Scholars disagree about the time and place in which Winthrop delivered his famous sermon. In both England and New England it was circulated only as a handwritten manuscript during Winthrop’s lifetime; hence, there is no authoritative published copy that was contemporaneous with Winthrop to which scholars might defer. There is only one known seventeenth-century copy of the manuscript, which is owned by the New York Historical Society. Written at the top of the manuscript is the following cover note:

Modell of Xian. Charity. Written on board the Arrabella, on the Atlantick Ocean. By the Honorable John Winthrop Esquire. In his passage, (with the great Company of Religious people, of which Christian Tribes he was the Brave Leader and famous Governor;) from the Island of Great Brittaine, to New-England in North America. Anno 1630.

Since the note was added some time after by an unknown hand, its value is uncertain. Based on the admittedly mixed evidence within the text itself and the tradition of giving sermons highlightening the need for Christian love prior to sea voyages, scholars make a compelling case that the sermon was probably delivered just prior to the voyage on Sunday, 21 March 1630. If Winthrop preached his sermon on English soil, it was most likely from the pulpit of the Church of the Holy Rood in Southampton, where John Cotton also delivered his departure sermon.¹

Also at issue is the title of the sermon. The Winthrop Papers provide the traditional title, “A Modell of Christian Charity,” and it is so titled here for convention’s sake; however, since this title was not part of the original document, it is not included below as part of the manuscript. Hugh J. Dawson argues convincingly that the actual title is “Christian Charitie,” and that its two subtitles are “A Modell Hereof” and “The Reason Hereof.”² The “Modell,” the premise of Winthrop’s argument, is his belief that God has ordained a social hierarchy as the essential
model (pattern or design) for human society. “The Reason” defends and elaborates this model, showing how and why Christians living in a hierarchical society ought to practice charity or love.\(^3\) The third part of the discourse, untitled in the original text, concerns the specific implications of the argument for the puritan endeavor in New England. This section is labeled below within brackets “The Application Hereof.”

Winthrop’s sermon was a statement of purpose for the Massachusetts colony.\(^4\) It was to be a colony founded on the highest Christian principles, but it was also to be one based on Elizabethan political and social theories. Hence it is a mixture of universal truths that are applicable in all times, and social-political truisms that are now dated but were very much current in early seventeenth-century England. Some of these may continue to inspire in our own day; others would have been seen as conservative even four centuries ago. Winthrop, it should be noted, was not an original thinker; rather, he reflected the thought of his time. Nevertheless, he was probably the colony’s most cogent political theorist, and his sermon gives the clearest expression of puritan aspirations for the Bay Colony of any statement issued by someone in the first generation of New England’s settlers. The sermon concludes with an explanation of the social covenant, which, like the covenant that Moses presented to the Israelites, was a double-edged sword. See Samuel Eliot Morison, gen. ed., et al., Winthrop Papers, Volume II, 1623–1630 (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1931), 282–295.

**CHRISTIAN CHARITIE.**

**A MODELL HEREOF.**

God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence hath so disposed of the Condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich some poore, some highe and eminent in power and dignitie; others meane and in subieccion [subjection].
THE REASON HEREOF.

I. REAS: First, to hold conformity with the rest of his workes, being delighted to shewe forthe the glory of his Wisdome in the variety and difference of the Creatures and the glory of his power, in ordering all these differences for the preservacion and good of the whole, and the glory of his greatnes that as it is the glory of princes to haue many officers, soe this great King will haue many Stewards counting himselfe more honoured in dispenceing his guifts to man by man, then if hee did it by his owne immediate hand.

2. REAS: Secondly, That he might haue the more occasion to manifest the worke of his Spirit: first, vpon the wicked in moderateing and restraineing them: soe that the riche and mighty should not eate vpp the poore, nor the poore, and dispised rise vpp against theire superiours, and shake off theire yoake; 2ly in the regenerate in exerciseing his graces in them, as in the greate ones, theire loue mercy, gentlenes, temperance etc., in the poore andinferiour sorte, theire faithe patience, obedience etc:

3. REAS: Thirdly, That every man might haue need of other, and from hence they might be all knitt more nearly together in the Bond of brotherly affeccion: from hence it appeares plainely that noe man is made more honourable then another or more wealthy etc., out of any perticuler and singuler respect to himselfe but for the glory of his Creator and the Common good of the Creature, Man; Therefore God still reserves the propperty of these guifts to himselfe as Ezek: 16. 17. he there calls wealthe his gold and his silver etc. Prov: 3. 9. he claimes theire seruice as his due honour the Lord with thy riches etc. All men being thus (by divine providence) rancked into two sortes, riche and poore; vnder the first, are comprehended all such as are able to liue comfortably by theire owne meanes duely improued; and all others are poore according to the former distribution. There are two rules whereby wee are to walke one towards another: JUSTICE
and MERCY. These are allwayes distinguished in theire Act and in theire obiect, yet may they both concurre in the same Subject in eache respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of shewing mercy to a rich man, in some sudden danger of distresse, and allsoe doeing of meere Justice to a poor man in regard of some perticuler contract etc. There is likewise a double Lawe by which wee are regulated in our conversacion one towards another: in both the former respects, the lawe of nature and the lawe of grace, or the morrall lawe or the lawe of the gospell, to omitt the rule of Justice as not properely belonging to this purpose otherwise then it may fall into consideracion in some perticuler Cases: By the first of these lawes man as he was enabled soe withall [is] commaunded to loue his neighbour as himselfe vpon this ground stands all the precepts of the morrall lawe, which concernes our dealings with men \([Matthew 22:39–40]\). To apply this to the works of mercy this lawe requires two things first that every man afford his help to another in every want or distresse Secondly. That hee performe this out of the same affeccion, which makes him carefull of his owne good according to that of our Saviour Math: \([7:12]\) Whatsoever ye would that men should doe to you. This was practised by Abraham and Lott in entertaineing the Angells and the old man of Gibea \([Genesis 18–19, Judges 19:16–21]\).

The Lawe of Grace or the Gospell hath some differance from the former as in these respectes first the lawe of nature was giuen to man in the estate of innocency; this of the gospell in the estate of regeneracy: 2ly, the former propounds one man to another, as the same fleshe and Image of god, this as a brother in Christ allsoe, and in the Communion of the same spirit and soe teacheth vs to put a difference betweene Christians and others. Doe good to all especially to the household of faith \([Galatians 6:10]\); vpon this ground the Israelites were to putt a difference betweene the brethren of such as were strangers though not of the Canaanites. 3ly. The Lawe of nature could giue noe rules for dealeing with enemies for all are to be considered as freinds in the
estate of innocency, but the Gospell comanders loue to an enemy, prooue. If thine Enemie hunger feede him; Loue your Enemies doe good to them that hate you Math: 5. 44.

This Lawe of the Gospell propoundes likewise a difference of seasons and occasions there is a time when a christian must sell all and giue to the poore as they did in the Apostles times. There is a tyme allsoe when a christian (though they giue not all yet) must giue beyond theire abillity, as they of Macedonia, Cor: 2. 6. likewise community of perills calls for extraordinary liberallity and soe doth Community in some speciall seruice for the Churche. Lastly, when there is noe other meanes whereby our Christian brother may be releiued in this distresse, wee must help him beyond our ability, rather then tempt God, in putting him vpon help by miraculous or extraordinary meanes.

This duty of mercy is exercised in the kindes, Giueing, lending, and forgiueing.

QUEST. What rule shall a man observe in giueing in respect of the measure?

ANS. If the time and occasion be ordinary he is to giue out of his aboundance — let him lay aside, as god hath blessed him. If the time and occasion be extraordinary he must be ruled by them; takeing this withall, that then a man cannot likely doe too much especially, if he may leaue himselfe and his family vnder probable meanes of comfortable subsistance.

OBJECTION. A man must lay vpp for posterity, the fathers lay vpp for posterity and children and he is worse then an Infidell that prouideth not for his owne [1 Timothy 5:8].

ANS: For the first, it is plaine, that it being spoken by way of Comparison it must be meant of the ordinary and vsuall course of fathers and cannot extend to times and occasions extraordinary; for the other place the Apostle speakes against such as walked inordinately, and it is without question, that he is worse then an Infidell whose throughge his owne Sloathe and voluptuousnes shall neglect to prouide for his family.
OBJECTION. The wise mans Eies are in his head (saith Salomon) [Ecclesiastes 2:14] and foreseeth the plague, therefore wee must forecast and lay vpp against euill times when hee or his may stand in need of all he can gather.

ANS: This very Argument Salomon vseth to perswade to liberallity. Eccle: [2:1] cast thy bread vpon the waters etc.: for thou knowest not what euill may come vpon the land Luke 16[:1–15], make you freinds of the riches of Iniquity; you will aske how this shall be? very well, for first he that giues to the poore lends to the lord, and he will repay him euen in this life an hundred fold to him or his. The righteous is ever mercifull and lendeth and his seed enioyeth the blessing; and besides wee know what advantage it will be to vs in the day of account, when many such Witnesses shall stand forthe for vs to witnesse the improuement of our Tallent. And I would knowe of those whoe pleade soe much for layeing vp for time to come, whether they hold that to be Gospell Math: 16. 19 [6:19]. Lay not vpp for yourselves Treasures vpon Earth etc. if they acknowledge it what extent will they allowe it; if onely to those primitiue times lett them consider the reason wherevpon our Saviour groundes it, the first is that they are subject to the moathe, the rust the Theife. Secondly, They will steale away the hearte, where the treasure is there will the heart be allsoe. The reasons are of like force at all times therefore the exhortación must be generall and perpetuall which [applies] allways in respect of the loue and affeccion to riches and in regard of the things themselues when any speciall seruice for the Churche or perticuler distresse of our brother doe call for the vse of them; otherwise it is not onely lawfull but necessary to lay vpp as Joseph did [Genesis 41] to haue ready vpon such occasions, as the Lord (whose stewards wee are of them) shall call for them from vs: Christ giues vs an Instance of the first, when hee sent his disciples for the Asse, and bidds them answer the owner thus, the Lord hath need of him [Matthew 21:2–3]; soe when the Tabernacle was to be builte his [servant,
Zerubabel (Ezra 3, Haggai 2]) sends to his people to call for their silver and gold etc.; and yeildes them noe other reason but that it was for his worke, when Elisha comes to the widowe of Sareptah [1 Kings 17:8–24, Luke 5:26] and findes her preparing to make ready her pittance for herselpe and family, he bids her first provide for him, he challengeth first gods parte which shee must first giue before shee must serve her owne family, all these teach vs that the lord lookes that when hee is pleased to call for his right in any thing wee haue, our owne Interest wee haue must stand aside, till his turne be servued, for the other wee need looke noe further then to that of John I [1 John 3:17]. he whoe hath this worlds goodes and seeth his brother to neede, and shutts vpp his Compassion from him, how dwelleth the loue of god in him, which comes punctually to this Conclusion: if thy brother be in want and thou canst help him, thou needst not make doubt, what thou shouldst doe, if thou louest god thou must help him.

**QUEST:** What rule must wee obserue in lending?

**ANS:** Thou must obserue whether thy brother hath present or probable, or possible meanes of repayeing thee, if ther be none of these, thou must giue him according to his necessity, rather then lend him as hee requires; if he hath present meanes of repayeing thee, thou art to looke at him, not as an Act of mercy, but by way of Commerce, wherein thou arte to walke by the rule of Justice, but, if his meanes of repayeing thee be onely probable or possible then is hee an object of thy mercy thou must lend him, though there be danger of looseing it Deut: 15. 7. If any of thy brethren be poore etc. thou shalt lend him sufficient that men might not shift off this duty by the apparant hazzard, he tells them that though the Yeare of Jubile were at hand (when he must remitt it, if hee were not able to repay it before) yet he must lend him and that chearefully [Deuteronomy 15:7–11, Leviticus 25:35–42]: it may not greiue thee to giue him (saith hee) and because some might object, why soe I should soone impoverishe my selfe and my family, he
adds with all thy Worke etc. for our Saviour *Math*: 5. 42. From him that would borrow of thee turne not away.

**QUEST:** What rule must wee obserue in forgiueing?

**ANS:** Whether thou didst lend by way of Commerce or in mercy, if he haue nothing to pay thee [thou] must forgiue him (except in cause where thou hast a surety or a lawfull pledge) *Deut.* 15. 2. Every seaventh yeare the Creditor was to quitt that which hee lent to his brother if hee were poore as appeares ver:8[4]: saue when there shall be noe poore with thee. In all these and like Cases Christ was a generall rule *Math*: 7. 22. Whatsoever ye would that men should doe to you doe yee the same to them allsoe.

**QUEST:** What rule must wee obserue and walke by in cause of Community of perill?

**ANS:** The same as before, but with more enlargement towards others and lesse respect towards our selues, and our owne right hence it was that in the primitiue Churche they sold all had all things in Common, neither did any man say that that which he possessed was his owne [*Acts* 2:44–45; 4:42–35] likewise in theire returne out of the Captiuiy, because the worke was greate for the restoring of the church and the danger of enemies was Common to all Nehemiah exhortes the Jewes to liberallity and readines in remitting theire debtes to theire brethren, and disposeth liberally of his owne to such as wanted and stands not vpon his owne due, which hee might haue demaunded of them [*Nehemiah* 5], thus did some of our forefathers in times of persecucion here in England, and soe did many of the faithfull in other Churches whereof wee keepe an honourable remembrance of them, and it is to be obserued that both in Scriptures and latter stories of the Churches that such as haue beene most bountifull to the poore Saintes especially in these extraordinary times and occasions god hath left them highly Commended to posterity, as Zacheus, Cornelius, Dorcas [*Luke* 19:8–10; *Acts* 9:36–41;10], Bishop [John]
Hooper, the Cuttler of Brussells [Giles Tilleman]⁵ and divers others obserue againe that the scripture giues noe causion to restraine any from being over liberall this way; but all men to the liberall and cherefull practise hereof by the sweetest promises as to instance one for many, Isaiah 58.6: Is not this the fast that I haue chosen to loose the bonds of wickednes, to take off the heavy burdens to lett the oppressed goe free and to breake every Yoake, to deale thy bread to the hungry and to bring the poore that wander into thy house, when thou seest the naked to cover them etc. then shall thy light breake forthe as the morneing, and thy healthe shall growe speedily, thy righteousnes shall goe before thee, and the glory of the lord shall embrace thee, then thou shalt call and the lord shall Answer thee etc. 2.10 [Isaiah 58:10–11]: If thou power [pour] out thy soule to the hungry, then shall thy light spring out in darknes, and the lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfie thy Soule in draught, and make fatt thy bones, thou shalt be like a watered Garden, and they shall be of thee that shall build the old wast places etc, on the contrary most heavy cursses are layd vpon such as are straightened towards the Lord and his people Judg: 5. [23] Cursse ye Meroshe because the[y] came not to help the Lord etc. Pro: [21:13] Hee whoe shutteth his eares from hearing the cry of the poore, he shall cry and shall not be heard: Math: 25. [41–42] Goe ye curssed into everlastig fire etc. I was hungry and ye fedd mee not. Cor: 2. 9. 16 [2 Corinthians 9:6]. He that soweth spareingly shall reape spareingly.

Haueing alreadly sett forth the practise of mercy according to the rule of gods lawe, it will be vsefull to lay open the groundes of it allsoe being the other parte of the Commaundement and that is the affeccion from which this exercise of mercy must arise, the Apostle tells vs that this loue is the fullfilling of the lawe [Romans 13:10], not that it is enough to loue our brother and soe noe further but in regard of the excellency of his partes giueing any motion to the other as the Soule to the body and the power it hath to sett all the faculties on worke in the outward exercise
of this duty as when wee bid one make the clocke strike he doth not lay hand on the hammer which is the immediate instrument of the sound but setts on worke the first mouer or maine wheele, knoweing that will certainly produce the sound which hee intends; soe the way to drawe men to the workes of mercy is not by force of Argument from the goodnes or necessity of the worke, for though this course may enforce a rationall minde to some present Act of mercy as is frequent in experience, yet it cannot worke such a habit in a Soule as shall make it prompt vpon all occasions to produce the same effect but by frameing these affeccions of loue in the hearte which will as natiuely bring forthe the other, as any cause doth produce the effect.

The diffinition which the Scripture giues vs of loue is this Loue is the bond of perfection [Colossians 3:14]. First, it is a bond, or ligament. 2ly, it makes the worke perfect. There is noe body but consistes of partes and that which knitts these partes together giues the body its perfeccion, because it makes eache parte soe contiguous to other as thereby they doe mutually participate with eache other, both in strengthe and infirmity in pleasure and paine, to instance in the most perfect of all bodies, Christ and his church make one body: the severall partes of this body considered aparte before they were vnited were as disproportionate and as much disordering as soe many contrary quallities or elements but when christ comes and by his spirit and loue knitts all these partes to himselfe and each to other, it is become the most perfect and best proportioned body in the world Eph: 4.16. “Christ by whome all the body being knitt together by every ioynt for the furniture thereof according to the effectuall power which is in the measure of every perfeccion of partes a glorious body without spott or wrinckle the ligaments hereof being Christ or his loue for Christ is loue I John: 4. 8. Soe this definition is right Loue is the bond of perfeccion.

From hence wee may frame these Conclusions.
1 first all true Christians are of one body in Christ \textit{1. Cor.} 12. 12. 13. 17 [\textit{1 Corinthians} 12:12, 13, 27]. Ye are the body of Christ and members of [your] parte.

2ly. The ligamentes of this body which knitt together are loue.

3ly. Noe body can be perfect which wants its propper ligamentes.

4ly. All the partes of this body being thus vnited are made soe contiguous in a speciall relacionas they must needes partake of each others strength and infirmity, ioy, and sorrowe, weale and woe. \textit{1 Cor}: 12. 26. If one member suffers all suffer with it, if one be in honour, all rejoyce with it.

5ly. This sensiblenes and Sympathy of each others Condicions will necessarily infuse into each parte a natiue desire and endeavour, to strengthen defend preserue and comfort the other.

To insist a little on this Conclusion being the product of all the former the truthe hereof will appeare both by precept and patterne \textit{i. John}. 3. 10. yee ought to lay downe your liues for the brethren Gal: 6. 2. beare ye one anothers burthens and soe fulfill the lawe of Christ.

For patterns wee haue that first of our Saviour whoe out of his good will in obedience to his father, becomeing a parte of this body, and being knitt with it in the bond of loue, found such a natiue sensiblenes of our infirmities and sorrowes as hee willingly yeilded himselfe to deathe to ease the infirmities of the rest of his body and soe heale theire sorrowes: from the like Sympathy of partes did the Apostles and many thousands of the Saintes lay downe theire liues for Christ againe, the like wee may see in the members of this body among themselues. \textit{1. Rom.} 9.[3] Paule could haue beene contented to haue beene seperated from Christ that the Jewes might not be cutt off from the body: It is very obseruable which hee professeth of his affectionate part[ak]eing with every member: whoe is weake (saith hee) and I am not weake? whoe is offended and I burne not; and againe. \textit{2 Cor}: 7.13. therefore wee are comforted because yee were comforted, of Epaphroditus he speaketh \textit{Phil}: 2. 30, that he regarded not his owne life to [do] him servuice soe
Phebe, and others are called the seruantes of the Churche \([\textit{Romans 16:1}]\), now it is apparant that they serued not for wages or by Constrainte but out of loue, the like wee shall finde in the histories of the Churche in all ages the sweete Sympathie of affeccions which was in the members of this body one towardes another, theire chearfullnes in serueing and suffering together how liberall they were without repineing harbourers without grudgeing and helpfull without reproacheing and all from hence they had feruent loue amongst them which onely make[s] the practise of mercy constant and easie.

The next consideracion is how this loue comes to be wrought; Adam in his first estate was a perfect modell of mankinde in all theire generacions, and in him this loue was perfected in regard of the habit, but Adam Rent in himselfe from his Creator, rent all his posterity allsoe one from another, whence it comes that every man is borne with this principle in him, to loue and seeke himselfe onely and thus a man continueth till Christ comes and takes possession of the soule, and infuseth another principle loue to God and our brother. And this latter haueing continuall supply from Christ, as the head and roote by which hee is vnited get the predominency in the soule, soe by little and little expells the former \(\textit{I John 4.7.}\) loue cometh of god and every one that loueth is borne of god, soe that this loue is the fruite of the new birthe, and none can haue it but the new Creature, now when this quallity is thus formed in the soules of men it workes like the Spirit vpon the drie bones \(\textit{Ezek. 37.}\) [7] bone came to bone, it gathers together the scattered bones or perfect old man Adam and knitts them into one body againe in Christ whereby a man is become againe a liueing soule.

The third Consideracion is concerning the exercise of this loue, which is twofold, inward or outward, the outward hath beene handled in the former preface of this discourse, for vnfolding the other wee must take in our way that maxime of philosophy, \textit{Simile simili gaudet} or like will
to like [like takes pleasure in like]; for as it is things which are carued with disafeccion to eache other, the ground of it is from a dissimilitude or [blank] ariseing from the contrary or different nature of the things themselues, soe the ground of loue is an apprehension of some resemblance in the things loued to that which affectes it, this is the cause why the Lord loues the Creature, soe farre as it hath any of his Image in it, he loues his elect because they are like himself, he beholds them in his beloved sonne: soe a mother loues her childe, because shee throughly conceiues a resemblance of herselfe in it. Thus it is betweene the members of Christ, each discernes by the worke of the spirit his owne Image and resemblance in another, and therefore cannot but loue him as he loues himselfe: Now when the soule which is of a sociable nature findes any thing like to it selfe, it is like Adam when Eue was brought to him, shee must have it one with herselfe this is fleshe of my fleshe (saith shee) and bone of my bone she conceiues a greate delighte in it, therefore shee desires nearenes and familiarity with it: shee hath a greate propensity to doe it good and receiues such content in it, as feareing the miscarriage of her beloved she bestowes it in the inmost closett of her heart, shee will not endure that it shall want any good which shee can giue it, if by occasion shee be withdrawne from the Company of it, shee is still lookeing towards the place where shee left her beloved, if shee heare it groane she is with it presently, if shee finde it sadd and disconsolate shee sighes and mournes with it, shee hath noe such ioy, as to see her beloved merry and thriueng, if shee see it wronged, shee cannot beare it without passion, shee setts noe boundes of her affeccions, nor hath any thought of reward, shee findes recompence enoughe in the exercise of her loue towards it, wee may see this Acted to life in Jonathan and David. Jonathan a valiant man endued with the spirit of Christ, soe soone as hee Discovers the same spirit in David had presently his hearte knitt to him by this linement of loue, soe that it is said he loued him as his owne soule, he takes soe great pleasure in him that hee
stripps himselfe to adorne bis beloued, his fathers kingdome was not soe precious to him as his
beloued David, Davud shall haue it with all his hearte, himselfe desires noe more but that hee
may be neare to him to raioyce in his good hee chooseth to converse with him in the wildernesse
even to the hazzard of his owne life, rather then with the greate Courtiers in his fathers Pallace;
when hee sees danger towards him, hee spares neither carepaines, nor perill to divert it, when
Iniury was offered his beloued David, hee could not beare it, though from his owne father, and
when they must parte for a Season onely, they thought theire heartes would haue broake for
sorrowe, had not theire affeccions found vent by abundance of Teares [1 Samuel 18–20]: other
instances might be brought to shewe the nature of this affecion as of Ruthe and Naomi [for
example Ruth 1:16–17] and many others, but this truthe is cleared enough. If any shall obiect that
it is not possible that loue should be bred or vpheld without hope of requitall, it is graunted but
that is not our cause, for this loue is allwayses vnder reward it never giues, but it allwayses
receiues with advantage: first, in regard that among the members of the same body, loue and
affection are reciprocall in a most equall and sweete kinde of Commerce. 2ly, in regard of the
pleasure and content that the exercise of loue carries with it as wee may see in the natural body
the mouth is at all the paines to receiue, and mince the foode which serues for the nourishment of
all the other partes of the body, yet it hath noe cause to compiant; for first, the other partes send
backe by secret passages a due proporcion of the same nourishment in a bett er forme for the
strengthening and comforteing the mouthe. 2ly [3ly] the labour of the mouthe is accompanied
with such pleasure and content as farre exceeds the paines it takes: soe is it in all the labour of
loue, among christians, the partie loueing, reapes loue againe as was shewed before, which the
soule covetts more then all the wealthe in the world. 2ly [4ly]. noething yeildes more pleasure
and content to the soule then when it findes that which it may loue fervently, for to loue and liue
beloued is the soules paradice, both heare and in heaven: In the State of Wedlock there be many comfortes to beare out the troubles of that Condicion; but let such as haue tryed the most, say if there be any sweetnes in that Condicion comparable to the exercise of mutuall loue.

From the former Consideracions ariseth these Conclusions.

I First, This loue among Christians is a reall thing not Imaginarie.

2ly. This loue is as absolutely necessary to the being of the body of Christ, as the sinewes and other ligaments of a naturall body are to the being of that body.

3ly. This loue is a divine spirituall nature free, actiue strong Couragious permanent vnnder valueing all things beneathe its propre object, and of all the graces this makes vs nearer to resemble the virtues of our heavenly father.

4ly, It restes in the loue and wellfare of its beloued, for the full and certaine knowledge of these truthes concerning the nature vse, [and] excellency of this grace, that which the holy ghost hath left recorded I. Cor. 13. may giue full satisfaccion which is needfull for every true member of this louely body of the Lord Jesus, to worke vpon theire heartes, by prayer meditacion continuall exercise at least of the speciall [power] of this grace till Christ be formed in them and they in him all in eache other knitt together by this bond of loue.

[THE APPLICATION HEREOF.]

It rests now to make some applicacion of this discourse by the present designe which gaue the occasion of writeing of it. Herein are 4 things to be propounded: first the persons, 2ly, the worke, 3ly, the end, 4ly the meanes.

1. For the persons, wee are a Company professing our selues fellow members of Christ, In which respect onely though wee were absent from eache other many miles, and had our imploymentes as farre distant, yet wee ought to account our selues knitt together by this bond of loue, and liue
in the exercise of it, if we would have comfort of our being in Christ, this was notorious in the practise of the Christians in former times, as is testified of the Waldenses from the mouth of one of the adversaries Aeneas Syluius, *mutuo penè antequam norint* [*mutuo ament pere antequam norunt*], they use to love any of their own religion even before they were acquainted with them.

2ly. for the work we have in hand, it is by a mutuall consent through a speciall overruleing providence, and a more then an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ to seeke out a place of Cohabitation and Consortehipp under a due forme of Goverment both ciuill and ecclesiasticall. In such cases as this the care of the publique must oversway all private respects, by which not onely conscience, but meare Ciuitl pollicy doth binde vs; for it is a true rule that particular estates cannott subsist in the ruine of the publique.

3ly. The end is to improoue our liues to doe more seruice to the Lord the comforte and encrease of the body of christe whereof we are members that our selues and posterity may be the better preserued from the Common corrupcions of this euill world to serue the Lord and worke out our Salvacion under the power and purity of his holy Ordinances [sacraments].

4ly for the meanes whereby this must bee effected, they are 2fold, a Conformity with the worke and end we see are extraordinary, therefore we must not content our selues with vsuall ordinary meanes whatsoever we did or ought to haue done when we liued in England, the same must wee doe and more allsoe where wee goe: That which the most in theire Churches maineteine as a truthe in profession onely, wee must bring into familiar and constant practise, as in this duty of loue wee must loue brotherly without dissimilation [*Romans* 12:9–10], wee must loue one another with a pure hearte fervently [*1 Peter* 1:22] wee must beare one anothers burthens [*Galatians* 6:2], wee must not looke onely on our owne things, but allsoe on
the things of our brethren, neither must wee think that the lord will beare with such faileings at
our hands as hee dothe from those among whome wee haue liued, and that for 3 Reasons.
1. In regard of the more neare bond of mariage, betweene him and vs, wherein he hath taken vs
to be his after a most strickt and peculiar manner which will make him the more Jealous of our
loue and obedience soe he tells the people of Israel, you onely haue I knowne of all the families
of the Earthe therefore will I punishe you for your Transgressions [Amos 3:2].
2ly, because the lord will be sanctified in them that come neare him. Wee know that there were
many that corrupted the seruice of the Lord some setting vpp Alters before his owne, others
offering both strange fire and strange Sacrifices alsoe; yet there came noe fire from heaven, or
other sudden judgment upon them, as did upon Nadad and Abihu, whoe yet wee may thinke did
not sinne presumptuously [Leviticus 10:1–2].
3ly When God giues a speciall Commission he lookes to haue it stricktly obsuerued in every
Article, when hee gaue Saule a Commission to destroy Amaleck hee indented with him vpon
certaine Articles and because hee failed in one of the least, and that vpon a faire pretence, it lost
him the kingdome which should haue beene his reward, if hee had obsuerued his Commission [1
Samuel 15; 28:16–18]: Thus stands the cause betweene God and vs, wee are entered into
Covenant with him for this worke, wee haue taken out a Commission, the Lord hath giuen vs
leaue to drawe our owne Articles wee haue professed to enterprise these Accions vpon these and
these ends, wee haue herevpon besought him of favour and blessing: Now if the Lord shall
please to heare vs, and bring vs in peace to the place wee desire, then hath hee ratified this
Covenant and sealed our Commission, [and] will expect a strickt performance of the Articles
contained in it, but if wee shall neglect the observacion of these Articles which are the ends wee
haue propounded, and dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and
prosecute our carnall intencions, seekeing greate things for our selues and our posterity, the Lord will surely breake out in wrathe against vs be revenged of such a periured people and make vs knowe the price of the breache of such a Covenant.

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke and to provide for our posterity is to followe the Counsell of Micah, to doe Justly, to loue mercy, to walke humbly with our God [Micah 6:8], for this end, wee must be knitt together in this worke as one man, wee must entertaine each other in brotherly Affeccion, wee must be willing to abridge our selues of our superfluities, for the supply of others necessities, wee must vphold a familiar Commerce together in all meekenes, gentlenes, patience and liberallity, wee must delight in eache other, make others Condicions our owne reioyce together, mourne together, labour, and suffer together, allwayes haueing before our eyes our Commission and Community in the worke, our Community as members of the same body, soe shall wee keepe the vnitie of the spirit in the bond of peace [Ephesians 4:3], the Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among vs, as his owne people and will commaund a blessing vpon vs in all our wayes, so that wee shall see much more of his Wisdome power goodnes and truthe then formerly wee haue beene acquainted with, wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among vs, when tenn of vs shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when hee shall make vs a prayse and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantacions: the lord make it like that of New England: for wee must Consider that wee shall be as a Citty vpon a Hill, the eies of all people are vpon vs [Matthew 5:14]; soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our god in this worke wee haue vndertaken and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from vs, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world, wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake euill of the wayes of god and all professours for Gods sake; wee shall shame the faces of many of gods worthy servants, and cause theire prayers to be turned into Cursses vpon vs till wee be consumed
out of the good land whether wee are goeing: And to shutt vpp this discourse with that exhortacion of Moses that faithfull seruant of the Lord in his last farewell to Israell Deut. 30[;15–19]. Beloued there is now sett before vs life, and good, deathe and euill in that wee are Commaunded this day to loue the Lord our God, and to loue one another to walke in his wayes and to keepe his Commaundements and his Ordinance, and his lawes, and the Articles of our Covenant with him that wee may liue and be multiplyed, and that the Lord our God may blesse vs in the land whether wee goe to possesse it: But if our heartes shall turne away soe that wee will not obey, but shall be seduced and worshipp other Gods our pleasures, and proffitts, and serue them; it is propounded vnto vs this day, wee shall surely perishe out of the good Land whether wee passe over this vast Sea to possesse it;

Therefore lett vs choose life, 
that wee, and our Seede, 
may liue: by obeyeing his voyce, and cleaueing to him, 
for hee is our life, and 
our prosperity.


3 The New Testament Greek word *agape* can be translated as either *charity* or *love*. Though the Geneva Bible used the more modern word *love*, Winthrop used the traditional word *charity*, in the sermon’s title. In the body of the sermon, however, he used *love*.

4 This paragraph has been adapted from the introduction to Winthrop’s sermon in the documents section of *John Winthrop: Founding the City on upon a Hill*.

5 See *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs* for a brief account of his martyrdom.

6 Winthrop is mistaken. It was Adam, not Eve, who said, “This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh …” (Genesis 2:23).

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