, prove with Child, to the great Joy of their Husbands.

23, a famous Buffoon of a Play-house, will dy of a ridiculous Death, suitable to his vocation.

<sup>1</sup> I have not found this skit in print in any almanac of that day.

<sup>2</sup> The use by Franklin of this same form of wit, predicting the death of a rival philomath, Titan Leeds, may be read in *Writings of Franklin* (Smyth), II. 196, etc.

*June.* The utter despersing of those deluded Enthusiasts, commonly called, The prophecies.

1, A Fr: General kill'd by a Random shott of a cannon bal.

6, A Fire in the Suburbs of Paris, will destroy above 1000 houses.

10, A great Battel fought; it will begin at 4h P.M. and Last till 9h at night. No Decisive Event. The Commanders on each Left Wing, kill'd; I see Bonfires and hear the Noise of Guns for a victory.

20, Cardinal Porto Carrero will dy of a Dysentery.

*July* 12, A great Commander, will dy a prisoner, in the hands of his Enmies.

14, a shameful Discovery will be made of a Fr[ench] Jesuit, giving Poison, to a great foreign general; and when he is putt to the Torture; will make wonderful Discoveries.

T'wil be a month of great Action, if I might have Liberty to discover the particulars.

15, The Death of an old famous Senator, at his Countrey-house; worn with Age and Diseases.

But, what will make this month memorable, is the Death of the Fr[ench] K[ing] Lewis XIV. after a weeks sickness at Marli; which will happen on 29th about 6 a clock in the Evening.

It seems to be an Effect of the Gout in his Stomach, follow'd by a Flux.

Three dayes after, Monsr. *Chamillard*<sup>1</sup> will follow his M[aste]r, dying suddenly of an Apoplexy.

In this month, an Ambassador, will dy in *London*. But I can not assign the Day.

*Aug[us]t.* I see an Expres in mighty haste; with Joy and wonder on his Looks, arriving by break a day, on the 26th of this month, having travelled in 3 dayes, a prodigious Journey by Land and Sea. In the Evening, I hear Bells, and Guns, and see the Blazings of a 1000 bonfires.

A young Admiral of noble Birth, does likewise this Month gain immortal Honour, by a Great Atchievment.

*September.* Begins with a Surprising Fitt of Frosty weather, which will last near 12 dayes.

The Pope having Languished Last month, with Swellings in his legs breaking, and the Flesh mortifying, will dy on the 11th.

In three weeks time succeeded by a cardinal of the Imperial Faction, but a Native of Tuscany, who is now about 61 years old.

<sup>1</sup> Michel de Chamillart (1651-1721), controller general of finance and minister of war under Louis XIV.

I shall add one prediction more, on mystical Terms.

*Alter erit jam Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo Delectos Heroas.*<sup>1</sup>

On the 25th of this month, the fulfilling of this prediction will be manifest to every body.

It will be a glorious Campaign for the Allies; whether the English will have their full share of Honour.

Her Majesty, Q[ueen] Ann, will continue in Health, and prosperity.

No Ill Accident will arrive to any in the chief Ministry.

My Fortune has placed me above the Little Regards of scribbling for a few pence.

I was once of the opinion with those who despise all predictions from the Stars, till in the year 1686 a man of Quality, show'd me written in his Album, That the most Learned Astronomer Captain H. assured him, he would never believe any thing of the Stars influence, if there were not a great Revolution in England, in the year 1688. Since that time, I began to have other Thoughts; and after 18 years diligent study, I have no Reason to repent my pains.

To —

A.A.S.

BOSTON, 21d. 7m. 1708.

SIR, — Your case is, Whether a Baptism received from a Deacon, Employed to Baptise, by a Society of Anabaptists, and rigid Separatists, who also hold several other Errors, be a valid Baptism?

Doubtless, tis not an orderly and regular Baptism. Nevertheless the Answer which is generally given by Protestants, to that problem, Whether the Baptism received from Laymen, or Women, in the Communion of the Church of Rome, be so disallowable as to make a New Baptism necessary? may serve on this occasion.

You know, they generally make use of this old Rule; *Multa fieri non debent, quae tamen facta valent.* The Army of them who have written on this point, and against the Repetition of a Baptism, tho' attended with such very Defective Circumstances, is very Numerous; and the Reasons they bring, are as powerful, as the Writers are Numerous. They are so well-known, there is no need Repeting them neither.

Here was a Society of Christians, and a Church tho' Labouring under very great Corruptions. Here was an Administrator, authorized, according unto their Opinion, to the work of Baptising. The

<sup>1</sup> Verg. Ec. iv. 34.

Popish Baptism, which compells not Protestants, to Repeat their Baptism, has rather more Exceptions against us than this, in the Case now before us.

There is a Distinction to be made, between a, *Vitium in Actu Baptismatis*, and a, *Vitium in Persona Baptismatis*. Here was a Baptism, a Sacred washing, in the Name of the glorious and Eternal Trinity. Tho' he that performed this washing, had not all the Qualifications, that he should have had. They also distinguish between One that has no manner of Call at all, to Baptise; and another that has a Call, tho' not a Lawful one. In many Churches of the Reformation, those persons have no manner of Call at all, who are allow'd in the church of *Rome* to *Baptise*, in a (pretended) Necessity. If a *Baptism* have been received from one of those persons, then such Reformers as *Beza* and *Cartwright*, will affirm, *Ejusmodi Ablutionem, nihil Magis ad Baptisuum faciunt, quam ordinariam aliam aliquam et quotidianam Lavationem*. Certainly, In our Dayes, and among us, a Baptism of the *Boyes of Alexandria*, would not be judg'd sufficient. It was not so, in the *Baptism* we now have to Consider; There was a profession of a *Call* and *Power* to Baptise, in the Administrator. Yea, you know who, besides *Anabaptists*, do ordain Deacons, to *Baptise*.

But after all, while the Baptized person has not a Plerophory, which putts him out of all Doubt, that his *Baptism* is a meer Nullity; the Judgment and Custome of the Reformed Churches, has been to commend the modesty of those, who do not make Haste unto a New Baptism. For, *Non privatio Sacramenti, sed contemptus damnat*. And as *Voetius* observes, The Repetition of *Baptism*, is usually founded in the same Error that produced the Disorders of the First Baptism, that give the occasion of desiring to have it Repeted. Namely, *Imaginare Necessitas Baptismi tanquam medii*.

Syr, These Thoughts have been Laid before the pastors of several Churches, who allow my transmitting of them to you; with their prayers, that both in your ministry and in your Neighbourhood, you may see the glorious Head of our Churches, who is also the God of Order, smiling upon you. I am, Syr, Your faithful Brother and Servt.

To SAMUEL PENHALLOW.

M.H.S.

Boston, 22 d. 9 m. 1708.

SIR, — Will you give me Leave to Impose a Trouble on you? I know, you will count it no *Trouble*; partly because tis I (a Tried

Old Friend) that Impose it; partly because the Design of it, will Exceedingly suit and please you.

I will not then say, *I Trouble* you, but, I *Furnish* you, with Twenty Little Books, Entituled, A GOOD EVENING.<sup>1</sup> My Desire is, That by your prudent Care, there may be One convey'd unto Every Counsellour and Justice, and One unto Every Minister, in your Province. If any Remains Lett One be presented unto Each of your Deputies. When you send one to Mr *Cotton* at *Hampton*, oblige me so far as to write to him, and Lett him know, I shall be glad to hear, what Acceptance it finds with him.

I am sorry, that the Name of the Author is Compelled to accompany the Treatise. But if *That* have a Tendency to hinder the Acceptance of it among your people, there is a Little Ticket on the Backside of the Title-Page, from which you may argue something by way of Antidote.

However, the Name will be no prejudice with *you*; who know me well and who know that I am, Syr, Your hearty Friend and Servt.

Co. MATHER.

<sup>1</sup> *A Good Evening for the Best of Dayes. An Essay, to Manage an Action of Trespass, against those who Mispent the Lords-Day Evening.* It was a sermon preached by Mather, November 4, 1708, before the General Assembly, and contained an Address to the Reader by Increase Mather. The book was printed by B. Green, in 1708.





Continued from page 1  
Oct 1921  
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