

MANIFOLD AFFLICTIONS: THE LIFE AND
WRITINGS OF WILLIAM ASPINWALL, 1605-1662

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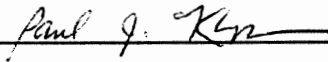
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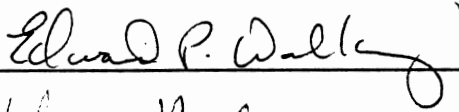
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
July 1988

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Thesis approved:


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by

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July 1988

PREFACE

In the twentieth century, William Aspinwall unfortunately has attained the anonymity that the seventeenth century denied him. As his life demonstrates, he lived in important times and controversies in early Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island. And, as his writings show, he enunciated a vision of America and England disguised in a garb of strange rhetoric and philosophies now long since forgotten and discarded. Aspinwall's vision of America existed for many settlers besides himself and became radical and suspect as institutions, men, and events redefined early American life.

He was an important figure in early Boston. Coming in the Great Migration from Lancaster, England, he settled in Charlestown with the first group of colonists, signed the covenant of the first church, and moved later to Boston where he served the congregation as a deacon. In these early years, he also participated in the community by doing surveying work, allotting land for the town and plantation, and fulfilling other community roles while rearing a family with his wife Elizabeth.

But his early community involvement and leadership foundered during the antinomian controversy, a dispute over religion and authority that splintered the unity of the settlers and led to Aspinwall's banishment from Boston with

such people as Anne and William Hutchinson. More than just a local disagreement among the Puritans, the crisis marked a serious turning point in the colony's development. A view of religion and politics held by John Winthrop and others prevailed over the antinomians who lost not only their place in the community but a claim for the pre-eminence of the Holy Spirit. Aspinwall appeared at the center of this controversy and played a key role by writing a petition asking for the dismissal of sedition charges against John Wheelwright, who had irritated the authorities into action with his Fast Day Sermon.

Aspinwall's advocacy resulted in his disenfranchisement and banishment from Boston . After writing the first Rhode Island compact which pledged its signers to King Jesus and being elected as Rhode Island's first secretary, he then travelled to Narragansett Bay with the other sectarians. But other settlers accused him of sedition in the tumultuous political activity of Portsmouth and Newport, and failing to find stability with the Hutchinsons or Samuel Gorton, he journeyed to New Haven, the conservative religious polity of John Davenport.

Still seeking, Aspinwall returned to Boston, and, accepted by the church and state, he rose to prominence in the colony. He led an exploration party of merchants searching for beaver pelts in an abortive adventure up the Delaware River, where Swedish cannons and Dutch intransigence drove him off. Afterwards, the General Court appointed him

to the offices of the clerk of the writs, notary public for Boston, and recorder for the colony, positions which he would hold for nearly a decade. As a colonial official, he authorized a variety of legal papers and compiled his Book of Possessions, a description of property holdings in Boston, which provides important historical data, and his Notarial Records, transactions which give a wealth of information about early legal and mercantile affairs in the colony.

But he became embroiled in two legal affairs. Appointed by the Court of Assistants to dispose of the ship Planter to satisfy the debt obligations of Thomas Gainer, Aspinwall faced Gainer in a lengthy legal battle. Although the General Court eventually exonerated him of any malfeasance in the Gainer affair, his actions in a business suit once again changed the direction of his life. In a dispute with John Witherden over the renting of Aspinwall's gristmill, Aspinwall acted improperly in his position as recorder. Responding to his ill-advised behavior, the General Court dismissed him from his public offices.

Returning to Interregnum England, Aspinwall wrote his first published work in 1653, entitled A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy. He followed this work with other radical pamphlets, such as An Explication and Application of the Seventh Chapter of Daniel, The Legislative Power is Christ's Peculiar Prerogative, Thunder from Heaven against the Black-sliders and Apostates of the Times, The Work of the Ages, and The Abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath. His oeuvre presents

Aspinwall's Fifth Monarchy ideas and his millenarianism. For him a council of saints should apply biblical laws to civil matters. Using their discretionary power in judicial situations, a position that Massachusetts Bay had rejected, the councillors should allow no appeal from their decisions as they ruled in lieu of Christ. The beasts of Daniel 7 and the giant statue of Daniel 2, the vision of the Last Judgment in Revelation 20 , and various verses suggesting biblical time periods provide the framework for Aspinwall's predictions of an approaching time when the saints would rule for a 1,000 year period before the apocalypse and the establishment of a New Jerusalem.

These ideas were not particularly English. While still residing in Boston, Aspinwall wrote an unpublished manuscript, Chronologicum Speculum, prior to his English Fifth Monarchy pamphlets. This manuscript proves that the basis for his millenarian speculations occurred in New England. It also reveals a glimpse into a Renaissance genre of biblical chronology, astronomy, and principles of the Hebrew calendar, a genre which forms a rare kind of American typology.

Aspinwall's Chronologicum Speculum and his political pamphlets in the 1650s in England suggest the disenchantment felt in sectarian circles. Importantly, they also reveal the vision of an American writer who had not realized in Massachusetts Bay or Rhode Island the ideal that he had sought in a new land. Of course, other early Americans had

written one or two pamphlets about their dissatisfaction with America. But no other early American wrote of his lost dreams as consistently and as often as William Aspinwall. He experienced the beginning of the colonization of New England and found it a failure. His criticism of English political and religious life addresses the loss of a particular American dream. Many early Americans professed an errand myth of the New World: God had reserved a special place for America and the millennium would occur there. However, ✓ Aspinwall's Fifth Monarchy scheme acknowledges that America made mistakes in its development and that a Fifth Monarchy will arise in England and spread to other countries. These yearnings for Jesus Christ and his reign of Fifth Monarchy saints in a Christian utopia show what men like Aspinwall thought America and England had misplaced, just as later jeremiads continually repeated that all was not right in the new land where the city upon a hill would reveal to Europe how the Protestant Reformation should proceed. Understood in its historical context, then, his work offers scholars a way to use religious and polemical tracts to learn more about the history, literature, and culture of early America.

In England and America Aspinwall lived a Janus-like life, composed of contradictory impulses. As a public figure under scrutiny for his behavior in Boston, he composed an erudite chronological work, which he published. His comments reveal him to be diffident before public authority, and his writings show an ideologue committed to the nonviolent

reformation of society through a sect which finally proposed using violence to obtain its ends. A university graduate of Oxford and a gentleman from a rural aristocratic family, his Fifth Monarchy leanings placed him in a movement that drew upon the poor and mechanics for much of its strength. He served as a selectman and helped to formulate an order forbidding the selling of property to strangers, but finding an opportunity to make a profit, he violated the order and sold his house. He anticipated Christ's imminent return and supported his predictions with principles from Ptolemaic and Hebrew astronomy at a time shortly after Copernicus had promulgated his new view of the universe. He spoke as an antinomian, advocating the freedom of the individual to unite with the Holy Spirit, in the Anne Hutchinson affair in Boston; in England, he argued for an elitist and structured program of the Fifth Monarchists, who would guide the nation to Christ. He helped establish Rhode Island with other sectarians from the antinomian crisis, but disagreed with them and returned to the authorities in Boston who banished him. There, he fulfilled his government appointments but violated his public trust and overturned years of work in a self-serving act. His life and writings reveal the sectarian personality, a radical who never accepted the changes of mid-century seventeenth century life in America and England. Rather than a minor obscure figure, William Aspinwall is the bete noir of early American political and religious life, an important writer whose tracts provide a small but important

window from which to see the intellectual development of the early seventeenth century. His life and writings, in his own words ones of "manifold afflictions," speak of failed American and English dreams in the seventeenth century-- radical dreams of a holy community of men and their Calvinistic God that America put aside.

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CHAPTER I

TO THE AMERICAN STRAND

I WRITE the Wonders of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION,
flying from the Depravations of Europe, to the
American Strand: Cotton Mather (Magnalia Christi
Americana 89)

The myth first greened for William Aspinwall on the banks of the Charles River on the fringe of the unknown continent, the salt smell of the Atlantic sharp in the air and the settlers assenting voices murmuring around him on July 27, 1630¹. There his fellow pilgrims from England gazed into a future kingdom of Christian fellowship, a society of love shaped out of the dreams of new possibilities. William and his fellow Englishmen shared a vision to escape the conflict and chaos of seventeenth-century England--to begin again by adjusting the ways of man to the often inscrutable demands of God.

A longing for a future rich in glory required agreement among the emigrants, a willingness to pledge themselves to seek and to attain this utopia in a new land and to choose men to lead them to this vision. Undoubtedly, Elizabeth, the wife of William, then pregnant with her first child, sensed William's pride as the settlers installed him as a

deacon in the first Boston church by the ritual of laying on
of hands². Before William's installation, she and her
husband had verbalized this their commitment to God when they
covenanted "to walke in all our wayes according to the Rule
of the Gospell, and in all sincere Conformity to His holy
Ordinaunces, and in mutuall love, and repect each to other,
so neere as God shall give us grace" (Pierce 39: 12). To lead
them into this new promised land of Canaan, they acknowledged
the authority of Christ their "only king and lawgiver"
(Pierce 39: 10). The idea of living with Christ and loving
and supporting each other in a paradise of milk and honey
budded in these halcyon days, but promises often wither
before human desires and ambitions, and religious ideologies
often yield a canker of divisiveness.

The cold, grey-tipped waves of the Atlantic of the
previous April and June had first tested the Aspinwalls'
resolve to attain their hopes when they left their Manchester
home in the Winthrop fleet of four ships that sailed on April
8, 1630, from Yarmouth harbor on the Isle of Wright³. For
the travellers on the Arbella, Talbot, Ambrose, Jewell,
Mayflower, Whale and Success, the passenger-carrying vessels
of the flotilla, nightmares of seasickness and death had
punctuated Sunday religious services, cold temperatures,
blustery weather, and prayer meetings. Travelling with their
servant Robert Parker, the Aspinwalls, if they sailed with
the Arbella, struggled with other passengers to pitch cattle⁴
overboard after gales and stormy seas on May 3. If they
sailed with the Success or Talbot, they watched starvation

and death snatch their shipmates. But the white pines and larches dotting the coastline of Maine on June 9 and June 12 when Winthrop's ship sailed to Cape Ann promised a new life for the survivors⁵.

Like faint trees hovering in the distance, aristocratic and religious ideals had always appeared before William as a child. An intensely zealous Puritan family and county in England shaped the visions of the young William, ideas that the grown Fifth Monarchist would later explore when he analyzed in his peculiar fashion the failure of what earlier had seemed to promise such a rich harvest of the Lord's grace. Now at least 25 years old, William had been born in Manchester, Lancashire⁶ and christened December 10, 1605, at Burnley, the son of Edward Aspinwall and the brother of Jirehiah, the oldest, Edward, and Timonthy⁷ (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 21). Like his brothers, William carried a name rich in historical tradition and ancestors. His family name, from Anglo-Saxon, referred to an aspen-wall, a spring or well that flowed from aspen trees; the family name had affixed itself to a locality near the manors of Hurleton, Upliterland, and Halsall, close to the market town of Ormskirk. The lineage also possessed a coat of arms: Per pale Gules and Az., two bars dancette Erminois⁸ (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 16). And as the documentary traces in America show, Aspinall often served as a variant of Aspinwall (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 1).

The seventeenth-century Aspinwalls lived in Lancashire.

William's family moved sometime between 1596 and 1611 to reside at Toxteth Park, near Liverpool (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 9). Before the Conquest, Toxteth was divided into two manors; but after William the Conqueror it went into the demesne of West Derby where it was then "afforested, and until 1604 continued to form part of the forest of West Derby, being described as a 'Hay' in the earlier records, and as a park from the time of Edward I" (The Victoria History 3: 42). Prior to the move, William's grandfather, William of Scarsibrick, in 1578/79 had granted land to James Corsuch and set the family on its new course (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 9). Richard Molyneux purchased the park in 1604, and Edward Aspinwall, William's father, settled in this area (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Genealogy 9).

William spent his boyhood in a Puritan family and county, and under the Stuart reign the Puritan nonconformity forces grew stronger in Lancashire (The Victoria History 2: 59). Genealogical histories agree that William's family zealously embraced Puritanism⁹. At Toxteth Park the Puritans erected a dissenting chapel, and there Richard Mather, the scion of the New England Mather family, taught the Toxteth Park children (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Genealogy 1-2). Although Robert Halley's claim that William's father Edward converted Richard to Puritanism may be an exaggeration, Richard served as minister of Toxteth until his dismissal in 1633 shortly before he departed to America in 1635 (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 14). If these facts of

Aspinwall's childhood environment are correct, then the young ✓
William matured in an intensely religious atmosphere; and
possibly Richard Mather taught the young William and awakened
in him the theological bent that dictated his later life.

While the Aspinwalls possessed the financial ability to
emigrate to America, evidence indicates another reason for
their departure from England. Perhaps William knew before he
departed to New England the terms of his father's will,
provisions which did not promise as bright a financial future
for him as they did for his older brother. If his father had
informed his son of his estate, then the contents of the
will, probated after William and Elizabeth had settled in
America, may have spurred the Aspinwalls to emigrate ¹⁰ .

After death claimed his father Edward on October 26, 1633,
the inquisition of his death revealed a rural gentleman with
a substantial amount of property in Rossacre, Wessham,
Scarisbeecke, Ormiskirke, Liverpool, and elsewhere in the
county of Lancaster (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 11).

Dividing his possessions into three parts, Edward
Aspinwall willed these parts to three persons. His uncle
Peter obtained a parcel of land occupied by Thomas Lawranson
in Ormiskirke. The children of Jirehiah, William's older
brother, received for eighteen years beginning in 1630, a
residue of the second part "excepte what estate or terme of
and in the said house and Gardeine in Leverpoole I shall
assigne or by anie meanes appointe to the use of my sonn
William Aspinwall, the Children or wyffe or anie of them"

(Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 11). These Liverpool possessions included "one burgage one garden, one land called Mawerice House in Liverpool" (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 11). Should Marie, the wife of Edward, survive her husband, thirty pounds a year from the Liverpool property would fulfill a dower agreement that Edward had contracted with his eldest son's father-in-law (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 12). Edward willed the remainder of the two parts to Jirehiah except "the reservacon in Maurice house and Gardeine for my sonne William and the recompence of dower to Marie my sonne Jirehiah his nowe wyffe aforemenconed saved and provided for" (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 12). Except for a small part of the Liverpool property, Jirehiah, the children of Jirehiah, and his uncle Peter benefited from the will, but his father's will--for whatever reason--¹¹ recognized William not as much as the others. Although his father recognized his middle son, the chance to increase his fortune may have impelled William to Massachusetts Bay.

Other nutriments from his agricultural background--some practical and some born out of the conflict of early seventeenth-century England--watered William's desire to discover a new life in a distant land. The changing agricultural situation in England immediately prior to the migration also may have weighed in William's decision to emigrate. A gentleman's son, if he had elected to pursue a future in agriculture, William lived during a time when individual farmers, holding unenclosed lands or strips of land, felt pressure from lords of manors who sought to

enclose them and who raised rents on different types of tenures¹². Englishmen in 1630 could not foresee future agricultural depressions, for they lived in a wealthy transitional time when the price level for grain and wool jumped by 600 percent between 1500 and 1640. However, prices rose by only two percent between 1640 and 1750 (Thrisk 40). Undoubtedly, William's family knew farmers who had tried new agricultural methods and new crops after 1600 in their search for alternatives to food surpluses. Living in a rural gentry family with various land holdings of the seventeenth century, William thus probably heard talk about the state of agriculture and speculations of an uncertain future.

Looking about him in Lancashire, William saw other economic reasons to dissuade him from seeking his fortune in England. Lancashire and other areas served as centers of woolen cloth and cotton cloth; the district around Manchester operated as an important woolen area. However, according to George Homans, this clothing district and other areas felt the beginning of economic depressions in 1614 when Alderman Cockayne of London promoted a project to cut the exports to the Netherlands of raw cloth for dyeing purposes. But the plan failed as the Dutch countered by prohibiting the importation of dressed English cloth and caused English trade to collapse (522-24). While no evidence exists to show that the Aspinwall family participated in the cloth industry, William lived in an area of cloth manufacture during a time of unsettled economic conditions, and these economic

disruptions in Lancashire occurred at a time when the middle son from a Puritan family was considering his future with a new wife¹³ .

In this atmosphere of a collapsing woolen industry, religious differences and political conflicts at the local level existed between the state and the ruling gentry. Even though no evidence exists to suggest that William personally experienced religious or political persecution prior to his departure, the family's later role in the English Civil War indicates a that they were firmly opposed to royalism:

The Aspinwall family attained a prominent position in Lancashire after removing to Toxteth Park, and during the Interregnum we find its members taking an active and conspicuous part in the politics of those days on the Parliamentary side. We also find strong religious convictions of that stern Puritan type then so prevalent amongst the followers of Oliver Cromwell. The possession of these characteristics was doubtless the factor which influenced Parliament in appointing several members of the family to act as magistrates, to serve on various Commissions, and to perform other public duties in Lancashire. (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 9)

Thus, in 1630 the tensions between royalism and Puritanism at

the county level may have contributed to the Aspinwalls' decision to recreate a new life in Massachusetts Bay¹⁴.

Aspinwall's dream of a new life shaped itself even more at Oxford, and his education added a sense of privilege to a young man whose later writings emphasized the place of rank, a central element in his utopian imaginings. On November 2, 1621, William entered Brasenose College at Oxford University as a plebeian when he was 17 years old (Foster 37). Founded by Bishop William Smyth from Lancashire in the early sixteenth century, Brasenose propagated older, conservative ideals, its charter proposing that Brasenose scholars study theology and philosophy¹⁵ (Mallet 2: 2-5). Each scholar lived under the aegis of a tutor and enjoyed the services of a barber and washerwoman. His daily student life at Oxford stressed the idea of distinction and separateness: he studied under a fellow with four or five other pupils; listened to lectures and summaries of works; slept with other students around his fellows; and dined with the group in the eating hall, speaking Latin¹⁶ (Mallet 2: 6-8).

In addition to imparting a sense of rank and status, the Brasenose years brought an education and intellectual approach that would make Aspinwall's later published tracts studies in erudition, studded with biblical citations to dismember his opponents and reveal the full visionary's dreams, with baroque glosses on Old and New Testament passages that recall a myth darkened by the American experience. William's Brasenose education focused on theology, minimized the new sciences, and stressed

disputation. At Oxford men struggled over the nature of God's truth, and Anglicans and Puritans theorized, disputed, and blasted each other in sermons from the pulpits, placing classical learning aside in their heated zeal¹⁷. Having available a Hebrew Lecture (Mallet 2: 10), William also attended Brasenose when the various colleges at Oxford prescribed studies that sometimes included science and mathematics. (Allen 22). Brasenose in Aspinwall's time did not emphasize the science of Copernicus or Newton; instead the college directed its students towards theological studies and taught them rhetorical techniques¹⁸. After four years of study, the scholar received the Bachelor of Arts, a degree constructed around the study of rhetoric and logic. The degree culminated in an examination in which the students had to publicly dispute a Latin thesis, a test he underwent when he received his Bachelor of Arts degree on February 25, 1624/5 (Foster 37). Later Aspinwall would draw upon this education when he used Hebrew and astronomical principles in one of New England's most peculiar typological exegeses. When he would face hostile audiences in Boston and Rhode Island, his university education had prepared him well for the repartee and exchange of verbal combat. Years later, again in England, a sense of urgency and a white-hot certainty of conviction flash from Aspinwall's pamphlets, which convey the truth of Scripture and prophesy eschatological events. As an older radical, Aspinwall knew the enemy of his programs for religious reformation; as a

young man at Brasenose, he witnessed impassioned men arguing and lambasting each other about their different truths.

Far from Oxford, their church covenant on the banks of the Charles River may have at the time seemed like a step into a bright beginning, but personal difficulties added somber hues to the Aspinwalls' early years in the new colony. Disease, death, and suffering caused Winthrop and other settlers to remove across the river to Shawmut, which they named Boston (Bartlett, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 2: 164). However, William and Elizabeth chose initially not to follow Winthrop and the others to Shawmut. Alexander Young, mistaking the year of the settlement, includes William Aspinwall among "a list of the names of such as stayed and became inhabitants of this town in the year 1629" (382). The inhabitants of Charlestown each received two acres of land for each male capable of planting, but the severe winter of 1630 brought a bitter harvest when the settlers ate clams, muscles, ground nuts, and acorns to survive (Young 385). Death also stalked the Aspinwalls in the fall. Elizabeth gave birth to her first born son Edward on September 26, 1630, but the boy died on October 10 (Second Report 1).

After inhospitable conditions forced them from Charlestown, the Aspinwalls settled in a new house at the center of the colony, and the Aspinwall family grew over the next several years. In Boston the Aspinwalls selected a small home site near the market place at the center of town and near the dock and church . Their "'Cornefield' & land,

& little 'Clapboard house'" (Suffolk Deeds 5) lay next to the future Shrimpton's Lane, facing Dock Square and off the Market Place ²⁰ (Winsor 2: xxii). The Aspinwalls lived here until William sold the house to Edward Tinge of London in 1636, a transaction which put him in difficulty with the town of Boston (Suffolk Deeds 1: 16). After this real estate transaction and before his banishment to Rhode Island, as later records show, he lived in the same area off the market place, a few houses down from Edward Tinge, whose property had wharves occupied by the cooper Thomas Venner of later English Fifth Monarchy notoriety (Winsor 2: xix).

Living at the hub of the settlement, over the next few years the Aspinwalls had more children. Elizabeth gave birth to Hannah on December 25, 1631. (Second Report 1). As the weather remained bitterly cold in January and February, William and Elizabeth, having lost their first born, undoubtedly feared for their second child, but the infant ²¹ survived . On September 30, 1633, nearly two years after the birth of Hannah, Elizabeth Aspinwall was born. (Second Report 2). On September 30, 1635, Elizabeth bore Samuel. And on September 20, the Aspinwalls' Samuel, the fourth child, was ²² baptized (Second Report 3). Thus, within five years of their landing in America, they had lost their first-born, and three other children had survived.

Not devoting all of his time to his family in this early Boston period, Aspinwall became an active part of the community. Records survive to show that Aspinwall served on

a grand jury and donated to the community. Shortly after the birth of Edward, William considered a case of possible homicide. Having received an appointment to serve on a jury inquest into the death of Austen Bratcher, settlers Richard Brown, George Dyar, and William Aspinwall concluded on September 28, 1630, that "the Strookes giuen by Walter Palmer were ocationally the meanes of the death of Austen Bratcher, & soe to be manslaughter^r" (Shurtleff 1: 28; Records of the Court of Assistants 6). To insure that Palmer would appear at the Boston Court of Assistants investigating the case, Palmer bound himself with 40^L and "Ralfe Sprage & John Sticklett hath bound themselues in 70^L a peece for Walter Palmers psonall appearance" at the court "to answer for the death of Austen Bratch" (Records of the Court of Assistants 7). Palmer's friends must have felt confident about Palmer's innocence because on November 9 the jury affirmed their beliefs about the capital charges, finding him "not guilty of manslaughter whereof hee stoode indicted & soe the Court acquints him" (Records of the Court of Assistants 9).

Community involvement also entailed financial contributions. On March 4, 1633, the Court of Assistants, seeking funds for the construction of a "moveing ffort to be builte 40 ffoote longe & 21 ffoote wide, for defense of this colony" decided to canvass various "men of ability as haue not borne their pte in the greate charges of the ffoundacon of this colony" (Shurtleff 1: 113; Records of the Court of Assistants 41). The court asked the assistants to solicit contributions from those men of worth who lived in the towns

where the assistants resided . Yielding to this solicitation of public funds, Aspinwall donated one shilling (Records of the Court of Assistants 42). He also later managed to turn a profit at the fort, for William Pyncheon's papers of September 8, 1636, reveal that the treasury "paid Mr. Aspinwall for carting plank for the fort 0 12 0" (qtd. in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 11: 233).

A lawsuit and another grand jury appointment also concerned William in his early Boston years. The lawsuit Aspinwall found himself in was the first of several during his life in New England. A brief citation of August 5, 1634, from the Court of Assistants shows that "John Humfry Esq^r & M^r Increase Nowell was desyred by the Court to take deposicons of the witnesses of M^r Aspinwall in a case betwixte S^r William Brewerton, Bar(t), & the said M^r Aspinwall" (Shurtleff 1: 123; Records of the Court of Assistants 48). What the case involved or what happened in the litigation remains a mystery. Perhaps overlooking his penchant for law suits and remembering his jury work in 1630, the town at a general meeting appointed Aspinwall on Feburary 9, 1635, with John Cogan "to serve on the grand Jury" (Boston Town Records 8) for some unknown investigation. Thus, though only a few records connect Aspinwall with the legal system in these early years, he served on two grand juries and competed with another man in a lawsuit. Aspinwall's later discussions of the law in his radical tracts come from a colonist who

experienced first hand the early Massachusetts judicial system.

His involvement in civic responsibilities continued in other areas as well. In addition to earning his livelihood and rearing a family, William Aspinwall worked with various government branches to distribute land in the Boston area²⁴. The General Court decided to allocate land in the Mount Wollaston area. On May 14, 1634, it appointed Oldham, Coxeball, Stoughton, Felpes, and Aspinwall to "drawe a plott" of the area and "p^r sent it to the nexte Genall Court, when it shalbe confirmed" (Shurtleff 1: 119). Not only the General Court but the assistants also responded to the informality of the allotment system, and in April, the assistants ordered that "the Constable and (four) more of the cheife inhabitants of every Towne (to be chosen by all the free men there att some meeteing there) to survey and record existing holdings" (Records of the Court of Assistants 2: 29, 33, 45).

A year-and-a-half later, to determine how much land each emmigrant should receive, the town of Boston appointed a committee, referred to as the allotters, to survey the town's populace. As part of this apportionment system, Aspinwall served the new plantation in the fall and winter of 1635 by helping the towns and the General Court determine land allotments for the settlers and boundary lines between settlements. On September 2 the General Court, convening at Newtown, ordered that "bounds of Rocksbury, on both sydes the towne, shalbe vewed, & a plott thereof drawne, & soe returned into the nextes Genall Court", appointing an Ensigne Jennison

and Aspinwall to survey the boundary lines (Shurtleff 1: 159). On December 14, 1635, the town of Boston delegated 30 year old Aspinwall, Coleborne, John Samford, William Balston, and Richard Wright to examine the land in the Wollaston area and to set aside farms for William Coddington and Edmund Quinsey. The town also directed Aspinwall and the others to "lay out at Muddy Ryver a sufficient allotment for a farme for our Teacher, M^r. John Cotton" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 6). In these allotments, the town directed the group to apportion land for Wilborne at Muddy River, farming allotments for Thomas Oliver and Thomas Leveritt at Muddy River, and to see that the "poorer sort of the Inhabitants such as are members or likely so to be, and have noe Cattell, shall have their proportion of allotments for planting ground, and other assigned unto them by the Allotters. and layd out at Muddy River by the aforementioned five persons, or foure of them" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 6).

Aspinwall continued his work in apportioning land into January. With the same group members, he received orders to designate 600 acres for Athernton Haugh beyond Mount Wollaston (Second Report, Boston Town Records 7). At a meeting on January 4, 1635, the town members agreed that the inhabitants of the town would have the freedom to choose men to specify right-of-ways between the land allotments, that Aspinwall and the others would decide on the allotments at Mount Wollastone, and "that every allotment shall have a convenient proportion of meadowe therefore, according to

their number of cattell that have the same" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 7). Aspinwall had taken a prominent position in helping the General Court and the town of Boston allocate its land for settlement.

Aspinwall also assumed public office for the town of Boston, and he continued his surveying work in 1636. On March 14, 1635/6, the town selected William Aspinwall and 11 others, including William Hutchinson and William Balston, later antinomian radicals, to conduct the business of the town. For their duties as town selectmen, the town appointed them to "looke unto and sett order for all the Allottments within us, and for all Comers in unto us, as also for all other the occasions and businesses of the Towne, excepting matters of Election for the Generall courte--and so from time to time to bee agreed upon and ordered by them, or the greater parte of them, for these next six monthes" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 9). The group of selectmen also appointed Aspinwall, Balston, John Sampford, and James Penne to lay out "Pastor M^r. John Wilsons bounds and M^r. William Hutchinsons att Mount Woollystone" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 10). On June 6 of the same year, Aspinwall worked with the others to adjust property boundaries and to rule that some house owners had illegally sold their houses to strangers, thus violating a town order. He again on June 20 participated in the allotting of land in the Boston area, helping with others to fulfill the selectmen's decision to set aside for Owyn Roe of London "220 acres of ground att Mount Woollystone for the present releife of his cattell"

(Second Report, Boston Town Records 11). Not confining himself to surveying land and serving as a selectman, Aspinwall showed his community spirit again on August 6, 1636: with others on that date at a general town meeting he donated funds for school master Daniel Maud. Out of 45 of the donors funding education, 15 men gave more than Aspinwall's eight shillings and 29 others pledged money with Governor Vane and Deputy Governor Winthrop each giving ten pounds; William Coddington 30 shillings, and Edward Hutchinson four shillings (Second Report, Boston Town Records 160). As surveyor, selectman, and community leader, he was an integral part of Boston's early settlement.

However, records show his first Janus-like display of civic behavior, which he practiced throughout his life, embroiling him in Boston disputes, Rhode Island affairs, and the religious and political turmoils of Cromwell's Interregnum. The records do not list Aspinwall as attending an August meeting, but the group of selectmen, including William Hutchinson and John Coggeshall, later his allies in the antinomian crisis, found that "William Aspewall hath sould a housplott and a garden unto one M^r. Tinge, contrarie to the same order 2 lb." (Second Report, Boston Town Records 12). On September 13, 1636, the Englishman Edward Tinge's offer for Aspinwall's house, cornfield and land outweighed his former decision as a selectman to forbid the selling of houses to unauthorized persons. On that date, William granted by deed to Tinge "the howse in the Corne field wth

the appurtenances to witt the land, and likewise the litle Claboard howse, in consideration of fortye one pownds received" (Suffolk Deeds 1: 16). Clearly money rather than former public decisions swayed Aspinwall to sell his home²⁶. Unlike so many later Puritan ministers who wailed their jeremaids about the declensions of new generations falling away from the ideals of the older generation to the hard tinkle of cash and lands, Aspinwall's private vision of America included seeing it as a land of opportunity, often at the expense of the mutual love he had pledged to follow.

Aspinwall profited by his house sale. He apparently did not appear at a town meeting again until November 15 when he paid 25 shillings of the fine for selling his house (Second Report, Boston Town Records 13). If the records accurately reflect those attending the meeting, Aspinwall, appointed a selectman to conduct the business of the town in March for a six-month term, helped to formulate an order forbidding the selling of houses to strangers, and quickly violated it after his term of office as selectman expired in August. On September 16, the town did not return him as a selectman, although they chose many of the selectmen from the March 7 meeting in a much different political atmosphere (Second Report, Boston Town Records 11).

But while his power and standing waned at town meetings, Aspinwall continued to receive General Court appointments for land allotments. On September 8, 1636, Aspinwall received another court appointment: "Mr Aspinwall is deputed to viewe the bounds of Watertowne & Newtowne, on both sides the ryver,

& to make a draught thereof, wth an expression of the nature of the ground in both townes, & to returne thereof to the next sessions of this Courte" (Shurtleff 1: 180). The General Court continued to use Aspinwall: "Mr William Aspinwall & Robert Marten are required to take a plot of the bounds between Weymouth & Boston against the next Courte" (Shurtleff 1: 189). The General Court members had decided to overlook the peccadillo of selling his house plot and decided to continue to use his surveying skills.

By 1636 Aspinwall seemed a part of a society of love directed by Christ. Shadows had also tinged his early Boston years--he and Elizabeth had suffered privations in Charlestown and lost their first child. And looming in the background of his civic participation was the suggestion of an unregenerate Christian--one who sought to better himself at the expense of others and one who was unafraid to go against the laws of his society. Nevertheless, recognized by land allotments and court appointments for survey work and serving his church, Aspinwall continued to work in the midst of a gathering religious and political disagreement. But a major controversy would erupt soon in Boston and darken the early phase of his American life and cast him towards another in other colonies.

NOTES

¹

The dates in this biography and those employed by the manuscripts reflect the old style of dating system. March is the first month, and February is the twelfth month. Also numbers often were used instead of month names. Thus, 22 (6) 1652 means August 22, 1652. Because of this dating system, 2 (11) 1650 (January 2, 1650) is actually later than 2 (10) 1650 (December 2, 1650).

²

The deacon collected and dispensed the funds of the church and attended the minister. See Winthrop's Journal (1: 51) for a confirmation of Aspinwall's appointment. Aspinwall was the tenth person signing the Boston-Charlestown covenant, and Elizabeth was the sixteenth signer (Pierce 39: 13). The settlers entered into the covenant between July 26 and August 2 (Pierce 39: 12). The congregation chose Wilson as teacher, Nowell as elder, and Aspinwall and Gager as deacons on August 27.

³

I am unsure on which ship the Aspinwalls sailed, but assume that they came with Winthrop's first four ships. Hotten does not list their passage.

⁴

Church records reveal "Robert Parker servant to our brother Willylm Aspinwall" (Pierce 39: 17). Banks' Topographical Dictionary lists Parker as coming fom

Manchester. After the Boston church excommunicated Parker for oppressing his wife and children, the church received him again into fellowship in 1636 (Pierce 39: 20). Banks in The Winthrop Fleet places Parker from Manchester County in Lancaster and writes that he was admitted to the church in 1634 and made a freeman in March 1634/5. According to him, Parker removed to Cambridge where he died March 21, 1685, at 82 years (84-85). Although they brought Parker as a servant, the Aspinwalls did not necessarily qualify as gentry because seventeenth-century labor patterns meant servants were not indicative of wealth, See Laslett 1-20.

5

See Bridenbaugh's Vexed and Troubled Englishmen 436-444, and Banks' The Winthrop Fleet of of 1630 for specifics of the voyage. Notestein's The English People on the Eve of Colonization 263 and passim and Rose-Troup's The Massachusetts Bay Company and the Predecessors provide information on the formation of the New England Company. See Horton and Vexed and Troubled Englishmen for conditions prior to the voyage. See Bailyn's The Peopleing of British North America to place the emigration in the perspective of larger population movements. Aspinwall's name does not appear in the list of subscribers of the New England Company (Rose-Toup 19-20; 61-63) and his admission as a freemen in 1632 makes it unlikely that he was, as subscribers were freemen.

6

This date of birth may not be correct. Parish records reveal that several children named William Aspinwall were born in Lancashire. A William with a Peter Aspinwall as a father was christened November 11, 1602, at Ormskirk.

Another William Aspinwall was christened January 11, 1617, at Whalley. A William with Edward as a father was christened May 14, 1598, at Wigan. And a William Aspinwall with a father named William was christened December 10, 1605, at Burnley (International Genealogical Index B0258: 2526). Although the Wigan Aspinwall's father was named Edward, I think that the Burnley Aspinwall is most likely the Fifth Monarchist because Foster in the Alumni gives Aspinwall's matriculation in 1621 at 18 years. This would suggest a birth date in 1603. The christening date of the Wigan Aspinwall seems too early, and the Whalley Aspinwall christened in 1617 makes this Aspinwall too old in relation to the Oxford years. The Burnley Aspinwall has the advantage of a date close to 1603, but the records show William as a father. Of course, early English parish records are often incomplete, so possibly none of these Aspinwalls was the Fifth Monarchist. Savage shows no county of origin (71). Aspinwall in The Aspinwall Families provides no date of birth.

⁷
The Dictionary of National Biography confuses William Aspinwall, the Fifth Monarchist, with William Aspinwall, a nonconforming minister. Jirehiah was born about 1595 and served as a commissioner for Lancashire to raise monies for the army between 1649 and 1657. Edward died March 29, 1656. Timothy's will, probated in 1645, describes him as a lecturer at St. Michaels in Coventry (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 14-15).

⁸
The Aspinwall Families also suggests other coat of arms

as possibilities for the Aspinwalls (10).

9

No evidence exists to suggest that the Stuarts persecuted the Aspinwall family. According to The Victoria History, the nonconformist element in Lancashire acted in a non-militant and patriotic manner (2: 60-63).

10

Parish records show an Aspinwall married Elizabeth Goodier or Goodyear of Manchester on February 5, 1627 (International Genealogical Index B0258: 2526). One Elizabeth Goodyear was born on May 27, 1604, in Manchester (International Genealogical Index B0326: 26, 910). Savage thinks Elizabeth was "somehow sis. of Christopher Stanely, more prob. of his w. Susanna, wh. bec. w. of Lieut. William Phillips" (71). Laslett argues that men had financial independence before they married in seventeenth-century England (94).

11

No evidence suggests a family rift. In fact, evidence exists that Jirehiah helped William on his return to England. See Chapter 9.

12

Laslett thinks there is little reason to suggest the emigrants came because of the enclosure movements (6). See Thrisk for information on the agricultural situation.

13

Homan argues that it is too simplistic to contend the trade depression drove the emigrants to the New World. He thinks that the depression contributed to instability in the social order, making it more susceptible to religious movements (528).

14

See Breen's Puritans and Adventurers for a discussion about local opposition to the crown (1-15).

15

Aspinwall's brother Timothy also attended Brasenose (Aspinwall, The Aspinwall Families 15). The dioceses of Lancashire and Cheshire often selected young men to attend Brasenose (Mallet 5).

16

For a discussion of social ranking and life at Oxford, see Notestein 138-41.

17

For a sense of the ecclesiastical conflicts at Oxford, see Mallet.

18

See Allen for a discussion of science at Oxford in these years 225-28 and Hargreaves-Mawdsley for astronomical studies at Oxford 81-90. See Tyacke for the scientific atmosphere of Oxford in the early seventeenth century.

19

In 1636 a lane was "to be left to goe from the water side up the balke or meare that goes up from the end of John Mylam's house, next William Aspenall's ground, and to goe along the Mylne Cove a Rod and a halfe broade" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 13).

20

For a discussion of the harsh weather conditions in the period, see Kuppermann.

21

There is an obvious inconsistency in the birth and baptismal dates. Records vary on the births and baptismal dates of the children. Algernon Aspinwall records Mary as the eldest child without a giving a birth day. He shows her marrying John Gove of Cambridge on October 6, 1658 and dying November 14, 1676. According to him, the Goves had Mary, John, Nathaniel, James, and two other unnamed children (16).

The Second Report lists no Mary as being born to the Aspinwalls. Savage suggests a Mary perhaps was born in Aspinwall's banishment to Rhode Island. Savage gives September 22, 1633, as the baptismal date of Elizabeth, but notes that the birth date is incorrect (71). Aspinwall gives March 1, 1637, as the birthday of Ethlannah while Savage writes that Ethlannah was born on March 1 and baptised March 12, 1637, (16; 71). The NEGHR agrees with the Second Record that Samuel was born on September 30, 1635, but gives no date of baptism (76). Savage and the Second Record give September 20, 1635, as his baptism (3; 71).

22

Dawes finds no firm relationship between title and social standing in New England. He writes that the status of gentleman generally connoted a social superiority in some way in the early decades and Master designated the oral address of this rank, but in writing "the word was abbreviated to Mr., and its implications of social quality were somewhat less than those accompanying Gent." (76). He thinks that Master probably referred those in the upper middle class in New England (76). Based on contributions and land ownerships, Rutman in Winthrop's Boston places Aspinwall in the third group of Boston's gentry (73).

23

For Boston's early policy on land distribution, see Rutman's Winthrop's Boston 23 and 80-83 for duties and responsibilities of selectmen.

24

Two years later Tinge transferred to William Tinge, his brother, the same property "in consideration that he bought it wth his Brothers mony" (Suffolk Deeds 1: 16).

CHAPTER II

ALL THINGS TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. Romans 4:4

But this good old way would not serve the turne with certaine Sectaries that were hither come, who like cunning Sophisters, seeing the bent of the peoples hearts (after so many mercies received) was to magnifie the rich Grace of God in Christ; (Edward Johnson Wonder-Working Providence 124)

That controversy involved the antinomian crisis in Massachusetts Bay, and it dramatically changed the direction of Aspinwall's life. In the early years his house-selling affair had suggested a surveyor willing to violate a town regulation in order to make a profit and had tainted his vision of a new society of love under the guidance of Christ. In 1637 he sought with the other antinomian dissidents a private garden of the Holy Spirt in which each believer, uncontrolled plants, could blossom with the grace of Christ. But such a vision seemed to the establishment a luxurious growth beyond the wall of secular authority and church ordinances, an uncontrollable riot that Bostonians like John Winthrop viewed as a rot infecting political and religious

institutions.

The antinomian vision which Aspinwall shared with John Cotton, Anne Hutchinson, John Wheelwright, and others involved the doctrine of salvation for the sinner unsure of his status with God. God had promised salvation in his covenant of works, the Decalogue, but Adam's sin had shattered the agreement. However, Christ offered the hopes of salvation in the covenant of grace for those who could possess a justifying faith. The antinomians believed that the Holy Spirit produced the faith necessary for salvation in the soul, which then received Christ. Christ moved the believer, the Holy Spirit came to the soul and showed men that they were justified or saved.

Others, like John Winthrop, disagreed with this religious doctrine, which they felt placed the individual beyond the control of the church and state. The opponents of the antinomians thought that men could judge their salvation on the basis of sanctification, or behavior, and from the Bible and ordained means assess their behavior and conclude if they were saved or not. In their view, the Holy Spirit worked on men through the word, allowed them to understand Christ, and the individual soul actively sought its Saviour, unlike the antinomians who believed that the Holy Spirit unified with the soul and showed the believer his justification .

John Wheelwright ignited passions when in his Fast-Day Sermon he denigrated the covenant of works. Wheelwright informed his listeners that they "must all of us prepare for battell and come out against the against the enimyes of the

Lord" or "those under a covenant of works will prevaile" (Hall 158). He stressed salvation by justification and said that men should not find assurance for salvation in their behavior:

when the Lord is pleased to convert any soule to him, he revealeth not to him some worke, and from that worke, carieth him to Christ, but there is nothing revealed but Christ, when Christ is lifted up, he draweth all to him, that belongeth to the election of grace; if men think to be saved, because they see some worke of sanctification in them, as hungring and thirsting and the like:

if they be saved, they are saved without the Gospell.

No, no, this is a covenant of works, for in the covenant of grace, nothing is revealed but Christ for our righteousness. (Hall 161)

Calling those under a covenant of works the enemies of Christ, Wheelwright admitted that his doctrine of free grace would cause "a combustion in the Church and comon wealth" (Hall 165). He would not be disappointed although the fire would soon consume him and others.

A month after John Wheelwright had given his Fast-Day Sermon and had staked out the boundary lines for those wanting to find Christ, on February 20, 1636, Boston selectmen continued to portion out land allotments for some of the settlers. Not a leading member of the gentry, Aspinwall nevertheless received some land and continued to

survey lands for Boston. John Wheelwright received 250 acres, Coggeshall 200 acres, and John Cogan 210 acres in the Mount Wollastone area. Aspinwall received "a hundred sixtie and four acres: bounded on the North with M^r. Brenton, on the East with the Beach and M^r. Pierce, and on the South and on the West point with Crooked lane" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 29). At Pullen Point Neck, Winthrop received 50 acres, Oliver 50 acres, Brenton 64 acres, and Aspinwall 22 acres of land (Second Report, Boston Town Records 29), an allotment he later recorded in his Book of Possessions (Second Report, Boston Town Records 30). Having received a directive from a general town meeting on February 4, 1636, to provide a farm for William Hutchinson, Aspinwall and the others on February 9 "assigned unto him six hundred acrs of ground, lying betwixt Dorchester bounds and Mount Wollistone ryver, from the back side of M^r. Coddington's and M^r. Wilson's farmes, up into the Country" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 15). A growing difference over ways to find Christ did not prevent Aspinwall from recognizing status and rewarding it with land.

While the General Court grappled with Wheelwright's conduct, Aspinwal strengthened his political power at the local level, and he received more surveying work. Arguments over the correct religious views did not hamper the General Court in employing Aspinwall after a May 1637 petition, which argued for dismissal of sedition charges against Wheelwright. At this time the court members apparently did not realize the complicity of Aspinwall's involvement in the antinomian

matter nor his political contentiousness, a trait the General Court learned later when it confronted him. On May 17, 1637, the same day that the Court banished Wheelwright for seditious behavior, but deferred his sentence, the assembly appointed Aspinwall to another job: "M^r Timothy Heatherly, & M^r Tylden, wth M^r Willia Ashpinwall & Joseph Andrews, were appointed to veiw the bounds betweene vs & Plimoth, & make returne how they find them lye to both Courts" (Shurtleff 1: 196). This trust would soon change.

In 1637 Aspinwall returned to duty as a selectman and broadened his political base in Boston with other antinomians. On August 1, 1637, Aspinwall with William Hawthorne, Thomas Gardner, Lieutenant Duncan, and William Gayland replaced Captain Traske, Lieutenant Damford, George Mynard, Richard Collicot, and Henry Vane as selectmen (Shurtleff 1: 200). And General Court records list him as a deputy with William Coddington on September 20, 1637 (Shurtleff 1: 204). As a deputy, in August 1637 he agreed to the raising of a tax rate of four hundred pounds with each town assessed (Shurtleff 1: 201). Townsmen at a general meeting on October 16, 1637, chose Coddington, Coggeshall, and Aspinwall to represent them as deputies in the upcoming November General Court (Second Report, Boston Town Records 20). The selling of his house now forgotten, Aspinwall joined Hutchinson, Coggeshall, Penn, and Ellyott, and five others as town selectmen "for the Occasions of this towne for these next six months, and so until new ones be made choise

of and their charges at their meetings to be borne by the town in general" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 20). In his capacity as a selectman, Aspinwall on November 13 with others granted to "Mr. John Winthrop, the two hills next Pullen Point, with some barren marsh adjoining thereunto" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 21). Still serving the town on December 18 and January 8, with the other leaders he allotted house plots and more acreage to the settlers (Second Report, Boston Town Records 22). Aspinwall continued to serve as a selectman, apportion land to his political enemies², and align himself against the magistrates and the elders opposing Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson.

Before the town returned Aspinwall as a selectman, though, the General Court on March 7 had met to consider Wheelwright's sermon. Boston church members had petitioned the General Court prior to the session for permission to hear the proceedings as freemen, and they had questioned the Court's dealing with a theological issue before the congregation had dealt with the situation as a church matter. However, the Court ignored these protests. After finding Wheelwright guilty of sedition, the Court postponed further action until the May Court at Newtowne. At the May 17 Court of Elections, supporters of Wheelwright attempted to present a petition seeking dismissal of the charges against Wheelwright, but the Court proceeded, amidst the confrontations, to the elections in which Winthrop's supporters prevailed, electing him governor over Henry Vane.

After Vane had departed for England in August, the pace

of events quickened. The elders and magistrates called for a synod on August 30, 1637, as a way to formulate doctrine in the religious controversy and to move against Anne Hutchinson and John Cotton, key figures in the affair. Feeling that pre-synod conferences with Cotton had cut his support from the radicals, representatives at the synod from all the churches in the Bay and Connecticut refuted eighty-four theological errors of the antinomians. The religious failings disposed to their satisfaction, the conservative General Court members moved against the Hutchinsonians on November 2 at a General Court session: they convicted Anne of sedition, committed her to custody until the Court should banish her, and then proceeded against Wheelwright³.

In Winthrop's version of Wheelwright's trial, Wheelwright⁴ maintained that he had not committed sedition or contempt. He affirmed that "hee had delivered nothing but the truth of Christ, and for the application of his doctrin it was by others, and not by him" (Hall 252). But the Court's definition of sedition in Winthrop's A Short Story, a collection published in 1644, differed with Wheelwright's⁵ claims. The General Court replied that it censured not Wheelwright's doctrine, but its "application, by which hee laid the Magistrates, and the Ministers, and most of the people of God in these Churchs, under a Covenant of works" (Hall 252). In addition, the General Court members took umbrage at Wheelwright's charge which "declared them to bee enemies to Christ, and Antichrists" and which persuaded "the

people to look at them, and deale with them as such" (Hall 253).

Although Wheelwright had not specifically named the magistrates, the General Court felt that "all men might know who hee meant, as well as if hee had named the parties" (Hall 253). It also took issue with the effects of Wheelwright's speech and pointed out that after Wheelwright's sermon "All things are turned upside down among us" (Hall 253). His distinction between a covenant of works and a covenant of grace had caused church members committed to the covenant of grace to disparage those professing a covenant of works and had resulted in civil disturbances as well. The General Court charged that the town of Boston which had enlisted men to aid in recent actions against the Pequot Indians now "sent not a member, but one or two whom they cared not to be rid of, and but a few others, and those of the most refuse sort" (Hall 253). The General Court also thought that Wheelwright's incorrect theological opinions had caused disturbances in "Towne lots, rates, and in neighbour meetings, and almost in all affaires" (Hall 254). Having ignored its attempts to "convince him and to reduce him into the right way" (Hall 254), Wheelwright obstinately persisted in his "justification of his erroneous opinions" (255). Not finished with Wheelwright because of the lateness of the day, the General Court waited until the next morning when they again listened to Wheelwright deny that he had incited the people against magistrates and ministers. When Wheelwright asked the court members to point to a specific passage in the

sermon in which he had committed sedition, they informed him that "he who designes a man by such circumstances, as doe note him out to common intendments, doth as much as if he named the party" (Hall 255). For the supreme court's purposes, the general purport of the words served as sedition, and Wheelwright's claims that they had named no one nor caused a disturbance fell on deaf ears.

But Aspinwall had done more to provoke the magistrates than signing a petition. John Winthrop in his writings clearly designates Aspinwall as the author of a petition presented at the March 7 meeting and recounts the General Court's dismissal of him as a deputy to the assembly. In his journal, he notes that Aspinwall's petition served as a means to separate the supporters of Wheelwright from the rest of the General Court:

For though Mr. Wheelwright and those of his party had been clearly confuted and confounded in the assembly, yet they persisted in their opinions, and were as busy in nourishing contentions (the principal of them) as before. Whereupon the general court, being assembled in the 2 of the 9th month (November), and finding, upon consultation, that two so opposite parties could not contain in the same body, without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send away some one of the principal; and for this a fair opportunity was offered

by the remonstrance or petition, which they preferred to the court the 9th of the 1st month (March), wherein they affirm Mr. Wheelwright to be innocent, and that the court had condemned the truth of Christ, with divers other scandalous and seditious speeches, (as appears at large in the proceedings of this court, which were faithfully collected and published soon after the court brake up,) subscribed by more than sixty of that faction, whereof one William Aspinwall, being one, and he that drew the said petition, being then sent as a deputy from Boston, was for the same dismissed, and after called to the court and disfranchised and banished. (Winthrop's Journal 1: 239)

Not only had he signed it, but Aspinwall had authored the petition.

The basis of the antinomian controversy did not reside merely in Wheelwright's Fast Day sermon in the General Court's opinion. Once started in trimming the growth of antinomianism, the General Court followed heresy to its seedbed. That seedbed in the General Court's view included William Aspinwall and others. After disposing of Wheelwright, the General Court proceeded against Aspinwall and the other antinomians. It disenfranchised and fined men like John Coggeshall, William Baulson, Edward Hutchinson, Richard Gridly, William Dinely, and John Underhill. After dealing with Coggeshall, the Court recorded its judgment of

Aspinwall:

^r
M Willi: Aspinwall being convented for
haveing his hand to a petition or remonstrance,
being a seditious libell, & iustifying the same,
for w^{ch}, & for his insolent & turbulent
carriage, hee is disfranchized & banished, putting
in sureties for his departure before the end of
the first month next ensuing (Shurtleff 1: 207)

John Glover and Aspinwall "are each of them bound in a 100^l a
peece for M^r Aspinwals depture by the time limited"
(Shurtleff 1: 207). For sedition and insolent behavior, the
radical could tend his garden elsewhere.

However, facing the General Court on November 27, 1637,
Aspinwall and Coggeshall affirmed that the petition was
lawful and represented the truth. Their stance caused the
General Court to dismiss them as deputies: "M^r William
Aspinwall being questioned in regard his hand was to a
petition or remonstrance, & he iustified the same,
maintaining it to bee lawfull; the Court did discharge him
from being a member thereof. Mr. John Coggeshall affirming
that M^r Wheelwright is innocent, & that hee was psecuted for
the truth, was in like sort dismissed fom being a member of
the Courte, & order was given for two new deputies to bee
chosen by the towne of Boston" (Shurtleff 1: 265). Using
the Boston town as a base of political support against the
General Court had failed for Aspinwall and the other
antinomians.

Aspinwall's petition to the General Court in the Wheelwright matter seems in places more splenetic than irenic and Winthrop's condemnation of its scandalous nature excessive; but in seventeenth-century New England, religious language carried a white-heat of its own, and Aspinwall certainly chose some words calculated to assert the righteousness of the antinomian cause and the Satanic allegiance of the magistrates. After a pro forma salutation to the court, the petition in Winthrop's The Short Story asks the court to consider Wheelwright's intention in his fast-day sermon as promoting the magistrates' interest---"the publick peace of the churches" (Hall 249). The petition claims that Wheelwright endeavored to draw the disputants "neered unto Christ, the head of our union, that so wee might bee established in peace" (Hall 249). Having cursorily established Wheelwright's position, the petition next requests the magistrates to consider the definition of sedition. According to Aspinwall, three things must exist for a charge of sedition: "either the person condemned must bee culpable of some seditious fact, or his doctrine must bee seditious, or must breed sedition in the hearts of his hearers" (Hall 249). Based on this definition, the petition attempts to disprove the charge of sedition. First the dissidents deny the factual nature of the conviction: "wee have not heard any that have witnessed against our brother for any seditious fact" (Hall 249). The petition dismisses the charge that Wheelwright's theological doctrine was

sedition because it represented "the very expressions of the Holy Ghost himselfe" (Hall 249). Denying that Wheelwright's doctrines had affected his followers or the community, Aspinwall asserts that "wee have not drawn the sword, as sometimes Peter did, rashly, neither have wee rescued our innocent Brother, as sometimes the Israelites did Johnathan, and yet they did not seditiously" (249). Instead of stirring the antinomians to armed resistance against authorities, the "Covenant of free Grace" had taught them "to become humble suppliants to your Worships", teaching them "with patience to give our cheekes to the smiters" (Hall 249) rather than using the sword.

The refutations established, the petition attempts to shift the burden of proof to the magistrates. Having defined sedition and concluding that the antinomians did not fall within the definition, Aspinwall requests that the Court "bee pleased either to make it appeare to us, and to all the world, to whom the knowledge of all these things will come, wherein the sedition lies, or else acquit our Brother of such a censure" (Hall 250). A string of biblical citations supports the petitioners' claim that Satan, an "ancient enemy of Free Grace" (Hall 250) often has caused "calumnies against the faithfull Prophets of God" (Hall 250). If this theological slap did not ignite the magistrates' ire, Aspinwall then wonders if the old serpent works in the same manner in Boston. Having implied that Satan seeks to destroy the antinomians, the petition concludes by reminding the magistrates that they "should stand in relation to us, an

nursing Fathers" (Hall 250). The petition concludes that if the magistrates repulse the petitioners they shall find that "with the Lord we shall find grace" (Hall 250).

The General Court soon gave Aspinwall the public opportunity to justify his petition. John Winthrop in A Short Story recounted Aspinwall's disputations with the General Court over the petition and the General Court's response to his position as a deputy. After the General Court asked Aspinwall if it should allow him to serve as a deputy because he signed the petition asking for the dismissal of charges against Wheelwright, Winthrop writes that Aspinwall "peremptorily affirmed" (Hall 251) that he signed the document. At this point John Coggeshall, a court deputy from Boston who had not signed the petition "spake very boldly to the Court, and told them, that seeing they had put out Mr. Aspinwall for that matter, they were best make one work of all, for as for himselfe, though his hand were not to the Petition, yet hee did approve of it" (Hal 251). The General Court quickly obliged Coggeshall and dismissed him.

Having removed one angry deputy, the General Court also examined Aspinwall and asked for his response to the charges, considering "his hand was to the Petition, he had justified Master Wheelwright his Sermon, and had condemned the Court" (Hall 259). As Winthrop's account shows, Aspinwall did not submit quietly to the proceedings. He "answered and confessed the Petition, and that his heart was to it as well

as his hand, and that that for which Master Wheelwright was censured was for nothing but the truth of Christ, and desired to know what we could lay to his charge therein" (Hall 259-60). The Court responded that his actions constituted 'sedition' but Aspinwall saw a chance for theological allusions and disputed with the court. He answered "he did but preferre a humble Petition, which he could not doe but he must intimate some cause why, and that Mephibosheth in his Petition did imply as much of Davids unjust sentence against him as was in his Petition" (Hall 260). Aspinwall had alluded to 2 Samuel 16:1-4, a passage about David questioning Ziba the servant of Mephibosheth and about the goods that his two asses carried. Ziba fictitiously informed David that his master's son Mephisbosheth, to whom David had shown kindness, awaited in Jerusalem to inherit the throne of Israel. By means of the allusion, Aspinwall suggested that David had ruled unjustly against Mephisbosheth's petition and by analogy that the Court had ruled unjustly against Aspinwall. However, the Court pointed out the fallaciousness of Aspinwall's comparison: "The Court replied that he was ill advised to bring that example for his Justification which makes clearely against him, for Mephisbosheth doth not charge David with any injusticie not so much as by implication, but excuseth himselfe and layeth all the blame upon his servant" (Hall 152).

Now on the familiar Oxfordian ground of religious controversy, Aspinwall used Esther 5:3-6 to present his case. In this passage, in response to King Ahasuerus granting a

request to Esther, she asked that Ahasuerus and Haman attend a banquet that she had prepared for them. At the banquet, the king wondered what Esther's petition entailed, and she responded by requesting another banquet at which she intended to accuse Haman of plotting to destroy her people. In alleging "the Petition of Esther to Ahasuerus" (Hall 260), Aspinwall sought to suggest the righteousness of the antinomian cause. The General Court refused to accept this analogy also and said that "neither would that serve his turne, for she petitioned for her life, &c. without charging the King with injustice" (Hall 260). Aspinwall insisted that a subject could lawfully petition, but the "Court answered that this was no Petition, but a seditious Libell, the mis-naming of a thing doth not alter the nature of it" (Hall 260). The Court had chosen to define Aspinwall's petition as political sedition rather than to debate possible religious nuances with its author.

Having delimited the subject of debate, the General Court continued to point out Aspinwall's errors. It said that a petition implied a pretended interest and was "in the nature of it a plea, which challengeth a right of a party"; that the petitioners' "peremptory Judgement in the cause" directly opposed the Court's judgment; that the Court had declared Wheelwright guilty while the antinomians affirmed his innocence; and that the Court had declared his sermon "false and seditious" while the dissidents had said it represented "the truth of Christ, and the very words of the Holy Ghost,

which is apparently untrue if not blasphemous" (Hall 260). The Court also reminded Aspinwall that the antinomian's argument invited the people to violence; and lecturing him, it warned that "it was great arrogance of any private man thus openly to advance his owne judgement of the Court" (Hall 260). The General Court also informed Aspinwall that it had not censured the dissidents for their judgment but for their sedition.

Still not silenced, Aspinwall responded that by this logic "no Petition can be made in such a case, but something may bee mistakene through misprision as trenching upon authority" (Hall 260-61). If the possibility of misunderstanding because of scorn or contempt bothered Aspinwall⁶, the General Court informed him that if the petitioners had sought a remittance of Wheelwright's censure, or sought a respite for more consideration, or asked for time to propose their doubts, then "there could have beene no danger of being mistaken" (Hall 261). They reminded Aspinwall that the antinomians had proceeded hastily in the matter of the petition because the sentence in March had been deferred until the November court.

After this lesson in political obedience, Aspinwall still refused to accept the Court's judgment. As the Court prepared to sentence him, he asked them to "shew a rule in Scripture for banishment" (Hall 261). Referring to Genesis 21: 10,14, the court told Aspinwall that Hagar and Ishmael had received banishment for disturbance. Aspinwall, knowing the story in which Abraham gave bread and water to Hagar

before she wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba, challenged the court: "hee replied that if a Father give a child a portion and sent him forth, it was not banishment" (Hall 261). Alluding to the tenth verse--"Cast out this bondwoman and her son"--the General Court reminded Aspinwall that "the Scripture calls it a casting out, not a sending forth" (Hall 261). To crown the final theological repartee, a court member entoned that Aspinwall "was a childe worthy of such a portion" (Hall 261). To the court members, Aspinwall like Hagar deserved only bread and water before he departed Boston.

In Winthrop's version of Aspinwall's behavior, the General Court, having disenfranchised and banished him, gave him until the last of the coming March to depart the colony (Hall 261). But, according to Winthrop, Aspinwall's behavior had brought a much heavier sentence than the Court originally intended:

The Court intended onely to have dis-franchised him, as they had done Mr. Cogshall, but his behavior was so contemptuous, and his speeches so peremptory, that occasioned a further aggravation (Hall 261).

In Winthrop's history the General Court discovered on the next day that Aspinwall had written "the Petition, and drew many to subscribe to it, and some had their names put to it without their knowledge, and in his first draught there was other passages so foule, as hee was forced to put them out,

and yet many had not subscribed, but upon his promise that it should not be delivered without advice of Mr. Cotton, which was never done" (Hall 261). Accusing Aspinwall of writing the petition, affixing the names of people without their knowledge, rewriting it because of abusive passages, and misleading people to believe that the petition would not be delivered without Cotton's advice, the General Court had countered Aspinwall's biblical allusions and arguments, disenfranchised, and banished him. Still it had not finished with him or the other antinomians.

Following the Court's initial judgment of the remonstrants, it also had moved to eliminate them as a potential military threat. On November 20, 1637, the General Court decided that the errors of Wheelwright and Hutchinson had seduced others; and in an allusion to the Munster massacres of sixteenth-century Germany, fearful that the dissidents "as others in Germany, in former times, may, vpon some revelation, make some suddaine irruption vpon those that differ from them in iudgment" (Shurtleff 1: 211), it moved that the antinomians present their weapons before November 30 upon pain of a fine for failure to comply. In the disarming order, William Aspinwall's name appeared as the fourth on the list behind John Underhill, Thomas Oliver, and William Hutchinson (Shurtleff 1: 211). The authorities intended to allow no Munster massacres in Boston, to permit no civil disobedience in Boston.

After the disarmament, some Boston church members moved to call Winthrop to account for the event; but in Winthrop's

version, referring to the doctrine of the calling, he prevented public disorder by speaking to the congregation and reminding them that the church could discipline a magistrate for his private acts as a church member but not for his public ones as a magistrate: "It is true, indeed, that magistrates, as they are church members, are accountable to the church for their failings, but that is when they are out their calling" (Winthrop's Journal 1: 256). Although the state could move to maintain public peace by banishing men with threatening religious ideas, when needed, a state official in his official capacity stood above ecclesiastical censure. Now firmly in control of the situation, the magistrates had squelched religious differences and ensured political stability in the colony. The state had pruned Aspinwall's vision of antinomianism with its promise of a mystical union with Christ.

The Boston antinomian controversy nurtured Aspinwall's later Fifth Monarchy beliefs. Asserting that a union of Christ and the soul showed salvation and that the Holy Spirit illuminated the soul, Aspinwall and the other sectarians had opposed authority, challenged the magistrates' and elders' definition of the New England Way-- and failed. Aspinwall's vision of adjusting the ways of man to the ways of God now had grown beyond his 1630 covenant promise to walk with his fellow men in mutual respect and love. In New England in the antinomian affair, if man could join Christ in an ecstatic union, then the Holy Spirit would show the sinner his

regeneration when it embraced his soul. However, the New England state did not agree with the doctrine of allowing individual Puritans to reach Christ through a mystical experience. Institutions must guide the population into the holy commonwealth. In New England he argued that the ways of Christ lay above the secular law, an important revolutionary element of his Fifth Monarchy program. In his Fifth Monarchy program in the 1650s he extended this antinomianism and emphasized that the ways of Christ superseded the carnal policies of Oliver Cromwell. However, there the state would not allow men to find Christ by themselves: a state machinery would aid the seeker.

The later Fifth Monarchy tracts with their emphasis on a state apparatus seems to contradict the antinomian position, which essentially rejects law and authority and permits the individual believer to find Christ. That Aspinwall many times in his life seems to act opportunistically can not be denied. Of course, Aspinwall might have viewed the antinomian controversy merely as an opportunity to better his position against the Boston authorities⁷. His hot-tempered personality, which always found itself drawn to controversy, might have triggered his involvement. Most probably, though, his advocacy of the antinomian position and his later more conservative Fifth Monarchy tracts reveal a true believer who experimented with different theological approaches to find a way to bring man and Christ together. In the antinomian controversy he adopted a position which opened the way for the individual to assume power; in the Fifth Monarchy tracts he

allocated power state so it could control religious and political matters.

From this perspective, Aspinwall's later English Fifth⁸ Monarchism extended his American antinomian experience . In Massachusetts in the latter 1630s, Aspinwall's private vision demanded tolerance for the doctrine of grace and opposed the covenant of works. After a more conservative decade spent in Massachusetts in the 1640s, Aspinwall changed into an intolerant Fifth Monarchist who expanded his 1630s antinomianism with all its fervency for Christ into a framework for political and religious radicalism in England. The myth would expand from the private, as yet inarticulated garden of the antinomian seeking Christ, to England where proper gardeners, possessed with the shears of authority and power would bring Christ's promises to a bountiful harvest. But before the early 1650s revealed that the old antinomian had not forgotten the movement of the Holy Spirit, Aspinwall tested his beliefs in the wilderness of Beersheba.

NOTES

1

See Lovejoy 62-86 for a discussion of the crisis.

Stoever explores the religious issues in the controversy. Erikson relates the religious issues to the question of law. See Morgan's, Puritan Dilemma. 136-40, and Chapter 10 for background. Ziff examines the theological issues in Chapter 4 in relation to John Cotton. Petit covers the controversy in Chapter 5. Stephen Foster in WMQ 3rd. Ser. 38 (1981) discusses the relationship of antinomianism to the English background (645-51).

2

The General Court dismissed Aspinwall as a deputy in November. On November 6, 1637, the town of Boston after a "warrent from the generall Court, instead of M^r. John Coggeshall and M^r. William Aspenall, Chosen M^r. William Coulborne and John Olyvar, to be ioyned with M^r. William Coddington for Deputyes or Comittees for this present general Court" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 20). Having dismissed Aspinwall and Coggeshall, according to Winthrop, the Court send "word to Boston to chuse two new Deputyes" (Hall 251). However, the order from the General Court at Cambridge did not please the Boston townsmen who "assembled together and agreed (the greater part of them) to send the same Deputyes which the Court have rejected, pretending that it was their liberty, and those were the ablest men" (Hall 252). Cotton then intervned and persuaded the townsmen to pick two

new deputies, one of whom the Court also rejected because he had signed the petition. The town of Boston, aware of the new deputy's role in the matter before they had elected him, refused to respond to a new warrant for a new deputy, a contempt the court overlooked (Hall 252).

3

Erikson explores the political aspects of the controversy. as do Morgan in The Puritan Dilemma and Gura in A Glimpse of Sion's Glory. See Battis for a sociological examination of the affair.

4

According to Battis, any "words which traduced a magistrate were regarded as a seditious libel" (216).

5

A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines, that infected the Churches of New-England contains the petition of 1637, the Court's proceedings against the antinomians, and a summary of Anne Hutchinson's trial, among other documents. Thomas Weld, an agent for New England, wrote a preface for the 1644 London publication. See Hall for a reprint of A Short Story and his comments on the dispute. Wheelwright responded to Weld in Mercurius Americanus. See Lovejoy 81-86 for a discussion of this response.

6

Archaic meanings of misprision include a wrongful action or omission, contempt, scorn, and a failure to appreciate a thing as valuable (OED 6: 523).

7

Battis argues that the antinomian philosophy gave a rising merchant class a weapon against the authorities, which had sought to restrain them.

8

See Lovejoy on millenarian reasons for colonization, 16-

20. See Gura, Chapter 5, on the millenarians in the New World. Bercovitch's The Puritan Origins of the American Self relates the concept of millenarianism to the development of the American myth of an elect nation. Maclear thinks many New Englanders anticipated the Fifth Monarchy 67-68. Solt connects the Fifth Monarchy to antinomianism (Church History 316). See Andrews, volume 1, Chapter 31, on antinomianism. In discussing the millenarian atmosphere in the early colony, Andrews notes that Robert Keayne contributed a book on Daniel and that Aspinwall added several writings, "expository largely of Bible prophecy" (1: 464). Gilsdorf explores New England millenarian writers. See Rosenmeier for another discussion of the theological issues in relation to history, the Holy Spirit, and the millennium. Maclear's "The Heart of New England Rent" posits the importance of the antinomian viewpoint in New England. Holstun defines a Puritan utopia as a promise to subject populations "to a revolutionary program of civil and ecclesiastical discipline, replace customary secular monarchy with a rational, nonhierarchical theocracy, and inaugurate the millennium" (3). Nuttall traces the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Europe and comments that the obverse of the liberty of the spirit, "the government of the spirit", happened "most clearly in the Fifth Monarchy movement" (119).

CHAPTER III

BEERSHEBA: THE FLOWER OF THE GARDEN

And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away: and she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. Genesis 21:14

And Jehoiada made a covenant between the LORD and the king and people, that they should be the LORD'S people; between the king also and the people. 2 Kings 11:17

South around the projection of Cape Cod, Providence Plantation lay between Plymouth territory to the east and Connecticut on the west. On the eastern part of Providence Plantation, Narragansett Bay flowed north to Roger Williams' Providence and northeast into Plymouth territory near Rehoboth. In the bay, Patience Island, Prudence Island, and Aquidneck or Rhode Island commanded the opening of these inland water passages. In the spring of 1637/8 after his banishment from Boston, Aspinwall turned with the other antinomians to establish a life unblemished by authority, a place where he could recovenant in fellowship with man under Jesus Christ. Having failed to convince his opponents in Boston of the covenant of grace, Aspinwall would test anew in

Rhode Island his vision of a holy commonwealth against the reality of men and power in this small garden of water and salt marshes¹ .

What part Aspinwall played in the preliminary plans for southern migration is unknown, but sometime prior to February 28, 1637, Aspinwall wrote to Roger Williams and inquired about the living conditions in Providence, as a letter from Roger Williams to Governor John Winthrop indicates. After informing Winthrop about Indian affairs with sachems Canonicus and Miantonomo, Williams adds as an afterthought a reference to Aspinwall:

Sir, I heard no more as yet from Charlestown men coming this way. Mr. Coxall and Mr. Aspinwall have sent to me about some of these parts, and in case for shelter for their wives and children. (Bartlett The Complete Writings of Roger Williams 89)

With his young children--Hannah, Elizabeth, Samuel -- Aspinwall had reason to worry about shelter because in the winter and spring of 1637/8 snow lay three feet deep from November until early April² .

Besides inquiring ahead about possible shelter, in Boston preparations for the removal included the formation of a political compact³ . Although the part that Aspinwall assumed in its formation is not known, the manuscript copy is in Aspinwall's hand. Of the twenty-three men signing it, William Aspinwall wrote his name after John Coggeshall, William Coddington, John Clarke, and William Hutchinson, Jr.

The men agreed in the compact to establish and bind themselves to the laws of Christ found in the Bible:

We whose names are underwritten do here solemnly in the presence of Jehovah incorporat our selves into a Bodie Politick and as he shall helpe will submit our persons lives and estates, unto our Lord Jesus Christ the King of Kings & Lord of Lords and to all those perfect & most absolute lawes of his given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby.

(William Aspinwall, Compact)

In the Boston meeting the group elected William Coddington as judge and Aspinwall as secretary of the new plantation on March 7, 1637/8 (Bartlett, Records of the Colony of Rhode Island 53 and Chapin 21). Coddington pledged "to do justice and Judgment impartially according to the lawes of God, and to maintaine the Fundamental Rights and Privileges of this Bodies Politick, which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping us so to do" (Barlett, Records of the Colony of Rhode Island 53). At this time Aspinwall still commanded respect among the antinomians preparing to journey south .

To simply characterize this compact as either antinomianism or as a theocracy is to overlook the nature of Puritan government, itself theocratic. James Holstun in A Rational Millennium argues that "all Puritan theories of

government are fundamentally theocratic" (116). Defining theocracy, he points out that where political power resides is the important question:

Theocracy refers not to any particular form of government as do monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, but to a form of political rhetoric that attempts to draw all its authority from an interpretation of Scripture. Given that God seldom intervenes in the details of day-to-day civil administration, the question to pose of any state called a theocracy is, Who determines the voice of God on civil matters--a godly prince, an aristocratic Sanhedrin, a democratic assembly of the saints, or a republican balance of the three? Theocracy is compatible with any of these. (116)

The Boston compact does not clearly designate the locus of power; it expresses a desire to live according to the spirit of Christ's laws. This theocratic resolution pledges the antinomians to the laws of Christ, but it does not provide a form of government, an issue over which the dissidents would argue when they organized their governments.

Although most of the details of the migration--the acquisition of the land, the roles which the participants took in the establishment of Rhode Island, and the method of travel to it--are unknown, by May in Rhode Island the colonists began organizing for life in the wilderness, and surprisingly, considering his previous actions in Boston,

without Aspinwall. According to the Rhode Island town records, Aspinwall apparently did not appear at the town meeting of May 13, 1638, nor do the records list his name for the meeting of May 20, 1638 (Bartlett, Records of the Colony of Rhode Island 53-56). At the meeting, the settlers agreed to accept men as inhabitants or freemen, to construct their town at a spring, to allow everyone an acre of the meadow for a beast, an acre for a sheep, and an acre-and-a-half for a horse. They also decreed that the inhabitants of the island must arm themselves with a musket, a pound of powder, matches, bullets, and a sword (Bartlett, Records 54). The Portsmouth records for May 20 reveal that the men parcelled out land, with most men receiving five or six acres and Coddington obtaining 10 acres of plowing ground (Bartlett, Records 54-57). Aspinwall received no land, or the records fail to mention him, a doubtful oversight because of his former prominence and part in writing the compact⁵.

Whatever the cause of his absence from the meetings, in the time between the signing of the compact and Aspinwall's appointment as secretary on March 7 in Boston and May 13 at a general meeting in Rhode Island something had happened between Aspinwall and the other antinomians. By autumn he still had not settled his problems or differences with the others. His name does not appear at a meeting held on October 23, a meeting at which the town decided to build a prison house (Bartlett, Records 59). Socially or politically, the exiles had not discovered nor implemented a

utopian society under the judgeship of Coddington nor under the laws of Christ as specified in the compact of March 7. Prison houses and whipping posts foreshadowed difficulties in Rhode Island. And to complicate differences, freshly booted out of Plymouth by the authorities for religious and civil insubordination, Samuel Gorton arrived in December 1638 and stirred even more the already unsettled conditions on Aquineck⁶ .

In Rhode Island the realities of personalities and the problems of settlement soon forced the spirit of Christ into the background and pushed the secular nature of politics to the fore- front. Although the records do not list Aspinwall as attending a meeting held on January 2, 1638, the Coddington government shaped the form of its polity. On that date the Coddington faction, without Aspinwall, Hutchinson, or Gorton, agreed to elect Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall, and a Mr. Brenton as elders and attempted to provide a legal system. The elders were to aid Coddington in "drawing up and determining of all such Rules and Laws as shall be according to God, which may conduce to the Good and Wellfare of the Commonweale" (Bartlett, Records 63). Although this instruction implies a government of biblical laws, the next sentence recognizes the authority of the townsmen. Political power emanates from the people to the leaders of the government: "And to them is committed by the Body the whole care and charge of all the affairs thereof" (Bartlett, Records 63). The judge and elders should "Rule and Governe according to the Generall Rule of the word of God, when they

have no particular rule from God's word by the Body proscribed as a direction unto them in the case" (Bartlett, Records 63). The judge and elders should rule by biblical law.

In another qualification upon magisterial rule, the agreement ordered that judge and elders "be accountable unto the Body once every Quarter of the year (when as the Body shall be assembled) of all such cases, actions, and Rules which have passed through their hands" (Bartlett, Records 63). To weigh the judge and elder's decision, the body would scan the decisions and laws and judge them "by the word of Christ" (Bartlett, Records 64). Should members besides the judges and elders arrive at a conclusion contrary to their rulers, then the rulers' determination should "be repealed as the act of the Body" (Bartlett, Records 64). In a meeting held on January 24, 1638, the settlement chose a constable and sergeant to implement the laws (Barlett, Records 65). The Coddington faction had decided to base its government on biblical laws, grant the townsmen some authority, and give the magistrates discretionary power to determine cases appearing before them. In Boston the antinomians had agreed to submit to Christ and his laws; but in Rhode Island men still tended Christ's garden according to their interpretations of the Lord's intentions.

Besides setting up guidelines for a government, the Coddington faction also moved against Aspinwall. The town meeting records of Portsmouth for Februrary 2, 1638, reveal

Aspinwall again in another controversy--this time with his former antinomians and immigrants to Narragansett Bay. Under that date the authorities committed several cases to the judge and elders to solve, and Aspinwall's case--whatever it exactly entailed--topped the list of problems:

These prticular casses vis, To deale wth
Wm Aspinwall Concerning his defaults as
also Concerning Invasions forreine and
domestick as also the determination of
military discipline, & the disposing
of the lands as well hous lotts &
impropriations, is committed to the Judge
& Elders to Agitate & dispose of.

(Chapin 2: 50; Barllett, Records 64)

Within five days the authorities found reasons for more than a problem of default to apply to Aspinwall. On February 7 the judges and elders addressed political behavior:

Mr Aspinwall being a suspected prson for
sedition agst the State it was thought meet
that a stay of the building of the bote should
be made whereupon [the] workman was forbidden
to proceed any further. (Chapin 2: 51)

Once at the center of leadership among the antinomians, now Aspinwall faced his former compatriots on a vague charge of sedition.

Perhaps Aspinwall found in the Coddington government a semblance of too much arbitrary power. According to Winthrop,

"Mrs. Hutchinson exercised publically, and she and her party (some three or four families) would have no magistracy" (Winthrop's Journal 1: 297). Although his animus against Anne Hutchinson clearly shows, if Winthrop correctly characterized Hutchinson's position in regard to the magistrates, Aspinwall, like the Hutchinsons, might have politically disliked the locus of power in the government and his alignment with Gorton and the Hutchinsons suggests that he shared their philosophy which opposed itself to authority. If personal animosities against Coddington did not motivate Aspinwall, then Winthrop's jibe about the antinomian proceedings with the Hutchinsons, and by association Aspinwall, means that the group may have held even more liberal views than the Coddington faction.

But opposition to Coddington did not necessarily mean stability. After commenting that the elders of Boston refused to read an admonition from Hutchinson, Winthrop, remarking "how dangerous it is to slight the censures of the church" observes that "God had given them up to strange delusions" (Winthrop's Journal 1: 297). Ready to stigmatize the x antinomians, Winthrop comments even more about their faults:

This is further to be observed in the delusions which this people were taken with: Mrs. Hutchinson and some of her adherents happened to be at prayer when the earthquake was at Aquiday, etc., and the house being shaken thereby, they were persuaded, (and boasted of it,) that the Holy Ghost did shake it in coming down

upon them, as he did upon the apostles.

(Winthrop's Journal 1: 297)

Political fragmentation and religious intensity now gripped Rhode Island.

In this political and religious environment, with Coddington away in Boston, dissension finally erupted on April 28, 1639: the two factions separated when a contingent supporting Coddington withdrew to establish Newport, took the Portsmouth records with them, and began their own records, leaving the Portsmouth men to form a new political compact. Winthrop describes the nature of the rupture:

At Aquiday the people grew very tumultous, and put out Mr. Coddington and the other three magistrates, and chose Mr. William Hutchinson only, a man of very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the former troubles in the country, and still continued to breed disturbance. (Winthrop's Journal 1: 299)

Aspinwall played a key role in this coup, for at a town meeting on that day the records show that Aspinwall's problems topped the agenda:

Upon the Complaite of Jeffrey Champlin & In the behalfe of a debt due to Wm Cowly & himself from Mr Aspinwall, warrant was granted forth for the Attachmt of his shallopp till both that debt & other Actions of the Case be satisfied &

discharged by him. (Chapin 1: 56; Bartlett,
Records 69)

Following the breakup of the Hutchinson party and the Coddington faction, Hutchinsons' supporters, including Samuel Gorton formed a new civil body on April 30. As his signature to this document shows, Aspinwall sided with the new political order at Pocasset, a polity that instead of the laws of Christ emphasized its allegiance to King Charles and
7
English law :

We whose names are underw[ritten do acknowledge]
ourselves the Loyall subje[cts of his Majestie]
King Charles, and in his na[me do hereby
bind our] selves into a Civill body Politicke:
a[nd do submit] unto his lawes according
[to . . .] matters of Justice: (Chapin 2: 58;
Arnold 133; Freeman 1)

After choosing William Hutchinson as the judge, the settlers then organized themselves at Portsmouth, designating William Freeborne, John Walker, Phillipe Shermon, John Porter, William Balston, and William Aspinwall to "lay out landes as they sh[all be disposed.]" (Chapin 2: 60; Arnold 135; Bartlett Records 71).
8
Once again Aspinwall employed his surveying skills . On the same date that William Hutchinson received 400 acres, on February 12, 1639, the Portsmouth records show that Aspinwall finally obtained land in Rhode Island: "William Aspinwall, two hundred acres

. . . Sandy Point of the same side, to pay . . .
 (Bartlett, Records 73; Freeman 8).

The shifts in political alignments failed to settle the religious situation, though. Contemporary comments about religious gatherings may provide a suggestion for Aspinwall's later penchant for predicting the Second Coming of Christ in his Fifth Monarchy tracts. The religious disagreements on Aquineck continued in 1639 and 1640. Winthrop's comment in May 1639, indicating his animus toward the Rhode Islanders, suggests the nature of the troubles then plaguing the island: "They also gathered a church in a very disordered way; for they took some excommunicated persons, and others who were members of the church in Boston and not dismissed" (Winthrop's Journal 1: 299). Thomas Lechford then in England refers to the church situation between March and August of 1640:

At the Island called Aquedney, are about two hundred families. There was a Church, where one master Clark was Elder: The place where the Church was, is called Newport, but that church, I heare, is now dissolved; as also divers Churches in the Country have been broken up and dissolved through dissension.
 (Lechford 96)

Next, Lechford describes the Portsmouth church, which Aspinwall might have attended in 1640, in such a manner that offers a vague clue to a possible influence in Aspinwall's

later Fifth Monarchism:

At the other end of the Island there is another towne called Portsmouth, but no Church: there is a meeting of some men, who there teach one another, and call it Prophesie. (Lechford 96)

What Lechford meant by Prophesie is tantalizing, and his comment offers a glimmer of possible apocalyptic thinking in Portsmouth. Besides the Boston antinomianism experience, this spiritual freewheeling atmosphere--if Aspinwall attended these gatherings--might have shaped his Fifth Monarchy millenarianism, which included much prophesying about eschatological events .

Whether or not Aspinwall imbibed millenarian influences in this environment and associated with other millenarians is speculation based on the possibilities of his association with other men. But that he was a man capable of choosing different allegiances in a short period of time is not. In his shifts, had Aspinwall pledged to King Jesus in Boston, followed the antinomian spirit of Gorton and Hutchinson against Coddington, and then abandoned the laws of Christ in a second political compact? His name appearing only as a troublemaker to the Coddington faction, as the sedition charges imply, Aspinwall did not participate in this government because of some disagreement. Assuming that he acted from political or religious rather than personal motives and remembering the caveat that an aura of opportunism glows around Aspinwall, Aspinwall's alignment

with the Gorton-Hutchinson faction suggests that at this time he still followed the spirit of antinomianism. If Aspinwall, Gorton, and the Hutchinsons followed the freedom of the spirit, then Coddington's attempt to form a more liberal polity with the provisions allowing for more political expressions from the body of freemen seems like a man opening the government doors after the believers in the freedom of the Holy Spirit have decamped. Also Aspinwall's signing of the second seemingly more secular compact in Portsmouth does not preclude the Boston compact from an antinomian approach to government nor does the Rhode Island secular compact mean that Aspinwall had moved away from King Jesus. The Boston agreement reveals the intent of the signers--to live by Christ's laws. The Rhode Island agreement shows an attempt to grapple with the form of power, and it does not mean that Aspinwall and the others had abandoned a theocratic intent.

Subsequent events revealed that even the settlers' political adjustments failed to alleviate religious disagreements. On February 24, 1639, to check on their former parishioners, Edward Gibbons, William Hibbins, and John Oliver left Boston to visit Aquidneck. Robert Keayne recorded the conversation about the visit at a church meeting on March 16, 1639, following the return of the delegates from Rhode Island. Hibbins reported dangerous passages over rough waters in canoes and the near death of Oliver who fell from a canoe. Oliver recounted to the Boston congregation that the sojourners requested a meeting with the exiles who initially

refused, but then assented to the delegation's desires:

but for reasons in their owne brest, & because of the snowe they did not thinke meete then to give us a meetinge but the next day they promised & did give us a meetinge, Mr Ashpinwall our Brother Boston, Brother Sanfoard & others & we delivered our message & the churches Letter, wch they Read & gave us satisfactory Answers. (Chapin 2: 89)

According to Oliver, the group next travelled to Portsmouth where they attempted to arrange another meeting at Coggeshall's house, but received a rebuff because the Rhode Islanders "denyed our comission & refused to Let our Letter be read, & they Conceave one church hath not power over the members another church, & doe not thinke they are tide to us by our covenant" (Chapin 2: 89). The Hutchinsons received the not unusual disparagement and aspersions about William Hutchinson's masculinity from Hibbins: "Mr Hutchison tould us he was more nearly tied to his wife than to the church; he thought her to be a dear st & servant of god" (Chapin 2: 89).

Some former church members, though, still appeared capable of redemption. At the church meeting, commenting upon the religious differences that the delegates had found in Aquidneck, Cotton distinguished between those at Portsmouth who completely refused to hear from the church and to submit to its discipline and others who "doe not refuse to hear the church but Anser as farr as they can goe, only some scruple the covenant, & others other things but doe not

reject the church" (Chapin 90). He also separated those dissidents that the church had excommunicated, some of whom remaining firmly obstinate to advice from Boston, others acting from ignorance, such as "mrs Harding & mrs dyar, who acknowledgeth the churches & desiar Communion with us still" (Chapin 2: 90). According to Cotton, though, by this time, Aspinwall had realized his mistake in the antinomian controversy:

And for mr Ashpinwall, he now beinge satisfied of the Righteous & just proceedings of the church in castinge out some of our members & soe refuseth to have any communion with them in the thinges of god. (Chapin 2: 90)

Apparently, Aspinwall had separated himself from the others because of religious differences. His disassociation conformed to a tendency of religious fission among the Rhode Island planters. Winthrop noted in his journal that the exiles split upon their arrival:

Many of Boston and others, who were of Mrs. Hutchinson's judgment and party, removed to the Isle of Aquiday; and others, who were of the rigid separation, and savored anabaptism, removed to Providence, as those parts began to be well peopled. (Winthrop's Journal 1: 273-74)

At another point writing of the religious differences, Winthrop refers to Nicholas Easton, one of the elders elected under Coddington's arrangement:

Those who were gone with Mrs. Hutchinson to Aquiday fell into new errors daily. One Nicholas Easton, a tanner, taught, that gifts and graces were that antichrist mentioned Thess., and that which withheld, etc., was the preaching of the law; and that every of the elect had the Holy Ghost and also the devil indwelling. (Winthrop's Journal 1: 284)

Why and when Aspinwall eventually tired of this sectarianism remains unknown; but whatever Aspinwall's feelings about religious affairs on Rhode Island, according to Hibbins' report to the Boston church, he lived apart from the Hutchinsons and other settlers at Portsmouth when the delegation arrived in the latter part of February 1639/40. And Cotton affirmed at this time that Aspinwall nearly a year after the coup had exhibited a change of heart, unlike some of his other Aquidneck brethern.

However, Hibbins and Cotton, perhaps overly sanguine about the discords on the island and too ready to believe in the correctness of their position in the controversy, might have incorrectly assessed relations between Aspinwall and his brethern on Rhode Island, because, in a letter in Aspinwall's handwriting, Aspinwall, William Hutchinson Jr., William Baulston, and John Sanford on June 29, 1640, from Portsmouth alerted authorities in Boston about the marital difficulties of Barborah and James Dabice. Having received a letter from Barborah, who once had lived with them, the men responded to her separated husband's complaints about his wife,

accusations they called "false because they proved so to be when they weare inquired into" (William Aspinwall, letter ms. 15, Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society.) James' confession to them had refuted his own slander in Boston. He had admitted to them that his wife had not denied "benevolence, according to y^e rule God" and that she "did & had given her body to him" (William Aspinwall, letter ms. 15, Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society). Aspinwall and the others wrote that they had heard that James denied to the Boston authorities that his wife was pregnant, a false assertion because Barborah gave him "mariage fellow ship untill he did come under your goverment" (William Aspinwall, letter ms. 15, Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society). While living with Aspinwall, James spent time in the stocks because he disturbed the peace "at unseasonable houers whenas people weare in bedd, & wthall for his cursinge & swearing & the like" (William Aspinwall, letter ms. 15. Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society), not because of his wife's actions. With Aspinwall and the others, he lived a scandalous life, "offencive to men sinfull before god" (William Aspinwall, letter ms. 15. Rhode Island Historical Society). James, no working saint, acted like " a very Drone sucking up the hony of his wifes labour" and "taking no paines to provide for her, but spending one month after another wth out any labour at all" even though threatened by the government" (William Aspinwall, letter ms. 15, Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society).

Besides his drinking, idleness, and mistreatment of Barborah, James indulged in forbidden sexual deviances-- "indeed he could not keepe from boyes & servants, secrete passages betixt him & his wife about the muryage bedd" (William Aspinwall, letter ms. 15, Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society). Although James did not comport himself as a good Puritan, Barborah, "whose life was unblamabl before men for anything we know" (William Aspinwall, letter ms. 15, Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society), lived with them for about three-fourths of a year. Her master testified to them that she served well and remained faithful to James while working for him. Aspinwall and the others hope that this testimony from "the mouth of 2 or 3 wittnesses" will acquit the innocent and reward the guilty "according to his worth" (William Aspinwall, letter, ms. 15, Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society). As Aspinwall's involvement in the Dabices' marital problems indicates, if he did live apart from his brethern he nevertheless associated with them and concerned himself with their delinquent behavior. This tendency to monitor the moral behavior of the state's citizens would become a part of his holy utopia.

About nine months after the rupture between the Newport and Portsmouth men, writing to Winthrop on December 9, 1639, Coddington recounted the coup and hoped for a possible reconciliation between the groups:

Things are in fare better passe conserning our civill governmentt then they have bene, divers Famelyes being come in that had revolted from

ther owne acte, & have given satisfaction. Mr. Gorton & Mrs. Hutchson doth oppose it. It was hached when I was last in the Baye, & the Lord, I hope, will shortely putt an esew to it.

(Chapin 2: 56-57)

Coddington had correctly predicted coming events, for the fissures in Rhode Island's political groups eventually healed after some further realignments. Some of the impetus for this new association may have come from a change of heart in Anne Hutchinson, which Robert Baylie noted in A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time:

Mr. Williams related to me, that Mistris Hutchinson (with whom he was familiarly acquainted, and of whom he spake much good) after she had come to Rid Island, and her husband had beene made Governour there, she persuaded him to lay down his Office upon the opinion which newly she had taken up of the unlawfulnessse of Magistracy (qtd. in Chapin 2: 60)

In view of the Hutchinsons' prior behavior in Boston and in the disputes on Rhode Island with Coddington, it is questionable that Anne now suddenly disagreed about the legality of a magistrate--at least she had agreed with it enough to see William elected as an assistant following the coup. Although the Gorton party still opposed the union of Newport and Portsmouth, in the new settlement Hutchinson was elected an assistant in a General Court meeting at Newport on

March 12, 1639/40 (Chapin 68). The Hutchinsons' political expediency had asserted itself over antinomian rhetoric. Gorton, however, received another banishment and a whipping for challenging the Coddington move for reunification. From Portsmouth, he travelled to Providence and then to Shawomet, where in a few years he would provide an important stepping stone for Aspinwall.

Aspinwall's position in Rhode Island grows even hazier after the Coddington government came to power. As Chapin points out, Aspinwall's name does not appear on the list of qualified freemen in 1641. Of the classes of freemen, inhabitants, and temporary residents, those who signed the compact "were ipso facto Freemen, and all of them with the exception of William Aspinwall, who was suspected of sedition in 1638 and probably disenfranchised, are listed as Freemen in 1641" (116). Either Aspinwall had decided not to participate in the new order or those establishing it remembered Aspinwall's former behavior.

Though not a part of the new settlement on Rhode Island in 1641, Aspinwall received important religious and political influences in the tumultuous years in Rhode Island. In Boston his signing of the March 7 compact clearly reveals his theological intent; on Rhode Island he aligned himself with the Hutchinsons and Gorton in the political infighting on the island. Although adjusting himself to political realities, Aspinwall did not necessarily ever abandon the vision of his later Fifth Monarchy writings--the creation of a religious and political polity to conform the ways of man to God--but

he questioned the methods to achieve those ends. After the reunification of Newport and Portsmouth, he had not discovered those methods with Gorton, Coddington, nor the Hutchinsons. The Hibbins' visit and Cotton's comment reveal an uneasy Aspinwall living with his family apart from the others; but his letter to Boston shows a Puritan still concerned about the moral behavior of his neighbors and willing to assert himself. In Rhode Island he measured his myth of living with Christ against the political behavior of men and discovered that men--including himself--did not always agree on the means or ways to find Christ.

In terms of religion, the shadows on Rhode Island obscure as much as the faint suggestive comments from the period enlighten. Living in Portsmouth, Aspinwall certainly heard differing religious views, and Lechford's political bias aside, the lawyer's comments indicate a possible apocalyptic and millenarian atmosphere on the island, one which may have contributed to his later Fifth Monarchism. Having survived a brutal winter of privation and scarcity of 1639/40, Aspinwall left the Aquineck with more experiences in radical religion and politics. His later Fifth Monarchy writings reveal that he never forgot the nature of man and that if earth were to become a new Canaan, men needed control and guidance--if not from Christ, then from their fellow men. His Fifth Monarchy writings recount a vision defeated in America and reveal the failure of this myth, which had darkened in the early years in Boston during the antinomian crisis and now in the

sectarian activity on Rhode Island. In England during the Interregnum, Christ no longer walks with man in the garden; but man, awaiting a future, cultivates his green island with a system to govern the unnatural growths springing from man's behavior.

While Aspinwall had joined the Hutchinson faction in the antinomian controversy and then embroiled himself in the politics of the fledgling plantation of Portsmouth on Aquineck, John Davenport and Samuel Easton worked to establish plantations along the jagged coastal area south of Aquidneck off present day Long Island and north of New Netherland, Swedish settlements at the mouth of the Delaware River. Davenport returned to England in 1636 from Holland, organized a company of colonists, and arrived in Massachusetts Bay in early May of 1637 at the height of the antinomian controversy. Aware that New Haven lay within a grant of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, to some English friends, Easton and others nevertheless journeyed around Cape Cod in August 1637 to explore the territory as a possible settlement site. By the middle of April 1638, Davenport and settlers had entered the harbor at Quinnipiac, the future New Haven south of Plum Island and across the channel from Long Island. In August 22 they established a church government and later implemented a civil government on October 25, 1639¹⁰ .

While the plantations south of Rhode Island acquired land from the Indians and organized themselves under the influence of John Cotton's code, William Aspinwall had grown weary of

11

life in Rhode Island . He wandered to New Haven where he appeared before the General Court on March 2, 1641 and witnessed a trial based on biblical law. There witnesses confronted George Spencer with his own confessions of bestiality. William Harding confirmed that Spencer had said that a certain Thomas Badger had committed a worse sin than his moral crime: "for Badger lay wth a Christian, butt himselfe the prisoner, lay butt wth a rotten sow and the p^rson being then asked by him the said Harding, how he could make the sow stand, he answered well enough" (Hoadly). A Robert Newman and Matthew Gilbert told the court that Spencer had informed them that he performed his sexual acts for "about halfe an hower, and itt was the most terrible halfe hower thatt ever he had" being driven "by the power of the devill and the strength of his [corr]uptio to doe the thing" (Hoadly 67). William Aspinwall, so many times ready to object to inconsistencies, corroborated the evidence of the other deponents:

Will Aspenall affirmeth thatt he confessed the sinne to him, and being asked att whatt time he did itt, he said after he came from Connecticut, in Mr. Browings stable.

Will Aspinall objected how could thatt be, seeing he was nott then in Mr. Brownings service, he said he had busines there; being asked whatt business, he was silent. (Hoadly 67)

With this battery of witnesses and Spencer's former

confessions, the court found the "prisoner to be guilty of this unnatureall and abominable fact of bestiality" (Hoadly 69). They sentenced Spencer according "to the fundamentall^t agreem^t, made and published by full and gen^{rll} consent, when the plantation began and government was settled, that the judicial^l law of God given by Moses and expounded in other parts of scripture, so far as itt is a hedg and a fence to the morrall law, and neither ceremoniall nor tipical, or had any referrence to Canaan, hath an everlasting equity in itt, and should be the rule of their proceedings" (Hoadly 69). Judging the crime according to Leviticus 20 and 15, the court sentenced the pig and the prisoner to death.

While in New Haven, Aspinwall, then, received exposure to a legal system in which the magistrates and general court judged moral offenses upon biblical law. Although no evidence shows the exact dates of Aspinwall's stay in New Haven--he may have travelled to other places following his time in Rhode Island--the records show that he appeared in yet another legal situation in a place where conservative Puritans had erected a biblical polity to withstand anarchism and confusion. They thought that men could control other men under the guidance of Christ, a key element in Aspinwall's Fifth Monarchy writings.

Unfortunately, no tracts or letters from Aspinwall exist from the Rhode Island and New Haven period to prove that Aspinwall's later Fifth Monarchy writings--which differ philosophically so much from his antinomian leanings in

Boston and Portsmouth--grew directly from his experiences in those two plantations. But the Fifth Monarchy writings and his participation in events in Rhode Island and New Haven, coupled with the premise that Aspinwall searched for a vision of the holy commonwealth, argue that the Rhode Island and New Haven adventures were experiences which contributed to his rejection of antinomianism and to his final Fifth Monarchy beliefs, which stressed that men needed a state to guide them into a closer union with Christ. His 1650 English literary records are, in effect, a delayed testimonial to an American dream that he found wanting in New England.

The years since his arrival in the New World had exposed him to much. Not afraid of controversy, Aspinwall now 36 years old, had sailed to a wilderness; settled briefly in Charlestown; moved to Boston and held important political and church offices; suffered banishment from Boston for his part in the antinomian affair; embroiled himself in Rhode Island's radical politics; and surfaced at a sexual trial in conservative New Haven. But, always seeking, he once again turned towards Boston to find financial and social success--
12
and more difficulties .

NOTES

1

See Brindenbaugh's Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience for a discussion of the agricultural-mercantile basis of Rhode Island. He thinks that the move was skillfully planned in advance (22).

2

See Kupperman for information about the extremely harsh weather conditions.

3

Chapin argues that the disenfranchised and disarmed men signed the compact at Boston on March 7, 1637/8 and that Aspinwall wrote the compact in Boston prior to the group's departure because Clarke in Ill-Newes from New England states that the committee searching for a new place to live left in the spring, "by which he could scarcely mean before March 7" (qt. in Chapin 2: 21) and because Winthrop wrote of the expedition in an entry for March 22. Andrews thinks Aspinwall departed in April by boat with Coggeshall, Clarke, Coddington, Dyer, and Holden (219).

4

See Chapin for documents relating to the establishment of Rhode Island. Winthrop also has some comments in his Journal about the acquisition and removal to Rhode Island (1: 273; 299).

5

Chapin argues that Aspinwall probably went to the island with the settlers, but did not attend "the town meetings because of his disagreement with the leaders" who charged him

with defaults in January 1638 (Chapin 33).

⁶ Chapin views Gorton as the corrosive catalyst in an already politically explosive alembic. Suggesting that Coddington's autocratic methods grated the Hutchinsonian group which viewed him as a "religious opponent", Chapin thinks Gorton aided in the Hutchinsonian group's attempt to "increase its political power in order to safeguard its religious views" (47). See 291 in Gura's Sions Glory for an explanation of Gorton's religious views. Richman interprets the March 7 compact as conservative (30). Maclear discusses the millenarianism of the first compact (75).

⁷ But the document also shows the names of William Aspinwall and William Huale, the seventh and eighth on the list of 31 men, at sometime were crossed out. Chapin may be correct in thinking that someone removed their names from the compact after the two men moved from Portsmouth (Chapin 2: 59).

⁸ While Aspinwall secured land in Rhode Island, Boston continued to conduct the routine business of the town. On March 25, 1639, the selectmen "granted to our Brother Valentine Hill to build a fitting house and shopp upon the house plott which he hath bought that was our brother Mr. William Aspinwall's and to lett it to Francis Lysle, Barber" (Second Report, Boston Town Records 38). Aspinwall also owned a house still standing on Pullen Point which, as Winthrop reported, figured in an accident involving bad weather. On January 13 about 30 persons who went to Spectacle Island to cut wood were caught in a snow storm:

"In this twelve of them gate to the Governor's Garden, and seven more were carried in the ice in a small skiff out at Broad Sound, and kept among Brewster's Rocks, without food or fire, two days, and then the wind forbearing, they gate to Pullin Point, to a little house there of Mr. Aspenwall's. Three of them gate home the next day over the ice, but their hands and feet frozen. Some lost their fingers and toes, and one died" (Winthrop's Journal 1: 258).

9

Maclear speculates about Fifth Monarchy leanings in the Newport church in regards to John Clarke: "Twelve years later when three members of this Baptist meeting made their famous missionary journey to Massachusetts, they improved their Boston imprisonment by testifying to the coming of the Fifth Monarchy. And the most prominent of their number, John Clarke, was soon to contribute to Fifth Monarchy agitation in England" (75).

10

See Calder's The New Haven Colony and "John Cotton and the New Haven Colony" for history of New Haven and the relation of John Cotton's Moses His Judicals to the plantation.

11

In Quinnipiac, the future New Haven, John Cotton's legal code influenced the colony's development. See "John Cotton and the New Haven Colony" for the connection of the Cotton code to the New Haven.

12

Aspinwall also departed Rhode Island with a new family member if she survived conditions there, for although records vary as to the exact dates and do not list a death date,

Elizabeth bore him another daughter, Dorcas, either in February 1639 or 1640. See Algernon Aspinwall 16; NEHGR 76; Savage 71.

CHAPTER IV
PUBLIC TRIUMPH

"ffor such as is the Credit of the pson, such
wilbe the creditt of his acts & bookes" William
Aspinwall, 1652

Success, not difficulties, initially greeted Aspinwall upon his return to Boston. Although no document exists to show how Aspinwall contacted the General Court, after the trial of Spencer, he indicated by some means to the magistrates and deputies that he wished to discuss his banishment. The Boston authorites were amenable to his request. On October 7, 1641, nearly four years after his departure from Boston, Aspinwall received a safe conduct pass, probably from the Standing Council to discuss his situation ¹. How he conducted himself before the council would determine his future in regards to Massachusetts:

"Willi: Aspinwall hath a safe conduct granted him to come & satisfy the counsell, &, if they thinke meete, to stay till the Generall Court; if not, hee is to depart till the General Court, & then hee hath liberty to come to the Genrall Court" (Shurtleff 1:338). The banished son and his family had received a qualified permission to return from the wilderness of Rhode Island and New Haven to the properly manicured colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Aspinwall must have persuaded the council about his political rehabilitation, because he faced a Boston church meeting prior to appearing before the General Court session in the spring of the following year². On March 27, 1642, he confessed his former transgressions to the Boston congregation:

Mr. William Aspenwall, who had been banished, as is before declared, for joining with Mr. Wheelwright, being licensed by the general court to come and tender his submission, etc., was this day reconciled to the church of Boston.

(Winthrop's Journal 2: 56)

The man who supposedly had written the foul and abusive petition and who had challenged the court's decision of banishment in 1637 now "made a very free and full acknowledgment of his error and seducement, and that with much detestation of his sin" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 56). Having satisfied his church, the former radical appeared before "the magistrates, who were appointed by the court to take his submission, and upon their certificate thereof at the next general court, his sentence of banishment was released" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 56). The General Court's release followed on May 18, 1642, when it decided that "William Aspinwall, upon his petition & cirtifficat of his good carriage is restored againe to his former liberty & freedome" (Shurtleff 2: 3). No promise of fellowship or church ritual marked his transition into public life. He had confessed the sinful delusions of his past follies, and the

government and church admitted him again into a bustling Boston community.

Having received the ecclesiastical and civil imprimatur necessary to a new life, Aspinwall quickly set about establishing himself in the colony's political affairs. He soon found a method when Samuel Gorton's radical actions gave Massachusetts Bay Colony the excuse to intercede in affairs beyond its borders, and they allowed Aspinwall a chance to even old scores from his Rhode Island days and to demonstrate his loyalty to Boston officials. Gorton left Rhode Island after the disputes there and journeyed to Providence. On November 17, 1641, a little more than six months after Aspinwall had appeared at the Spencer trial in New Haven, Gorton's actions in Providence caused thirteen Rhode Islanders to accuse Gorton and some of his followers of disorderly government and to appeal to Massachusetts Bay for help in correcting Gorton's abuses. The Bay Colony authorities reasoned that they could not aid the petitioners unless they submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay government. On September 8, 1642, shortly after the General Court had readmitted Aspinwall to Boston, William Arnold, Robert Coal, William Carpenter, and Benedict Arnold, residents of Pawtuxit, a district claimed by Providence, submitted to Massachusetts' jurisdiction. Seeing an opportunity to expand into the Narragansett Bay and to use Pawtuxit as a military base against the Indians, the Massachusetts General Court issued a warrant to the residents

of Providence in which it defended the position of the Arnolds.

Disliking the meddling of Massachusetts, Gorton on November 20, 1642, fired off a nasty letter to the Massachusetts authorities, disputed the colony's claims, and pointed out some of its religious errors. But, frightened by the Bay Colony's intentions, Gorton and his friends moved to Shawoment, new lands south of Pawtuxit. In January 1643, Gorton met with Miantonomo, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, and offered to buy the land. Miantonomo forced Pumham, the local sachem of the region, to agree to the sale in Miantonomo's name, and Pumham acted as a witness to the transaction. This land transaction provided the opening the Massachusetts authorities had sought. Fearing that the bands of Pumham and Socononoco, another sachem, would fall to the Narragansetts and that Gorton and Miantonomo would sever their trade connections, the Arnolds in the spring of 1643 travelled to Boston with Pumham and Socononoco to complain of the land transaction by Miantonomo and Gorton and to put themselves under Massachusetts protection. At the May 1643 session, the General Court asked Gorton and Miantonomo to appear in Boston and appointed a committee to deal with Pumham and Socononoco .

With others Aspinwall served on this committee. Gorton refused to come to Boston, but Miantonomo, Pumham, and Socononoco made the journey. After testimony from another Indian, the Massachusetts authorities concluded that Pumham and Socononoco were free sachems and not vassals of the

powerful Miantonomo; and after questioning, they permitted
 Pumham and Socononoco to subject themselves to the
 authorities⁴. On June 22, 1643, Pumham and Socononoco put
 themselves and their subjects, lands, and estates "under the
 gov^r m^t & iurisdiction of the Massachusets, to bee gov^r ned &
 p^r tected by them according to their iust lawes & ord^r s"
 (Shurtleff 2: 40).

Aspinwall's appointment to serve on the committee shortly
 after his reacceptance in the colony smacks of political
 opportunism. Although no documentary evidence provides a
 smoking gun, having associated with Gorton in the sectarian
 activities of Rhode Island, Aspinwall's appointment occurred
 at a propitious time when the former radical wanted to
 demonstrate his loyalty to the government. Aspinwall knew
 Gorton, and his service on this committee suggests that the
 Boston authorities rewarded Aspinwall for his cooperation
 against Gorton by placing him in a position to help them. And
 as his former political shifts demonstrate and his later
 self-serving behavior would indicate, the future Fifth
 Monarchist was capable of using his knowledge of Gorton to
 further his own affairs. Thus, quickly after his
 reacceptance into the colony, Aspinwall had moved closer to
 the center of political power⁵.

If the affair with Gorton demonstrates Aspinwall's
 ability to turn former political associations to his
 advantage, his part in a visionary scheme for wealth shows
 his leadership abilities and his mercantile interests. Not

long after returning to Boston, Aspinwall joined with a group of merchants seeking to discover a fabled lake, the mother lode of beaver pelts, which supposedly lay in the Lake Champlain area⁶. Realizing that the Dutch controlled the Hudson River and knowing the difficulties of navigating in New Hampshire and Maine beyond the fall line, Aspinwall and other merchants looked beyond the New Haven colonies to the Delaware River as an access to the lake.

On March 7, 1643/44, Aspinwall with Valentine Hill, William Tinge, Thomas Clarke, Robert Sedgwick, Francis Norton and Joshua Hewes received the General Court's answer to their petition which sought to found a trading company. The court established the men as "a free company of adventueres, wth liberty to admit & take in any w^{ch} they thinke meete for the advancement of the worke" (Shurtleff 2: 60). Granting the adventurers' power to make orders for their company, the court also gave them a monopoly:

That whatsoever trade they shall discover in those parts wth in three yeares next ensuing, (if the Lord so blesse their endeavo^rs,) they may enioy it solely to themselues & the rest of their company for twenty & one yeares after such discovery is made.
(Shurtleff 2: 60)

Included within the monopoly, a technical illegality since the law code of 1641 prohibited monopolies, the company received authority to "inhibite & restraine any other pson or psons whatsoever" (Shurtleff 2: 60) who attempted to

interfere in the beaver trade. If the company should discover anyone interfering with their trade, then it could seize the intruder's goods. And, finally, the court granted the merchants' request for official approval by "Co^rts letters, under the publiq seale, unto the Dutch or Swedes" (Shurtleff 2: 60). In a March 21, 1643, entry, Winthrop reported the intent of the company and its goals. Petitioning the court, the merchants supposed that the lake lay "in the north-west part of our patent" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 164). According to the governor, the "court was very unwilling to grant any monopoly, but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their desire" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 164). Shortly after the court granted the monopoly, in April the court chartered the company, and the merchants organized 700^{li} of equipment and supplies (The New England Merchants 52). Now the merchants only needed to find the lake to ensure their bonanza⁷.

The details of Aspinwall's journey past New Haven and to the Delaware River come primarily from Winthrop's journal. Carrying "letters from the governor to the Dutch and Swedish governors", the men departed Boston in a "pinnace well manned and furnished with provisions and trading stuff, which was to sail up Delaware river so high as they could go" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 164). "William Aspenwall, a good artist, and one who had been in those parts" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 164)) led the men in canoes up the river and carried letters from Governor Winthrop to Governor Printz, the Swedish governor.

Writing in Latin, the official language of government communication, Winthrop recounts the friendly relations existing between the English and Swedes and knows that Printz understands that "all the English in this country will be solicitious at all times to conduct themselves toward you and your people with like zeal and good will, and treat them in an honorable manner" (NEHGR 28: 48). Printz expresses the same harmonious intent and saccharine diplomacy:

Greetings: I gladly received your letter by the bearer, Mr. William Aspinwall, signifying that I should regard him as commended to me, and as nothing could have been more grateful to me than to do this such a way as that he may understand that this your recommendation has been of great service to him, therefore, without delay, and on the spot, I wrote to the officers here in our fort that they should not in any manner hinder him, or in any way molest him, but that they should permit him to go and return freely and safely, and that wherever his business might call him, they should cheerfully assist his journey, under the public faith and security, in any other necessities. Moreover, lest any one should do him violence I sent one of my subjects with him as far as the Dutch forts at Nassau; but why he is not permitted to pass through the Dutch country, he can make it known in person.

(NEGHR 28: 48)

Although Printz claimed he had observed the correct protocol in sending the explorers to find the New England El Dorado of beaver dens, Aspinwall would need to explain in person about the difficulties the English adventurers had encountered.

In an entry under March 1644, Winthrop related that his Latin letters for safe conduct failed to silence Dutch cannons or sober a sot manning the merchants' pinnace. Reporting on the loss of the voyage, Winthrop recounted that "the Dutch governor made a protest against them, yet promised them leave to pass, etc., provided they should not trade with the Indians: also the Swedish governor gave them leave to pass, but would not permit them to trade; and for that end each of them had appointed a pinnace to wait upon our pinnace" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 190-191). Apparently the Swedes and the Dutch agreed that exploring the Delaware conformed to diplomatic rhetoric and that international courtesy stopped at beaver-pelt profit. Besides the intransigence of the Dutch and Swedes, the merchants faced the power of liquor: "but withal the master of their vessel proved such a drunken sot, and so complied with the Dutch and Swedes, as they feared, when they should have let the vessel to have gone up to the lake in a small boat, he would in his drunkenness have betrayed their goods, etc., to the Dutch" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 191).

Winthrop also elaborated upon the failed search for the lake. In his version, the governor stated that the Dutch allowed the explorers to pass under protest, but that the

Swedes fired at the adventurers from their fort before the English approached. They anchored, and the next morning, "being the Lord's day, the lieutenant came aboard them, and forced them to fall down lower" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 181). Aspinwall in response complained to the governor about the lieutenant's conduct, "both in shooting at them before he had hailed him, and in forcing them to weigh anchor on the Lord's day" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 181). For Aspinwall, his Puritan religion overruled the exigencies of beaver trading and foreign diplomacy. Winthrop's version explains that the Swedish governor acknowledged his error, but that the Dutch having come down to the Swedes' fort, showed "express order from the Dutch governor not to let him pass, whereupon they returned" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 181). Evidently, the Swedish governor's word carried little authority with his subordinates, though, because the Swedes enacted a toll duty for using powder and shot against the English: "But before they came out of the river, the Swedish lieutenant made them pay 40 shillings for that shot which he had unduly made" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 181). The search for the mythical beaver lake thus ended before the hostility of the Dutch and Swedes.

Once home in Boston, the merchants sought to recover their investments. According to Winthrop, Aspinwall and company arrived in Boston on July 5, 1644, muttering no doubt about the niceties of Dutch and Swedish courtesy. Soon the merchants went after the drunken master of the pinnace,

"bringing their action against the master both for his drunkenness and denial to proceed as they required, as by charter party he was bound" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 190).
 Winthrop thought their 200¹ court judgment "was too much, though he did deal badly with them, for it was very probable they could not have proceeded" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 191).

After the Swedish hospitality of the first trip,
 Aspinwall did not take part in a second expedition.⁸
 Instead, Aspinwall served in a minor government post that he had received prior to the voyage and which began his exposure to the legal and political affairs of the colony. On September 7, 1643, the General Court had appointed him as "clarke of the writts for Boston" (Shurtleff 2: 45), an office which issued summonses and attachments pertaining to civil proceedings and recorded the births and deaths of the community.⁹

In an undated petition to the General Court, Aspinwall addressed some of the duties required of the clerk of the writs and requested procedural changes in the process of recording births, deaths, and marriages in the colony. Because the General Court had ordered that the "Clerks of the writts shall yearely present a register of all births & burials in the severall townships unto the Recorder", Aspinwall wants "the midwives & such as keepe the burieing places to keepe an account of such births & deaths that the Clerkes may have resort unto them" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 9; 29, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). He thinks that

this procedure will help avoid mistakes and that it will remove the "very tedious & burdensome service" of the clerk going hose to house" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 9: 29, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Also pointing out that the court orders the recorder to keep a register of marriages, he wonders if the court intends "that such psons shall pay their fees to the Recorder or no" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 9: 29, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). He also requests the court to decide on a beginning date of the year so that "we may knowe a certaine Rule whereby all instrments or Arts & Writts issued forth in the Courts name may be dated" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms undated, 9: 29, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts).

The General Court responded favorably to Aspinwall's request. It ordered that "all parents M^{ts} of Servants exuators and administrato^{rs} " take the names of those of "such belonging to them or any them as shall either be borne or dye and that the new married man shall stand likewise bound to bring in a certificate of his marriage under the hand of that maiestrate w^c married him, to the clarke of the writs" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 9: 29, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). The court also instructed the clerk of the writs to take a certificate to the recorder, and it set up a

graduated scale of financial penalties for those failing to take names to the clerk.

After the Delaware expedition, Aspinwall received two important government jobs that had evolved in Boston as the machinery of the colony's legal affairs matured. On November 13, 1644, the General Court appointed Aspinwall to the office of recorder "till y^e next Co^rt of Election" (Shurtleff 2: 84). On the same date, the court also designated him as the "publique notary for this iurisdiction" (Shurtleff 2: 80). His oath of office required him to perform his duty faithfully and to keep a record of his actions:

You (W A) heer swear by the name of a Publick Notarie, to which you have been chosen, you shall demean your selfe diligentlie and faithfully according to the dutie of your office. And in all writings, instruments & articles that you are to give testimonie unto, when you shall be required, you shall perform the same trulie and sinceerlie according to the nature therof, without delay or covin. And you shall enter, and keep a true Register of all such things as belong to your office. So help &c
(Farrand 57)

Besides exposing him to the inner working of Massachusetts government and associating him with the colony's leaders, the offices remunerated Aspinwall handsomely¹⁰. The dissident who had formerly violated his own town order in the pursuit of money now seemed to have

attained the American dream of public success and financial security in government paper work¹¹ .

So remaining in Boston, Aspinwall began his notarial records on November 20, 1644, a transcript of the legal and business transactions that he witnessed as a notary public¹² . As a record of a public notary, Aspinwall's books show a colonial officer busily meeting the demands of a mercantile economy and recording the public's affairs in the bustling Boston of the later 1640s.

Much of his work meant attesting to powers of attorney in Massachusetts Bay. For example on May 29, 1649, he attested to the granting of the power of attorney from a Robert Saltonstall to Richard Collecot of Dorchester "to Recover & receive all debts due to him from any Psons inhabiting at Connecticut by vertue of a procuracy from his ffather Dated the 30 march 1639" (Thirty-Second Report 21). Edmund Jackson, a Boston shoemaker, granted the power of attorney to Willam Cooly "to recover a debt due to him for shoes from James Till dwelling at or neere Newhaven" (Thirty-Second Report 24). Besides witnessing transactions of colonists attempting to recover money or goods from other New Englanders, Aspinwall verified grants of attorney between individual persons in America and those in England or her colonies. On September 21, 1648, he affirmed a grant of attorney from Paul Allistree to Nicholas Davison to recover debts owed Richard Pickford of Maderas (Thirty-Second Report 158). He entered in his book on November 26, 1650, a lengthy

notation showing that "W^m Stanley & Peter le Gay inhabitants
& merch^{ts} of the towne & County Southton in England . . . &
place putt James ffauntleroy & Joseph Barton of the s^d towne
& County of Southton" (Thirty-Second Report 345) as attorneys
in their affairs.

Besides affixing his notary seal to powers of attorney, Aspinwall also witnessed many other types of mercantile affairs that often led him to the wharves of Boston to examine cargoes, to protest for disputants in business affairs, and to attest to the financial agreements of merchants, sailors, and shipowners. On March 27, 1647, he attested "unto a Copie of a Bill wherein Robt Mason of London Merch acknowledgeth to have Received of Nicholas Davison of Lond: merch^t two watches" (Thirty-Second Report 73). On November 19, 1648, he certified that the Bridge of Boston^{ts} "belonged to some Merch^{ts} in the bay being bound for trade to N: Haven. N. nethland Virginia & else where in America & Caribee Islands & Barmudas" (Thirty-Second Report 172). Frequently, he witnessed the sales of ships or part ownerships of ships. He notarized in October of 1648 that "Henry Sandis & Issac Grosse sould unto Richard Cutts one halfe part of the barke Hope & halfe of all the masts sailes &c: to have and to hould unto him his Execut. Administ & Assignes forever" (Thirty-Second Report 189).

Bills of exchange, the financial method commonly facilitating interatlantic trade, frequently passed before him, and he often functioned as a middle man in mercantile disputes. He entered in his notarial records on February

1648 a citation of an endorsed bill of exchange of July 17, 1648, and a letter by Valentine Hill, an old acquaintance from early Boston and Rhode Island days, to his brother John Hill in England (Thirty-Second Report 197). On May 4, 1649, as notary public he went before Henry Stephen, merchant of the ship St. Mary of Hamborough, to protest to Henry Katt for "for all Damages w^{ch} the s^d merch^t already hath or hereafter shall sustaine since the time that he halled up his shipp to wash or trim unto the day shee shall take in her ladeing" (Thirty-Second Report 207). On May 29, 1649, he appeared on the request of William Stretton of Bristol, a merchant, before Thomas Venner and others and protested "against them and every of them for that their shipp called the Content^{ch} (w^{ch} by Charter ptie ought to have beene ready to sett saile the 10th of Aprill) did not set saile for marblehead untill the 18th of this instant, and for that the said Shipp is not yet sufficient but leaky above water" (Thirty-Second Report 214). Notations about bills of lading often appear in his records book. For example, on December 1649, he attested to a bill of lading for the ship Elizabeth of Bristow, bound for England, in which Edward Gibbons, a member of the party which had visited him in Rhode Island, shipped "2 packs & 13 firkins" (Thirty-Second Report 271). His job as a notary public required Aspinwall to walk the docks to protest various disagreements among merchants and to affix his seal to bills of lading, papers signifying debts owed between merchants and masters, sales of ships, bills of exchange--all

the different types of legal documents circulating in the active Boston seafaring community of the 1640s.

As a notary public, he often witnessed the varied legal affairs of the non-seagoing segment of Boston. In November 14, 1646, he copied an indenture for voluntary servitude between Abraham Shurt of Bristol who bound himself as a servant to Giles Elbridge of Bristol for a term of five years (Thirty-Second Report 38). In November of 1646 he recorded a personal letter from Daniel Field to his cousin Seth of England in which Daniel writes of family affairs and business in England (Thirty-Second Report 43). On July 27, 1650, an entry showed that Thomas Scranton of Newfoundland promised to pay 42 pounds to Jonas Clarke of New England (Thirty-Second Report 308). On May 31, 1648, Aspinwall witnessed a mortgage of a house and two acres of land from Henry Freeman to John Newgate and William Baber (Thirty-Second Report 131). The next month in February he noted a contract between fisherman Richard Comins and a Mr. Nash in which Comins received a cask of liquor and promised to pay Nash for it and other values in fish or money by the next May (Thirty-Second Report 133). In August of 1648 his records show that John Dolling had fulfilled his part in a contract in which John Dolling and John Richbell did buy from William Kieft of the New Netherlands "twenty & one Negros at two hundred guilders" (Thirty-Second Report 152-153). On March 10, 1647, he certified that Richard Gridley gave Jasper Rawlins the power of attorney to sue Robert Parks of Hartford "for breach of Covenant touching his daughter Hannah Gridley, and to recover

her out of his hands" (Thirty-Second Report 77). He recorded in March of 1649 a power of attorney that he witnessed on November 17, 1648, in which William Tilly of Boston made Hugh Gullison of Boston his attorney to arrest and prosecute William Phillips of Boston for slandering his wife Alice¹³ (Thirty-Second Report 202).

The antinomian of the 1630s who argued for the individualism inherent in the doctrine of free grace had become a public notary for Boston in the 1640s and found himself in the midst of public and private disputes and financial disagreements, reading and signing documents, and attempting to arbitrate those differences. As an insider to different business deals, Aspinwall also felt the pulse of the financial community, seeing outward bound cargoes, aware of the mercantile traffic extending through the mainland colonies and stretching to the Carribean and to England. Eventually, such an exposure would offer him the temptation to speculate and to involve himself in business, to extend himself beyond his salaried position as a public notary, recorder, and clerk of the writs.

Aspinwall left behind more record keeping than his notarial records. His Book of Possessions records the lands and houses of various individuals in Boston and places their property in relation to others¹⁴. For example, Aspinwall in 1645 listed his own property. He owned "one house and garden bounded with Richard and Thomas Grubb on the north: the Comon to the west: the high streete on the east: and Richard Cooke

and Ephraim Pope on the south" (Second Report 30). At this time he also possessed the land allotted to him on the Muddy River prior to his departure for Rhode Island: "Also at Muddy River nine Acres surrounded with the Cedar swamp and Nathaniell Woodward the elder" (Second Report 30). He refers to land on Hogg Island: "Also at Hogg Island one Acre of Upland and three quarters of Marsh bought of Mrs. Ormsbie" (Second Report 30). He owned a windmill--which later ground a bitter, legal grist for him--at this date: "Concerning the windmill, see the great booke of Records of Copies, &c." (Second Report 30). Still in possession of his records in early July 1652, he probably recorded the final entry describing other Boston property:

William Davies, apothecary, for good and valueable consideration, granted to W^m Aspinwall of Boston a p'cell of land in Boston be the same halfe an Acre more or lesse bounded with the land of the sd W^m. Aspinwall south and east: the Comon west: Zaccheus Bosworth [] Barker, Richard Cooke, Robert Wright, and [] Bomsted north: and this appeares by a deed dated 11th November, 1651. Sealed and d'd. in presence of John Sanfford (Second Report 30)

While Aspinwall served in his public offices and maintained his Book of Possessions¹⁵, in the 1640s he witnessed a push for law codification. Upon his return to Boston, he encountered in Massachusetts a much different

legal system initiated during the antinomian affairs. After the General Court had rejected Cotton's Mosaic Code, the General Court appointed a third committee in March 1638 to replace a second committee which had made no progress in proposing a set of laws. By November 1639 Nathaniel Ward had prepared another code which the committee submitted to the General Court at the same time that Cotton again submitted his code a second time. The General Court appointed four magistrates and two deputies to draw up a code for the towns' and Court's consideration. The fourth committee approved Ward's code and sent it out to the towns; and after some further consideration and other steps, the Court adopted Ward's draft of laws as the Body of Liberties in the fall of 1641¹⁶ .

Although the Body of Liberties evolved when Aspinwall lived in Rhode Island and New Haven, in the 1640s the colony continued to move towards a final legal codification. After the General Court directed three magistrates in March 1644 to review the Body of Liberties, it also instructed three county committees composed of magistrates, clergy, and freemen to compile a body of laws. In May 1646 the General Court appointed a new committee of five to transcribe the efforts of the county committees and in November 1646 another committee to review the laws in the colony and to compile them into a code. Apparently they failed to do this, so in May 1647 another committee completed the work. By the spring of 1648 the committee had completed its codification and sent

a code to the printer entitled The Lawes and Liberties of
Massachusetts¹⁷.

Although later Fifth Monarchy publications in England would reveal Aspinwall's concern for legal reform, in Massachusetts in an undated petition, Aspinwall and 16 other men requested the General Court to regulate "Litigious (& many times frivolous) suites at Law, especially Actions of Slander" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms. undated 47: 12, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). As indicated by the record number of suits, the clog of barratry disturbs the "publicke Safety & peace" and puts the magistrates, juries, and court system to "great expence" (William Aspinall, petition to the General Court, ms undated, 47: 12, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). The petition wonders "Whether it were not good to barre all proceeding in Court, either by Appeale [] on Complaint or otherwise, after the same Cause hath beene brought to Judgment uppon a reviewe by the same party after a former Judgment" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 47: 12, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Because the plaintiff has the freedom to withdraw his action if "he finde himself short in point of pay[ment]" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 47: 12, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts), the petition also requests that the court consider levying a fine on those who choose to withdraw "the same Action from Judgment after it hath beene pleaded?" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms.

undated, 47: 12, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Aspinwall and the others also wanted "to Damne all Petitions or Complaints to the Supreame Court after Judgment uppon an Appeale from the County to the Quarter Court, especially when both Courts Concurree in the same Judgment?" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 47: 12, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts) Labelling the legal situation a "Malatie" and arguing that they want to prevent "needles Contentions" (William Aspinwall, petition o the General Court, ms. undated, 47: 12, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts), the petitioners deferentially conclude their petition by suggesting that "some meeter time might be determined for limitations of Actions" (William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 47: 12, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). When he outlined the place of appeal in cases of judgment in his Fifth Monarchy tracts, Aspinwall found a final solution to the Massachusetts problem of countless lawsuits emanating from an initial legal suit .

Aspinwall participated in the Cambridge Synod of 1648, a conference called to discuss the relationships between church and state, when the colony's ministers in order to achieve a definition of the church polity in May 1646 applied to the General Court for the summons of a synod. While the magistrates agreed with the request, the deputies objected on the grounds that the civil power could not require the

magistrates to order the churches to consult on issues of church polity. Although the magistrates thought that they possessed the right to order the church, to obtain the deputies' assent, they invited rather than commanded the churches to attend a session. Acknowledging that all the churches did not agree to the magistrates' right to assemble the churches in a synod, the General Court desired the churches to meet in Cambridge to "discusse, dispute, & cleare up, by the word of God, such questions of church government & discipline in y^e things aforementioned" (Walker 170). The General Court order requested the church delegates to present their findings in writing to the governor or deputy governor who would then present them to the General Court, and the Court agreed that those churches sending messengers should provide for their expenses.

After the adjournment of the Court in May 1646, the churches of the colony discussed the petition for a church synod. In Boston the church disagreed with the idea of a synod. Winthrop writes that the Boston parishioners rejected the idea of a synod because they thought the elders possessed the right to assemble without the command of the civil authorities; because the original motion for the synod emanated from the ministers rather than the civil authorities; and because the church could infer that the elders had appointed the synod to make laws to bind the churches (Winthrop's Journal 2: 278; 326-27). Winthrop contended against those opposing the synod but failed to convince them. After two Sundays of arguments, the elders

informed the congregation that "they thought it their duty to go notwithstanding, not as sent by the church, but as specially called by the order of the court" (qtd. in Walker 173). Having already met, the synod appealed to the Boston church to send delegates, and the leaders summoned church members on September 2, but could not resolve the impasse¹⁹. At the Thursday lecture on September 3, the synod travelled to the Boston church to hear the Rev. John Norton discuss the church and civil issues involved in the calling of the synod and to urge the Boston church to send delegates. On Sunday, September 6, heeding Norton's sermon, the congregation voted for church representation at the synod; and although a minority still refused to assent, the majority voted "that the elders and three of the brethern should be sent as messengers" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 282). On this date, the Boston church appointed "Our Elders with three of the brethern, namely Mr Willyam Aspinwall, Thomas Marshall, and James Everill" as church messengers (Pierce 39: 47). The Boston congregation delegated them "to Consult, Conferre and to Consider of sundry Quaestions and Cases of Conscience touching Christian Religion and Practise thereof in these Churches" (Pierce 39: 47).

As a messenger with 28 of 29 churches in the colony, Aspinwall attended the first meeting of the synod at which a committee prepared and presented a paper on the "the power of the civil magistrates to interfere in matters of religion, the nature and powers of a Synod, and the right of the

magistrates to call such assemblies" (Walker 175). The synod also appointed John Cotton, Richard Mather, and Ralph Patridge to prepare a model of church government. After having met "but about fourteen days in regard of winter drawing on" (Winthrop's Journal 2: 282), the synod adjourned until June 8, 1647, reassembled at Cambridge, but quickly recessed because of an epidemic. The synod opened its final session at Cambridge on August 15, 1648, where the representatives adopted Richard Mather's The Platforme of Church Discipline and accepted the doctrine of the Westminster Assembly in England.

Although no evidence shows that Aspinwall attended the final session²⁰, the Cambridge Synod addressed important issues that the future English radical would address in his Fifth Monarchy pamphlets. In addition to promulgating a platform at Cambridge, the delegates examined the relations of the civil magistrates to the churches. They considered whether or not the civil magistrate had power "to command or forbid things respecting the outward man, which are clearly commanded and forbidden in the word, and to inflict suitable punishment" (Walker 189). The delegates decided that "the Civil Magistrate in these days since Christs ascension, may and ought to command and forbid such things so cleared in the word, albeit de facto, oft-times he doe not" (Walker 190). Deciding that the synod's "declaration of the truth binds not politically, but formally onely" (Walker 192), the delegates separated the ecclesiastical and civil realms in matters of power. In church matters, the churches could bind the

"outward man, so as the disobedient in matters of offences, is subject unto Church censure, affirmatively, towards their own Members" (Walker 192). Negatively, the church could deny its members communion. In civil matters, the magistrates could strengthen the truth declared by the synod "either by his meer Authoritative suffrage, assent, and testimony, (if the matter need not more) or by his authoritative Sanction of it by Civill punishment, the nature of the offense so requiring" (192). The delegates thought that the magistrates could call a synod without the consent of the church if the churches were "defective, and not to be prevailed with, for the performance of their duty" (192), but they agreed that the churches could summon a synod without the consent of the magistrates, "although the Magistrates cannot constitute a Synod without the consent of the Churches" (193). The delegates attempted to demark the hazy boundary between the secular and religious spheres of power, spheres which examined and punished the behavior of Massachusetts citizens.

The Cambridge Platform elucidates mutually supporting roles of the church and state: the church and state "both may stand together & flourish the one being helpfull unto the other, in their distinct & due administrations" (Walker 235). It recognizes that "As it is unlawfull for church-officers to meddle with the sword of the Magistrate, so it is unlawful for the Magistrate to meddle with the work proper to church-officers" (Walker 236). The power of the magistrates concerns the outward, not the inner man: "The object of the

powr of the Magistrate, are not things meerly inward, & so not subject to his cognisance & view, as unbeliefe hardness of heart, erronious opinions not vented; but on such things as are acted by the outward man" (Walker 236). In this arena, the civil authority may restrain and punish "Idolatry, Blasphemy, Heresy, venting corrupt & pernicious opinions, that destroy the foundation, open contempt of the word preached, prophanation of the Lords day, disturbing the peaceable administration & exercise of the worship & holy things of God, & the like" (Walker 237). Concerned with different spheres, the church and the state should work together to establish a holy commonwealth. Shortly, Aspinwall would address these very issues in England and arrive at much different conclusions about the relation between church and state than those promulgated by the Cambridge Synod.

By 1648 there are no writings or actions by him to show that Aspinwall found his second decade in the New World unsettling enough to produce radical pamphlets. Although he might have disagreed with the colony's approach to bringing man closer to God, he did not speak out against the authorities. As a public functionary fulfilling his jobs, the future Fifth Monarchist remained quiet--always before the public, but never challenging his employers when political controversy flared²¹. These Boston years were to be the period of Aspinwall's greatest public success and triumph in America when his former difficulties in early Boston and Rhode Island faded while he performed his public offices and worked at the center of the Massachusetts government. Only

his later Fifth Monarchy pamphlets show that he found his personal myth of the New World in 1640s disturbing when measured against the reality around him. But the 1650s Fifth Monarchy myth, a redefining of his American experience, resulted from his visions of America and from his personal defeats--failures always appearing in his life when he seemed well-situated in a community. In 1648 Aspinwall, working in Boston, found himself in two legal battles. These legal affairs blighted the career of the successful public man, changed his public triumph into a public and personal disaster, and turned him toward England and the kingdom of Christ.

NOTES

¹ See Brennan for a discussion of the Standing Council.

² Oberholzer comments that the rationale of excommunication was to bring the sinner to repentance. If the sinner repented and "offered an acceptable confession, the excommunicate was restored to church fellowship, rather than admitted de novo, for he had never ceased to be a member, although he had temporarily forfeited the privileges of membership" (38).

³ See Chapter 4 in Wall's Massachusetts Bay for a discussion of the Gorton event. See also Porter.

⁴ As Chapin observes, the sachems' submission completed "the chain necessary to make valid Arnold's new title to the Pawtuxet lands" (Chapin 1: 150).

⁵ A warrant of June 5, 1645, directed the executors of Francis Weston to notice an attachment against Weston's lands and to answer a complaint of William Arnold for a thirty shilling debt due in Boston. Aspinwall signed the document as Boston's notary public (Chapin 257).

⁶ See Bailyn's The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century for a discussion of the voyage and prior attempts to find the lake.

⁷ Bailyn thinks that the merchants sailed in May 1644. Winthrop dates his return on July 5, 1644. See Bailyn's The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century 52.

8

A return trading expedition that winter ended when Indians killed half the crew. See Bailyn's The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century 49-53.

9

See Rutman's Winthrop's Boston 226.

10

Rutman observes that the office of recorder meant "6d or more for each will, inventory, or administration of estate recorded in the public records, 1d for each birth or death listed, and 6d for each deed or lease entered into the land records" (Winthrop's Boston 175). The office of public notary carried monetary rewards too: "notary William Aspinwall received two, three, and four times as much per year as the volume of commercial paper in need of notarization rose through the decade" (Winthrop's Boston 176).

11

Election to an artillery company also marked Aspinwall's acceptance into the affairs of the colony. New Englanders had attempted to form the company during the antinomian controversy, but not until March 1638 did the Court grant the artillery company a charter. This honorary group recruited Aspinwall as a new member in 1643/44 (Roberts 1: 7; 175). For the role of the militia in Massachusetts, see Radabaugh and Shy.

12

For a history of Aspinwall's Notarial Records, see the introduction of the Thirty-Second Report.

13

In January 8, 1648, he attested to "2 Copies of the deed of Adqnednick from Canonicus & Mantinomu to M^r Codditon & his friends" (Second Report 182). The copy survives, see Webconites.

14

See the introduction to the Second Report for an

account of the preservation of the document. Editors William Whitemore and William Appleton think Aspinwall authored the first 111 pages of the book at one time and that he wrote all of the manuscript except for a few lines by Edward Rawson, the recorder who succeeded Aspiwall. The editors conclude that he compiled the first 111 pages in 1644 after the Court appointed him as recorder, and in January 1645 he began pages 112 to 149. Discussing the confused legal method of conveying land and houses then existing in Boston, the editors point out that the Book of Possessions is an incomplete document and that later deeds must be consulted in connection with property listing in the Book of Possessions.

15

The editors of Second Report note that Aspinwall within his book alludes to a second book of possessions, which has not survived. See introduction to the Second Report.

16

See Haskins's Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts 36-37 and passim for the Body of Liberties, Chapter 6 and 9 for the Mosaic law and law reform, and 118-120 and passim for the Laws and Liberties of 1648. See Farrand's introduction in The Laws and Liberties. See Howe in Billias on colonial law 1-16. See Morris on common law. See Flaherty for various essays on early American law. Wolford 151, Breen in The Character of a Good Ruler 82, and Haskins in "A Codification of the Law in Colonial Massachusetts" view the code of 1648 as a curb on the discretionary power of the magistrates. For a general discussion of the law, see Morison, Builders of the Bay

Colony 225-235; 262-265. The Massachusetts Body of Liberties may be found in Morgan's Puritan Political Ideas.

17

The Body of Liberties contained a section of public law relating to capital crimes which Haskins thinks originated in Cotton's draft of 1636. He observes that "Except for the capital laws, biblical influence does not obtrude, save in the explicit provision that no laws, customs, or proscriptions should be established contrary to the law of God" (Authority and Law 131). In Haskins' interpretation, dissatisfied with the Body of Liberties, the deputies wanted more precise punishments and penalties to counter the possibility of magisterial discretion (Authority and Law 37).

18

The negative veto was discussed in 1643 and following years. A magistrate wrote a small treatise on the negative veto issue, which caused a reply, probably by Israel Stoughton. In September 1643 an elder, possibly John Norton, wrote a small treatise supporting the negative vote and examined whether the deputies and the magistrates should have the vote, "as no act judiciall either in making or executing Lawes can proceed without the positieve uote of the both parts. Or whethere it be safer to commit the said power to plurality of uote in the whole Court" (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings 46: 279). This treatise argues for a mixed form of government--aristocracy and democracy as opposed to only a democracy, discusses the roles of deputes and magistrates, and argues for a negative vote. Aspinwall's copy of this treatise (William Aspinwall, copy, ms. undated, Massachusetts General Court, 13.14 [81.60],

Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston) shows that he was well aware of the issue of the negative vote and the question of the power between deputies and magistrates. In Thunder from Heaven he alludes to this issue. See Brown's "Aristocracy and Democracy: A Note on the Puritan Concept of Aristocracy".

19

Winthrop writes that those who objected to the conference were men from England "where such a vast liberty was allowed, and sought for by all that went under the name of Independents, not only the anabaptists, antinomians, familists, seekers, etc." (Winthrop's Journal 2: 279). Aspinwall's attendance at the conference as a representative of the church indicates that he did not use the disagreement among church members to espouse antinomian views. See Winthrop's Journal 2: 274; 278-282; 32; 347-348.

20

His notarial records reveal only two entries, June 21 and 29 for the fourth month. These dates after the synod meeting neither prove nor disprove that he attended the conference. See Thirty-Second Report 78.

21

Aspinwall also continued some surveying work in his second decade in Boston. The General Court appointed him and George Munnings to settle some boundary disputes among owners on October 7, 1646 (Shurtleff 2: 163; 184).

CHAPTER V

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DISASTER

"manifould haue beene the afflications I haue suffered since I came into this Country" William Aspinwall, 1652

As had happened so often before, conflicts appeared to disrupt the apparent order of Aspinwall's life. While Aspinwall performed his public duties of clerk of the writs, public notary, recorder, and representative to the Cambridge Synod, two legal battles produced a numerous of lawsuits, which immersed him and his opponents in a morass of court appearances, eventually resulted in the loss of his public jobs. In the first controversy, because he served as public notary, Aspinwall confronted Thomas Gainer over the ship, the Planter.

On April 12, 1647, Aspinwall as notary public witnessed a transaction involving Thomas Gainer, purser and merchant of the ship Planter of London. In the April business Gainer agreed in Charlestown to three bills of lading for goods shipped by Nicolas Davison of Charlestown, another merchant in the Planter, "by Gods grace bound for the Island of Maderas to say, fifteene thousand three hundred of good sound & merchantable white Oke pipestaves & sixteene tunnes of shaken Caske, to say, in thirty two pieces strongly hooped &

nailed & two hundred bushells of good & merchantable Rye
 Corne for the Account of M^{rs} Rebecca Glover of London"
 (Thirty-Second Report 75). In the commercial venture, Robert
 Risby, the captain of the Planter, intended to sail the goods
 to Richard Picford or to William Bruin, merchants, who would
 pay freight of "twenty one pounds ten shillings, to say, one
 third in Moneyes, the other in Sugar & other goods at the
 prices Currant, the rest of the freight w^{ch} is for the whole
 purcell of pipe staves being ninty & one pound sixteene
 shillings" (Thirty-Second Report 75). As he had done in many
 other such mercantile transactions Aspinwall noted the
 particulars in his record book, unaware that soon the Planter
 business would include him.

Near the end of 1647, Aspinwall notarized another legal
 matter involving men who also would find themselves with him
 in a suit before the General Court. William Tyng and
 Valentine Hill of Boston appointed Henry Barton and Richard
 Hutchinson, London merchants, as their attorneys "to ask
 levie &c: of Robt Risbie Thomas Gainer Robt ffen & all &
 every of the Companie belonging to the ship Planter whereof
 the said Robt Risbie is or lately was master, all such sume
 or sumes of money debts or other accounts w^{ch} shall appeare
 due to them or either of them" (Thirty-Second Report 124).
 Gainer's business venture with Risby as captain had soured,
 and Tyng and Hill now wanted the money owed them--but they
 faced a plethora of court jurisdictions in which to find
 satisfaction.

In early Massachusetts different courts with different

jurisdictions served the colony, but the arrangement meant that the same judges sometimes heard the same defendants at different levels. The General Court and the Court of Assistants served as an appellate court until 1685. And from 1636 until 1692, the county courts served as trial courts in a superior court department while in a district court arrangement magistrates' courts operated from 1631 to 1686. In 1636 the government had established the county courts with magistrates from the county sitting on the bench. The county courts heard civil causes under 10 pounds and criminal actions not involving banishment or the loss of life, or limb. At the next level, the governor, deputy governor, and twelve assistants, sat on the Greater Quarter Court, or the Court of Assistants, where a person could appeal from the county court and where the same magistrate from the county court sat on the Court of Assistants. The Court of Assistants met twice a year, on the first Tuesday of March and the first Monday of September, to hear civil and criminal cases on appeal from the county courts. Moreover, the General Court, although a legislative body, also served as the supreme court for appeals from the Court of Assistants with the deputies joining the Court of Assistants to form the General Court. Before Aspinwall and the other litigants concluded their legal disputes this court system would provide them plenty of opportunity to seek justice .

Because this court system allowed easy access for litigants and permitted multiple appeals, the colonists often

2

engaged in frivolous lawsuits . Rules allowed a loser in the county court to obtain reviews in another court. The loser could go to a higher court after a second loss, and appeals dragged on for years. Such a system awaited Aspinwall as he served as notary public and entered in his records the developing trouble over the Planter .³

The legal pace of the affair accelerated as debtors and creditors responded to protect their interests. On June 6, 1648, the fourth month in the legal year, sailors of the Planter sued Robert Risbie, the ship's master, and Thomas Gainer in the Court of Assistants "for wages due to them for their service done in the s^d shipp, for divers months then past" (Thirty-Second Report 208). The Assistants appointed a Mr. Duncan, Mr. Allen, and Mr. Addington as auditors to examine the ship's accounts. The auditors determined the amounts owed by Gainer to the company of sailors:

due to the s^d Master Robert Risbie one hundred & eight pounds; To M^r Robert ffen one of his mates ninety one pounds: To Joshua Maid another of his mates fourty two pounds eight shillings: To Richard Holt Boatswaine fourty six pounds eight shillings: To John Carman Gunner fifty two pounds seven shillings: To Leonard Sergeant Chirurgeon fifty foure pounds & to the rest of the seamen according to their severall pportions, amounting in all to seven hundred & eight pounds seven shillings & a penny. (Thirty-Second Report 208)

Gainer and Risbie now owed not only the back wages, but the court costs as well. However, because the captain and the merchant possessed no visible estate to pay back wages, the assistants ordered three men to appraise the Planter. They valued the ship at "seven hundred & thirty six pounds fourteene shillings" (Thirty-Second Report 208). To obtain this amount, the Planter was offered for public sale "by the space of fourteene days or thereabouts But none appearing to^d by her at that price, a motion was made by the s^d Shipp's Companie at the Court held at Boston the 27th of the fifth month called July 1648. that the said ship might be putt^d upon a new apprizall or delivered to the s^d plaintiefs in satisfaction of their wages" (Thirty-Second Report 208-209). The court agreed to the request of the sailors, and after "able & indifferent men" placed the value of the ship at 600 pounds, Major Edward Gibon bought the vessel in August 1648 for 550 pounds from the "Under Marshall" (Thirty-Second Report 209). The court ordered that the 550 pounds "to be distributed to the s^d shipp's companie, according to their severall pportions, every of them giveing a receipt & acquittance for the same according to Lawe" (Thirty-Second Report 209). Governor Winthrop affirmed to the truth of the proceedings on February 2, 1648, or the eleventh month of the year. Aspinwall's records show that he attested a copy for Gainer on May 10, 1649, the third month of the new year, and they also present a breakdown of the wages that Gainer owed the sailors, an amount totaling 653 pounds 13 shillings and 3

pence. Having reassessed the ship at 600 pounds, sold it for 550 pounds, and ordered the 550 pounds distributed to the sailors, the quarter court ordered the marshall or his deputy "to levy of the goods & chattles of M^r Robt Risby, M^r Thomas Gainer, & the shipp planter to the value of six hundred fifty three pound thirteene shillings & three pence wth 2^s for the execution to satisfy each pticular as above for a verdict & Judgment granted to the quarter Court held at Boston the 6th present" (Thirty-Second Report 210). In selling the Planter the Court of Assistants had attempted to pay the suitors the debts owned them.

However, Gainer disagreed with the Court of Assistants' judgment against him and wanted an account of the transactions. He petitioned the General Court; and on May 7, 1649, it accepted Gainer's petition "about the manner of disposall of the goods of the shippe Planter" and decided that "there should be a copy of the records truely transcribed, and (the petitioner paying the officier for it) be deliuered him" (Shurtleff 3: 156). It also ordered that Gainer receive the non-inventoried goods from the ship and appointed Captain Keayne and Captain Tinge to examine the transcribed records (Shurtleff 3: 156).

But mercantile transactions occurring between London and Boston moved slowly, and the Aspinwall's notations reveal the delays in communications casued by the lengthy voyages and that one sailor still sought backwages after the Court of Assistants' decision. Aspinwall entered in his records a

power of attorney for sailor Thomas Foster of London, on August 31, 1649, after Foster signed a document on May 11, 1648. In the document Foster appointed George Harwood of Boston, a carpenter, as his attorney "to my use to aske receive & take of M^r Tho: Gainer & Robt Risby of the shipp Planter of London or either of them ten pound due upon two bills, & nine & twenty shillings & nine pence upon another bill" (Thirty-Second Report 232). The entry states that the "bills are now in the hands of m^r Aspinwall as appears under his hand on the other side & moreover I give Authoritie unto this my Attorney to reseive the s^d . bills fro M^r Aspinwall" (Thirty-Second Report 232). Foster also authorized his attorney to collect from Gainer and Risby his wages from January 29, 1646, until May 11, 1648 at "30^s p month" (Thirty-Second Report 232). Aspinwall notes in his book that when he entered "this tre of Att^r 29 (6) in the presence of Georg Harwood John Huntley & Job Hawkins" that he warned them "to take notice that uppon the said originall tre of Att^r there was no acknowlegm^t . under the hands of the s^d M^r Aspinwall indorsed as in the s^d tre of Attorney is avouched" (Thirty-Second Report 233). Aspinwall had good reason to proceed cautiously in the Planter affair.

With the Planter under new ownership, on July 17, 1649, Aspinwall witnessed yet another business arrangement involving the ship. He recorded that he "attested a Copie of an Account & Disbursements uppon the Shipp Planter for a voyage to Barbados by major Gibons &c" (Thirty-Second Report 224). And three days later on 21 of July he entered into his

records a "writeing made the 7th day of June in 49" (Thirty-Second Report 225). In this entry, Aspinwall provides the details of an agreement he notarized between Ralph Woory of Charlestown and James Oliver of Boston . According to the terms of the agreement, Woory bought from Oliver "5 thousand of bread to be shipped aboard the Planter at the pper costs & charge of the s^d Oliver wth Cask to put it in" (Thirty-Second Report 225). Upon receipt of the bills of lading from a James Garnett or the purser of the Planter, Woory was to give "bills of Exchang to London wth in thirty day after sight of bills of ladeing for the bread" (Thirty-Second Report 225). Payable in London to a William Peakes of Canon Street, the bills of exchange were for 55 pounds sterling (Thirty-Second Report 224). Ordered sold by the Court, the ship now had re-entered the mercantile world under a new owner.

While Aspinwall witnessed documents concerning the ship, on July 30, 1649, for whatever motive or reason, he received a very important acquittance from Gainer, a release which years later would eventually decide his involvement in the Planter case⁴ . In the short document Gainer absolved Aspinwall of any debts:

This writeing witnesseth that I Thomas Gainer
doe acknowledg myselfe fully satisfied from
W^m Aspinwall for all accounts betwixt us
to this day, & do here acquitt & discharge
the s^d W^m Aspinwall of & from all
acti[o]ns failed debts & demands whatsoever

from the begining of the world till this day
witnes may hand this 30 (5) 1649
(Thomas Gainer, acknowledgment releasing
Aspinwall from all debts, ms. 30 July 1640, 100:
30a, Archives of the Commonwealth,. Boston,
Massachusetts)

Although Gainer had absolved Aspinwall of any debts, he persisted in the Planter matter. On May 7, 1651, the General Court responded to another petition from Gainer, one different from the 1649 petition. The General Court of Election, in agreeing to hear Gainer's petition, granted his request and ordered Aspinwall and Bendall to "giue in their acconpts & shew the grounds of their actings in sale of the shippe Planter, vppon their oathes to the County Court, that is now on adjournment" (Shurtleff 3: 226; 4: 44). Although the Court of Assistants had ordered the sale of ship, the General Court wanted to see the authority for that sale.

Apparently the General Court's order did not satisfy Gainer though, because a manuscript without a date shows Gainer answering charges and appealing to the General Court, following a decision of the Court of Assistants. He admitted that he owned the ship; that he let it; that he received the freight and paid the sailor's wages; and that the court had judged him liable for those wages (Thomas Gainer, Petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 60: 275, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). But he argued the court's selling his ship "playnly shows this shipp was taken out of my hands" (Thomas Gainer, Petition to the General

Court, ms. undated, 60: 275, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Also, the court's decision "shows that I have power to demand acc^o, if what wages have bin paid & what remaineth" (Thomas Gainer, Petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 60: 275, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Gainer states that Richbell did not "sue at the first, but was afterward brought in by the pollisie of M^r Aspinwall & M^r Bendall the better to further & fill upp theire proceedings, contrary to lawe" (Thomas Gainer, Petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 60: 275, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Although he asserts the court disregarded his request that "noe pollitick enterweneing should come unto the honord Comitty to Circomvent theire proceedings" (Thomas Gainer, Petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 60: 275, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts), Tyng and Hill, who claim 40 pounds, may proceed at law against him even though he finds it strange that Hill and Tyne, "whose fraigh^o fed the Shipp Planter & kept her imployed 11 m : to the Maderes & else, & kept the goods she brought home & 1/3 parte more then theire owne, with all the freight due from them, all amounting to 1400^{li}" (Thomas Gainer, Petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 60: 275, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Though the General Court granted that his "Charter partie should bee in force, against them in Comon Lawe" (Thomas Gainer, Petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 60: 275, Archives of the

Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts), the two men should not interrupt the proceedings of the court's committees and obstruct justice. Averring that the General Court's charter party conferred the ship to be his, Gainer accuses Aspinwall and Bendall of circumventing the committee's decision and seeking, not the sailors' interests, but their own. Gainer asks that Tyng and Hill not hinder the committee proceedings "without leave from the Generall Courte, And that M^r Aspinwall & M^r Bendall should not faile to bring in their accoompts & receipts uppon oath according to the order of this honored Courte" (Thomas Gainer, Petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 60: 275, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Gainer clearly felt that Aspinwall and the others had ignored the Court order of May, 1651, and insinuated themselves in the sale to obtain money.

On October 14, 1651, the General Court ruled on Gainer's and Aspinwall's obligations following a determination by the court-appointed committee. Taking up Gainer's complaints in his petition, the court first decided that Gainer failed to show why he should possess the 29 pounds 7 shillings and 9 pence, although already he had received five pounds of that amount. Second, it dismissed his claim of 24 pounds 5 shillings and 6 pence that Aspinwall and Bendall took "by contract for attornyshipe & trouble for the seamen" (Shurtleff 3: 253). It ruled that Aspinwall and Bendall had given an action upon oath, according to the testimony of Nowell. In addressing Gainer's request that the two men provide the receipts of the sale to him, the court decreed

that Aspinwall and Bendall, as attorneys for the sailors, need not produce them and that a record existed of the receipts and discharges from the sailors to Gibbons, the purchaser of the Planter. However, it did find that common law allowed Gainer to proceed against the two men. The General Court had affirmed the findings of its committee.

Refusing to give up, however, on May 28, 1652, Gainer presented a petition to the General Court in Boston, an appeal that "your petitioner bee freed from the Judgment and that all over plus of monys in the hands of Mr. Aspinwall and Mr. Bendell might be returned unto your Petitioner" (Thomas Gainer, Petition requesting that Aspinwall and Bendall produce an account of what they sold the ship Planter for, ms. 28 May 1652, 60: 146, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Claiming that Aspinwall and Bendall obtained the Planter in June or August of 1648, he states that the seized ship's appraised value was 736 pounds and 14 shillings; that the sailor's wages totalled 550; and that Aspinwall and Bendall "puts up bills upon the Meeting house dthors of Boston and . . . would by the shipp Planter wth all hir furniture" (Thomas Gainer, Petition requesting that Aspinwall and Bendall produce an account of what they sold the ship Planter for, ms. 238 May 1652, 60: 146, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). By Gainer's calculations an "overplus of one hundred and eighty six pounds" is "still in thire hands" (Thomas Gainer, Petition requesting that Aspinwall and Bendall produce an account of

what they sold the ship Planter for, ms. 28 May 1652, 60: 146, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Because of these financial discrepancies, the petition brought suit against Aspinwall for failing to fulfill the court's order. In the petition Gainer argues that Aspinwall and Bendall had "quited from theire Bonds under pretence that your petitioner had not . . . had anthing due for wages for vittualling and repayneing or getting for to freight" (Thomas Gainer, Petition requesting that Aspinwall and Bendall produce an account what they sold the ship Planter for, ms. 28 May 1652, 60: 146, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). To address this financial juggling, Gainer requests that the court require Aspinwall and Bendall to provide an account of the money transactions. Appealing to common law, he argues that, following a ship's appraisal and sale, a man should receive the amount remaining after the government paid the debt--"if theire bee an overplus it must [] bee the parties unto whom it first belonged" (Thomas Gainer, Petition requesting that Aspinwall and Bendall produce an account of what they sold the ship Planter for, ms. 28 May 1652, 60: 146, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). The legal principles of the case established, at least in Gainer's mind, he requests an explanation from the court of its "owne order w^{ch} you petitioner convines that you gave your petitioner the Ballence of the shipe Planter according to your petitioners request" (Thomas Gainer, Petition requesting that Aspinwall and Bendall produce an account of what they sold the ship

Planter for, ms. 28 May 1652, 60: 146, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). He also desires that the court order Aspinwall and Bendall to show "thire severall recaipts of the monys or goods that they payd the seamen" and that they produce an explanation "on how and for whom they acted" (Thomas Gainer, Petition requesting that Aspinwall and Bendall produce an account of what they sold the ship Planter for, ms. 28 May 1652, 60: 146, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). He demands that the court require that he receive the amount of money over the 550 pounds owed the sailors. And lastly, he wants a remittance of his court fines.

Now Aspinwall produced his trump card. Aspinwall also appeared before the General Court, armed with the acquittance that Gainer had signed. On May 31, 1652, the General Court listened to both Gainer and Aspinwall in response to Gainer's petition. Gainer's attorney, a Mr. Knight, said that the court should decide the issue on the acquittance "if M^r Aspinwall would despose that the aquitance he pduced to the Court, vnder M^r Gayners hand, had relation to the shippe Planter as well as to the other acco" (Shurtleff 3: 279). Agreeing to this legal tactic, Aspinwall "deposed before the Generall Court, that the sd aquitance was a generall release giuen him from Gayner, & was for all acco & demaunds whatsoever, not only to his owne knowledge, but, as far as he knew, to M^r Gayners also" (Shurtleff 3: 279). Although the legal move appears clumsy at best, Gainer's attorney had

offered Aspinwall a way to escape the legal entanglement. On June 1, 1652, Gainer and Aspinwall appeared before the General Court and listened to Knight, Gainer's attorney, repeat that if Aspinwall would depose that Gainer's acquittance concerned the affairs of the Planter then the oath "proffered the issue of the case" (Shurtleff 4: 97). The court records document that Aspinwall before the court said that the acquittance "was for all accompts and demaunds whatsoever, as well in relation to the shipp Planter as any other, not only in his oune aphecon and knowledge, but also, so farr as he knoweth, to M^r Gayners also" (Shurtleff 4: 97). A veteran of previous legal encounters and no fool, Aspinwall had used the attorney's ploy to escape.

But a new committee addressed Gainer's claims. On June 4, 1652, a court committee found that Gainer possessed the right to dispose of the Planter and to receive an account of her sale because he held his power by commission and conducted the affairs of the ship (Committee, decision affirming that Gainer should receive money for sale of ship Planter, ms. 4 June 1652, 60: 147, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). In a second finding, the committee decided that the appraisal "of the Shipp planter ffor mens wages was legally made but the 2 apprsment & sales was ilegal" (Committee, decision affirming that Gainer should receive money for sale of ship Planter, ms. 4 June 1652, 60: 147, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Thirdly Gainer ought to have received the appraised value of the ship, "the Judgement for wages & our chardges beeing

first satisfied & that this some should be paid by the officer that pceded illegally in the Last aprisement & sale unles he can cleare himselfe" (Committee, decision affirming that Gainer should receive money for sale of ship Planter, ms. 4 June 1652, 60: 147, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). And fourthly, Daniel Goekin and the other committee members concluded that the sailors should receive the full payment of their wages (Committee, decision affirming that Gainer should receive money for sale of ship Planter, ms. 4 June 1652, 60: 147, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Defeated in the General Court, Gainer by the same court's committee system had obtained another hearing.

A year later, though, the General Court disagreed with Gainer again. On May 18, 1653, the General Court in its judicial capacity once more returned to the acquittance that Gainer had signed in 1648. The Court decided that "M^r Gayners attourney, in May, (52,) proffered, that if M^r Aspinwall would take his oath that the business of the ship Planter was included in the aquittance produced, that it should issue and determie the case, the which M^r Aspinwall did and therefore conceive M^r Gainer is thereby barred and hath no ground of farther complajnt to this Court in respect of that case, but should therein acquiesce" (Shurtleff 4: 137; 3: 307). The release of debts which Aspinwall had induced Gainer to sign seemed to settle the matter.

The General Court had spoken again, but Gainer did not

desist in his attempts to gain some money. On May 27, 1653, Gainer presented yet another petition to the court by focusing upon an unresolved aspect of the case. In this petition Gainer pointed out that he had requested Aspinwall and Bendall to produce a financial accounting of the Planter, which they did, but they "bringth in no power from any Court that impowred them to sale the said ship, or any other power from the County that obtayned judgment against the ship" (Thomas Gainer, Petition, ms. 27 May 1653, 60: 160, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Gainer asserts that Aspinwall and Bendall paid some amounts, specifying that he received 16 pounds and 8 shillings from them, but that they paid great sums to sailors "not upon the judgment but upon some other Seamens accounts" (Thomas Gainer, Petition, ms. 27 May 1653, 60: 160, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Gainer maintains that "after great debates held in the genall Court in Anno 1652 & the 26th day of May" Aspinwall then "pduced an old release or acquittance of yo^r petcon^{er} of some former accouts had passed betwixt him and yo^r petcin" (Thomas Gainer, Petition, 27 May 1653, 60: 160, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). In Gainer's version, Mr. Knight allowed Aspinwall to swear that the release included the sale of the Planter and all accounts pertaining to it. But Gainer states that he "was readdy to give answe^r and to make it appeare that the said acquittance was noe wayes touching the sale of y^e said ship and the pduce thereof", but the General Court hindered his reply by dissolving itself and accepting "the said Apinalls

oath" (Thomas Gainer, Petition, ms. 27 May 1653, 60: 160, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Gainer specifies that he should receive 29 pounds 7 shillings and 9 pence but that they "pd themselves 12 20 & 4 . 7 . 15 & 6 to the Seamens accounts & Seamens entring of actions & attachments wth many other unjust charges upon account w^{ch} said sums amounting to 24 . 5 . 6 were allowed to the Seamen" (Thomas Gainer, Petition, ms. 27 May 1653, 60: 160, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts).

He reviews the facts in the case: the court had decided he owed 653 pounds 13 shillings and 5 pence ; the first appraisal valued the ship at 736 pounds and 14 shillings; and that by a legal assessment he should have received 23 pounds and 66 shillings but he "never received so much as one farthing" (Thomas Gainer, Petition, ms. 27 May 1653, 60: 160, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). A second appraisal fixed the ship's value at 600 pounds, so that "yo^r petcon must loose his 83 wth 24 . 5 . 6 & 99 . 17 . 01 as above said and the 29 . 17 . 9 . the ballance due to your petcon on their accounts upon Oath in Anno 1651" (Thomas Gainer, Petition, ms. 27 May 1653, 60: 160, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Gainer now points out that the release which Aspinwall produced occurred two years before he produced the accounts in 1651. Saying that he does not want to return to England under this financial cloud, Gainer asks that a committee consider the questions in dispute.

In what surely must have served as an example of judicial patience, the General Court again returned to Gainer's acquittance. Committee members on May 27, 1653, also finally stopped the drawn-out legal hassling involving the Planter. They returned to the question of the release and Aspinwall's oath that it included the business of the Planter: "bye wth wee allso find M^r Aspinwall did & therefore conceive M^r Gayner is herby barred & hath no ground of farther damy[]" (Committee, decision barring Gainer from further legal action, ms. 27 May 1653, 60: 160a, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). The deputies approved of the committee's decision, and deputy William Torrey requested the consent of the magistrates. Signing for the magistrates, Endecott agreed.

The surviving manuscripts, records, and Aspinwall's notarial records offer a fairly complete account of the legal disputes between Aspinwall and Gainer and allow some deductions from the evidence but no assured conclusions in the question of amount of the money and the right of Aspinwall to conduct the business affairs of the ship. It is improbable, that Aspinwall falsified his own records because he considered them a private recording at that time, as a latter statement shows, and the entries in his records follow in order. Thus, Aspinwall's entry on the Court of Assistants' decision and the monetary amounts in the case probably reflect correctly the initial decision of the court which decided that Gainer owed 708 pounds 7 shillings and 1 pence. If Aspinwall accurately recorded this amount, then

this figure discounts Gainer's later claim in his petition of May 27, 1653, that he owed 653 pounds 13 shillings and 5 pence--unless another court decision changed the amount Gainer owed . If so--and Aspinwall's records of May 10, 1649, do show that Gainer then owed 653 pounds 13 shillings and 3 pence--then those records have disappeared. Aspinwall's and Gainer's amounts corroborate each other and suggest that the notary public probably did not plead a rate higher than the initial or final determination of monies owed.

Gainer, however, as the records show, used different figures, depending upon his petition. Gainer's claim of May 28, 1652, that Aspinwall owed him 186 pounds, the difference in the first assessed value of the ship and its sale price, distorts the facts of the case. Gainer persisted in this legal tack as late as May 27, 1653, bringing up the first appraisal of 736 pounds and 14 shillings as the value of the ship and conveniently ignoring the second appraisal value of 600 pounds. Gainer claimed a final amount owed him of 235 pounds and 39 shillings from several sources. He demanded 83 pounds--the difference in the first assessed value of 736 pounds and the amount owed the sailors of 653 pounds. Also, he thought Aspinwall had peculated 24 pounds, 5 shillings and 6 pence in the transactions with the sailors. He also wanted 29 pounds 17 shillings and 9 pence from "their accoutns upon Oath in Anno 1651" (Thomas Gainer, Petition, ms. 27 May 1653, 60: 160, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston,

Massachusetts). To the above amount Gainer added 99 pounds 17 shillings and 1 pence for an unknown reason. Thus, he wanted a substantial amount of money and implied that Aspinwall owed him slightly more than 50 pounds, but the court disagreed. The committee of May 4, 1652, certainly found the sale illegal, but it does not name anyone, leaving only the tantalizing conclusion that an officer proceeded illegally. Does the officer that Aspinwall noted in his records refer to the marshall participating in the sale of the vessel, or does it refer to Aspinwall? Aspinwall's entry for the June 12, 1648, order that provided for "2^s for the execution to satisfy each pticular as above for a verdict & Judgment" (Thirty-Second Report 210) suggests his own authority to proceed in dispersing of the Planter. That he possessed the authority the later court records affirmed, but his June 12 entry and the other evidence do not indicate what Aspinwall meant by particulars nor do they provide the exact scope of his power.

While he served as notary public and argued with Gainer, Aspinwall also owned a windmill, one of several grist mills in Boston, which he had obtained on a lot which had passed from Edward Holyoke, to Richard Woodward and finally to Aspinwall (Winsor 2: xxx). The mill was probably one which settlers in the early 1640s had constructed along with a millpond and a creek and causeway on the North End where they had built several mills powered by tidewater⁵ (Struik 10).

When he rented the grain mill to John Witherden, Aspinwall compounded his legal problems. Apparently,

Aspinwall contracted--at least he later claimed that he had agreed--to let the mill to Witherden; but after an attempt at arbitration, both men filed suits and the case rose through the court system on charges of breach of contract, questionable legal practices, and jury tampering before surfacing in the General Court.

On July 29, 1651, Aspinwall and Witherden attempted to settle their differences over the windmill, although Witherden already had initiated legal proceedings against Aspinwall. A surviving manuscript shows that both men "agreed to reforme all differences" and to appoint a group of men to arbitrate their difficulties "at or before the 20th day of August next" (William Aspinwall, arbitration agreement with John Witherden, ms. 29 July 1651, 38B: 63, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Should the arbitrators not agree in the dispute, then the agreement stipulated that "it shalbe lawfull for them to choose an umpire & any three of them agreeing" (William Aspinwall, arbitration agreement with John Witherden, ms. 29 July 1651, 38B: 63, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). An agreement would bind both parties with the financial obligations payable in corn or money, and the men also decided not to dismiss the arbitrators too early. They affirmed the covenant by "twenty pounds to be paid by the ptie breaking covenant to the [ptie] observing Covenant" (William Aspinwall, arbitration agreement with John Witherden, ms. 29 July 1651, 38B: 63, Archives of the

Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts).

Although Aspinwall and Witherden attempted arbitration, legal documents reveal the nature of the windmill dispute. Several depositions from Witherden's witnesses contend that Aspinwall rented a mill badly in need of repairs and that Aspinwall and Witherden legally contracted for the rental. A William Costin testified that on August 7, "coming to the mill to have my corne ground when the wind blowed", he several times saw Witherden repairing the mill: "he was forced to leave grinding & mend the mill" (William Costin, testimony, ms. 7 July 1651, 38B: 62, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). On the same day another man deposed that "being att the mill of M^r Aspinwall which he had Lett to the said John Weatherby being then att worke . . . the said John Wetherby desered me to see in what repaire the Mill was" (John Fa[wiett], testimony, ms. 7 July 1651, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). The deponent agreed to Witherden's request and found "that shee was out of repair in severall p^r ticul^{rs} " (John Fa[wiett], testimony, ms. 7 July 1651, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). The testimony revealed a mill in need of much repair: ". . . sails were out of order and not even wethred and the shrouds also Loosen in divers places . . . "the Beake wer not sufficient 3^{ly} the Cogg angle was shu[tt] and [even] weake 4^{ly} the Coggs were much worne and not sufficient" (John Fa[wiett], testimony, ms. 7 July 1651, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Another man, possibly Costin, testified to

overhearing a conversation that Aspinwall held with Thomas Wilborne, a witness in the dispute, about the mill:

I William [Cestin] doe affirm that hearing
 mr Aspinwall talking with Thomas Wilbor[ne]
 about the [] [him] the sayd M^r
 Aspinwall & John Witherden concerning
 the mill Thomas Wilborn told Mr Aspinall that
 the [renting] which Mr Aspinall [] were of
 noe effect because there was neither wittnesses
 nor handes unto [it] (William Costin, testimony,
 ms. 7 July 1651, 38B: 62, Archives of the
 Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts)

Witherden's witnesses agreed that Aspinwall had contracted with Witherden.

Witherden decided to take Aspinwall to the General Court after Aspinwall countered with a suit in the county court. Witherden appealed to the General Court that Aspinwall attempted to evade trial, and in response to Aspinwall's suit at the county court, he attached "M^r Aspinwall to Answer him at the same courte for breach of covenant" (John Witherden, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 38B: 65, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Although Witherden appeared at the county court to answer the charges with witnesses, according to Witherden, Aspinwall waited "till the courte was reddy to break upp and end, then he letts fall his owne actions, [] and grasping upp the bookes and evedenc in courte refused to call yo^r petitioners

action" (John Witherden, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 38B: 65, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Witherden next alleged that Aspinwall told the court that the docket held no more cases and that, when Witherden's attorney said that his client's cases still remained, "Aspinwall said noe it was withdrawne which being proved contrary before the courte, he was forced to call the action and abide the tryall" (John Witherden, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 38B: 65, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). After the county court had found Aspinwall guilty and fined him, Aspinwall appealed to the quarter court, which affirmed the lower court's decision and "allowed yo^r petitioner further cost & charge which being done M^r Aspinwall secretly, and without the knowledg of yo^r petitioner, by many fals & vniust pretences procured of the courte that execution should be suspended untill the next courte" (John Witherden, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 38B: 65, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Because of Aspinwall's legal maneuvering at the county and quarter court levels, Witherden complains that he had received no payment for court costs, damages, and the expenses necessary to prepare his case against Aspinwall. Witherden argued that Aspinwall, not satisfied, once again attached him in two new actions. Pointing out that he "hath put in good securities to answer him these actions the next courte or time appoynted", Witherden desired the court and jury's decision against

Aspinwall "according to Lawe & equetie and according to the verdict giuen against M^r Aspinwall by the hono^{ed} court & Jury" (John Witherden, petition to the General Court, ms. undated, 38B: 65, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). The petitioner also requested the permission of the court to answer Aspinwall's charges and in addition to the court-awarded costs and damages, Witherden sought two pounds and 16 shillings to pay for the appearance of John Harysen, Richard Gridley, and William Costin of Boston, his witnesses.

An undated manuscript reveals the reasons for Aspinwall's appeal in the Witherden case. Aspinwall, appellant, objected that the jury ruled against him "uppon one single testimonie of a vocall Covenant, walking in the streetes" (William Aspinwall, ground of Aspinwall's appeal, ms. undated, 38B: 68, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). In fact, Aspinwall argued that "the Agreement such as was was made in writeing before two witnesses though it was not then frimed" (William Aspinwall, ground of Aspinwall's appeal, ms. undated, 38B: 68, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Finding the judgment against law and conscience, the appellant disagreed with the conclusion of the jury which "makes the Appellant to pay rent to his Tenant who ought to have paid eleven pounds rent to him as the witnesses testify" (William Aspinwall, ground of Aspinwall's appeal, ms. undated, 38B: 68, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Aspinwall wanted his rent and had based his legal action on the requirements of a written

covenant while Witherden had claimed a vocal covenant.

In response to Witherden's petition, the deputies asked the magistrates to form a committee of deputies and magistrates to consider Witherden's charges. They selected Captain Tyne and Joseph Hills to "heare & examine the Case & psent theire thoughts then uppon to the Courte (Committee, decision requiring Aspinwall to pay for Witherden's witnesses, ms. undated, 38B: 67, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Edward Rawson, the court secretary who eventually benefited from Aspinwall's legal problems, signed beneath deputy William Torrey Oliver, noting that "M^r. Simonds is Appointed to Joyne in this Commitee" (Committee, decision requiring Aspinwall to pay for Witherden's witnesses, ms. no date, 38B: 67, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). By this decision the deputies and magistrates had paved the way for Witherden's appeal.

The court-appointed committee, the deputies, and the magistrates considered Witherden's appeal. A manuscript copy of John Witherden's bill of charges to the General Court for January of 1651 shows that he thought that he should receive one shilling for writing his petition and ten shillings for delivering his petition. He also claimed two pounds and 2 shillings:

for atendance of the Court himselfe: & his
wittnesses Amose Richerson: Thomas Moody &
Thomas Wyborne 4: of them 7 dayes p peece

d
 at 1s p day p peece besides greate expenc &
 charge & loss of time whereby he is much disabled
 in that litle estate he had (John Witherden,
 bill of charges to the General Court, ms. December
 1651, 38B: 68, Archives of the Commonwealth,
 Boston, Massachusetts)

Responding to Witherden's petition, the court-appointed committee recommended that Witherden receive his legal judgment; but in regards to the costs of the dispute, it referred the decision to "y^e verdict of the Court which appeareth not to us" (Committee, decision requiring Aspinwall to pay for Witherden's witnesses, ms. undated, 38B: 67, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). The committee also judged that the court should allow Witherden's petition at no cost. Listening to the committee's report, the deputies in a separate document agreed that "it meete^{er} that the petition^{er} should haue his execution granted against M^r Aspinwall" (Committee, decision requiring Aspinwall to pay for Witherden's witnesses, ms. undated, 38B: 67, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). Secondly, they thought that Aspinwall should pay the costs of two pounds and 16 shilling "unles M^r Aspinwall pduce the determination of that court that did abate the same under M^r Nowells hand" (Committee, decision requiring Aspinwall to pay for Witherden's witnesses, ms. undated, 38B: 67, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). They also decided that Aspinwall should compensate Witherden for expenses in producing the witnesses for seven days at 2 pounds and 13

shillings. They then sought the magistrates approval for their decision. Edward Rawson wrote the magistrates' blunt assessment of the controversy: "The magists. Consent heareto" (Committee, decision requiring Aspinwall to pay for Witherden's witnesses, ms. undated, 38B: 67, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts).

Some of Witherden's witnesses, Amos Richardson with others, offered their depositions on October 24, 1651, in the dispute over the windmill. Richardson's and other testimony about Aspinwall's actions sealed the fate of the future Fifth Monarchist. Amos Richardson, John Sherman, and Thomas Wilborne swore that Aspinwall had misled them in the county court action:

that M^r Aspinwall did in the last County Court affirme John Witherdens accon against him was withdrawne. y^t after: (Amos Richardson, deposition before the General

Court, ms. 24 October 1651, 38B: 68a, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts)

Not only had Aspinwall deceived them, but they acknowledged that Aspinwall at the same time "went out of the Court and carried John Witherdens evidence wth him: this acknowledged" (Amos Richardson, deposition before the General Court, ms. 24 October 1651, 38B: 68a, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). They also testified that Aspinwall, who as a radical pamphleteer would stress the obedience of the subject to the laws of Christ and his saintly magistrates, lied to the magistrates, and gave a reason to halt the proceedings:

that M^r Aspinwall alledged and Affirmed to the magistrs. as a ground or reason to stop execution in Witherdens Case. that Wiborne putt h[] on to gett execution to pay hims[elf] for the salecloth: w^{ch} yett Wiborne deposes he was satisfied by John Witherden long before for y^e said salecloth (Amos Richardson, deposition before the General Court, ms. 24 October 1651, 38B: 68a, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts)

Thus, according to Richardson, Aspinwall had misled three of the jury, tampered with the evidence, and tried to stop the proceedings by attributing dishonorable motives to one of the parties in the litigation.

On October 14, 1651, the General Court listened to the court-appointed committee examining the affairs of Witherden and Aspinwall and answered Witherden's petition. In the first of three judgments, they decided that the "sd Wicherdon should haue his execution graunted agynst M^r Aspinwall" (Shurtleff 3: 253). They also thought that Aspinwall should pay Witherden's costs of two pounds and 16 shillings unless "M^r Aspinwall pduce the determination of y^t Court that did abate the same vnder M^r Nowells hand" (Shurtleff 3: 252). In addition, the court also ruled for Witherden in decreeing that Aspinwall compensate him two pounds and 13 shillings for the appearance of his witnesses for seven days. On the same date, the General Court, answering the petition of John Witherden, found that "the petitioner shall have his execution

granted against M^r Aspinwall" (Shurtleff 4: 66).

Accordingly it ordered that Aspinwall pay Witherden's bill of two pounds and 16 shillings unless "M^r Aspinwall produce the determination of that Courte that did abate the same"

(Shurtleff 4: 66). Also the court decided that Aspinwall must pay Witherden two pounds and 13 shillings for the seven-day presence of Witherden and his witnesses (Shurtleff 4: 66). This repeat judgment in reponse to the committee and Witherden's petition ended the legal matter--but the General Court had not finished with Aspinwall.

Next the General Court addressed the accusations about Aspinwall's behavior and rendered legal decisions that once again changed the direction of the future Fifth Monarchy man's tumultuous life. To the petition of John Butten, Benjamin War, Thomas Matson, and others of the county court jury, the court ordered Aspinwall to appear before it on October 23, 1651, to answer the charges in the jury's and Witherden's petitions. On that date, after listening to the men, the court moved against Aspinwall. It suspended him "from exercising the office of recorder or clarke in any County Courte, for chardging the Courte and jury to go against lawe and conscience, making the landlord to pay rent to the tennant" (Shurtleff 4: 68; 3: 257). Aspinwall's advice to the jury that for him as landlord to pay rent to Witherden as tenant would violate the law had placed him once more at odds with authority and turned to ashes his public career and financial security in New England. The General Court also decreed that he should pay 30 shillings

for the testimony of two witnesses. Having dismissed Aspinwall from his recorder's position, they appointed Edward Rawson, the court's secretary to his place, and ordered Aspinwall to "deliuer him all the records belonging to the sajd county" (Shurtleff 4: 68; 3: 258). Not yet finished with severing Aspinwall from his official affiliation with the colony's government, they appointed Jonathan Negus clerk of the writs for Boston and requested Aspinwall "to give him the records of deaths, births, and maírjages, in his hands, t
y belongs to that office" (Shurtleff 4: 68; 3: 258).

A document survives to suggest that Aspinwall attempted to return to his position that he and Witherden had formed a written agreement. On October 28, 1651, Thomas Graves testified that he had witnessed a written covenant between Aspinwall and Witherden. He deposed that during the time of Witherden's court case Aspinwall in his presence showed "a writeing for reference of the case in difference betwixt them in my presence to wich John Wetherden did agree" (Thomas Graves, testimony, ms. 28 October 1651, 38B: 63a, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). According to him, Aspinwall "did promise to draw it up [save] and [forme] it" (Thomas Graves, testimony, ms. 28 October 1651, 38B: 63a, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). However, Aspinwall's last grasp at this legal strategem made no difference and the General Court's decision stood. Although Aspinwall's knowledge of the law had extricated him from Gainer's financial grasping, his apparent covenant with

Witherden and his own impetuous behavior had undermined in one rash action nearly ten years of public service.

Prior to his dismissal from his public offices, Aspinwall had prepared to settle his estates in Boston. On November 11, 1651, William Davies, an apothecary deeded him half an acre of land lying close to his other lands ⁶ (Second Report 30), property in line with latter day Bromfield Street (Winsor xxvii). These possessions between School and Winter Street, lying on the west of Washington Street, he split in two separate transactions. On June 8, 1652, Aspinwall granted by deed a house and two acres of land bounded by Bomstead and Thomas Grub on the north to his son-in-law John Angier ⁷. On July 13, 1652, Aspinwall discharged a mortgage to Sampson Shore (Suffolk Deeds 4-5). The Suffolk Deeds reveal that Shore then sold to Theodore Atkinson his "dwelling house in Boston aforesaid lately purchased of Willm Aspinwall together with all houses, outhouses, gardens yarges orchardes meadowes to the same belonging, be the same two Acres more or lesse, bounded on the East With the high streete" (Suffolk Deeds entry 235). He performed this transfer on July 13, 1652, in the presence of Aspinwall and Samuel Aspinwall, his son, acting as a notary public ⁸. On September 17, 1652, Shore conveyed by deed the house and two acres of land that he had purchased from Aspinwall to Theordore Atkinson (Suffolk Deeds 150-151). In January 1652 Shore and Angier entered a business transaction of their own with Shore granting to Angier by mortgage "the house and land bought of said Angier" (Suffolk Deeds 148-149). If this real

estate refers to the land and house deeded by Aspinwall to his son-in-law, then this transaction suggests that John Angier and his wife Hannah, the daughter of William, might have sold the property which Aspinwall had deeded to them. Or, what is more probable, Angier disposed of other property by selling it to Shore. Near the end of February 1652, Aspinwall witnessed to Shore the "copy of mortgage and copy of endorsement of mortgage" (Suffolk Deeds 4-5). Having transferred his Boston property, Aspinwall still needed to dispose of the windmill which had crushed his career, but not until October 27, 1658, then in England, did he deed the windmill and one-half acre of land in Boston to Richard Woodward⁹ (Suffolk Deeds 150).

On July 24, 1652, Aspinwall, then about 47-years-old, a lifetime of political experiences and nearly a decade of public service already behind him, responded to the court's order and his dismissal from public office in a letter to the general court. He asks it to consider "that manifoould haue beene the afflictions I haue suffered since I came into this Country . . . but most of all afflictive is, that my late troubles haue sprung from brethern" (Hassam 17). He offers no excuses for his past actions: "I jusify not myselfe but condemne my folly" (Hassam 17). Admitting that he has suffered because of his actions as the General Court's officer, he asks that it remember their servants:

r

be pleased to be tender of you officers
especially of their names & credit & suffer

them not to be objects of publick scorne & reproach. If they be godly or ingenuous an admonition or checke may suffice to redresse any thing weakly & foolishly done, but if they grow corrupt through bribes or otherwise vnfaithfull to theire trust, justice will require it to make them exemplary. (Hassam 17)

Admitting his fault in the Witherden matter, he also explains what he tried to do as a public official: "ffor my selfe I haue little to say (being conscious of many weake & feeble passadges) only this, I haue desired to be faithfull, & my aime hath beene the Hono^r of God & his vice-gerents, the publick good of the Country, & private of pticular psons" (Hassam 17). Conscious of his guilt, he insists on his service to the colony.

Then Aspinwall offers an explanation for his failure to deliver up his books to Edward Rawson, the court secretary, and why he had chosen to leave them with John Cotton. Referring to his books, he claims that "They are no publick Records, as I take it, nor can be; but privat Records of my owne Acts" (Hassam 18). If he had not kept the records, he states, then he would have had difficulty in explaining his acts nor could he have discerned "any corruption or adulteration that possibly might be foisted in after the writeings passe my hand" (Hassam 18). He also received official guidance in the matter of the records, perhaps from John Winthrop: "And I wanted not the advice of him herein, whom yo^w all will owne as a Nursing father to this Colonie

whilst he lived" (Hassam 18).

The issue of tampering with his official documents aside, Aspinwall desires the court to consider the possible social opprobrium that he may suffer if he turns over his records. The court's order "will reflect some imputation or suspicion of vnaithfulness vppon me to take them away by an order" (Hassam 18). Such an action will also lessen the value of the books and anything contained in them because "ffor such as is the Credit of the pson, such wilbe the creditt of his acts & bookes" (Hassam 18). The state follows this logic in choosing its servants, Aspinwall thinks, carefully selecting those men who "are qualified, & have variety of tongues (at least the Latin tongue) so specially they doe take care (or should) that they be faithfull, in whose truth men may confide" (Hassam 18). Although he has stated that he will offer no excuses for his public performance, Aspinwall here places the burden for choosing faithful public servants on the magistrates and implies that having picked him and observed him faithfully fulfilling his office they may conclude him to be truthful.

Aspinwall also argues that taking away his private books will prejudice him in future situations in which he might need to testify: "ffor no man can safely & effectually attest any thing out of my privat writeings but my selfe, nor shall I be able to attest any thing when my bookes are taken away" (Hassam 18). Because he wrote the records, he "for
ch
brevity sake" often noted things "in such a method, w none

but my selfe or my instructions from me can make vse of; they being intended for my privat vse" (Hassam 18). Aspinwall states that "most of the things therein conteined related to England wither I am going, & hope may be more use there, both to the Country & any pticular therein concerned" (Hassam 18) if the Lord allows him to reside in London. Having purchased his own books and the register being his "owne voluntary & handy worke", he had decided to take his books with him to England before the court's order, where he would "remaine cordially affected & tenderly carefull of the good & welfare of his Israel as any opportunity of Providence shall present" (Hassam 18).

But Aspinwall agreed to abide by the order of the General Court. He "determined to leave them in the hands of M^r Cotton" until the special court understtood "from M^r Winslow what is vusall to be done in such cases of death or removal of Notary into another Country" (Hassam 19). With this compromise Aspinwall feels that the court could prepare copies if it needed, "copies of any writeing by M^r Rawson", or if the court decided, then it might transcribe the records and "returne me mine if advise so guide" (Hassam 19). But, in a postscript, Aspinwall reveals that he had changed his mind about his method of transferring his records to the court. He indicates that he had decided to deliver them, but opted to have them conveyed by another: "Yet the magistrates being mett at the Lecture, & M^r Hibbins moveing me to condiscond to deliver them to him who said he would intrust them wth M^r Rawson" (Hassam 19). Considering that others might wish to

harm him, he states, "I could not neglect his motion" (Hassam 19). Asking that his action to the court's wishes not prejudice the members towards the records and that they do not impute his acts to a stiff will "as some are too apt to doe" (Hassam 19), Aspinwall points out that they will "find it necessary to deale tenderly wth yo^r Officers & not admitt of any discouragment or disparagments vnnecessarily" (Hassam 19). And once again confessing his "owne weaknes & vnworthines to be improved by yo^w", he ends his letter by acknowledging that the magistrates "haue store of others much more apt & fitt" (Hassam 19).

Aspinwall felt that the magistrates ought to act kindly toward its public officials, but the General Court had other intentions in regards to the final public office which he still held. As a final punishment for his behavior, on October 19, 1652, at the second session, the General Court appointed Nathaniell Southern as public notary in place of Aspinwall (Shurtleff 4: 118). This decision officially terminated Aspinwall's public service to the colony¹⁰.

Packing his possessions for the journey to England, Aspinwall might have reflected on his private myth of America and the reality that he had found. He had expected to walk in a fellowship of love with his brethern in holy commonwealth under the rule of Christ. Instead he had discovered that he and his brothers disagreed on the means to find their Christian utopia. Once again his behavior had brought on trouble. He had disagreed with the authorities in the

antinomian crisis and suffered banishment for his rashness, disputed with the sectarians in Rhode Island, and then left them for New Haven. He also had met the snake of his own egoism and covetousness uncoiling in the New World of milk and honey. Finally, Aspinwall's own greed destroyed his vision of Christian fellowship when it caused him to violate his public trust. After returning to Boston and serving the town in various public offices, he had cast aside his position and his family's financial security when the lure of money and the certainty of his own legal position in the Witherden affair overshadowed the myth of man's and Christ's fellowship. The Witherden affair had resulted in his public downfall and directed him physically to England; but before his final public disgrace, Aspinwall in Boston had reflected on another kingdom and written his philosopher's stone, a small notebook filled with fantastic calculations and charts, his own guidebook for a future rich with the coming glory of Christ, a book he had managed to write at the end of his Boston years. Having seen the reality of the American experience, Aspinwall offered an expatriate's dream of the

11

Fifth Monarchy

NOTES

¹

See Menand, Hindus, and Haskins' Law and Authority 1-10 and passim on the structure of the court system. See also the introduction to the Suffolk County Records and The Colonial Society of Massachusetts 29: xvii-lxxx for a discussion of the court system.

²

Haskins attributes the easy accessibility of the courts as the reason for troublesome lawsuits (Law and Authority 218). Also, because few attorneys served the colony and laws prohibited barratry, litigants in a trial could go before a magistrate for his advice and opinion before the same magistrate heard the case at trial (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts 29: xxiv-lxxx). Magistrates and juries encouraged litigants when they often disregarded previous decisions (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts 29: xxvi-lxxx).

³

Haskins points out that a majority vote decided cases appearing before the General Court (Law and Authority 35). The General Court could order a new trial on a writ of review if the magistrates thought one of the lower courts had not provided justice, and any inferior court could ask the General Court to resolve difficult questions which they could not determine (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts 29: xxii).

⁴

I have attempted to transcribe the manuscripts exactly

as they exist, but printed reproduction does not produce the exact subtlety of differences existing in various abbreviations. Dawson provides examples of seventeenth-century handwriting and abbreviations, important information when considering these court documents. See also the introduction to Shurtleff for important abbreviations often employed in seventeenth-century manuscripts. For a discussion of the legal profession in early Boston, see Barnes. For a guide to colonial court records see Brink, Nelson, and Hindus.

5

The gristmill stood "at that portion of Bedford Street (called Blind Lane) which connects with Scimmer Street" (Winsor 2: xxx).

6

See Thwing, who places Aspinwall's property on the west side between School and Winter Streets (8). See Winsor for a map of the dock square area in which Aspinwall lived and a map of the Washington Street area (2: xxii; xxv).

7

Aspinwall did not know that the land on which the tattered sails of the mill fluttered would eventually go to the town of Boston, and that in 1715 the town would grant the land to the New South Church (Winsor 2: xxx).

8

Some family members remained in New England. Hannah and Elizabeth married. See Savage 58; 71; 77. The name of Samuel Aspinwall, probably Aspinwall's son, appears in a list of male persons "living at Muddy River (within the Township of Boston) who have taken the oath of Allegiance" (Records of the Suffolk County Court 30: 969). I could find no evidence to show whether his wife Elizabeth, if alive in 1652, or any

surviving children returned to England with Aspinwall.

9

Edward Rawson eventually may have claimed Aspinwall's land as well as his public offices. Thwing thinks that in 1653/4 Atkinson conveyed the land to Rawson (167), but the Suffolk Deeds do not show the transfer. Thwing errs in writing that Aspinwall moved to Brookline (167).

10

He entered his last notarial entry on May 20, 1651, a brief notation about the mercantile transaction of a London vessel. Manuscripts exist which provide examples of his notarial work and involvement in the 1640s in Boston. On July 27, 1647, the General Court presented its case to the Commissioners of the United Colonies for Springfield's nonpayment of taxes for the Saybrooke fort. The ms. setting forth the colony's position is in Aspinwall's hand. See William Aspinwall, copy of petition concerning Saybrooke fort, ms. 27 July 1647, Miscellaneous bound, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. An example of a last will and testament, in Aspinwall's handwriting survives. See Willam Toffe, last will and testament, ms. 2 November 1648, 15B: 69a, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts. Aspinwall copied a land transaction between Webcomites and Winthrop on August 3, 1643. See Webconites, land transaction, ms. 3 August 1643, 30: 1, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts. A real estate transaction between Thomas Jenner, Edward Bates, and John Whitman, written by Aspinwall on November 29, 1647 still survives. See Thomas Jenner, real estate transaction, ms. 28

December 1649, 47: 17a, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts. On July 19, 1649, he made a copy of the testimony of George Bliss. See William Aspinwall, copy of testimony of George Bliss, ms. 19 July 1649, 38B: 61, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts. On May 7, 1651, the General Court responded to a petition by Aspinwall and others asking that the county allow Mrs. Winthrop 200 pounds which the county had given to Joshua Winthrop, the youngest son of John Winthrop. The court ordered the treasurer to pay Mrs. Winthrop the amount. See William Aspinwall, petition to the General Court in behalf of Mrs. Winthrop, ms. 7 May 1651, 16: 366, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts. On June 3, 1652, he witnessed as notary public a land transaction between the administrators of Samuel Shermas and Margery Elliot. See William Aspinwall, execution of a deed of sale, ms. 3 June 1652, 45: 26a, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts. Aspinwall is named with others as an administrator of Robert Saltonstall in a suit against Thomas Elbridge. See Thomas Elbridge, petition for a new trial, ms. undated, 38b: 232, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts. See Martha Coytimere, power of attorney to Thomas Coytimere, ms. 16 December 1647, 15B: 9, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts, as an example of Aspinwall's work as a notary public in drawing up a power of attorney for Martha Coytimore who passed the administration of her husband's estate to her son Thomas Coytimere. On October 28, John Odlin testified in a case of involving a

question of title to some land that Aspinwall laid out. See John Oldin, deposition ms. 28 October 1653, 39: 318, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts.

11

Although Aspinwall departed for England sometime after the February 1652 transaction with Shore, years later another mill case came to trial and revealed, in the court's opinion, that Aspinwall had practiced some questionable notary procedures. The case started when Aspinwall on December 17, 1651, attested to a transaction between Edward Gibbons, who in debt to Bell, Stoddard, and Usher granted the men an eighth part of a watermill and its equipment. The business deal stipulated that if Gibbons paid off the amount of money that he owed the men, then the grant of the mill would become void. At the request of Usher and Stoddard, Edward Rawson, the new recorder, entered the transaction near the last of February 1652, about the time Aspinwall was preparing to go to England (Suffolk Deeds entry 287). The Court of Assistants responded to a case on appeal from a county court decision of April 1, 1656, in which Thomas Bell had sought to gain possession of the eighth part of the mill that Gibbons had deeded him (Records of the Court of Assistants 40). The lower court had found that Aspinwall as public notary had recorded the deed but that he had not acknowledged the mortgage before a magistrate (Records of the Court of Assistants 39). The lower court left the legality of the recording procedure to the judgment of the Court of Assistants (Records of the Court of Assistants 40).

Following a county court session of May 17, 1656, the Court of Assistants reasoned on the appeal of the men seeking to make good on Gibbons' mortgage. These men claimed that the recording of the mortgage, though not acknowledged before a magistrate, nevertheless served to block Gibbons' heirs in obtaining the property. At the county court, these men opposing the administrators and heirs of Gibbons' estate had argued that Aspinwall had recorded the mortgage "in such a way as he did vusually Record which was without the acknowledgment before a magistrate, he not oberving the punticllio of the law" (Records of the Court of Assistants 41). Those claiming a share in the mill had argued that Aspinwall's method of recording did "not so much invallidate the Grantor's Right &c as indanger himself by layeing himselfe open to the censure of the Court for the neglect of his duty" (Records of the Court of Assistants 41). Responding to another suit by the administrators of Gibbons' estate against Stoddard on September 4, 1656, the Court of Assistants agreed that the defendants should receive the eighth part of the mill that the administrators of Gibbons' estate claimed; but, in considering Aspinwall's record of the transaction, it found "not the mortgage acknowledged before a magestrate: as for ye legallity of the Recordinge of it we leave it to the Judgment of the binch to determine" (Records of the Court of Assistants 39).

12

Delbanco, in discussing New Englanders who returned to England, writes that "Aspinwall took with him a rekindled hope that in the time of Christ's authority there would be a

revival of the communal spirit that had withered in legalist New England" (375). Gura thinks that Aspinwall "emerged as one of the most important theoreticians of those who in the late 1650s could wait no longer to bring God's laws to all men, whether or not they wanted them" (142).

CHAPTER VI

THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE

Alas, I talked of a fifth monarchy I would erect
With the Philosopher's Stone by chance,--Ben Jonson
Alchemist IV, iv 25-28

While Aspinwall battled Gainer and Witherden, as England struggled to find solutions to religious and political disagreements following the death of Charles Stuart, sectarian groups and ideas bubbled in the froth of the Interregnum. The Levellers, attempting to curb oligarchy, appealed to man's reason, stressed the rights and liberties of the individual, and advocated religious toleration, the destruction of enclosures, and a new social contract. Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers experimented with communism; Ranters promulgated sexual license; and the Clubmen organized to protect their local communities against the depredations of Civil War soldiers. The Fifth Monarchy men, led by Thomas Harrison, John Rogers, Vavasor Powell, Christopher Feake, and John Simpson preached the politics of millenarianism in which a Fifth Monarchy dictated by Christ and governed by his chosen saints would replace the Fourth Monarchy of carnal, antichristian states.

Biblical prophecies, especially those of Daniel and Revelation served as ready-made rhetoric for these

millenarians. Daniel 7 presents a succession of beasts: a lion, a bear, and a leopard, and the fourth beast on whose head 10 horns sprout. A little horn arises from the 10 horns and attacks the saints, who had received the kingdom from the one like the Son of man. Daniel 2 speaks of the image of a great statue composed of various metal body parts which a stone shatters. Another kingdom then arises from the wreckage of the four earthly empires. Revelation 11 predicts that two witnesses will prophesy in sackcloth for 1,260 years; that a beast will arise from a bottomless pit to war against the witnesses and to kill them; and that the witnesses' bodies will lie unburied in the streets for 3 1/2 days before the spirit of God reenters them. Revelation 12 predicts that a woman, whose son is to rule all nations, flees to a wilderness where God feeds her for 1,260 days and nourishes her for a "time, and times, and half a time" from the serpent, who eventually will war with the remnant of the woman's seed. Revelation 20 provides the vision of the last judgment: an angel descends from heaven, binds Satan, and casts him into the bottomless pit for a 1,000 years. In the millennium, those who have witnessed for Christ will rule with the Savior for a 1,000 years. Then Satan will be loosened from this prison to gather Gog and Magog to do battle, the dead will arise, the judgment books will be opened, and death and hell will be hurtled into a lake of fire, and the New Jerusalem, a new heaven and earth, will appear.

In his years of service in Boston Aspinwall did not enunciate publicly a vision of the New Jerusalem as a land where men could reform themselves in a commonwealth guided by Jesus Christ. But Aspinwall's vision, dormant, finally blossomed again when he clothed it in the rhetoric of Fifth Monarchy principles. With his legal controversies undecided, his time as a public officer ending, and while he was still entering material in the Book of Possessions and Notarial Records, Aspinwall managed to write his first millennial tract in Boston, a philosopher's stone of biblical exegesis and Hebrew chronological principles that argues for eschatological events and fixes typological relationships between the Old and New Testament on the basis of Renaissance astronomy¹. In his unpublished manuscript, Aspinwall expanded his vision of America into a world-wide myth of religious and political revolution: the garden of fellowship under the aegis of Christ would fructify into a universal estate, stretching into the future from the distant past, under the control of God, the master horticulturist, who had carefully planned chronological events for man who needed only to check his almanac, the Bible, to understand when Christ would usher in the millennium.

On March 12, 1652, Aspinwall signed his preface to Speculum Chronologicum or A briefe Chronologie & Series of the times collected out of the Scriptures, showing the proper seasons wherein Kings were done from the Creation of the world, untill the death of O^r Saviour Christ An^o 3963. He intends in his treatise to "certify what have beene mistaken

(more or lesse) by others" and suggests that in his "little treatise or Epitome of the memorable Arts of God" his readers "mayst see as in a glasse the severall changes that have befallen the Church of Christ, the order & time wherein Kings were done & how the pphesies have beene fulfilled in their seasons, & the Types in their Antitype Jesus Christ"². For him Holy Writ suffices in untying chronological knots of Scriptural history and the future; and, though he admits that he differs from other commentators, he asks "yet is there not any period of time or difference of Account . . . wherein I have not the consent of some, both Judicious & Godly" (Speculum Preface 1). Besides unravelling the reigns of the Old Testament kings, "one of the knottiest pieces of Chronologie," (Preface 1), Aspinwall also promises a "short touch of the passadges after Christ to the calling of the Jewes" (Preface 2). He also asserts that the Bible contains a solar and lunar method of measuring time--a solar measurement from the Creation to the Exodus from Egypt and a lunar one, instituted by Moses "when they came out of Eyipt, & is by the Jewes observed to this day" (Preface 2). In the Speculum Chronologicum, he intends to correlate the revolutions of the moon and the sun to the chronology of the Scripture: "my purpose is to measure the yeares by them both, to show how these two Luminaries (Gods faithful witnesses in heaven,) do beare record to the truth of the Chronologie in Scriptures" (Preface 2). Thus, in his preface he promises the reader an account of the history of

the church since Christ, a chronology of parts of the Old Testament, a correlation of astronomy with the chronology of the Scriptures, and a prophecy of eschatological events ³ .

The Bible--"the touchstone of Truth" (Preface 1)--is the basis for Aspinwall's philosopher's stone and when properly understood provides the chronological principles of Aspinwall's vision of the Fifth Monarchy ⁴ . Daniel contains important prophecies about history from the time of the Babylonian captivity to the apocalypse. In discussing the periods of time from the Jews' release from Babylonian captivity to the Christian resurrection, based on his reading of Daniel 9:25-27 and Isaiah 44: 26-28, Aspinwall, while admitting that others date these years from Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, prefers to "cleave to the Scriptures alone" (15). He considers Daniel 9:24-27, a linchpin in his later millenarian predictions, sufficient to establish that the captivity period equals seventy weeks ⁵ :

Know therefore and understand, that
 from the going forth of the commandment
 to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the
 Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks,
 and threescore and two weeks: the street shall
 be built again, and the wall, even in troublous
 times.

And after threescore and two weeks shall
 Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and
 the people of the prince that shall come shall
 destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end

thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

And Isaiah 44:26-28, when God commanded Cyrus to free the Babylonian captives, means for Aspinwall that "since therefore God saith of Cyrus he shall pforme all my pleasure, saing to Jerusalem thou shall be built, & to the temple, thy foundation shalbe surely laid, I doe conclude, that that is the decree of w^{ch} the Angel spake to Daniel" (14). Dated from the time of creation, he places this decree in the year 3473 "about the Vernal Equinox (for they were returned & placed in their Cities before the 7th month. Ezz. 3.1) & so Ezra doth account Ezz. 3.8." (14). Interpreting Daniel 9:24-27 as a time period from the release of captivity to the beginning of the final apocalypse, Aspinwall thinks that "These 70 weekes or 490 yeares expired at the death of Christ, as appears by the words of Daniell" (14). In his eschatology, though, the sixty-nine week period of Daniel means the interval from the Edict to Christ: "Know therefore & understand, that from the going forth of the Edict to bring backe & to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the prince,

shalbe 7 weekes & 62 weeks" (14). After the sixty-nine week period, without specifying a particular starting time, the "finall judgment of desolations" (14) shall come. Thus Daniel 9:24-27 speaks of a 70 week or 490 year period from the decree of Cyrus to the beginning of the apocalypse, a time that started with Christ's death ⁶.

The Bible also establishes astronomical measurements. Reasoning from Genesis 7, which suggests thirty days to the month, Aspinwall concludes that in the ages of the Old Testament leaders "theire yeare was not Lunar (as after the Deliverance from Egypt) but solar" (17) while admitting he is ⁷ uncertain how the patriarchs intercalculated the odd days. Because the ancient fathers "before the floud knew the motions of the sunne better then we doe" (17), they measured their years by the sun and added "one day unto the Exacts as the motion of the Sun did amount to 24 houres above the comon length of the yeare w^{ch} is 365 dayes" (17). Genesis 1:14 shows that the patriarchs employed the solar year:

And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years:

But, after the Exodus, "the Jewes after the Deliverance observed a like method in measuring theire months by the moones motion as the ould fathers did in measuring the yeare by the sunns motion" (17); God, possessing perfect knowledge of the sun and moon, "gave a pfect measure of the yeares, not according to any uncertaine rule" (18) to Moses.

These lunar and solar principles established, Aspinwall gives his time length of the tropical year that he uses to calculate past and future events :⁸

Uppon confidence therefore of the exact number of yeares giuen in the Scriptures, I affirme the measure of the Meane Solare or Tropicall yeare, by the sunns meane motion from the Autumnal Equinox, is 365 dayes. 5 hour. 49 . 3 . 13 . 12 .
^v ch
 22 By w a by a standard I measure all the yeares from the creation of the world. Only from the Deliverance out of Egypt I sometime follow the Jewes Computation of the Lunar yeare, where of yo^w may reade in Munsters Hebrew Calendar & Christmanns Chronological epistle to Lipphus. (18)

Aspinwall, using Munster's Hebrew Calendar⁹, follows then the Hebraic approach in finding his chronology for the Old Testament.

After promising his reader in this preface to correlate the years of the Bible with the motions of the sun and moon, Aspinwall in Chapter 14 sets forth his principles for solar and and lunar measurement. In "Chapter 18 of the Lunar yeare instituted by Moses & of the Cycle of the Moone"(25) Aspinwall, using the principles of the Hebrew calendar, presents his method of solving chronological problems. He accepts the Hebrew idea that the lunar year begins at the

Molad of Tishri, an imaginary time from which Hebrew chronologists dated the creation of the world:

ffor it is a received Maxime amongst the
 Jewes that the begining of their yeare in
 Common yeares shall be accounted from the
 middle Conjunction of the Moone with the Sun,
 ch
 w happens neerest the Autumnall
 Equinocticall, whether it goe before the
 Equinox or follow after. And if the conjunction
 of Tisri (or begining of the yeare) happen before
 the Equinox more the 10 dayes, that yeare must
 necessarily be Embolimical, w^{ch} consists of
 13 months; see Munster Heb. Calend. p. 170. [26]

By employing these astronomical ideas, Aspinwall establishes certain chronological principles--principles which ultimately will allow him to present his typological views.

Yet he does not follow completely Hebrew time measurements. According to Aspinwall, Moses instituted the lunar year at the time of the Exodus, but the Jews have incorrectly "mistaken 170 yeares from the Creation untill the death of Christ, as appeares in theire Computation recorded by Munster in his Heb: Calend^r ffor fro the Creation to the Deliverance, they omit 60 yeares (being mistaken in the time of Abrahams birth) making the time of their Deliverance to be in the yeare 2448 & in the Cycle of the moone 16" (25). The Jews also erred by 110 years in fixing the time interval between the Exodus and the Crucifixion of Christ. Aspinwall thinks that the deliverance from Egypt occurred in the year

2508, "w^{ch} was the last of the Cycle accounting from the Creation, but the first of the Cycle after their Deliverance from Egypt" (25). In the year 3963 the Crucifixion happened, which "was indeed the 12th of the Cycle as the Jewes do account" (25). Because Moses established a new cycle, "their Roshhashanah (or first new moone in the yeare) hath beene kept in due site or place" (26). Aspinwall reasons that Moses' action fixes Roshahasannah, the Jewish New Year or first of Tishri, and prevents its displacement, "through the redundance of the moones motion about the sunns motion in 19 yeares" (26). He argues that, because the old cycle at the deliverance lasted one year, to obtain the correct cycle for the year, a chronologer must add one year to the Jewish year of creation and divide the total by 19, the small cycle of 19 solar years or 235 lunations. Aspinwall provides examples: one added to 2508 and divided by 19 gives "132 Cycles & 1 remaineing for that yeare of deliverance" (38); one added to 3963 and divided by 19 produces "208 Cycles & 12 remaineing for the Cycle" (26). In his system the Jews erred in their chronological system by 170 years, omitting 60 years in the time period from creation to the deliverance and 110 years in the interval between the Exodus and Christ's crucifixion.

Admitting that he employs the same method as the Jews in his lunar method, Aspinwall nevertheless uses a different imaginary molad, the time occurring before the creation of the world, to find the date of creation. He refers to this

imaginary molad as his radix:

Only in stead of the Radix invented by them
 suitable to their Computation of the yeares of
 the world, vizt. 2d. 5h. 204 Scr. I haue
 substituted another vizt. 6d. 0h. 249 Scr.
 Suitable to my owne Computation gathered out of
 the Scriptures, w^{ch} in all points
 doth pduce the same operation as they doe,
 to a simple observe that they account 1080 Scr
 to one houre [26]

He explains that because the Jews have lost 170 years in
 their calculation and failed to add one year of the old cycle
 (170 + 1), they have omitted 9 cycles (171 divided by 19),
 thus shortening the age of the world by this amount.

Drawing upon chronological accounts by Jacobus Christmannus,
 (1554-1613), a German professor of logic, Hebrew, and Arabic
 at Heidelberg, who wrote treatises on astronomy, Oriental
 philosophy, mathematics, and chronology, Aspinwall correlates
 the radix or molad to an epact, the "number of days that
 constitutes the excess of the solar year over the lunar year
 of 12 months or the number of days in the age of the moon on
 the first day of the year...." (Oxford English Dictionary 3:
 234). Using charts which provide the epacts of the Jewish
 cycles, Aspinwall through this chronological approach moves
 the Jewish Molad of Tishri backwards in time because of the
 Hebrew omission of years:

Subtract the Epacts of 9 Cycles, 3d. 4h. 1035 Scr.
 from the Jewes Radix 2d. 5h. 204 Scr. (for as much

as they haue omitted 170 yeares in their
 Computation, & 1 yeare is wanting of the ould
 Cycle w^{ch} together makes 9 whole Cycles)
 & yo^w shall haue the Radix w^{ch} I
 use, 6d. 0h. 249 Scr. Now Lest any that are not
 acquainted wth their manner of operation,
 should be stumbled at subtracting 3d. 4h. 1035
 Scr. out of 2d. 5h. 204 Scr. let them know that
 7 dayes to wit one entire weeke, is to be adde'd
 unto 2d. 5h. 204 Scr. & then the worke is easie.
 [27]

In effect, Aspinwall employs the techniques of Hebrew
 chronology to find his time of creation.

This method also allows him to bring the sun and moon
 together at the moment of creation. To determine Rosh
 Hashanah, the beginning of the New Year, from the creation
 until Exodus, "they must take the Radix 4d. 21h. 838 Scr."
 (27) By a similar method, the charts provide for the Molad
 of Tishri in 2508 at his time of deliverance from Egypt,
 which "was uppon the fourth day of the weeke at that houre of
 the day. To w^{ch} radix add the Epacts of 131 Cycles & 18
 yeares, & it will give yo^w 4d. 0h. 1029 Scr for the Molad
 Tisri anno 2508" (27). Arguing that the Jews omitted the
 "Epacts of 8 Cycles & 18 yeares"(39), he adds the epacts of
 eight cycles (0d. 12h. 440 scr) to the empacts of 18 years
 (3d. 19h. 6 Scr.) to obtain the molad of 4d. 7h. 446 Scr. for
 the Molad of Tishri. Because he thinks the Jews erred, he

subtracts this number of the epacts of the cycles from the imaginary Molad of Tishri to achieve his molad of 4d. 21h. 838 scr. Referring to the creation of the sun and moon, Aspinwall offers an Edenic explanation for the first conjunction of the sun and moon:

Yet although I do suppose the first conjunction to be on the 4d. 21h. 838 scr. when they were created, & the Jewes say they were created in Conjunction at 9 a clock at night on the fourth day (in regard the true motion of the moone is not exactly expressed by their scruples, nor can be) yet in very deed the Creation of both sun & moone, was upon the very first moment of the fourth day, at the begining of the night, being both of them in the horizon, wth respect to the meridian of Eden. [27]

While the Jews place the Epoch or the Molad of the Tishri before the month of Nisan, the month of creation, at Wednesday, the fourth day at 35 2/3 minutes past 3 a.m. or 4d. 9h. 35m. (Feldman 189), Aspinwall thinks creation occurred on Wednesday in the evening, when the sun and moon were in the horizon in reference to Eden, apparently because the Jewish day traditionally begins at 6 p.m.

Aspinwall's numerical manipulations of the methods of Jewish chronology also permit him to compute dates in relation to the cycles of the moon, the autumnal equinox, and

conjunction of the moon in Tishri, the first month in the Jewish year. Although as several of his examples show, his new radix differs from Munster's and Christammanus' accounts, Aspinwall obtains the same numbers but differs in the dates by finding the numbers from his charts of the moon's epacts, epacts of the cycles, and epacts for nineteen years:

o						
An	5340.cur.	Juxta Christ.	According to my Account			
epist.	Chr. p. 13		it is the yeare 5510			
current						
Cycl	200	5. 22. 200		d.	h.	scr.
	80	5. 4. 80	Cycl.200	5.	22.	200
	1	2. 16. 595	90	4.	1.	630
rad		2. 5. 204	rad	6.	0.	249
		-----		-----		
		1. 23. 1079		1.	23.	1079

[28]

To obtain these numbers, Aspinwall finds a difference of 170 years because of the error in Jewish accounts, divides the years from the beginning of creation by 19 to obtain the number of cycles, discovers the day, hour, and chelakim from the epacts of the cycles, and adds the molad for the final sum.

Aspinwall also provides a way to find the "Tokupha Tisri or the returne of the sun to the Autumnal Equinox" (44). To find the autumnal equinox for the month of Tishri, he varies from Munster's and Christammanus' account by 170 years. First, he determines the cycle of the current year "by adding 1 unto the prefect yeare & dividing by 19" (29) from a table. After adding the numbers for the cycles and for Tishri to obtain a sum, he subtracts 13d. 9h. 249 scr., a number suitable to his computation of the age of the world, which he

obtains by adding the "Epacts of 9 Cycles in the table for Tekupshash vizt. Od. 13h. 45 scr. unto the number of dayes 12d. 10h. 204 Scr. used by the Jewes & yo^w haue 13d. 9 h. 249 Scr, w^{ch} is to be used if yo^w follow my Computation" (30). Working through an example of the year 5281 from Munster, which he designates as the year 5451, after addition and subtraction, he concludes that "the Tekupha happened on the 12 day of Tisri & 9 houre at night" (30). More refinement and reading from the tables produces the exact day of the week:

And if yo^w desire to know the day of the weeke, add the dayes of the weeke past for the Molad Tisri that yeare, unto the days of the Tekupah & cast away 7 as often as yo^w can & the remainder is the feria or day of the weeke [30]

Through his tables, Aspinwall offers a method for affixing the time of the conjunction of the moon in the month of Tishri and for finding the autumnal equinox, based on the Hebrew concept of cycles.

These mathematical methods and charts allow Aspinwall to present his first chronological table of biblical events from creation to the Exodus in a chart that locates the events in terms of the year of the world, the cycles of the moon, and the days of the year in terms of leap or regular years: "Thus farre haue I lighted the Reader; & led him by the finger through the darksome parts of Elder times, yeare by yeare from the Creation, till the deliverance of Israel out

of Egipt, for the space of 2508 yeares" (42). Measuring the time by the "Sun & of the Moone, w^{ch} were both ordained for that Service, Gen. 1. 14" (42); contracting four cycles of the moon for each page; providing the number of days in each cycle and in each year, the Roshhashanah for each year, and the number of days in the lunar year; --he employs his own radix and avoids the Jewish practice of not permitting the conjunction of Tishri to fall on the first, fourth, or sixth days. Likewise, he escapes the Jewish rabbis' "six fould distribution of the Lunar yeare unto Comon & Ebolimicall, & both into Defective, Ordinate, & Redundant" because they desired "to obscure the memory of Christs passion on the 6th day of the weeke" (43). He notes in his charts the feria, "or day of the weeke, whereon the Lunar yeare doth begin" (93); and he gives a method of finding the types of years-- "Embolical or communis" (93)--based on calculations of the feria. By making "an ocular demonstration of the truth of this computation of years" (93), he thus connects the motion of the sun and moon, the Jewish method of calculating lunar years, to assert that "where all these Concurr^we you may safely conclude the computation to be true" (93). And, importantly, he posits that his method of chronology agrees with Scripture because God uses "Types & shadowes, to spell out his counsell" (94).

Ultimately, these mathematical calculations allow Aspinwall to reveal a god in control of history, a deity carefully nuturing a timeless garden for his own designs.

Not merely a loose connection of sums, Aspinwall's figures serve as the foundation for his peculiar concept of typology in which God arranges astronomical and chronological principles to reveal to men a connection between the type and antitype. His use of Hebrew calendaric methods for typological purposes makes his Speculum Chronologicum one of, if not, the most unusual typological exegeses in early American literature .

The Hebrew calendar and the epacts of the moon and cycles link the Old Testament and the New Testament in a curious mathematical exegesis:

According to these rules yo^w shall find
 the character of the yeare 2508, to be 4d. 0h.
 1029 scr. & the character of the yeare 2509. to
 be 1d. 9h. 825 scr. & the character for the
 Passeover aforegoeing w^{ch} the Israelites
 celebrated in Eqipt was 6d. 5h. 387 Scr. the very
 same day of the weeke on w^{ch} Christ ate
 his last passeover, & offred up himselfe [29].

Astronomy reveals typology; mathematical congruence elucidates biblical truth: "these things must necessarily concurre, where the Computation is true; to wit, the number of yeares giuen in the Scripture, the dayes of the weeke, the dayes of the month, the yeares both of the sun & moone in a contained succession or vicissitude wth out interruption" (45). God arranges typological, astronomical, and chronological events for his divine plans:

And that these things might thus fall out

upon those yeares of the world, will appeare
 by calculating the motions of the Sun & Moone.
^{ch}
 w I doe not note out of curiosity, but
 that such as will, may behould the wonderfull
 & unsearchable depth of Divine wisdome
 in such Types as himselfe instituted, & in
 the very Circumstances attending thereuppon,
 fitt for the state of these times; that he
 might teach them thereby, as a Schoolmaster
th
 doth his scholers w a fetscue, to
 spell out his everlasting love in the promised
 Messiah. [9]

Moses instituted God's grand astronomical scheme. He discerned the need for a new cycle and changed the last of the old cycle into the new one, "linking the two Cycles like the two links of a Chaine, whereby the exorbitance of the moone is reduced" (45). A man of "a singular strenie of Astronomicall skill" (45), Moses initiated the new cycle at the behest of Divine Providence which had caused typological conjunctions on the same day of the week: the first passover corresponds with the crucifixion; the day of Pentecost "whereon the Law was giuen, is same day of the weeke whereon the Holighest was giuen" (46); "The day of Trumpetts in this yeare of deliverance . . . was on the same day of the weeke wherein they ate the forbidden fruite" (46). Just as his calculations prove that the first passover feast occurred 915,851 days since Creation on the fourteenth of Nisan and

the sixth day of the week, so too "the first passeover, was the same day of the weeke whereon Christ did celebrate the last passeover, & offred up himselfe (the true passeover) the selfe same day. And thus the Type & Antitype answer each other exactly" (45). And by typological exegesis, Aspinwall argues that Abraham's proposed sacrifice of his son prefigures Christ's crucifixion:

To w^{ch} if yo^w add 32 yeares & an halfe
 ,(at w^{ch} age suitable to the age of o^r

Saviour) I suppose his ffather Abraham offred him at the full of the moone next following the Vernal Equinox, & on the 6th day of the weeke & at the very houre of the day, wherein the Lord Jesus was offred on the Crosse, & so yo^w have a pfect harmonie betwixt the Type & the Antitype" [8].

God planted his universal garden so that Old and New Testament events, like flowers, blossom at precise times to reveal the master horticulturist's hand at work in His garden.

God also planned the Old Testament celebrations to anticipate New Testament events¹¹. The idea of Old Testament sabbatical release and liberty correlates to the promise of Christian redemption from sin. As a watercourse leads to a fountain, "so doe these Jubilees or yeares of release lead unto Jesus Christ, the fountaine of release unto poore broken harted Captivies from the bondage of Sin & Sathan" (9). For Aspinwall, Luke 4:18-21 relates to the Hebraic year of the Jubilee when Christ taught in Nazareth at the synagogue:

. . . he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted,
to preach deliverance to the captives, and
recovering of sight to the blind, to set at
liberty them that are bruised. To preach the
acceptable year of the Lord. Luke 4:18

As the Hebrews blew the trumpet on the Year of the Jubilee--
"then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubile to sound on
the tenth day of the seventh month" (Leviticus 25:9)--so
Christ, fulfilling the prophecy of Isaiah¹², "so opened that
prophesie, & so accomodaties the Type, as all bare him
witness, & wondred at the gracious words that came out of his
mouth" (10). God, ever mindful of Adam's transgression,
instituted a fast on the tenth day of the seventh month as a
humiliation for Adam's mistake. Not the people, but God
through Moses thus arranged the holidays and festivals of the
Old Testament to prefigure the coming of Christ:

Thus it pleased God under the pedagogie
of Moses (& before, in the dayes of Abraham)
to teach his people by dayes & by
monthes & by yeares to spell out the promised
Messiah, as a master would teach his schollers
to reade ffor as the yearely ffeasts led them
to Christ, so also did their Jubiles & Sabbaticall
yeares, w^{ch} both concurred that very yeare
of o^r Saviours baptisme, when he preached
to them the accomplishment there of out of
Isay. Luke 4. 19 [47]

Unlike an eighteenth-century Creator who winds up the clock-like universe and withdraws, Aspinwall's seventeenth-century God intervenes through Moses, skilled in astronomy, to calculate the dates and times to lead his chosen people to Christ. Because of God's remarkable providences--from the making of the covenant to the gift of the Ten Commandments--for Aspinwall "This yeare 2508 is the most remarkable yeare ever since the world began" (143). Alluding to Isaiah 61:1 as a prophecy of Christ's mission, Aspinwall sees the type fulfilled in the antitype: "& that was the last of all the Jubilees, because now they were fulfilled, haueing led his people along through many Ages of the world unto Christ himselfe, & the Release preached by him unto poore broken harted captives, blind, & bruised ones" (10). Christ's birth fulfillls another Old Testament type, in this case the institution of the Feast of the Tabernacles. Christ was born in "the middle of the 7th month according to their Account of the Lunar yeare, & that was the Autumnal Equinoctical" (17). John 1:14--"And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth"--means that "the word was made flesh & Tabernacled amongst us" (17).

Although he refers to a discovery by Galileo and to Copernicus, Aspinwall's mixture of astronomical concepts links him with the Ptolemaic system ¹³. He conceives that on the fourth day God created the sun in the perigree, or nearest point to the earth, and the moon at the apogee, or

farthest point from the earth. The sun began its motion three days from the equinox; "suppose the sunne to be three dayes progresse from the middle & true Equinoctiall; & the taile of the dragon three dayes regresse; from the Equinoctiall, contrary to the order of the figures, at the instant of their creation & yo^w shall find these motions & Epochaes for the meriden of Eden" (94). Aspinwall determines his tropical year to be 365 days 5h. 49. 3. 13. 13. 24 and gives his own date "w^{ch} is almost the middle betwixt Copnicus & Tycho" (95). With the sun's motion and the motion of the nodes beginning at the instant of creation¹⁶, "the great Orbes of the planets, were created the first day"¹⁴ (95).

Although adhering to the biblical chronology of creation, he thinks that the sun was created on the fourth day as in Genesis and the middle motion of the sun began from the equinox one on the moment of creation. God sets his heavenly bodies in ordered arrangement and motion. Created on the first day, the light, which "is now collected in the bodie of the Sun & carryed about therein as in a Charriot" (98), moved in a circular motion for the first three days "in the same pportion, as the sun itselife afterwards did" (98). In three days time, the light before incorporation had moved 2 degrees 5. 24. 24. 59. Unless the light had moved, Aspinwall thinks that the first three days would have "fallen wth out the compasse of the solar yeare, w^{ch} would not haue beene orderly" (98). With the epicycles and lesser orbs created on the fourth day with the sun, God placed the sun, moon, and

stars in "that expanse or greater orbe" (95).

After reviewing events in Moses' life, linking the days of the month to biblical events, Aspinwall provides calendars in which he places events by days of the week and month for the first, second, fortieth, and forty-first years, after the Exodus. He then presents his second chronology, starting with the year 2508 and ending with Christ's crucifixion in year 3963. Referring to Galileo's discovery of the moons of Jupiter in 1612 by the aid of the telescope, Aspinwall thinks the moons are stars and the Italian's discovery proof of Ptolemy's epicycles and circular motion:

Neither may it seeme a meere imagination or fiction, to suppose such lesser orbes or Epicycles, (or at least wise such circular motions of the luminaries, in their proper paths) because it is apparantly visible by helpe of a glasse, that there be finale starrs that loope their regular motion about Jupiter. w^{ch} could not be, except Epicycles be granted, or that leastwise some circular motion about a certaine center in the way & path of the planet, proportionable to an Epicycle [95].

Because he has "alreadie gone beyond" his purpose (99) in respect to the scope of his treatise, he does not include some astronomical tables and examples which he claims to have prepared ¹⁵. However, he concludes his astronomical speculations by advocating a new cycle of the sun based on

thirty-three years, rather than a twenty-eight year,
¹⁶
 period . The new cycle calls for eight intercalculated days
 and offers the advantage of keeping "the Equinocticals in
 their due place for ever; not missing much above foure houres
 in 6600 yeares" (99). He thinks that his new cycle would
 "much ease & facility in Asstronmicall calculations and keep
 the equinoxes in their due site, to wit, the first month, &
 of the seventh, & not wander through the months, as the
 planets doe through the Zodiack" (100). Other advantages
 follow from his proposal of a new cycle and of several other
 chronological changes. Addressing the English Parliament and
 the Council of State, Aspinwall, while admitting the
 difficulty of having men change their ways, thinks "it would
 be no difficult matter to reduce the vulgar, unto a better
 Method of order" (100). He advocates that the year start at
 the autumnal equinox, which conforms to Christ's birth, an
 observation established by "the first planters of Religion"
 (100). Not only does starting the year in the autumn align
 citizens with Christ's birth, but beginning the year at the
 autumnal equinox makes man's accounts and computations "Most
 consonant to the naturall motions of the Heavens, & agreeable
 to right Reason" (101). And times of reformation demand
 rejection of a calendar that begins in January or March
 because such a system is "Antichristian & Babilynish" (100).
 He proposes to use only numbers for the days and months
 rather than the "dunghill names" (100) currently used. And
 because of certain biblical passages, he advocates that the
 day begin, as in Jewish custom, at sunset. Thus, following

Hebrew tradition that starts the New Year in the autumn, a time he has fixed as the birth of Christ, and that uses numbers instead of names for days, Aspinwall's proposal of a new cycle seeks to correct abuses which the Pope, the villain in much Puritan polemical writing, had corrected in 1582 by his calendric changes. His system, however, promises to make man's time more conformable to Christ's time, at a juncture when millenarians in England and the colonies saw¹⁷ the coming of a Messiah who would extirpate Catholicism .

Aspinwall's compendium also contains a millenarian outline that he used in his English pamphlets. He provides a way to link the years following Christ to the time periods of Daniel and John:

ffrom this accomodation of Ezechiel's yeares,
^w
yo see a foundation for the Connexion of
succeeding yeares after Christ (& the periods
therein mentioned by John & Daniell) wth
these yeares that goe before, wth out relation
unto, or dependance uppon any humane story, &
yet not much varying in the total summe,
from what hath beene collected by many worthie
lights in their interpretations of these
pphesies. [20-21]

The prophet Ezekiel in 4:5 predicts a time of punishment for Israel:

For I have laid upon thee the years of their
iniquity, according to the number of the days,

three hundred and ninety days: so shalt thou
bear the iniquity of the house of Israel.

Biblical verses thus reinforce each other: Ezekiel's 390 days refer to the time following Christ and relate to the years before Christ. For Aspinwall, the Scriptures present an eschatological scheme of history in a holy web of reinforcing verses.

In his eschatological history, Aspinwall thinks that a two-fold apostasy from Christ occurs: "And this place of Ezehiel undoubtedly is the measure of the first, & by analogie & pportion I conceive may be accomodated to the second" (19). Ezekiel, then, refers to an apostasy "from the civil government of the house of David in the dayes of Rehoboam, 1 Kin. 12.16" (19). The first apostasy, beginning from the splitting of the monarchy, contains the 390 years mentioned by Ezekiel and lasts to the end of Zedekiah's reign¹⁸: "ffrom this Apostacie to ruin of the walls of Jerusalem & civil Government of that state in the end of Zedekiahs reigne, is just 390 yeares" (19).

Aspinwall considers the second apostasy a spiritual one beginning "from the spiritual goverment of Christs Kingdom at the death of Christ" (20) in the year 3963 and starting in 423 A.D.:

Now from this spiritual Apostacie, unto the
demolishing of the spirituall government of
Christs Kingdom w^{ch} is the Church as the
walls are to the City, is as before, 390 years.
W^{ch} was in the yeare of o^r Lord counting

from his birth 423 (20).

This spiritual Babylonian captivity began ten years prior in 413 A.D., "About w^{ch} time the churches began to be captivited wth an affectation of an universal Bishop, w^{ch} was their Captivity" (20). In 423 A.D., "the man of sin so farr, w^{ch} prevailed to demolish the discipline of the church (w^{ch} was to them, as wall be to the City) that they were laid open to the world" (20). With the spiritual captivity having begun in 413 A.D., the revelations of John in 12:6 reveal the length of the captivity while other verses (11, 13, and 13:5) show the woe to follow in the final judgement. St. John describes the woman fleeing into the wilderness:

And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.

By adding 1,260 to 413 A.D., Aspinwall concludes that the "reigne of the Beast wil expire in the yeare of o^r Lord 1673" (20). However, subtraction of 1,290 years mentioned in Daniel 12:11 returns the believer in eschatology to the year 393:

and from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninty days.

In this year of 393, Catholic corruption destroyed the power

of Christ: as "I suppose the vertue of Christs death in a great pte evacuated, by setting up their Masses for the living & for the dead, & other such devices" (20). Aspinwall accepts this interpretation of Catholic perversion because Scripture again reveals the truth of chronological matters, since "Rome is called Mistical Babilon" (21), and since he does not find "any other Scripture, w^{ch} has a key may open a doore for connexion of the yeares aforegoing, wth these yeares & periods following o^r Saviour Christ" (21). And yet he feels not bound by his conflation of Daniel and Revelation to discover a time for the expiration of the Beast; lest his calculations do not convince a reader, then "it may seeme more agreable to the Scripture to take the number of the beast 666 Apoc 13.18 to expresse the expiration of the beasts power An^o 1666" (21). He refers, of course, to Revelation 13: 18 that millennialists often used to compute the reign of Antichrist: "Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six."

Having established the basis for computing these dates, Aspinwall, then sums up his eschatological scenario in the Chronology of the Scripture. In the year 393, the "Abomination of desolation" begins; in 413 "papal dignity" captures the "spirit of Church officers" (22); in 423, church discipline putrifies and the church lies exposed to the world; and in 1673, "the final ruin of Antichrist, & delievrance of the Churches from Captivity, & the calling the Jewes" commences (22). Aspinwall explicitly explains

when he expects the reign of Christ to start:

1728 About this time yo^w shall haue the
 New Jerusalem come downe from heaven spoken of by
 John, & the blessed time as mentioned by Daniel.
 Cap. 12 . 12 . when the Kingdome of Christ shalbe
 fully established. Blessed is he that waites &
 cometh to the 1335 dayes Dan 12. 12 . to wit,
 from the setting up of the Abomination of
 Desolation. [22]

In other words, vague about the instigator of the millennium, he adds the 1,335 days of Daniel 12: 12 to 393 A.D. to determine that in 1728 Christ's reign will begin. Revelation 20:6-8 provides the length of time of the reign of Christ and the scriptural key to determine a date for the beginning of the final resurrection:

Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the
 first resurrection: on such the second death
 hath no power, but they shall be priests of God
 and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand
 years.

and when the thousand years are expired, Satan
 shall be loosed out of his prison, And he shall go
 out to deceive the nations which are in the four
 quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather
 them together to battle: the number of whom
is as the sand of the sea.

This final cosmic battle will occur in the year 2718

(actually a 990 year period from 1728), but no man knows the final day and hour when God will initiate the apocalypse, for "the Lord hath reserved that in his owne counsell" (22). In 2718, the churches will continue "in a state of tranquillity & purity, as o^r Saviour shews in the parable of the Virgins Mat. 25" (22).

Should any find these prognostications disconcerting and depressing because the final ruin of the Antichrist does not commence until 1673, Aspinwall thinks certain events must first occur. First, the two witnesses of Revelation 11:4-12 must die, lie unburied for 3 1/2 years, and then rise and ascend "unto a Divine reformation of all kings both in Civil & Ecclesasticall administrations" (23). Drawing upon the imagery of the horns and kingdoms of Daniel, Aspinwall concludes that the expiration of the Antichrist actually began with the execution of Charles I "when the late Charles King was cutt off, who was one of the ten horns that supported the Beast" (28). Charles Stuart's death will inaugurate the Puritan cleansing of other nations:

And this is the begining of Antichrists
 ruine, after w^{ch} the rest of the Kings,
 or Kingdomes, will hate the whore & consume
 her flesh wth fyre, & never cease untill
 Antichrist be overthrowne, & the Kingdome of
 Christ set up in all the nations. [23]

But until this time, the faithful believers must await patiently, "for the fall of one of these hornes is but a

preludium to the rest w^{ch} will in order follow' (23). In awaiting the apocalypse, believers must "Be faithful unto the death, & feare none of these kings w^{ch} yo^w must suffer, for Christ will giue yo^w a Crowne of life" (23). Aspinwall advocates courage and passivity, but does not, in this his first writing in America about eschatology, call the saints to actively overthrow the Cromwellian regime in England.

The persona in the Speculum suggests the duality between the private and public self that Aspinwall so often exhibited. The persona appears self-effacing, yet the use of the first person singular pronoun in independent structures and his comments present a self-assured narrator. In the preface, the persona recognizes that others may disagree with his conclusions and that his thinking in these matters may not possess the power of reasoning that others have. Professing that he differs from other chronologists and pleading that he attempts to correct what others have missedth "wth out offence to any", he admits that he has "not the consent of some" (Preface 1). He offers his "owne apprehensions, to be weighed & judged by others" and hopes that his comments will "provoke some that are better able, to amend what they find defective in mee" (Preface 3). But he establishes his credibility by commenting that he undertakes this study "not out of curiosity or singularity" (Preface 2). Although he pleads diffidence, he also gains credence by using Latin phrases and by mentioning that he understands Hebrew.

Aspinwall's persona insists on employing the first person

pronoun in independent structures. These structures reveal his confidence in the importance of his work. He announces that the ideas in this manuscript represent his thoughts: "I only expresse them, as mine owne apprehensions" (Preface 3). He gives his intent in the preface: "My purpose is to measure the yeares" (Preface 3). He stresses that he might have used the eclipses of Ptolemy to show the reigns of Babylonian monarches: "yet I doubt not but thre may be a true demonstration made of the same, agreeable to the scriptures" (Preface 3).

In the section on millenarian predictions, the persona also seems diffident and confident about his manuscript. In regards to the time of the death of the Antichrist, he acknowledges that others may discover the true time: "I shall leave it to the discerning of them that are Judicious" (18). He writes that the date which the millenarians employ to prognosticate the death of the beast varies, but the difference in the exact time is minor: "However there wilbe but 7 yeares difference w^{ch} way soever yo^w make the Computation" (18). Although he offers reasons for his predictions, uses biblical tests to support his arguments, and presents his manuscript in a logical, albeit brief manner, throughout the text the persona qualifies his comments. For example, speaking of the institution of the mass by the Catholic church, the persona sounds somewhat vague about its effect on Protestantism: "About w^{ch} time as I suppose the vertue of Christs death in a great pte is

evacuated" (17).

Although Aspinwall never published it--though he alluded to it--Speculum Chronologicum remains a curious tract written in America in 1652 by a man with his eye toward England and his mind toward the scientific and biblical past. An amalgam of a Renaissance chronological study and a millenarian tract, his compendium explains the chronology of events in the Old and New Testament; correlates biblical prophecy with biblical events; depends on Hebraic time measurements and the Hebrew calendar; dates the time of creation; gives chronological tables, uses astronomical principles to reveal typology; advocates a calendar; and provides an eschatological scenario, which he would use in his later writings.

Aspinwall's opportunistic streak may have dictated the writing of the Speculum. It is feasible to argue that adopting the language of Fifth Monarchists, he wrote the manuscript intending to use it in England to advance a new career. He had undoubtedly heard of and was familiar with the political climate in England, situated as he was near the Massachusetts government. Unlike later published pamphlets, though, which refer to specific individuals, the tract serves as a general and abstruse, theoretical exposition of Fifth Monarchy principles. By itself nothing in the manuscript suggests that Aspinwall wrote it to curry favor in England.

Having lived in America for 22 years, Aspinwall left a plantation which did not fulfill his expectations of uniting the secular and sacred in a Christian commonwealth. King Jesus did not tour the docks with the merchants of

Boston as they examined cargoes nor did he sit with the deputies and magistrates of the General Court as they passed laws and adjusted disputes. The Bay Colony had moved away from the declaration of mutual love and brotherhood agreed to by the first settlers on the banks of the Charles River. A chartered business corporation had changed into a government; and new legal codes, rather than the Bible, adjusted the relations of men. Men strove to fill their pockets with pine-tree shillings, not manna from heaven just as he, the fallen saint, attempted to fleece Witherden from his rent. But passages in Daniel and Revelation promised to bring man and God together, and England, choosing one of its own saints to lead the nation into a new future, now seemed ready for a glorious 1,000-year reign of peace under Christ after the execution of Charles Stuart and the disruption of the civil war. There, men capable of correctly reading the Bible could guide the nation to Christian reformation. So, returning again to his homeland, now an expatriate from the land of failed dreams, Aspinwall, carrying his millennial speculations in a small notebook, sailed for England to help establish heaven on earth.

NOTES

¹ Maclear in "New England and the Fifth Monarchy" notes that George Thomason had a copy of A Briefe Description of the Fifth Monarchy on August 1, 1653, and observes that Aspinwall's short residence in England prior to publication suggests that Aspiwall wrote the tract while in New England (90). As the preface of Speculum Chronologicum clearly shows that Aspinwall wrote this manuscript in New England, Maclear's observation about A Brief Description is probably correct.

² See Preface 1 of William Aspinwall, Speculum Chronologicum or a briefe Chronolgie & Series of the times collected out of the Scriptures, showing the proper seasons wherein Kings were done from the Creation of the world, untill the death of o^r Saviour Christ An^o 3960, ms. 1652 March 12, Rawl. 13. 156, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Although Aspinwall numbers some pages in his manuscript, I have numbered the pages of the manuscript sequentially, after assigning Preface 1 to Preface 3 to the pages of the preface.

³ I have concentrated only on certain aspects of Aspinwall's Speculum Chronologicum. In Chapter 1 Aspinwall uses biblical passages to argue that the creation occurred in the autumn of the year. In Chapter 2 he discusses the year of the flood, and in Chapter 3 he determines the ages of Arphaxad and Shem. In Chapter 4 he discusses the birth of

Abraham, in Chapter 5 he examines Abraham's calling, and in Chapter 6 he determines Jacob's birth and marriage dates. He writes of the Jubilee and Sabbatical years in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8 he discusses the third year of Jehojakim. Chapter 9 is an examination of the 70-year captivity and Chapter 10 a discussion of the 70 weeks of Daniel 9:25-27. Chapter 11 considers the 450 years of Acts 13: 20. In Chapter 14 he provides the pre-Exodus chronological principles. He addresses the 300 years of Judges 11:26 in Chapter 15; in Chapter 16 the 390 years of Ezeckiel 4:5. He writes of the Persian monarchs and their reigns in Chapter 17. And in Chapter 18 he discusses the lunar year instituted by Moses while in Chapter 19 he writes of the return of the sun to the autumnal equinox. In addition, he provides charts based on his principles of Hebrew astronomy for various biblical events.

4

Renaissance scholars produced an enormous variety of chronological literature. See Grafton and Patrides.

5

Hastings points out that Christians in the past generally interpreted "the anointed one", "the anointed one cut off," and the "maker of the covenant" as a reference to Christ as the Messiah while "the destruction" and the "desolation" of Daniel 9: 24-27 was taken to mean the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D. The present view, he claims, sees the passages as referring to Cyrus as "the anointed one," Onias III as the "anointed one cut off", and "the maker of the covenant" as Antiochus Epiphanes, and the "desolation" as the havoc of Antiochus in Jerusalem (A

Dictionary of the Bible 5: 556). In these interpretations a week represents seven years, but "a difficulty has always been experienced in fixing the termini, and the various solutions proposed for adjusting the 49 + 434 + 7 years have been almost endless. The more prevailing one, in the old view, places the advent of Christ at the end of 69 weeks . . . and refers the commandment to the decree in the 7th year of Artaxerxes B.C. 457 or 455 . . ., and then 483 years later is A.D. 25 or 26, the date usually assigned for Christ's baptism, which from His anointing with the Holy Spirit, might represent His proper Messianic advent" (557). For a discussion of the book of Daniel, see Collins' The Apocalyptic Imagination, Chapter 3; and Collins' Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees; Hengel's Judaism and Hellenism 181-210; and Ploger 1-60. Collins' Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre and Between Athens and Jerusalem are also helpful.

⁶ For the edict of Cyrus and the Conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus, see Ben-Sasson 163-175.

⁷ Aspinwall's chronological approach rests on a basic understanding of the Jewish calendar and its principles of lunar and solar time, although the Jewish method, which involved a rudimentary knowledge of astronomy and mathematics seems complicated. The Jews based the lunar year on a synodic month or the interval between two successive conjunctions of the sun and moon. According to Feldman, "As the sun's nor the moon's rate of motion is uniform, the interval between

two consecutive conjunctions, i.e., the length of a lunation, or a Synodic Month is not constant, but varies within a few hours round about a mean interval of 29d. 12h. 44m. 3 1/3 s." (123). Because a synodic month is the time between two successive conjunctions, the astronomer may obtain the average length of a single lunation or synodic month by dividing the number of lunations, the number of full moons, into the intervals between the middle of two lunar eclipses (Feldman 131). This mean conjunction or Molad is the "the moment that the moon would have the same longitude as the sun, if both moved uniformly" (Feldman 123). The fixed calendar method, as opposed to the phase calendar method, both used by the Jewish rabbis, employs the Molad and allows them to calculate the mean synodic month. With a fixed lunation of a constant length, the Molad of a subsequent or previous month may be calculated if the time of the Molad of a given month is known:

The Jewish month begins at 6 p.m. of the day on which the moon is in conjunction. Hence, if the Molad of any given month is known, that of the next month is ascertainable by adding any average lunation, viz., 29d. 12h. 44m. 3 1/3 s., or--which is the same thing--1d. 12h. 44m. 3 1/3s., since 29 days after a certain event will fall on the same day of the week as 1 day after the event. (Feldman 189)

The figure 1 d. 12h. 44m. 3 1/3s. or 1d. 12 h. 73 chelakim (a

chelakim equalling 1/1080 of an hour) is designated the character of a month. The formula for obtaining a Molad (M2) of any other month (n), if the Molad (M1) of any given month is known is $(M2) = (M1) + \text{or} -n(\text{ld. } 12\text{h. } 44\text{m. } 3 \frac{1}{3}\text{s.}) = (M1) + \text{or} -n(\text{ld. } 12\text{h. } 79\text{ch.})$. Thus, calculating backward from a moment of true conjunction and assuming the world began in 3761 B.C., Jewish rabbis could find the Molad of creation: "the Molad of that Nisan at Wednesday, 23 m. past 3 a.m., i.e., 4d. 9h. 35m. 40s. since 3 a.m. is 9 hours after 6 p.m.)" (Feldman 189). The Epoch or "the moment of the Molad from which all calculations are made, is the Molad of the Tishri preceding the month of Nisan in which, according to tradition, the world was created" (Feldman 189). According to Feldman, this Molad, an imaginary one occurring before the creation of the world, which Jewish tradition placed at 3761 B.C., is called the Molad Baharad. Six months earlier from the Molad of creation, the point of the imaginary creation, the Molad for the Tishri preceding comes from the following calculations:

$$M \text{ Tishri} = 4\text{d. } 9\text{h. } 35\text{m. } 40\text{s.} - 6(\text{ld. } 12\text{h.}$$

$$44\text{m. } 3 \frac{1}{3}\text{s.}) = 4\text{d. } 9\text{h. } 35 \text{ m. } 40\text{s.} - 2\text{d. } 4\text{h.}$$

$$24\text{m. } 20\text{s.} \text{ (by eliminating 7 days)} = 2\text{d. } 5\text{h.}$$

$$11 \text{ m. } 20\text{s.} \text{ or } 2\text{d. } 5\text{h. } 204 \text{ ch. (Feldman 189-190)}$$

8

In computing time by the sun, astronomers often use a tropical or equinoctial year, the time interval between two successive passages of the sun through the vernal equinox, or a sidereal year, "the time taken by the sun to return to the

same position relative to the fixed stars" (Feldman 113). The equinoxes are the two points which the ecliptic of the sun intersects with the equator, the ecliptic being "the circle which represents the apparent annual path of the sun round the earth (or, as we now know, the actual annual path of the earth round the sun)" (Feldman 68). The obliquity of the ecliptic equals 23 degrees 26' 54'' 67''' (68). At its greatest annual height on the ecliptic (23 degrees 26' 54'' 68''') the sun appears to momentarily halt at points called the solstices. Considered with the summer solstice on June 21 and the winter solstice on December 22, the vernal equinox and the autumnal equinox mark the beginning of the four seasons, collectively called tekufah in Hebrew with "the tekufah of Nisan denoting the mean sun at the vernal equinoctial point, that of Tammuz denoting it at the summer solstitial point, that of Tishri at the autumnal equinoctial point and that of Tevet, at the winter solstitial point" (Encyclopaedia Judaica 5: 46). Because of the motions of the sun and moon, though, the seasons are not equal in length, but the average interval between an equinox and the following solstice or between a solstice and an equinox equals 91 days 7 1/2 hours (4 x 91d. 7 1/2 hours = 365 days (Feldman 74).

By employing mathematics with these astronomical principles of the solar year, Hebrew rabbis also simplified the calculations for finding the Molad. According to Feldman, because of the difference between a lunar year of 354d. 8h. 48m. 40s. and solar year of 365d. 5h. 55m. 25 25/57s., a lunar year is 10d. 21h. 6m. 45 25/57 s. less a solar year.

This difference equals $7/19$ of a synodic month. Thus, if in every cycle of 19 years, 7 extra months are added or intercalculated, the cycle consists of 12 ordinary years of 12 months (144 lunations) and 7 leap years of 13 months each (91 lunations) for 19 solar years of 6939 d. 16h. 33m. $3 \frac{1}{3}$ s. and of 235 lunations (Feldman 187-88). By this method 19 solar years equals 235 lunations, or one solar year equals $1/19$ of 235 lunations. Hebrews referred to this as the 19 year cycle.

9

Aspinwall also refers to the Hebrew calendar of another scholar, Sebastian Munster (1488-1552), who taught at the universities of Heidelberg and Basel, published a Hebrew text of the Bible with a Latin translation, and wrote geographical and cosmological works. See Meagher, Encyclopedia Dictionary of Religion F-H: 72. He also refers to the Hebrew calendar of John Tremellius, a Protestant biblical translator, whose works were published in England. See Meagher O-Z: 3563. For Christmannus, see Schweitzer 148.

10

See Davis "The Traditions of Puritan Typology." Bercovitch in Typology and Early American Literature discusses various types of typology, see 251. See Bercovitch, "Typology in Puritan New England: The Williams-Cotton Controversy" and Rosenmeier's "The Teacher and the Witness: John Cotton and Roger Williams", which illuminates two types of typological approaches in early American literature.

11

In the Old Testament, the Sabbath recalls certain

feasts. Hastings enumerates these feasts as the Sabbath, the New Moon, the Feast of Trumpets on the First day of the Sabbatical month, the Sabbatical year, and the Jubilee year. See Hastings 4: 317-326; 1: 859-863.

¹²
 "The Spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me; because the LORD hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound;" (Isaiah 61: 1)

¹³
 Numerous scholars agree that Copernicus' work in 1543 did not accomplish a scientific revolution. Butterfield argues that only toward the close of the sixteenth century did tensions develop between the old and new cosmology 55. Smith points out that Copernicus expanded the idea of the size of the universe and that by placing the earth in motion, he shattered the old physics which asserted a difference between the motion of terrestrial bodies and heavenly bodies (94-96). Johnson observes that the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems both circulated in the sixteenth century and that both gave satisfactory geometrical representations of astronomical facts (11). In 1612 Galileo viewed the Jovian moons. Toulmin points out that Galileo's telescope emphasized the size of the universe and helped destroy the concept of the sphere of fixed stars (194). Smith writes that his examination of the rough surface of the moon demolished the Aristotelian idea of perfect and incorruptible heavenly bodies (123). See Nicolson for the impact of Galileo's discoveries on the literary imagination.

Morison in "The Harvard School of Astronomy in the Seventeenth Century" argues that Copernican astronomy was taught at Harvard as early as 1659. On the scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Gillispie, Toulmin and Goodfield, Smith, Kuhn, Briggs, Butterfield, and Johnson.

14

The nodes designate the points of intersection of the lunar and solar orbits, and an eclipse of the moon or sun happens when the moon is near one of the nodes. Ancient astronomers thought that a dragon devoured either the sun or moon at the nodes, and they referred to the nodes as the head or tail of the nodes, with the descending node, or tail of the dragon, being the node when the moon passed from north to south on its downward path (Feldman 121).

15

Scholars differ upon the role of Puritanism in the scientific revolution, but agree that the Puritans did not perceive the new theories of the universe as a threat. See Merton 79-81; Kearney 210-213; Stearns 160-161; and Clark 249-51. Perry Miller notes in The New England that science served as a "necessary and indispensable complement to Biblical revelation" (211) and that either the new or the old astronomy aided the New Englanders purposes of finding the providence of God in nature (216). Miller argues that New Englanders participated little in the scientific revolution because "the whole matter was regarded as indifferent or secondary" (219). See Hornsberger's two articles. Daniels writes that the first American argument for

the Copernican system appeared in an almanac in 1659 (73). See his Science in American Society for a wide-ranging discussion of science in the colonies. See Jaffee as well.

16

The Roman and ecclesiastical calendar use the 28-year cycle to determine on which weekday a given day of the year would fall. Julius Caesar, to correct the errors in the Roman calendar that caused a discrepancy between the calendar months and the seasons, disregarded the moon in calendar calculating and designated January 1 rather than March 1 as the beginning of the year. The Julian calendar of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days exceeded the solar year by about 11 minutes and 14 seconds, and to correct the discrepancy Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 removed 10 days from October, thus adjusting the equinoxes. To keep the equinoxes and calendar together he decreed that a century year which could be divided by 400 would gain another day in February. England did not change to the Gregorian calendar until 1752. See Grafton for an explanation of the 28-year cycle. See Hastings 4: 762-766; 3: 108-123 on the Hebrew calendar.

17

The equinox refers to the two points on the celestial sphere where the ecliptic intersects the celestial equator. When the sun crosses the celestial equator at the vernal equinox and the autumnal equinox, the length of day and night are approximately equal. The celestial poles, about which the stars retain a constant position, makes one revolution every 26,000 years. Because the celestial poles move, they change the position of the celestial equator and the equinoxes. Because the equinoxes move, the sidereal year, the length of

time the sun moves around the ecliptic, is not the same as the tropical year, the time the sun moves from vernal equinox to vernal equinox. The tropical year, shorter by 20 minutes than the sidereal year, is the year of the seasons and must be measured before a calendar can be set. Aspinwall understands that the equinoxes will move and that calendar reform must address itself to the central issue of the precession of the equinoxes. See Kuhn 268-71 for a detailed discussion of the equinoxes . As he explains, the problem of the precession of the equinoxes had a role in inaugurating the Copernican Revolution and the reform of the Julian calendar (271).

CHAPTER VII

HEAVEN ON EARTH

. . . but his Saints shall be his Vicegerents during the time of the Monarchy. William Aspinwall A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy

His dream of a holy commonwealth blighted in New England because of evolutionary institutional changes and personal defeats, Aspinwall arrived in London when politics seemed to promise an Eden where English saints would govern for Christ. This state of the Fifth Monarchy, arising from the corruptions of failed, past empires, meant the destruction of the Antichrist and a 1,000-year period of glory and peace under Christ's viceregents until the final apocalyp¹se and judgment .

However, after Oliver Cromwell's victory over the Scots at Worcester, the Rumpers, the remnant of the Long Parliament, seemed to the saints unwilling to reform. In this politically tense atmosphere, on April 1653 the Rumpers tried to fill vacant seats in parliament with their own men. Cromwell responded to this tactic by clearing the house with his soldiers, setting up a Council of State, and reserving the political arrangements of the nation to a Council of Officers. As a result of these actions the Barebones Parliament, to which many Fifth Monarchists looked for

radical transformations in society, ruled from April 1653 to December 1653². Returning to England during this time, Aspinwall published his vision of a Fifth Monarchy, an expanded version of his American Speculum Chronologicum. After years of personal and political struggles, this private vision of America flowered into an English Fifth Monarchy dream intended for England and all western Christendom.

In 1653 Aspinwall published A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy, or KINGDOME That shortly is to come into the World, a pamphlet defining his heaven on earth under Christ³. He based his work on Daniel 7, an Old Testament text whose language and story provided a rhetorical tool for his political and religious ideas. Aspinwall, after identifying the last horn as Charles Stuart, who controlled three kingdoms, recognizes that seven remaining kings or horns, "have a little prolonging in life granted after the death of Charles Stuart" (1) but little time exists before the commencement of the Fifth Monarchy. Although some men object that the Fifth Monarchy refers only to a spiritual kingdom, Aspinwall stresses that Christ exercises both ecclesiastical and civil power:

I answer, That Christ doeth indeed exercise his Kingly power in his Church, and the discipline thereof, but not onely there. He also puts for acts of Kingly power, as acts of judgment and justice, in relation to Civil Government (2).

Pervading all aspects of life, the forthcoming Fifth Monarchy will encompass the earth as a universal civil power.

In this world-wide utopia, as a variety of biblical passages suggest, Christ will act as the "Monarch, or absolute King and Sovereign" (3). However, Aspinwall thinks that Christ will reign following a 1,000-year-period, during which time his saints will rule as viceroys:

Not that I am of their judgement, who say,
That Christ shall reign personally upon earth
1000 years, but his Saints shall be his
Vicegerents during the time of this Monarchy,
according as it is written, Dan. 7.27 (4)

Acting as the "Lambs Military Officers" (4), the saints will manage state affairs as the "supream Council of the State of Nation" (4) and will work to dismantle Antichrist's kingdom. This council will appoint "faithfull and choice men, fearing God, and hating covetousnes, in every City, to execute justice and judgement according to the Statutes and Lawes of this onely potentate and absolute sovereign" (4). Supportive of the holy work of lesser officials, the supreme council will function in lieu of Christ until "Christ have settled his people in peace" (4). Then, after a state of peace, the saints will reign with Christ or for him for a thousand years. And after this interval, God and Magog of Revelations will attack the saints. Following a victory over Gog and Magog, "the Churches shall continue in peace and purity, untill Christs coming to judgment, as appears by the parable

of the ten virgins, Mat. 25 for that is a special Prophecy of those last times" (5).

Aspinwall's experience in New England prepared him well for the role of magistrates in his Fifth Monarchy utopia. Before their arrival in Massachusetts Bay, the emigrants had formed a joint stock company managed by a governor, a deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants. Freeman, or stockholders, elected the assistants, the governor, and deputy-governor; all of the officers and freemen met quarterly in a General Court to consider new members and to make laws for the Massachusetts Bay Company; the officers convened each month as a Court of Assistants, a group similar to a company's board of directors. Under this company system, the magistrates--the governor, the deputy-governor, and the assistants--conducted the business of the organization subject to the stockholders' meeting in the General Court⁴. Thus, in these early Boston years, Aspinwall lived under a government controlled by magistrates, men he idealizes in his Fifth Monarchy platform. However, this ideal of magisterial control--a component of Aspinwall's visionary scheme--did not long withstand the realities of politics as the early settlers quickly adjusted themselves to the new American wilderness. In the company's early stages the magistrates controlled the structures of government; however, in Massachusetts Bay different procedures and government structures developed as the trading company changed into a system of government.

Aspinwall remains elusive about the precise dates of the

millennium, and he stresses that a reformation of men must occur before the onset of Christ's kingdom. In a postscript to his pamphlet, *Aspinwall*, mentioning The Chronology of Scripture, offers some tentative dates for these events:

"Know therefore that the uttermost durance of Antichrists dominion, will be in the yeare 1673. as I have proved from Scripture in a brief Chronology, ready to be put forth" (14). Before the failure of the Antichrist's power though, "it will be necessary that the ten hornes or Kings, which are the strength of the Beast be broken off" (14). Not mentioning the destroying agent, he hints that the Fifth Monarchy will start somewhat before the Fourth Monarchy disappears and asserts that the execution of Charles Stuart did not initiate the Fifth Monarchy. Men must fulfill certain obligations and heed God's voice before God will commence the final apocalypse:

As for the precise yeare, I dare not determine, but this I say, that when God awakens the Saints and Witnesses to hearken to a voyce from Heaven . . . when they are content to forget their old formes of Government, Civil and Ecclesiasticall, . . . that they will have no Lawes, Statutes, or Rules of Government in the Church or Civil State, but what Christ hath given in his word, even from thenceforth doth this fifth Monarchy begin (14)

Reformation of men, not a naked sword, will inaugurate the kingdom of Christ.

As the world awaits the coming of Christ, two kinds of officials will guide the nations into the millennium. The supreme councillors and judges under them "shall be holy men, thoroughly purged" (5). As a metallurgist removes all the dross in this refining process, so God will smelt "his peoples Judges and Councillours, and by consequence with all other inferiour Officers, until he hath reduced them to the Primitive purity" (5). In addition to supreme officers, the state apparatus will use subordinate officers--exactors and visitors. Exactors refers to "Judges, Clerks, &c. Collectors of Customs, & Tributes, Treasurers &c. are places of trust" (6). Operating as Christian inspectors, the visitors or overseers will report on the citizen's actions to the supreme council, "whose office it is to call them to account, & censure them according to their merit, placing faithful men in their steads, & so preserve the Civil Government sound and upright" (6). The visitors report upon derelictions of the exactors to the supreme council and relay information from the supreme council to the exactors. Behind this political structure stand the churches which recommend faithful men to civil offices. Because the "Church is Gods furnace" (6), the supreme council should ask the churches to suggest men to fill the posts of visitors and other officers. Until a nation institutes this holy system, until "all their supream and subordiante Officers be tested and tryed, and refined from their tyn, and so recommended by the Churches to such

services, . . . they cannot be deemed to be under the fifth Monarchy" (7). Although Christ eventually will usher in the millennium at an unspecified period, the impetus for Aspinwall's holy dictatorship comes from the saints and their churches. The beginning of the Fifth Monarchy rests on pure and reformed men. Aspinwall, hinting at a forthcoming "commotion or earthquake" (8), exhorts his readers to start now.

This intergral part of Aspinwall's Fifth Monarchy vision has affinities with the idea of a Council of Magistrates, a life-time body which possessed nonjudicial powers and with the English Council of State and Council of Officers⁵. Although the deputies worked against the idea of life tenure for its members, the Council of Magistrates endured, and it allowed the magistrates to concentrate on making laws and administrating the government⁶. But like other elements in his dream of America, this idea of a ruling council flourished in the early days of Massachuestts primarily among those committed to elitist leadership.

Aspinwall's admission to participate in the government of Massachusetts Bay included a religious test as a criterion before the individual could obtain the status of freeman. Only church members fom one of the colony's churches could qualify as freemen. By this standard only those who lived or would live in a covenant of grace, a religious process which required the demonstration of a conversion experience before the church congregation, possessed the political rights

7

incumbent upon a freeman . When the General Court granted him the rights of freemanship, Aspinwall thus joined and participated in a system in which the saints received a special political status, based on religious beliefs, while other non-church members did not enjoy the same prestige. His elitist rule by the saints in the Fifth Monarchy received recognition in New England in the 1630s; and Aspinwall in the 1650s uses the idea of the special political nature of sainthood from his colonial experience.

In describing his Christian utopia, Aspinwall distinguishes between Christ's legislative power and man-made rules or statutes. He writes, "in this fifth Monarchy Christ alone hath this Legislative power, and none but he" (8). The "Ministers of Justice" hold judicial power and guide according to Christ's law, "for his wil is certain, and it is always good" (9). The laws, which "lye scattered up and down in the holy Scriptures" (9), serve as the model for the civil state, and the state needs "no other Laws but what himself hath given, which though they be few and brief, yet are they compleatly sufficient and perfect" (9). The state, however, will not dispense with its apparatus: the supreme council needs to provide for wise and holy judges "to execute judgment and justice, according to the judicials given by Christ" (10). It assigns the exactors and checks their purity standards; it will "displace unfit or unfaithful persons . . . and if cause be, to censure and punish them" (10). And, until Christ's advent, the apparatus will conduct state business, "touching war and peace, and transactions

with foreign States" (10). Though a nation needs Christ's laws as its foundation, officials must continue to conduct affairs of state and monitor citizens behavior to purify the nation for the eventual millennium.

Aspinwall recognizes that Christ's laws will not seem to apply to all cases. Because "The Laws indeed are few and brief, they "require a spirit of wisdom, and of the fear of the Lord" (10). His legislative scheme will function effectively because men of God will institute it; the laws, though few, are perfect for the future as no situation will arise which had not occurred in Israel; and because God could have provided more laws if he saw fit, his silence on the subject must lead men to concede that they need no more laws (11). To the objection that arbitrariness must result in the application of Christ's laws, Aspinwall concludes that "there is less cause of fear, that men in whom the fear of God dwells . . . should mistake the perfect laws of God, than that Students at Law and Judges should mistake the imperfect Laws and dictates of men" (11). If a judge acts corruptly, he deserves punishment; if he errs, he fails because of ignorance. But if a nation ignores the law of God, "it will turn to sin to the Nation, and Christ will visit it as an incroachment upon his royalty" (11). Because God's laws are perfect, ipso facto, the nation needs no other body of laws except covenants which will cover "things of a middle nature" (12)--those cases involving legal actions with a "breach of any rule of righteousness (as for instance, to secure their

fields by a common fence, or by a keeper, and many such like things)" (12).

When men follow this millenarian program, they receive certain benefits from the establishment of a Fifth Monarchy. In the Fifth Monarchy scheme, men will align themselves with the will of God, the saints will enjoy some times of comfort just as they have endured periods of suffering, and the creation will escape the errors and follies of man's rule. Benefits will flow from the Fifth Monarchy estate: perfect civil and ecclesiastical administration will exist; tyranny will disappear; brotherly love, mercy, and truth will reign; officers will not act corruptly; war will vanish; and treasure, health, holiness and pure churches will supplant the poverty, misery, and corruption of the present life (12-13). Men will practice true Christian love in their churches where "in like manner will the Lord reveal himself to his people in the bed of his Ordinances, and there wilbe a mutual and reciprocal return of love" (13). Men will find the Golden Age in the Fifth Monarchy.

Unlike the Speculum, A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy reveals a persona who does not qualify his predictions. Argumentative, the narrator in this tract marshals his logic, orders his points, disposes of objections, provides biblical texts for support, and uses the first person pronoun to emphasize the correctness of his position. Five areas dictate the organization of his tract, and the persona announces these areas in the opening

paragraph and numbers them throughout the text. He presents objections to his position and answers them. He provides numerous biblical sources for arguments: "And for durance it shall continue as long as the World lasteth, it shall never be destroyed, Dan. 2. 44 & 7 . 27. Luk. 1. 33. Ps. 72 . 8. Mic. 4. 7. Zech. 9. 10. Act. 1. 7. Isa. 9. 7" (2). Phrases insist on the correctness of his argument: "I answer"; "I conclude"; "I affirm"; "I mean"; "I conceive"; "I say"; "I know"; "I shall declare"; and "I find" appear at various points in the work. In his first published tract, Aspinwall's persona exudes a note of confidence about the Fifth Monarchy, and while the Speculum provides the raw material, A Brief Description presents an assured persona in control of his material.

Aspinwall's A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy spawned a royalist pamphlet on September 13, 1653, entitled The BLOODY VISION of JOHN FARLEY, Interpreted by ARISE EVANS which contained an attack on Aspinwall. Portraying himself as a prophet, Evans claims that Charles II "will come in victoriously this year 1653" (Preface 3). Evans asserts that England will continue to suffer until "the King, Nobles, and gentry of England enjoy their rights again" (Preface 4). From the royalist view, the Fifth Monarchists' diabolical predelictions caused England's troubles. The Fifth Monarchists--men like Feake, Simpson and "others of their party meeting in Black-Friers" (Preface 7)--do not stand "for the Interest of Jesus Christ, as they falsly affirm. But

are for the Interest of the Devil" (Preface 7). Not unexpectedly, Evans predicts their demise.

To counteract Aspinwall's tract, Evans presents two visions of one John Farley, a man who dutifully paid his taxes to king and parliament and who fell into a trance in January 1652. In the trance Farley sees a coach carrying a woman dressed in scarlet, a group of six youths dressed in blue coats and capes, and a sign post with the representation of a moon with a bloody spot on it (3-4). Farley then sees a chariot drawn by white horses and a man carrying a torch in his hand. Fainting in fright, Farley discovers that the man picks him up and informs him that only the blood of Christ will save him. Later he finds himself in a church where men smear the timbers with blood. Farley then falls into another vision and beholds in a field a "company of doves milk white" encircling an individual whose brightness shines "like the Sun-beams" (6).

After discovering a former book of Evans, Farley goes to Evans, who derives political truths from Farley's mumbo-jumbo. The coach with the woman signifies "this bloody Parliament and State, which will suddenly vanish away be consumed" (6). The youths in blue represent "Charles his wayne", and a voice which pointed out the moon stands for a 1652 comet, a star which presages "the dissolution of this present power speedily also" (7). The chariot drawn by the white horses means that the "King and Court interest now begins to be violent and hot on foot again" (8). The bloody church means that God will avenge himself on "such as have

destroyed, defiled, and robbed his sanctuaries" (9). The second vision stands for a new kingdom which will arise in England, the ring of doves suggesting the Court, the doves the nobles and the brightest dove the king (11).

Evans considers these visions to be a warning from God for needed reformation, explains the cause of the civil turmoils, and gives ways to stop the oncoming punishment. Directing his advice to the Barebones Parliament, which he thinks is not really a parliament, Evans advises the saints to return to the church those things which the saints seized, restore former birthrights and the government of the church, and alter existing laws (18-20). The present parliament should realize that King Charles is "a child of God, and appointed to be the most eminent servant of Jesus Christ in all the World" (22). The execution of Charles I resulted when men sought to save their lives and estates, and the miseries plaguing England came from the coveteousness of some clergyman who became the Puritans and lecturers and who slandered the bishops (23-24). These Puritans stirred up the city, and ultimately the king's blood lies on their hands (25). Cromwell could not contain this rabble which corrupted the kingdom: "as the stream of the Parliament, Army and people went then, so must he go, or else be disabled, ruined, and dealt with as a Malignant" (26). Although people tried to blame Cromwell, God really made Cromwell a servant to the parliament, General Fairfax, the army and the people (26). The past indicates the coming triumph of the

royalists; men who rose against Charles I have fallen; the Presbyterians have lost power; and Scotland has suffered for its role in the civil war. In fact, the nobles may bring in Charles II to his throne.

After a warning that people sin against God when they listen to astrologers, refuting Aspinwall's A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy, Evans presents a royalists's version of the political situation and attacks Aspinwall. Evans puns on Aspinwall's name, calling him " a venemous Asp, pulling your Pine out of your Wall, on which you hang all your glory, and that your Asp-pine-wall will down" (49). He refutes Aspinwall's contention that Charles I was the little horn because the "little horn cometh up after the ten horns" (50). In fact, parliament is the Beast and stole three kingdoms from Charles, killing him in the process (51). In Daniel 7, according to Evans, the Ancient of Days signifies Jesus Christ, and the Son of Man means Charles Stuart. The Fifth Monarchy saints do not conduct themselves as saints: they robbed King Charles of his tithes and offering; they broke their oaths of allegiance; they killed the king; they slaughtered and robbed the royalists who followed the king; they betrayed the law of England, they warred on other nations (56-7). The actions of the saints do not match their protestations of peace.

Evans even knows what the Beast is and how to interpret the English political situation. Because a July 1653 decree resolved that only the godly should find employment in the state, the mark of the Beast is "pretended

godlyness" (60). A commonwealth, a "Weal publick of England," exists, and "the number of this name [The V Veal pVvLike of EngLanD] to be 666. for the numeral letters of it, are these: DLL 600. LVV. 60. VI.6. so that in all, they come to 666" (61). Another manipulation reveals that the late parliament and the present parliament stand for the number of the Beast. The parliaments are "Englands Idols", which in ancient Welsh means "Delwau Lloiger", and the numerals of the words total 666 (62). By examining William Laud's name, Evans determines that "VVILL LaVD, to be 666" and that "the number of this name, VVILLIaM LaVD, to be 1667" (63), the year of rest before which "most of the world, yea, and Rome it self will acknowledge their error; see the truth, and submit to William Lauds rule in form of worship, doctrine, and discipline, as the only way to salvation" (63). Although Laud and parliament represent the Beast, eventually royalism and Anglicianism will triumph.

Evans also attacks Aspinwall's advocacy of a legal system based on the laws of Christ. He concludes that Aspinwall wrongly advocates abandoning the legal system and informs him that the law of Christ "is altogether a spiritual law, which serveth not for any particular Country but for all in general, as a rule whereby to frame laws" (69). In his view, the king serves as a minister of Christ, and it is an error to "set up silly mean fellows to be judges, & they to search for precepts, that are (as you say) scattered up and down in the scripture whereby to rule all Countries, in all

causes, and then be subject to their wresting those Scriptures what way they please" (69-70). In fact, the former evil customs crept into "Courts, & places of Iudicatory, through the corruption of men in authority" though the "Statute laws, that were in force in the days of K. Charls, were right" (70). Aspinwall would persuade the people that Charles I acted tyrannically; that the saints must govern the world; that Jesus Christ heads such wicked people and that He wants England to dispose of its present laws, a decision Evans finds comparable to a man leaving his sheep and shearing the hogs (72). Labelling im a "shallow-brain'd fellow", Evans ends his polemic by pointing out that Aspinwall can not add: "yet Aspinwall cannot make more of the ten horns, and a little horn, (which ten and 1. must needs be counted 11) but ten; which interpretation of the horns, he makes the principal matter in his Pamphlet" (72).

Attacks by Evans did not dampen Aspinwall's⁹ enthusiasms for Fifth Monarchy proposals . On November 3, 1653, the preface to An Explication and Application of the Seventh Chapter of DANIEL with a Correction of the Translation supports Oliver Cromwell and suggests that Aspinwall found the pace of godly revolution too slow. He addresses Cromwell, who possesses a warrant "from Christ, to act as you have done" (Preface 2). With the body of the Beast still remaining in England, Aspinwall advises Cromwell to heed David's words of Chronicles 22:16 and "Arise therefore and be doing" (Preface 2). Admitting that Eastern languages offer various interpretations for a single word, he

desires "to communicate what the Lord makes plain to me" and "to shew how Providences and Prophecies doe answer each other ad amussim" (Preface 3).

Daniel 7 presents a dream sequence well-suited to Aspinwall's purposes. In Daniel 7, set in the first year of Belshazzar, Daniel dreams visions and relates them. He sees four beasts arising from the sea. The first beast, a winged creature like a lion, stands on the earth and receives a man's heart. The second beast, like a bear, carries three ribs in its mouth; and it is commanded to devour flesh. The third beast, like a leopard, possesses the wings of a fowl and four heads; and it receives dominion. The fourth beast reveals iron teeth and sprouts ten horns. In contemplating the horns, Daniel sees that "there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things" (Daniel 7:8). In the vision Daniel then sees thrones cast down and "the Ancient of days" (Daniel 7:9) sitting on a fiery throne in a white garment and with hair of wool. Before this figure, "ten thosand times ten thousand" (Daniel 7:10) stand and minister to him and the books of judgment are opened. Daniel beholds "even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame" (Daniel 7:11). Although the other beasts lose their dominion, "yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time" (Daniel 7:12). Then, in a night vision, Daniel sees "one like the

Son of Man" (Daniel 7:13) come to the Ancient of days. The "one like the Son of Man" receives dominion, glory, and a kingdom in which all nations and people serve him. Daniel describes this power as "an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away" (Daniel 7:14).

Troubled, Daniel next appeals to one of those standing by to explain what the visions mean. The interpreter relates that the four beasts signify four kings, but that "the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever" (Daniel 7:18). Inquisitive about the naming of the fourth beast, of its ten horns, and of "the other which came up, and before whom three fell", (Daniel 7:19-20), Daniel learns that "the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them" (Daniel 7:21) until the Ancient of days comes and gives judgment to the saints at which "the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom" (Daniel 7:22). The interpreter of the dream informs Daniel that this fourth kingdom, the fourth beast, will trample and devour the earth, that the ten horns are ten kings, and that another horn shall rise after the ten kings, and that the other horn "shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings" (Daniel 7:24). This other horn will "wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws" (Daniel 7:25). The saints will remain under the power of this other horn until "a time and times and the dividing of time" (Daniel 7:25). Eventually, however, the saints of the most high will assume dominion over the other horn, and receive the kingdom for the most

high "whose Kingdom is an everlasting kingdom" (Daniel 7:27).

The preface to An Explication and Application of the Seventh Chapter of Daniel suggests a persona who is learned and differential in presenting the tract to Oliver Cromwell. Addressing Cromwell as "your Excellencie", "My Lord", and "most Noble Sir" (Preface 1), he writes the pamphlet so that Cromwell may understand the true reason for the revolutions in England; so that he may realize the "just warrant" (1a) he had from Christ to act as he did; and so that Cromwell shall remember to attend to the vestiges of royalism remaining in England. This persona recognizes his inadequacy before Cromwell: I "confess my self the meanest of many thousands, and insufficient of myself to enter upon a discovery of such hidden secrets" (Preface 2). Feeling a duty to communicate to Cromwell, he admits his difference "here and there from others in the Translation of the Original" (Preface 2) but points out that he retains "the propriety of the word, which sometimes admits of various Interpretations" (Preface 2). His suggestion that Christ has helped illuminate the prophecies for him sounds antinomian: "'that a perfect, and full application cannot well be made of such Predictions. . . Nor then neihter, without some beam of light from Christ" (Preface 2). With Christ's aid, he assumes "the boldness to present" his ruminations on Daniel to Cromwell and "to cast it as a small mite into the Saints Treasury" (Preface 2).

In the text of the pamphlet, after presenting his translation of Daniel 7 from verse eight to 28, Aspinwall

explicates the verses and applies them to England's political and religious situation. He uses verses from Daniel 7 to justify the execution of Charles I. He renders verse 8 as "And lo another little Horn did arise amongst them, and three of the former Horns were rooted up by his priority" (3) and suggests that priority means "Prerogative Royal" (4). The roots refer to religion and the liberties and civil rights of the people. Verse 9 of Daniel's vision refers to the "Royal power of those three Kingdoms" (5); and the Ancient of days means God the Father, distinguished by his zeal, holiness, and justice and surrounded by his attendants (5). The judgments of verse 10 signify "Gods Judicial proceeding against the little Horn. For though the Saints doe execute this judgement upon the little Horn" yet "here God himself owns it, as his act" (5). And because God instituted the destruction of the little horn, this slaying was "no rash nor seditious act, but an act of sound Judgement, approved of God" (5). Thus, Old Testament scripture confirms that God has guided the revolutionaries in disposing of the Stuart king.

Having established a legal basis for the saints' action against Charles Stuart, Aspinwall next discusses the beast, the horns, and the saints of verses 11, 12, and 13 and discovers a justification and program for revolutionary action. The beast of verse 11 specifies "the little Horne that spake great words, and made war with the Saints, till the Judgement was given to them, verse 20, 21" (6). Carcasse in the expression And his carcasse destroyed Aspinwall thinks

"properly denotes any power that is incorporated with Prerogative Royal, or hath been inlivened by it, as the body is inlivened by the soul" (6). The beasts of verse 12 suggest the prophet hinting at the destruction of the other beasts, which differ from the four monarchies (6). The saints doom these beasts and "their absolute Sovereignty" (7), a power which usurps Christ's sovereignty and prerogative (7). As Matthew 28:18 establishes Christ's dominance--"All power is given to me in heaven and earth"--so no man exercises royal power without delegation from Christ (7). Thus, Aspinwall interprets verse 13 as Christ's assumption of his kingdom "to challenge his right of Dominion over all the Nations of the world" (7). Compared to clouds, the attendants in this verse mean the saints, characterized by their heavenly spirit and their zeal in awaiting Christ's kingdom. Constantly wrestling with God, the saints "will give God no rest" until the establishment of Christ's kingdom against all anti-Christian powers (8). Aided by Aspinwall's interpretation, the words of Daniel mesh to show that royalty attacked the Puritan revolutionaries and that other forces of evil oppose Christ, for whose complete kingdom over the world the Puritans await and struggle.

Repeating many ideas from A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy, or Kingdome, Aspinwall describes this future kingdom under Christ. In this new monarchy, Christ's word and will operate as the only rule of subjection: "This Kingdome admits of no Appeals, nor Repeals, but his Will is an

unchangeable Law, like the Laws of the Medes and Persians, in which respect, I translate it, absolute Sovereignty" (8). Possessing tranquility, peace of government, and spiritual glory, the saints will experience "holy sweet communion" with God in a kingdom which shall extend to "People, Nations, and Tongues" (9). A perfect form of civil and ecclesiastical government, the empire will contain officers and administrators of perfection:

As who should say, such will be the integrity of the Saints that shall then Administer the Kingdome, that they will not be corrupted with bribes, nor will they accept persons in judgement, but as the Laws of the Kingdom are perfect, so they shall sincerely administer and execute the same. (9)

This "everlasting kingdom" will continue because it exhibits the two qualities necessary for a kingdom: "righteous and perfect Laws, and a due execution of those Laws" (20). Israel produced perfect laws, and had that nation executed those laws and "committed the administration to none but Saints, they might have continued to this day" (20). The Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman Monarchies "are contrived by earthly low-spirited men, modelled and made up of humane policie, and administered for the most part by carnal men" (10), but Christ models his kingdom on "the wisdom of the Father" (10). In this future Fifth Monarchy, the saints will even speak in Hebrew, a language that men ought to study as it contains much of God's wisdom (38). The

legality of the revolution established by Daniel and the kingdom of Christ characterized, Aspinwall next proceeds with a biblical explanation for the English Revolution.

He considers verse 18 a crucial prophecy in relation to the English Revolution and the beheading of Charles I. The sentence But the saints of the most High shall receive the Kingdome justifies the saints in their proceedings against the king and in future actions against royal prerogative. This verse designates "the great turn of Providence towards the end of the fourth Monarchy" (11) in which God chooses the saints to receive the kingdom from Christ:

The Kingdome is first given to Christ, verse 14. of this Chapter. And the Saints, Christs military Officers, are said to be with him, and they are called Chosen and faithful, Rev. 17 . 14 . Dan. 7 . 13. And Christ delegates this power of administration of the Kingdome to them, Dan. 7 . 22 . 26 . 27. which cleerly justifies the Lambs military Officers, from the scandal of Usurpation and Tyranny, both in their War they make for him, and in their execution of judgement upon the little Horn. (11).

Having obtained this power from Christ, the officers should improve the kingdom "for Christ, and for the advancement of his ends and interest, not their own" (11).

But the saints faced the tyranny of Charles I. The

horn of verse 8 "before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots" (Daniel 7:8) means "that these three Kingdoms fell, but one more than the rest, and all upon occasion of this Princes advancing his Prerogative" (13). This little horn, Charles Stuart, ruled over three kingdoms, made civil war against his own people, promoted war with his royal prerogative, and acted and spoke against God. Verse 21 reveals that Charles Stuart overthrew "the peoples Liberties and Religion" and wore out "the Saints with Taxes, Impositions, Loans, Shipmonies, &c." (14). Because God "could no longer bear it, to see such havock made of his Saints" (14), the Lord first allows an opportunity for the saints to escape tyranny by using military power; then reserving the legislative power for himself, Christ, in this verse the Ancient of days, "now comes to make a Deed of Gift of this power unto his Saints, that so they may in a lawfull way, and upon a lawful ground, take up the exercise of this power, against their oppressing Prince" (14). Holding Christ's commission, the saints justifiably maintain their government by military power.

Having identified the fourth kingdom as the Roman Monarchy and characterized it by its cruelty (15), Aspinwall, equating the ten horns of verse 24 with ten kingdoms, links England to the ten horns and attempts to place it in a chronological scheme. He understands the expression "And another shall arise after them" (Daniel 7:24) to refer not to another horn in terms of number but in respect to form (16). During its duration, the little horn--the Stuart monarchy--

subverted religion by war and taxes and inverted "the forme of Government, in these three Kingdomes, by his Prerogative" (16). It enacted this malignity "at the end, or towards the end of a time, times, and halfe a time" (17). For Aspinwall, this expression of Daniel 7:25 encompasses the same times of Daniel 12:7 and Revelation 12:14 and equals the three-and-a-half-days of Revelation 11:9-11. Aspinwall converts these time units to 1,260 days:

For whether you account the summe of three years and halfe, which amounts to One thousand two hundred and sixty dayes, reckoning thirty dayes to the month; or you account the number of degrees contained in three dayes and a halfe (which division was in use in Johns time, and long before) it will amount to the same sum; there being three hundred and sixty degrees in one dayes revolution. Thus far have you a description of the prevailing power of the fourth Monarchy, specially after the rise of Antichrist; (17)

As he had done earlier in The Chronology of the Scriptures, Aspinwall finds a correspondence between biblical passages.

The verses of Daniel 7 explicated, Aspinwall next turns to providing a historical scenario, a "briefe description, as it were in a Map, of all the foure earthly Monarchies, from the dayes of Daniel, untill the coming of Christs Kingdome" (21). The lion represents the Babylonian monarchy, and magnanimity, courage, fortitude, and cruelty

distinguish the prince (22). The wings of an eagle (Jeriahmiah 4:40) suggest to Aspinwall the powerful dominion of the empire. Although the prince exhibits pride, swiftness, and depotism (22), the beast of Daniel 7:4 which was made stood upon "the feet as a man", with a man's heart refers to the restoration of the king who regained his reason in Daniel 4:34-36. The bear signifies the second monarchy of the Medes and Persians, and Aspinwall interprets the symbols of this animal to mean a sharing of jurisdiction between the two powers. Thus, the two sides of the bear show the division between them; the two sides in one beast indicate the union of the two powers; the bear's action of raising itself on one side expresses the dominance of the Persians over the Medes; and the three ribs of the bear relate to the three presidents of Daniel 6:2 (23).

In the leopard, the Grecian monarchy, untameable nature, vigilance, and watchfulness predominate. Because the leopard is fierce and cruel, these characteristics "doe fitly set forth the spirit of the Prince of Grecia, to wit, Alexander the Great" (24). The four wings on the back of the leopard express the extent of the Grecian empire, and the four heads "shew the division of that Kingdome or Monarchy into foure parts, after the death of Alexander, and the four Wings on the back seem to intimate the speedinesse of this division" (24). The "great and ugly mis-shapen Beast" (24) represents the fourth monarchy of the Romans, known for its "bloody persecutions of the Saints" with "the very spirit of Sathan, and Antichrist, breathing in this Beast" (24).

Without a name, the beast of Daniel is "a meadly and compound of all manner of malignity against Christ, and his Saints" (25) and contains ten kingdoms within its empire. John's vision of the beast and the dragon in Revelation and Daniel's dream of this beast both represent the "Roman Antichristian Monarchy" (25); both visions of Daniel and John refer to the beast of Daniel (25).

Although the saints slew Charles I, royal power still remains in England. After defining once again the little horn and again listing its qualities, Aspinwall provides two particulars, which he argues mark Charles I as the little horn. First, verse 9 and 26 recall the situation in England when the Puritans beheaded Charles I: "The abolition of Kingly power, by a publick act of the State, verse 9, 26. The Thrones were cast down. And the people take away his Sultanship, by a public Act of the State, which was fulfilled, when our State first modelled themselves into that Forme of Government" (27). Second, verse 11 indicates the revolutionary situation: "The beheading of this Prince, verse 11. The Beast was slain, or beheaded, as the word imports. And who can deny that these things were really and actually fulfilled in Charles Stuart the late King, and cannot be applyed to any Prince in Europe besides, nor to any Nations in Europe, but these three Nations" (28). Charles harmed religion and the rights of his people, introduced arbitrary government, warred against the Saints, and destroyed three nations by the sword "toward the end of a

time, times, and halfe a time, to wit, in the end of Antichrists Reigne" (27), but his body or carcass--"all such powers, as carry the representation, or figure of Prerogative upon them" (28)--still exists and challenges the saints to action (28). The carcass signifies an attitude, "the Spirit of Prerogative hath given power & life to many Laws by which many of the dear Saints of Christ have been cast into Prisons, and burned at stakes, and the Prerogative of Christ laid aside" (29). And, though other injustices remain, the body also represents "King-craft, when men by specious pretences and fair promises of publick good, insinuate into the hearts of the people, till they have got power in their hands, and then improve the same for their owne ends, and not the publick interest. This is King-craft, and rightly may be called a Carcasse, as that which hath received life and being (as I may say) from Royall Prerogative" (29). As Aspinwall hinted in his preface, Cromwell still needs to rectify the vestiges of royalism in England.

Legally and justifiably, the saints slew the late king for several reasons, but the scenario of the ten horns shows that the saints have not completed their work. Accountable to God, Charles Stuart faced the vengeance of God and the angels who executed the sentence: "It was not the Parliament, nor Lord Fairfax, nor Lord Cromwel, could hav carried on this Work, if God had not been ingaged, and employed his heavenly Hosts to accomplish the same" (30). Because God approved of the act, the saints held a "full commission and warrant from Heaven for this service" (31)

through Christ, who having received the power from the Lord, then delegated the "Judiciary power" (31) into the saints. After Christ interceded with God and the saints pled for aid, God allowed his people to take this power when Charles warred on his own subjects. Thus, by Aspinwall's logic, the saints waged a defensive war, and "the Law of Nature allows a Sonne to defend himselfe against the assault of a furious Father" (32). But, other purifying work also remains for the saints who still must face the final seven horns or beasts or kingdoms which will meet their doom after "some final time . . . betwixt the little Horns doom, and theirs" (33). Daniel reveals that the time--"a time, times, and the dividing of a time are never accomplished"--means 1,260 years, which is "the durance of the whole Antichristian Roman Monarchy" (33). Thus, the saints face a perpetual revolution against anti-Christian forces.

In determining the time element in regards to the horns of the beasts, Aspinwall turns to the slaying and resurrection of the two witnesses of Revelation 11:11 for finding the final victory of the saints. Aspinwall thinks that Daniel and John refer to the same events: as the sun's diurnal motion equals 360 degrees or days which is the sum of "three Revolutions and an half" or 1,260 parts, "which in these Prophetical Scriptures are to be understood for one thousand two hundred and sixty yeers" (34). Although the witnesses will rise after three-and-a-half days (Revelation 11:11)--a time, times, times and half a times (Daniel

7:25)--, Holy Writ remains silent about the number of years before the end:

neither doth John, nor Daniel, expressly shew: onely Daniel tells you, of the Saints receiving the Kingdome, a little before the judgement of the little Horne: Wich is, the very same thing that John calls the rising of the two Witnesses. (35).

But, the witnesses arose when the "Saints received the Kingdome, and the State did countenance and allow the Saints to enter into holy Covenant, and congregate into Church-fellowship, according to the word of God, and then proceeded to execute the Judgement written, upon the little Horne (Charles Stuart)" (35). Now, with the saints in power, the other horns face their doom as the military lambs will try them and remove their sovereignty. However, according to Daniel 7:12, the remaining little horns also will receive a reprieve for a "season and time; Which words doe intimate some flux of time between the little Hornes Doom, and these other Kings" (36).

The interval being short, nevertheless the saints must vanquish the horns because "that which seems to be the Remora, that hinders the work, is the slowness of the Saints proceeding in England, to destroy, and utterly to abolish all Carcasses of Kingly power" (36). Understanding the political and religious situation, the saints ought to commence and "not leave a stump of Baal, nor any thing that bears the stamp of Prerogative, either in Church or Commonwealth" (36).

In England in 1653, the witnesses have risen, presaging the end of earthly governments; and the saints have executed the little horn Charles Stuart; but they face the other horns which will experience a reprieve. However, the revolutionaries need to hasten their work.

But does the three-and-one-half days of Revelation 11:11 refer to the time from the witnesses' slaying to their rising? Aspinwall, failing to mention New England, thinks not and believes that some witnesses have risen in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but not in nations on the continent. He interprets Revelation 11:4 and Zechariah 4:3 to mean that the witnesses are the officers of church and state who prophesy in sackcloth for 1,260 days, forty months, or as long as the Beast makes war. Their slaying means a "Civill slaying, suppressing them from exercise of Christs power both in Churchs and Commonwealths" (40). This killing will continue for the 1,260 years, forty-two months, or a time, times, and half a time--all of which are the same time interval. Thus, three-and-half-days of Revelation 11:11 refers to the time of Antichrist, from his advent to his destruction; and because the Antichrist has suppressed some of the saints for a period of time longer than three years and a half, the resurrection of the witnesses or saints will occur gradually (41), although the witness are now appearing "Ever since God opened a door of opportunity for the Saints to receive the Administration of the Kingdome" (41).

Aspinwall disagrees that the Beast will devour the

witnesses after 1,260 years of their prophecy, which they must accomplish before this time, and argues instead that in all ages since the Beast prevailed the witnesses testified truth before the Beast overcame them (42). To the complaint that a short time will pass between the slaying and rising, he posits that because the witnesses did not die together, they will not rise together. In fact, they will appear when "God gives the Nations hearts to hate the Whore" (42). He interprets the phrase "dead bodies" to signify the witnesses' political bodies, which lay in the streets after they lost their political power. This failure of power may indicate a slaying of the power of the witnesses or a seizing of their power and the substitution of the Beast's form:

Therefore I take it, that both may be well meant by (dead bodies) both the deprivation of the Witnesses of their due power, and the substitution of the Beasts devised forms in stead thereof, so that in the Churches, they should be ruled by the Beasts Laws and Constitutions, and not by Christs; and in the Commonwealths they should be ruled by their owne Acts and Edicts, not by the pure Word of God. (44)

Aspinwall's millenarianism calls for the kingdom of Christ on earth without precisely fixing the dates of the millennium, except to suggest that the Antichrist's power will begin to wane near 1673. Applying the vision of Daniel 7 to the English Revolution, he concludes that seven kingdoms still remain in the fourth monarchy, an anti-Christian one;

that the execution of Charles, approved by god, removed three of the ten horns; that the remaining seven kingdoms will die between the death of Charles I and the end of the biblical 1,260-year period; that the death of the witnesses means an exclusion from church and civil power; and that vestiges of royalism still await Cromwell's attention. In effect, Aspinwall presents a call to dispose of carnal government blocking the Fifth Monarchy, which he suggests will arrive around 1673, having decided not to publish The Chronology of Scriptures which predicated that the Fifth Monarchy would begin in 1728 and end in 2718¹⁰ .

Following the pre-millenarian tract he wrote in Boston during a time of personal difficulties, Aspinwall's first two Fifth Monarchy pamphlets in England reveal a man rejecting part of Massachusetts Bays' political and religious evolution and extending part of it. Dissatisfied with law codification and the limitation of the discretionary power of magistrates, Aspinwall found the Fifth Monarchy position, a religious and political movement clothed in millenarian language, suited as a vehicle to advocate religious and political reformation by a state apparatus. Now, unlike antinomian belief which allowed the individual to unite with the Holy Ghost, the individual needed a state to guide him to the godly life¹¹ . The Cambridge Platform in New England had affirmed that the church strengthened the powers of the civil magistrates--that the church and state "both stand together & flourish the one being helpfull unto the other, in their

distinct & due administrations" (Walker 235). Although the synod concluded "it is unlawfull for church-officers to meddle with the sword of he Magistrate" and that magistrates should "take care of matters of religion" (Walker 236), the synod also thought that the magistrate should attend to "such acts, as are commanded & forbidden in the word" (Walker 236). The church and state possessed separate spheres of authority, but cooperated to build a holy commonwealth. In a 1,000-year reign of Christ's vicegerents, Aspinwall's state apparatus of pure and holy councilors, monitors the behavior of exactors and visitors who will report on the behavior of citizens. As a Fifth Monarchist, who extended these principles of the synod, Aspinwall yoked the church and state even more closely together. In Boston, the colony had codified within its laws much more than Mosaic principles. But in Aspinwall's Fifth Monarchy visions, though the judges ruled according to biblical law, these laws would suffice; and in cases in which no law seemed to provide a guideline, Aspinwall advocated the discretionary role of the magistrates--a position under seige by the deputies and freemen throughout the 1630s and the 1640s.

Paradoxically, Aspinwall's English Fifth Monarchism extends his earlier idealistic antinomian impulses, which sought a community of individuals under the Holy Spirit, and brackets the urge for this Holy Spirit in the political structures that Massachusetts had turned away from. He retains the idealism of living under Christ's laws and finding a pure Christian polity--a dream of the 1640s in

Massachusetts Bay which had accomodated itself to political realities. In England Aspinwall still preserved a version of the errand, a belief which actuated men in the Great Migration to build a model city on a hill for the benefit of Europe, but he returned to England to implement it in his Fifth Monarchism. But, as Miller observes of the colonists, they "lost their audience" when the English Presbyterians and Independents split and the Independents "betrayed the sacred cause by yielding to the heresy of toleration" (Errand 13), a toleration that Massachusetts Bay had already corrected in the the latter 1630s. By 1652 the views of the millenarians flourished with the radical sects in England; in America, however, political and religious adjustment already had tempered the idealism of a pure Biblical polity. Pointing to the past, Aspinwall channeled this forsaken idealism into the conservative ideas of standing councils, biblical laws, and powerful magistrates, political adjustments that deputies and freemen had repudiated in Massachusetts Bay for years. Returning to England, then, in his millennium tracts Aspinwall acknowledges the failure of what he perceived the American experience to be. He sought the Fifth Monarchy in in England in 1652 and 1653 the fresh possibilities of an older idealism that he had lost on the American strand. However, not completely discouraged by the dissolution of the Barebones Parliament, Aspinwall next offerred to the reformers in England another view from the American past, his version of the Massachusetts legal codes and Cotton's biblical laws.

NOTES

1

For a definition of the Fifth Monarchy sect, see Capp 11-12; 82-87; 13-15, 134; Woolrych "Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of Saints" 65; Toon 61; and P.G. Rogers 145. Pre-millennialists believed that Christ personally would inaugurate the millennium, and post-millennialists thought that the millennium would gradually develop in history and Christ would appear at the end of a thousand years. Amillennialists denied the millennium in their theology. See Gildorf 11; Toon, Chapter 4; Lamont 7; Ryker 2. Scholars have commented upon the flourishing of millennialism in seventeenth-century England. See Tuveson 30; Lamont 97; 106; and Hill's The World Turned Upside Down. For medieval millennial movements, see Cohn. See Solt's "The Fifth Monarchy Men: Politics and the Millennium" and MacIgear's "New England and the Fifth Monarchy". See Bultmann for a discussion of eschatology in Greek and early Christian thought. Hill discusses millennialism and the Fifth Monarchy in The Experience of Defeat 52-68 and Aspinwall in Chapter 3. For a good introduction to the beliefs of various radical sects, see Dow.

2

Historians differ as to how Cromwell instituted the Barebones Parliament. Roots and Brailsford argue that Cromwell picked men for the parliament after church

congregations offered their nominations. See Roots 66 and Bailsford 235. Woolrych argues that Cromwell did not issue a general invitation for nominations to the churches ("The Calling of Barebone's Parliament" 496-504). Also see Gardiner 218-253 and Firth's "Cromwell and the Expulsion of the Long Parliament in 1653." See Alymer 140-161 and Woolrych's "Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of Saints" 67-68.

³

An ancient scheme of history, the concept of the four monarchies served various writers in the Middle East. The early Christians identified the fourth empire with Rome and said the fifth empire would be associated with the Second Coming. See Swain.

⁴

See Haskins' Law and Authority for power and divisions in the joint stock company 9-24.

⁵

Woolrych in the English Historical Review comments that Aspinwall published his A Brief Description shortly after the Barebones Parliament met because "he spoke of 'the Lamb's military officers' bestowing authority on a 'Supreme Council of the State or Nation' as something about to take place" (488). He also observes that Aspinwall said nothing about the Supreme Council coming from the churches' nominees (498). The Council of State possessed the executive power of the Rump following the execution of Charles I. It took the place of the Privy Council, and, elected annually by the parliament, it could summon, question, and imprison. Gardiner points out that Ireton's The Heads of the Proposals contained a provision for a Council of State, whose officers

could serve a term not exceeding seven years and whose members could conduct foreign affairs and superintend the militia (History of the Great Civil War 3: 331). Under Cromwell's Instrument of Government, provisions were made for a Council of State to assist Cromwell (Prall 250). Cromwell packed it with military men (The Century of Revolution 115). Whether Aspinwall had the Massachusetts' Council of Magistrates or the English Council of State in mind as a model, his council of holy saints reflects his elitist concept of power.

6

The Council of Magistrates, Life Council, or Standing Council existed from 1636 to 1692. According to Brennan, the council grew from a committee of the governor and four assistants that the General Court had directed to manage war affairs. By a 1636 law, the General Court made the members of the Council magistrates as well as councilors for life (62). The deputies attempted to do away with life tenure for the magistrates on the council, but the magistrates succeeded in seeing that seven or more magistrates and the governor or deputy governor might act as councilors. When the General court was not in session, the council held powers roughly analogous to the General Court in military ecclesiastical and some minor judicial and legislative matters. See Brennan, Wall, and Haskins for comments on the Council of Magistrates.

7

See Caldwell and Morgan's The Visible Saints for a discussion of the conversion experience. Brown in "Freemanship in Puritan Massachusetts" thinks that the

inhabitants assented to the church requirement (868-69). Simmons provides figures on the number of freemen in two articles and a further discussion of the relationship between the conversion experience and freemanship.

8

The meaning of the Antichrist varied, ranging from the Pope to Anglicans, depending upon the religious and political situation. See Hill's Antichrist in Seventeenth Century England.

9

Historians agree that a majority of the radicals saw the Barebones Parliament as an opportunity to move the nation closer to the Kingdom of Christ. See Capp 67-70. He discusses the setbacks for the radicals, their failure to abolish the system of tithes and the Court of Chancery, and their inability to prepare a bill for a new body of law. See Capp 50-75; 71-74; Chapter 5.

10

Some contemporaries did not agree with Aspinwall's interpretation of Daniel 7. John More concludes that Oliver Cromwell is the little horn and the number of the beast. In More's opinion, Charles I was not the little horn because the little horn arose after the 10 horns, had no designs against the saints, and did not subdue his own three kingdoms. See More's A Trumpet Sounded: OR, the Great MYSTERY of the Two Little Horns UNFOLDED.

11

Solt in Saints in Arms views the religious and political arguments during the periods as hinging on whether men should be led by good laws or good men. Those supporting good men thought that religious men should rule (4). He observes that the separation of church and state works against

a millenarian eschatology (5) and thinks an "antinomian theology with its hope through revelation for the complete removal of the stigma of original sin, resulted in a belief in the perfectibility of the saints" (101). From this concept, it followed that the elect should govern the less perfect men in society (102). By this logic, Aspinwall's former antinomianism in Boston with its anti-authoritarian character evolves into his Fifth Monarchism.

CHAPTER VIII

RESISTANCE AND CHRIST'S LAW

Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the LORD of hosts will perform this. Isaiah 9:7

Fear, and the Pit, and the Snare, are upon thee, O inhabitant of the earth. Isaiah 24:17

On the day following the convening of the first parliament of the Protectorate, which sat from September 3, 1654, to January 22, 1655, Cromwell, Lord Protector under the Instrument of Government in the Painted Chamber, addressed the members of parliament about the Fifth Monarchists:

But, I say, there are others more refined, many honest people, whose hearts are sincere, many of them belonging to God, and that is the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else. A notion I hope we all honour, wait, and hope for, that Jesus Christ will have a time to set up his reign in our

hearts, by subduing those corruptions and lusts that are there, which reign now more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do. (Abbot 3: 437)

Cromwell implied that the Fifth Monarchists occupied themselves more with spirituality than armed rebellion.

Intitally he was correct. Even though the Barebones Parliament existed now only as a lost radical dream, millenarian activity remained relatively subdued in 1654¹. By 1655, however, the English political situation had deteriorated enough that the Fifth Monarchy sect threatened Cromwell's regime when he dismissed a new parliament which refused to accept the power of the Army and the generals².

The government's response to radical agitation continued in 1656, and Fifth Monarchy enthusiasm for an armed rebellion waned among more moderate members of the sect³. Although the government had imprisoned many Fifth Monarchy leaders in 1655 and in the summer of 1655, by the spring and summer of 1656 Fifth Monarchy numbers had declined, one group of Fifth Monarchists resisting the government by prayer and the other by armed resistance⁴. Thomas Venner, Aspinwall's former neighbor in Boston, had planned for a violent uprising to take place in April 1657, but the plot failed when government troops arrested the revolutionaries and authorities jailed Venner until 1659⁵. By now the kingdom of heaven attracted fewer followers.

In these shifting political quicksands, Aspinwall contributed to the attack on the Cromwellian regime in 1654

with A Premonition of Sundry Sad Calamities Yet to Come, a pamphlet that Livewell Chapman reissued in 1655 as Thunder from Heaven Against the Backsliders and Apostates of the Times. To William Aspinwall, these events of 1654 and 1655 signified impending calamities, moral declension, and chaotic social conditions. Although he refrains from naming England specifically in his prophecies based on Isaiah 24, Aspinwall writes that the inhabitants of a land "in general have played the Hypocrites and dealt falsly and fraudulently with God" (10). Aware no doubt of Cromwell's response to the Fifth Monarchy leaders, he argues that Isaiah dared not name any particular land in his prophecy (4). Nevertheless, he argues that "as Scriptures may be Analogically applyed, and so become useful to all succeeding times, nations, and persons; I thought it would not be unuseful to explicate the words of this Prophesie" (4).

He bases his explication on three premises: 1) that predications of judgment and promises of mercy in the Bible relate to a particular person, nation, or time or "else generally to all things" (3); (2) that a prediction applied to a particular event "may be applied Analogically and by way of proportion, unto any other things, persons, nations and times, upon the same or the like terms" (3); that a threatened judgment "may be obviated in whole or part" (3). Thus, he reasons that Isaiah 24 is "a Prophesie against a particular Land or Nation . . . but giveth no name to it" (4). And without naming England, Aspinwall concludes that the

prophecy refers not to Tyrus but to a land which is "an Island or Islands environed with Sea" (4).

Before applying Isaiah 24 to contemporary England, Aspinwall analyzes the prophet's method and finds that it relates to changes of government in England. The prophet shows the changes of government and their causes, "to wit, their hypocrisie and apostacie" (4). The chapter also refers to the consequences of this deviation, but promises a "remnant which shall glorifie him in those Islands" (5). Isaiah 24 alludes to the treachery of the leaders, the dissolution of the forms of government, and the punishment of the leaders. Finally, the prophecy indicates "the end aimed at, to wit, the setting up of his Sons Kingdome in all the Nations, but more especially amongst his Ancient people" (5). In Aspinwall's biblical double-speak Isaiah 24 alludes to England but not to England.

Using the first verse--Jehovah emptieth the Land (11), Aspinwall proclaims that land refers to some particular Region or Country and the Jurisdiction thereof" (6). Because land signifies a voluntary choice by the people in subjecting themselves to government, the "Representative of the land" means "Synechdochically for the whole land" (6). Besides referring to an island, the prophecy alludes to a government which extends itself to more islands than one, a land that undergoes sudden changes in government. For Aspinwall's polemical purposes, the land contains "one most High-one, who hath the Command of the Militia, and is instrumenticall in those alterations of Government" (6). Although he avoids

naming particulars, Aspinwall clearly intends to examine England and Oliver Cromwell.

England is a land of chaos. Englishmen transgress moral law and forget their "zeal against open Blasphemies, common swearings, grosse adulteries, notorious whoredomes, horrible oppressions, and exactions, and all manner of profanenes" (10). Considering the verse The City Tohu is broken, Aspinwall writes, "This argues the Factions, distractions, and Division of the Citizens of this great Citie within themselves" (15). Londoners suffer "the consuming and burning up of the inhabitants with intestine warrs" (13), and the spirits of the citizens "grow to be overheated and intraged" (13). Because men have brought themselves to this social and political condition by their apostasy and covenant-breaking, God "hath reserved FEAR, or a PIT, or a SNARE for thee, to wit, variety of punishments of such a nature, to humble thee withall" (Preface 5). The people have brought upon themselves their current problems:

For they having broken the everlasting covenant of professed subjection to the Lord Jesus onely, he now subjects the nation unto that most High One of the people, spoken of in the 4 verse; (7)

For Aspinwall, the "whole land in generall have played the Hypocrites and dealt falsely and fraudulently with God" and "neither give God his due, nor man his due, which is the sum of the whole law" (10). Englishmen are covenant-breakers-- they refused to "accept Christ upon his own terms, to rule

over us as our King" (11). To accept the covenant means to take "no laws but his laws," (11); to reach the ultimate goal--"holy Covenant with God and one with another " (23)--demands reformation.

The dire calamities, the thunder from heaven, which hover over London, Aspinwall attributes to changes in government under God's guidance. England has suffered, he writes, under three forms of government--those of fear, the pit, and the snare. Although he does not specify them by name, the first form, apparently Charles I's reign, "implies the terror and Tyranny of the first Government" (24). Alluding to the Barebones Parliament, he suggests that the second was "purposely contrived, to obviate the Tyranny of the first" (24) and falls because "there will be some condition ground, or reason, pretended for the breach and dissolution of the Representative of that land" (27). Addressing the present state of affairs, Aspinwall sees a conspiracy in the snare, the third form, which "shall be secret and hidden; covered over with such specious and fair pretences, that men shall not discern their Snare, till they be taken in it" (25). This government exhibits signs of dissolution, a "giddy, tottering, unsettled condition" (27); and because God has blasted it, England lives in "the land of NOD, a vagrant condition" (28).

Men, who fear to foresake man-made governments for the reign of Jesus Christ, watch as the world sickens of present forms of government which "fade away like a leaf & wither, and at last do fall as leaves in Autumne" (9). Interpreting

the verse Jehovah emptieth the land to signify "two preparatory Acts of God, making way for the ensuing changes of Government in that Land" (5), he describes God as discharging the parliament of the people as if he were emptying a narrow-mouthed bottle (5). Men carry on God's ultimate design: when parliament dissolves, "the power that formerly was resident the representative of the land, upon their dissollution and scattering, devolves into the hand of that power that dissolved them" (7). God watches over and approves these convolutions of government while the saving remnant, "the instruments improved by him, do with simplicity and integrity carry on Gods design for setting up the kingdome of his Son in that land" (7). Dissolutions of Parliament, directed by God, who maintains the saving saints in the background, nevertheless come from men.

Although God will rain terror on the apostates, specific individuals have produced these imminent calamities. Even though never named, in Aspinwall's tract Cromwell hovers behind the changes in government. England is "such a Land as hath one most High-one, who hath the Command of the Militia, and is instrumenticall in those alterations of Government" (6). England, which yearns for the protection of Lord Jesus, suffers through the treachery of "that HIGH ONE and his host, which have been instrumental in all these sad changes" (29). Having escaped the rule of a king, Englishmen now discover themselves trapped in "the same snare from which they fled under the terror of tyranny of the first Government, and

might have been safe under the second form of Government" (7). Referring to the dissolution of the Barebones Parliament, Aspinwall comments on the breakup of "an assembly of a second Representative by that most High one of the people" (8). Using "the power of the Sword" (27) against Englishmen shows contempt to a liberty-loving people and binds "them to conditions, unsuitable to their former ancient customes" (8). Not just content to pillory Cromwell by insinuating through biblical texts that he produced the present state of disastrous civil affairs, Aspinwall promises divine revenge upon Cromwell and England.

First, God will curse England with fire, leaving untouched only "the poore little man" who will "escape this rage & fury" (13). Cleverly depicting God as an olive presser, Aspinwall predicts that the Lord's coming fury will "appeare to be a bloody vintage, a vintage of red wine indeed" (15). Some people will not cooperate, but God will "scruice them and presse them as Olives are pressed, and to tread them as grapes are troden in the wine-presse, ere they will come off to a professed subjection to Jesus Christ" (15). However, Aspinwall's implication that God might juice Oliver reflects his preference for the Fifth Monarchy men who will escape the mashing reserved for Cromwell and his cohorts. God promises to press "the fat ones and great ones of the land" and will "casteth these into the Wine-presse of his wrath" while reserving "to himself a handfull of these poor mournfull men" saving them so that afterwards "they may glorifie him with their light" (6). Cromwell will discover

himself to be a grape for the press, too, although Aspinwall avoids naming the Lord Protector by suggesting that readers may understand his prophecy from Isaiah 24 in different ways:

You may either understand it thus, that God will make that MOST HIGH ONE an instrumental cause of the Hosts punishment; or, that he will punish the Host in that MOST HIGH ONE, as being the head and chief of them; or else, that he will punish them both together. (30)

Later, Aspinwall writes that Cromwell and his minions will suffer an earthly punishment and suggests that Isaiah implies imprisonment, though he does not state if a punishment in the afterlife awaits them (30).

But what of the time of the approaching Judgment Day? Aspinwall avoids providing an exact day in using the verse When Jehovah of Hosts shall Reign. He informs his readers that when indicates an "adverb of time" which "shews forth the season wherein these things shall come to pass" (33). Similar to other seventeenth-century millenarians such as Mede and Brightman, he links the conversion of the Jews with the Second Coming⁶, but argues that "there will be some beginning of Christs Reign in that Land, and in the other Nations of the Gentiles, before the calling of the Jews, but the most glorious manifestation of Christs Kingly power both in Church and State, will be reserved for his ancient people the Jews, when they are called home again" (33). Though the reign of Christ is imminent, he suggests, still holding to

about 1673 as the beginning of the end of the Antichrist, that the Jews' return "will not be above nineteen years to come" (Preface 6). He thinks that the Final Judgment will occur on earth and intimates that punishments in the afterlife may await those of whom God disapproves.

A Fifth Monarchy will come, but the saints should not use armed rebellion to attain it. Eventually, at this imprecise but imminent time, after God eliminates earthly forms of government by his avenging hand, the Fifth Monarchy awaits those individuals of "a sweet, peaceable, quiet, calm and cool temper" (14) who "preach for, and suffer for the Kingdom of Christ, which they know will assuredly come, and is now at hand, even at the doores" (14). The governments of man now crushed, those men presumably still unscathed from God's wrath will heed the Fifth Monarchy men. With God as "their Legislator, and not a Representative of their own" (29), not unexpectedly in Aspinwall's scheme of the millennium, the Fifth Monarchy men will reign with Christ: "They know that after they have suffered with him, and for him, they shall assuredly reigne with him" (14). Undoubtedly blanching at Cromwell's moves against subversives in 1654-55, Aspinwall refuses to advocate an active role for sectarians in ushering in the Kingdom of Christ. Instead of calling for armed insurrection which Thomas Venner advocated in a few years, he urges a passive role for his saints anticipating future glories and writes of several chambers to which they may retire while they wait. The saints possess a "chamber of Meditation in which they do retire themselves in private

Soliloquies with God" (36). They also may pray. In this "chamber of safety" (36), the world fails to realize the power of the Fifth Monarchy Men and misjudges that "their weapons of War are of no use here" (36). Third, believers may look to church communion and God himself, who is "a chamber of safety to his people, where they may hide themselves in time of fear and danger" (37). Desiring political and social conditions to improve, Aspinwall nevertheless stresses passivity rather than armed conflict, a central tenet of the more violent Fifth Monarchists.

Aspinwall's apologies, references to his audience, and his descriptions of the Fifth Monarchy men suggest at this time he lacked confidence in the movement. Although the pamphlet attempts to scorch Cromwell and the apostates of England with Jehovah's ire, Aspinwall's attack portrays a man questioning a weakened movement. In his preface, relying on "the word of God" (Preface 3), he indicates that his ruminations on Daniel received some "squint blows" (Preface 2), but he dismisses his critics who leave too much to human understanding (Preface 2). He admits that many in England will not attend to his prophecies, yet "the poor flock of Christ . . . will incline their ears and listen" (Preface 4). Because he would "incur the guilt of unfaithfulness, if having but one poor Talent, I should go & hide it in a napkin" (Preface 4), he bemoans his "obscurity and tenuity" (Preface 5), but hopes that his audience will not avoid his message. To speak to these doubters means that Aspinwall

will submit his ideas to the "judgement of those who are able to judge of spirituall things" (3). And, throughout his supposedly confident assurance of the coming cataclysm, he alludes to the Fifth Monarchists as "poor sorrowful mourners" (14). In his application section, he addresses and comforts those suffering from Cromwell's purges. For Aspinwall, the followers of the leaders, many now in prison and harassed, should not triumphantly prepare to fight. They must await God and his judgment, like a "sweet close after all the sad calamities and changes of that Nation, which God called out as a stage to act this tragical Comedy upon" (34). "Imprisoned and hated for the sake Christ" (37), these "underlings to the world" (37) must retreat from engaging Cromwell's men.

Aspinwall's message to his New England brethren in the concluding part of the pamphlet also reveals a Fifth Monarchist questioning the future of the movement in England and doubting the structure of government and system of laws in New England. He writes of former political controversies in New England in which the colony placed too much power in the deputies:

I could shew you how you have passed under two of these forms of Government in some measure and degree, how sometimes you were under FEAR lest the Magistrate should have assumed too much power to themselves, (although it was more your fear than any reality) and you took a speedy course to

prevent that: and now you are fallen into the PIT, and have the main power residing in Deputies. (38).

In New England the inhabitants also failed to pattern their government upon a system of laws, offered by John Cotton and based on the Old Testament. New England again should consider this system of biblical laws: "weight with your selves whether Christs Laws be not equally as wise, compleat and perfect touching the civil administrations of Judgement and Justice in the Common wealth, as in matters that concern his Church" (38). New England had erred when it moved away away from biblical laws and when it abandoned the discretionary power of the magistrates. The noble experiment in New England carries important repercussions for those watching in England. "If the Laws of Christ our King be not sufficient to guide a small colonie" (39), Aspinwall wonders how "much less can they be thought an adequate rule for administration of Judgment and Justice in such great and populous Nations" (39). Although he thinks New England failed to build a biblical commonwealth, Aspinwall, echoing John Winthrop's phrase of a city on a hill, nevertheless admonishes the colonists to lead the way in bringing about Christ's reign on earth: "You are as a Beacon set on a Hil" (39).

The persona in A Premonition of Sundry Sad Calamities assumes the role of a preacher, admonishing New England about its failures. Assuring Massachusetts that he could show it

how it adopted the wrong forms of government, this voice uses the imperative voice: "Turn you therefore give me leave to commend this word of advice and counsel as from God, that you may avoid the SNARE" (38). Revealing his education, the persona informs his audience that he might have told them more about its condition: "I might have added much more, but verba sapienti sat est. I could have answered many Objections . . . (39). The first person personal pronoun emphasizes the persona's sense of importance: "I may assure you of this, that if old England Christians who walk in holy fellowship together had had the opportunity which you have had, and still have, they would ere this have set up Jesus Christ as King, not only in their churches but in the common-wealth also:" (39). They should not "dishonour his Son" by withdrawing their "necks from under his Yoak" (39).

While Aspinwall despaired of New England's failure and wondered about the sufficiency of biblical laws in England, popular desire for reformation of the law swept England during the Civil War and the Interregnum⁷. Although many reform proposals appeared in Fifth Monarchy literature, no proposed reforms became law during the time of the Rump⁸. Attempts at legal reform continued until the Restoration. The Barebones Parliament attempted to reform the law, appointing two committees for the purpose. After passing a law prescribing civil marriage and ending the practice of fining bills, declarations and writs, the parliament addressed the legal abuses existing in Chancery, and the problems of debtors and creditors; but it failed to abolish

9

the Court of Chancery and to codify the law . With the abdication of the Barebones Parliament, Cromwell tried legal reforms when the second Parliament met in 1656 and introduced bills in various areas, but lawyers succeeded in blocking reform¹⁰ . After the Restoration of 1660, a desire for legal reform¹¹ died .

In these attempts at reform Englishmen called for corrections in various areas. Besides demands for the regulation of lawyers and corrections in the county court system, the Chancery, and the law of debt, many Englishmen wanted a new version of a severe criminal law¹² . Cromwell himself addressed the savagery of the law in 1656:

. . . there are wicked abominable laws that will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for sixpence threepence, I know not what; to hang for a trifle and pardon murder, is the ministration of the law, through the ill framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders quitted; and to see men lose their lives for petty matters! (Abbot 4: 274)

While many reformers attempted to mitigate the savagery of the criminal law, Aspinwall and other Fifth Monarchists concentrated on biblical law and personal morality in this atmosphere of reformation. Besides their other proposals for law reforms, Fifth Monarchists desired a restoration of the Mosaic Code. The Fifth Monarchists' concept of God's law meant the moral law, the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on

the Mount; the judicial law, mostly contained in the books of Moses; and ceremonial laws, rules and regulations regarding the Jewish church. While Fifth Monarchy men thought that the ceremonial laws did not apply to the English situation, they wanted the judicial laws implemented, arguing that God had never revoked them and that they remained complete and eternal¹³ .

Although a desire to return to simple biblical injunctions flourished in the English hotbed of sectarianism in the 1650s, in America the law of the colony had developed away from a simple Mosaic code¹⁴ . The legal codes in Massachusetts contained capital laws resting on scriptural warrant, but the colonists did not liberally apply Old Testament capital laws¹⁵ . The move toward a system of law in New England in the latter 1630s had come gradually. By 1635 the deputies wanted a body of law to curb the power of the magistrates, and in a contest which stretched over years and pitted the deputies against the magistrates, the magistrates resisted codification of the law. Although the magistrates desisted as long as possible, in response to demands for a code of laws, the General Court appointed John Cotton and Nathaniel Ward to prepare model laws for the court's consideration (Winthrop 1: 323). After his May 1636 committee appointment, Cotton presented his framework of laws, Moses His Judicials, but the General Court rejected them¹⁶ . Although the General Court did not accept Cotton's code, Haskins points out that the code's reliance on

Scripture provides an example of the strong rigorous thinking which influenced Puritan law and that may of the code's provision on crime and civil liberties passed into the Body of Liberties of 1641 and the code of 1648¹⁷. In the 1630s the colony had rejected a simplistic biblical approach to questions of the law¹⁸.

The use of the Bible in colonial law also involved the question of the discretionary powers of the magistrates, itself an issue at the heart of much of the disagreement over political power in New England and beating in Aspinwall's Fifth Monarchy tracts. As most Puritans understood politics, the people should elect their rulers, but having chosen them, they should obey them. The Puritans conceived of the office of magistrate as being an ordinance of God that carried duties that God had prescribed, but Puritan theory still maintained that the people must assent to the form of civil government. Although who ultimately held political power at a particular time varied, generally the deputies thought that the General Court reigned supreme, whereas Winthrop and a majority of the magistrates thought that the magistrates¹⁹ possessed the final authority. T. H. Breen explains that some Puritans "claimed that their civil leaders held broad discretionary powers, and within obvious scriptural limits, were free to govern the commonwealth as they alone saw fit" while others in opposition thought "that the citizens themselves had delegated prerogatives to their magistrates" (The Character of a Good Ruler 59). Advocates of the discretionary power like Winthrop thought only the Bible

restricted the ruler's authority and insisted that the people trust the magistrates and that the magistrates should interpret the law of God in the courts. Not all Puritans, though, subscribed to the discretionary role that the majority of magistrates emphasized, and some in opposition to this theory perceived a danger in using the Bible as the sole authority of law²⁰ .

In 1655, responding to this climate of legal reform in England and remembering his New England experience, Aspinwall published An Abstract of Laws and Government, wherein, as in a mirror, may be seen the wisdom and perfection of Christ's kingdom, a presentation of John Cotton's legal code, which New Englanders had rejected in favor of Nathaniel Ward's Body of Liberties. In the preface Aspinwall defends John Cotton and his code. This abstract contains for Aspinwall "the very marrow and sum of all, or most of those laws," which Jesus Christ thought "necessary for the administration of his kingdom in righteousness and peace" (188). In his preface, Aspinwall, observing that New England would have benefited from the use of the code, proposes that the abstract "far surpasseth all the municipal laws and statutes of any of the Gentile nations and corporations under the cope of Heaven" (188). Should the reader encounter any rules in the code which have no biblical support, he ought to realize that these laws are "not properly laws" but "prudential rules" (189) which the freemen of each town ratify in the general court as public contracts. These man-made laws function as

covenants until "by like public consent they be abrogated and made void" (189). Cotton did not intend for men to enact some of them as laws as his quoting of Isaiah 33:22 shows: "He knew full well that it would be an intrenchment upon the royal power of Jesus Christ, for them or any other of the sons of Adam to ordain laws" (189). Aspinwall thinks that Cotton failed to press for adoption of his abstract because he understood that God's people would accept them in time. The Word of God remains open to men, though, and Aspinwall advises the reader, if he thinks that Cotton omitted any laws, to search the Scripture and supply "what the author in his life time had not opportunity to perfect" (189).

For Aspinwall, Christ's laws surpass man-made arrangements. Three qualities distinguish Christ's laws from mere prudential rules and contracts--Christ's laws bind all people in all ages and nations; no created power may abrogate them; and the laws oblige man's spirit and conscience as well as his behavior (189). Once men make covenants and rules by mutual consent, though, "the covenantees are obliged by the law of righteousness, to make good their agreements, until they be reversed by the like common consent, for a public good, which in all prudential contracts and covenants may lawfully be done" (189). Aspinwall argues that Christ's laws, which provide correct rules of judgment in civil and criminal cases and judge men equally and impartially, serve as a barrier against tyranny and protect the liberty of the subject (190). A perfect standard to "measure all judicial actions and causes" (190), they impartially respect all men

"in judgment, whether they be poor, or whether they be rich" (190). And Christ, who "had no secret design to rear up an external glorious pompous government for himself or his vicegerents and substitutues" authored these laws "to preserve his people in a state of holiness, righteousness, and peace" (190).

Aspinwall recognizes that the establishment of Christ's laws will prove difficult and conflict with social and political corruptions. Announcing that he does not intend to persuade any legal body to enact these laws, because sinful men can impart little virtue into the laws of God, nevertheless Aspinwall wants people to declare "by their representatives, their voluntary subjection" (190) to the laws and practice them "in the name and strength of Christ, their King and Law-giver" (190). However, Aspinwall also realizes that men resist forsaking "old earthly forms of governments, to submit to the government of Christ" (191). Before men assume this divine legal system, Christ must wean them away from the old customs by breaking them "under the hard and heavy yokes of men" (191). The principal obstacles to this reformation--the lawyers and courtiers--resist change because Christ's kingdom "would cross the lusts and lustre of external pomp and glory of the one, and the mammon of unrighteousness of the other" (191). Christ's kingdom will remove these oppressors: but "the season is not yet full come for these things, and there yet remains some of the sufferings of Christ to be fulfilled in the saints" (192).

Reformation in the law depends upon the people's acquiescence into Christ, although the saints must continue to suffer. While Aspinwall declares that the time is not perfect for Christ's kingdom, Cotton's abstract contains more than biblical prescripts for moral conduct.

In recommending Cotton's Abstract to the reader, Aspinwall's persona adopts a voice of reason, which in appealing for the institution of Christ's laws, weighs the benefits which will accrue to a nation following his suggestions. He carefully admits that Cotton's model contains some imperfections, but that "it far surpasseth all the municipal laws and statutes of any of the Gentile nations and corporations under the cope of Heaven" (188). The tone of this recommendation is more ingratiating than the imperative voice of a A Premonition of Sundry Sad Calamities. He asks his audience to consider Cotton's platform: "In the mean while accept of this, which is worthy thy consideration, and doth contain the very marrow and sum of all" (188). Throughout, he relies on reasons for the adoption of the Abstract as he defends the nature of Christ's law and distinguishes it from man-made contracts. And he acknowledges the reader to be capable of appreciating his argument and discovering omissions: "And if any thing may possibly be thought to be omitted (as who can see all things at once) let thine ingenuity make diligent search, and supply what the author in his life time had not opportunity to perfect" (189). He unites himself with his reader in his preface: "Nor shall we Gentiles be willing, I fear, to take up his

yoke which is easy, and burthen light, until he hath broken us under the hard and heavy yokes of men, and thereby weaned us from all our old forms and customs" (191).

Divided into ten sections, besides an enumeration of criminal and civil crimes, Cotton's code discusses the powers and duties of magistrates, the place of the freemen and the general court, foreign relations, rights of inheritance, commercial relationships, and the judicial system--in effect a system of government. In his chapter on magistrates, Cotton specifies that the freemen choose the magistrates from the "ablest men" and from the "rank of noblemen or gentlemen" (173). The governor with the assistants leads the country according to the law, sends out warrants, orders actions in the court, and pronounces sentences (173). He should maintain the state and people, provide direction in matters of appeal from inferior courts, preserve religion, and oversee the forts and munitions of the country (173). Elected for life, the councilors may be removed by the general court. The governor with the councilors and assistants "hear and determie all causes whether civil or criminal . . . yet reserving liberty of appeal from him to the general court" (174). But every town possesses judges to decide civil and non-capital crimes with appeal possible to the higher court of governor and assistants. Courts will employ their lesser officials, such as a secretary, baliffs, and officers, to ensure that the defendant appears before the judges (174). In Cotton's abstract, freemen from the churches

shall choose the "ordinary judges of inferior causes" and two or three of themselves as "deputies and committees, to join with the governor and assistants of the whole country, to make up and constitute the general court" (175). The general court, which shall assemble at specific intervals, possesses the power to call the governor, the magistrates, and officers "to account for the breach of any laws established, or other misdemeanor, and to censure them as the quality of the fact may require" (175). The general court may make and repeal all laws, dispose of land, tax, hear cases on appeal, maintain purity of religion, and conclude matters with "the common consent of the greater part of the governors, or assistants, together with the greater part of the deputies of the towns; unless it be in election of officers, where the liberty of the people is to be preferred" (175).

John Cotton's ideas of government differ from Aspinwall's Fifth Monarchy scheme. Unlike the Massachusetts system, where the General Court had determined that church members should receive political rights, in Aspinwall's scheme, recommended by the churches, the saints would rule in a council as vicegerents for Christ. Councilors and judges would control the state apparatus while exactors and visitors, subordinate officers, would oversee the functioning of the state and monitor the behavior of its citizens. In Cotton's system the freemen, those with the church franchise, select a General Court which may remove councilors and censure the colony's leaders, the governor and deputy governor, for breaching the laws. Rather than adhering

strictly to the laws of God as contained in the Bible, the General Court may make laws. In effect, Cotton supports the system that evolved in Massachusetts Bay while Aspinwall in his Fifth Monarchy tracts, having lived through the evolution of this system and become dissatisfied with it, offers a visionary's dream of an ideal Christian government even though he presented to England Cotton's Abstract, which contains important points of disagreement with his own tracts.

Other writings of Cotton also show the differences between Cotton's ideas and those of Aspinwall. In Certain Proposals Made by Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and Other Persons of Quality as Conditions of their Removing to New-England, with the Answers Thereto, Cotton writes that "none are to be trusted with public permanent authority but godly men" and that "none are so fit to be trusted with the liberties of the commonwealth as church members" (Morgan, Puritan Political Ideas 167). In Copy of a Letter from Mr. Cotton to Lord Say and Seal in the Year 1636 Cotton agreed with William Perkins that the Scriptures should serve as the foundation of the state: "that the word, and scriptures of God doe conteyne a short upoluposis, or platforme, not onely of theology, but also of other sacred sciences . . . which he maketh ethicks, eoeconomicks, politicks, church-government, prophecy, academy" (Puritan Political Ideas 168). Against democracy, he preferred monarchy and aristocracy and thought "Theocracy in both, as the best forme of government in the common-wealth,

as well as in the church" (169). Cotton stressed a biblical commonwealth.

In The Legislative Power is Christ's Peculiar Prerogative, Aspinwall's persona continues to demean his own work. He informs the reader that he casts forth his "mite" (Preface 1) and argues that while not all men will assent to all of his arguments, he doubts not but that they will permit him some "latitude" (Preface 1). Admitting the difficulty of providing a perfect plan of Fifth Monarchy government, he confesses that he may "fall short of expectation without particular" (Preface 2).

These self-aspersions aside, the persona adopts the voice of a prophet, who imparts Christ's truth to England. In the preface, he announces his role, writing that he will "contribute what the Lord hath imparted to me, for the public good" (Preface 1). In demonstrating the power of Christ in temporal and spiritual matters, he "thought it meet to open this portion of Scripture in Isaiah" (Preface 1). The prophetic role allows him to show the perfection of God's word to the magistrates because of his "faithfulness and love to them" (Preface 2). He recalls the biblical time of Ahaz's reign when Rezin, a king of Syria, and the people in that area "came against the people of God with open mouth to devour them" (1). But at that time "the Prophet takes up this Meditation of Christ, and of his Kingdom" (1). When enemies and an apostate prince threaten the church, the prophet reminded his people of the "Kingly Office of the MESSIAH" and of Christ's "Sovereign Power as a Prince" (2). The former

biblical times mirror the current difficulties of the English saints whose enemies beleaguer them but who nevertheless possess a solution if they pursue it. Aspinwall's persona observes "That the Meditation of Christ, is a most special cordial for Christians, in the most gloomy, darksome, and calamititious times" (2). Then, as a Fifth Monarchist prophet, of course, the persona proceeds in The Legislative Power to offer his own religious and political cordial.

Having advocated the importance of the Bible, nevertheless, he argues that the family and commonwealth should remain subordinate to spiritual ends and "yet avoid both the churches usurpation upon civill jurisdictions, in ordine ad spiritualia, and the commonwealths invasion upon ecclesiasticall administrations, in ordine to civil peace, and conformity to the civill state" (169). In Cotton's view, the churches should neither choose the magistrates nor government according to directions of the church: ". . . magistrates are neyther chosen to office in the church, nor doe governe by directions from the church, but by civill lawes, and those enacted in generall corts, and executed in corts of justice, by the governors and assistants" (170). While the church should judge the saints and prepare fit instruments, the church members may choose civil judges from amongst the saints (171). But, placing itself under secular government, the church should submit itself "to all the lawes and ordinances of men, in what commonwealth soever they come to dwell" (171). In his sermons, he spoke of the corruption

of power and the necessity "that all power that is on earth be limited, church-power or other" (175). Power resides in the "People, in whom fundamentally all power lyes" (175). Because of man's insatiable appetite for power, the magistrates will seek power. Men should recognize this drive and set boundaries against power, giving "men no more liberty than God doth, nor women, or they will abuse it" (176). As these writings show, Cotton viewed the Bible as providing a platform of politics and wanted godly men to serve the state; but he restricted the churches and government to different spheres; realized man's lust for power; and thought that the magistrates should govern by civil law enacted in the General Court and that the churches should submit to the laws of men. Aspinwall's Fifth Monarchy scheme does not provide for limits to the excesses of his vicegerents. Godly men, recommended by churches and chosen by a council, will rule according to biblical law, their purity a guarantee of their rectitude and the utopian state.

Supplementing A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy and An Application and Explication of the Seventh Chapter of Daniel, Aspinwall also elaborated his concepts of the perfect government and law in another tract published in 1656. In The Legislative Power is Christ's Peculiar Prerogative of 1656, Aspinwall, admitting that all men will not agree with him in the particulars of his legislative scheme, insists "upon the Judicials of Moses, as the Rules of Judgement in all cases, capital, criminal, or Civil; yet my intention is not to bind to all Rules of Judgement, in every case, to that

scantling, but withal to take in the whole Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles" (Preface 1). In the preface, he announces his intention "to shew the perfection of the whole Word of God, to direct in matters of Civil Judgements, as well as in Church affairs" (Preface 1). Although he confesses that his proposal is not perfect, he doubts "not but something might be done (through the Lords assistance) in order to our establishment in truth and Peace" (Preface 2). If his scheme fails, "it is because the Lord hath more breaking work for us, were we can be fit to bear his Yoke" (Preface 2).

After arguing that Isaiah 9:6-7 refers to a civil government, Aspinwall explains that three types of government rest on Christ's shoulders. Governing creation, a universal government contains a "Law-giving part" (5) or the law of nature, a principle in which "all things act according to their several Natures, which is none other, but the Law given them by the Lord Jesus in the Creation" (5). This law makes creatures act, and they can not go against their natures unless Christ permits it. In a providential type of government Christ "guideth and ruleth all things which himself hath made" (5) either through himself or the ministry of his angels. In exhibiting this power, Christ may act in a seemingly casual and accidental way by miracles which contravene the law of nature. The world subjected to Christ, sometimes Christ's ministering angels "go forth to Warre, and Swords and Bullets cannot pierce them" and "turn aside many a

Bullet, and many a thrust from the Saints" (6). Besides a government over nature, the government of the church also rests on Christ's shoulders. Possessing a law-giving power over the churches, Christ promulgates laws to the church and appoints by qualifying "them with gifts fit for their several Functions" (7). Also, Christ commits ministerial power to the church to choose its own officers--its pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons--, and he also allocates the power of ministry to these officers (7).

In addition to the government of nature and church, Isaiah 9:6-7 and other biblical passages show that Christ possesses a civil power of government. Hebrew words indicate that this government holds the "Princely and Prevailing Power, as Combatants put forth to gain the Conquest" (8); that it exercises dominion and rule; that Christ, as the Messiah, owns the title of councilor, a title reserved for civil officers; that the government extends over the kingdom of David; and that, whereas holiness supports the church, judgement and justice specify the acts of this civil power (9).

As he does in his other works, Aspinwall characterizes this civil power of government from Scriptural passages. In civil government absolute power resides in Christ, the great king, who will rule in Zion, the church, and in Jerusalem, the civil state, although Aspinwall does not know if Christ will personally reign on earth for a thousand years (10-11). In this kingdom, Christ administers judgment and justice, acts of civil rather than ecclesiastical jurisdiction:

Now how disproportionable is it unto
 Church-power, To rescue men from force
 and violence; to behead Princes; to
 strike through Kings in wrath; to judge
 Nations with such a Judgement as filleth
 them with dead bodies; to wound Captains and
 Rulers over many Nations; to smite the
 Nations, and rule them with an iron Rod; yea,
 to break them, and make them as the dust of
 the Summer threshing-floors? These are such
acts as do not become Churches to exercise
 as Churches. (11)

The people and nations of the earth will acknowledge Christ
 as the king, paying him homage and tribute, an offering which
 will cover the expenses necessary in greeting the ambassadors
 and messengers from other countries who will come to worship
 Christ (12). In a kingdom where Christ has delegated the
 civil power unto appropriate officers and where His laws
 rule, "There will be no Taxes, Customs, Excize, nor any such
 thing: "Swords then will be turned into Plow-Shares, and
 each man may live in peace and quiet, enjoying his own Right"
 (15). Because Christ received his power as a gift from his
 father, he makes all civil laws and judgments and executes
 them, and no man nor angel may abrogate this power (15-16).
 Christ's peculiar prerogative refers to His sovereignty in
 giving laws: "The Power of giving Laws or the Legislative
 Power, which is a Lordly Sovereign Power, Christ hath

reserved to himself, as his peculiar Royalty" (16).

Law must govern a state. Focusing on the legal aspects of Christ's reign in this pamphlet, Aspinwall defines law:

a prescribed Rule, for the well ordering of mens Conversation, whether in Church or in Common-wealth: And Laws may be distinguished into two sorts, Moral and Judicial.

As for the distincition of Laws into Moral and Civil Laws, it is of little use:

For what are Civil Laws, but such as concern the Manners of men, and their conversation one towards, or with another? So that Civil Laws (rightly so called) are no other, but Moral Laws: onely Moral laws are of a large extent, and do comprehend the duties we owe to God, as well as Man. (16).

Civil law equals moral law. As for civil law, the Ten Commandments encompasses it, and hence only Christ possesses the power to prescribe moral laws because he is the Creator and redeemer (16). The Ten Commandments, which are moral laws, are also civil laws. Thus, by this logic biblical law governs the secular state.

Three intrinsic qualities lie in all moral laws. The laws are "perfectly righteous, and by consequence unvariable" (17); no power can dispense with this law; and these laws "do binde the Spirit and Conscience, as well as the outward man" (17). Unrighteous and imperfect human acts and edicts do not

contain these intrinsic properties because they do not bind nations in all ages, men may dispense with them, and they fail to reach the spirit and conscience as the laws of Christ do (17). To Aspinwall, these arguments mean "That the Lordly Sovereign Power of giving Laws and Judgements, belongs onely to Jesus Christ, the Messiah" (17). He has again, as he did in A Brief Description, abandoned the spheres of church and state and yoked them together.

In this legal system, the rulers should exercise certain responsibilities and obligations to Christ's subjects. They should "like the Hen, gather, and guide, and protect his People, according to the laws of Christ, contained in the Old and New Testament" (18). However, under the Beast, the rulers have disregarded this advice and "assumed a Power of making Laws unto themselves" (19). He thinks that the antichristian princes have exercised the law-making power in a de facto manner, obtaining their power from the dragon or devil who presented the "Beast his power, and by consequence he gave the ten Horns or Kingdoms their power also" (20).

Besides the law-giving power which only Christ possesses, a ministerial power to act and execute the laws of righteousness and judgment resides in states and rulers. Aspinwall distinguishes between a deliberative and an active power residing in magistracy. Deliberative power belongs "unto the great Council or Representative of a State or Nation, who are betruusted by them to deliberate about all Matters that concern the Publick Tranquillity and Peace of

the State" (21). In Aspinwall's view, the council may negotiate with foreign powers, order the militia, select officers for the commonwealth, limit their power, and monitor the activities of greater and lesser officials. The "Saints in all the Tribes or Shires of the Nation, according to the Rules prescribed in the Word, as appeareth Deut. 1. 13. compared with Exod. 24. 1. Numb. 11. 24" (21) choose this council. In addition to the executive and legislative trusts, the council retains judicial functions: "they have Power to direct, and determine, in hard and difficult cases of Judgement, such as may be transmitted to them from inferior Judicatories" (21).

The active power in Aspinwall's scheme is "the Power of all Judges and Justices, and other inferior officers, both of a higher and lower rank, who in their several Offices and Stations, are to do and execute their several Trusts, according to the Laws and Rules of the Great Law-giver" (21). This pamphlet advocates that the saints choose a council, which possesses executive, legislative and judicial functions and that the councilors are to govern according to biblical law. Here Aspinwall presents a lost American dream, for by the Body of Liberties and The Laws and Liberties of 1648 the freemen and deputies in the 1640s in Massachusetts had defeated this discretionary position in which the magistrates judged according to biblical law.

For Aspinwall, the magistrates receive their special calling and power from Christ who presents them with a "just and warrantable ground for the execution of their several

Functions" (22). In his method, the people first select their rulers and then "Moses (the Supreme Power in that Commonwealth) approveth and impowereth them; and Christ Jesus qualifeth them with sutable Gifts, and spirits them for their places" (22). Although elected by the people, the council possesses the right to accept or reject the people's choice. After the people's election and Christ's commission, the officers stand before Christ and the people "in their solemn meeting (when Christ comes to talk with them) either upon the Lords dayes, or upon some other day, set apart for that occasion in chief; and the face of God is to be sought, that he would pour out of his Spirit, to qualifie his Servants with Gifts sutable to their Calling, Christ having received gifts for that end" (22).

Aspinwall lists qualifications for the magistrates and officers of the lower ranks. They must belong to a church and fear god; able, they must act and speak truthfully, intelligently and accept no bribes; avoiding vain and wicked companions, they should possess a liberal spirit and distribute justice impartially, care for the poor, and live temperately with meek spirits (24). They serve in contrast to those officers of worldly governments who "make friends to those in higher Power, and such as can temporize, and please the humors of the Prince" (24) and who act "according to the will and pleasures of their Lords" (25). These magistrates serve as the viceregents of Christ.

These Christian magistrates contrast favorably with men

serving carnal governments. Under Aspinwall's Fifth Monarchy, the magistrates execute their power in four ways. First, they begin their judgment or councils with prayer as they do in New England (25). Second, they hear "with all gravity and meekness, the causes brought before them" (25); and third, the judges decide the matter upon the basis of "two or three witnesses" (26). Should the case prove too difficult for the judges, Aspinwall advises that they seek guidance from the great council whose advice must remain final because an appeal "would have been a dishonour to Christ, to suppose his Judgment changeable, like as mens minds and places are" (26). And finally, as "the constant practise of the Saints in New England" (26) demonstrates, the judges should conclude their deliberations with prayers and praises to God.

For Aspinwall, this method of judgment compares favourably with the actions of men under Satan's government who laugh; start their proceedings without prayer and act "as Swine which come and gather acornes under the tree" (26); often allow multiple witnesses "to satisfy the lusts of the plaintiffs and defendants" (27); and end their judgments without prayer. He stresses that the lack of saints as judges should evoke pity and that carnal men should not sit in judgment: "It were fit to thrust such dumb Doggs that cannot bark, such Idol-Shepherds, from the Judgment-Seats, as well as out of the Churches" (27). Whereas Christ's government seeks holiness, peace, and righteousness, the worldly ruler who oppresses the poor and needy for lucre abuses his subjects, takes property by force, and seeks to

improve his power and ostentation (28-29). The unjust policies of carnal governments finally result in civil war: "Thus you see unrighteousness in Government fills the Land with cryes, and that unsettles the Government, and at length will overturn it. It first maketh division, and division bringeth desolation" (30). The Fifth Monarchy ensures order.

A few examples of the differences between Christ's laws and man-made laws demonstrate the righteousness of the former and the iniquity of the latter. Christ's laws demand death for idolatry while "Mens Laws make it death not to worship Idols" (32). Under Christ's dominion, thievery brings a double restitution to the victim, but under carnal government, the thief hangs on the scaffold (32). In Aspinwall's system, adultery means death while in a worldly government the adulterers stand in white sheets (33). Under Christ's law, the elder son receives a double portion, not all of the estate, but in man-made law sometimes primogeniture or other methods operate (33). Liberty, the law of Christ, "imprisoneth no man, but only for matter of fact" (33); however, "men will imprison others without matter of fact" (33). In matters of war, the two systems of government function differently: "Christs manner was, to proclaim war before he make war; but the Rulers of the World, can begin war, and proclaim it afterwards" (33).

Aspinwall acknowledges that people calumniate Fifth Monarchy principles and the system of government under Christ; so, as he did in other tracts he characterizes the

coming millennium, repeating some assertions from former pamphlets and introducing new ideas. Ruling in person and reigning over all nations, Christ will choose the saints in the first resurrection for a thousand years to rule with him, except those who "have worshipped the beast or his Image" (35). In this New Jerusalem, the ministry of the word will convert souls and pure worship will flow. Except for those saints who are angels, natural actions such as marrying, eating, and drinking will continue in the millennium, and those saints who did not die will beget children (32).

But what of the civic duties of Christians currently living under the Fourth Monarchy? Should the saints rebel against corrupt governments? Aspinwall thinks that they should remain subjects to the carnal kingdom and when necessary "officiate, under wicked and Prophane Princes and Rulers" (36) and act righteously. If the rulers sin, God will not impute their sins to the saints; but if forced to sin by evil rulers, the saints ought to "separate from them, and have nothing to do with them" (37). Whereas the best and truest friends of government remain "faithful unto their trust, be the Rulers what they may" (37), they in conscience sake should "rebuke sin, and bear witness against unrighteousness, in any person, or of what quality soever, and in any form of Government whatsoever" (37). With Christ the only law-giver and the governments of the world antichristian, if Christ did not overrule earthly governments, "men would undoubtedly become as Bears and Lyons, Wolves, Tygres and Leopards, renting, tearing and devouring one

another" (41). Therefore, men ought to monitor the political situation and see if the government uses the power of Christ or Satan.

Heeding the cries of oppressed saints, Christ also raises "up some instrument or other to deliver them" (42). Acting for Christ proves that the person receives his power and authority from Christ and not from the Dragon (43). The Civil War in England demonstrated Christ's intercession, as the people chose a parliament, even though carnal men outnumbered the better saints (43). A ruler may imprison his subjects, but he should proceed cautiously, taking care to investigate the situation and punishing moderately. Conversely, the saints ought to "discover the corruptions of all Image-Governments" (45) and inform the rulers of the correctness of Christ's reign. In response to the saints, the governments need to reform themselves in face of the saints' reproofs because "it is in vain to imprison them; for the Word of God is not bound" (46). However, Aspinwall's ideas do not call the saints to armed rebellion. They reveal the moderate position of Aspinwall in regards to revolution: as subjects of the fourth monarchy the saints rebuke sin, monitor political activities and speak of the correctness of Christ's rule, while awaiting Christ's intercession when he will raise suitable instruments.

In addition to providing political advice on the role of the saints in a corrupt government, Aspinwall consoles the saints who live under corruption. Though imprisoned, the

saints need to remember that their Christ never forgets them. Either Christ will spring prison doors through his agents or, if the rescuers do not act, "he will do it himself Psal. 146.7 or he will be a fellow-Prisoner with you, and you shall have his Company for your comfort" (47). The saints ought to remind the rulers of their actions, but if "they will not hear a word from Christ nor from you in his Name, let them alone: God hath a purpose to destroy them" (47). And if the rulers persecute the saints, God's chosen should pray for their enemies (47). Should the rulers imprison the saints, they ought to "be merry" for "the Word of God cannot be imprisoned" (48). Reminding his readers of Paul's and Silas' behaviour, in Acts 17:6-7, Aspinwall proclaims the peacefulness of the Fifth Monarchists' methods:

And I dare be bold to say of them, they had neither Swords nor Pistols about them, (saving the Sword of the Spirit) nor never had any hand in any plot or insurrection against Caesar. And blessed be God that hath kept his Servants, in all the great Commotions and plottings against the Peace of the State, that they have never had their hands in any of them all, but have constantly born witness against the same. (49)

The saints will not usher in the millennium by the sword or pistol, yet it will come when "Christ puts it into the hearts of his people to look for and pray for it, and they pray much for grace unto the ancient people of God the Jews, then you

may conclude (saith David) the season and the time appointed is now at hand" (50).

The imprisonment of the saints and an increase in wickedness warn of the approaching end (50-51) as does the action of Satan who sends "forth a company of pick-thanks and hirelings to raise up malicious accusations in Emperours and Princes Courts, it is a sign his Kingdom begins to shake, and then Christ will bruise him shortly" (51). With his utopia described, Aspinwall advises the rulers to treat the saints kindly and to take their laws from Christ. Political passivity, not armed resistance to carnal governments, should guide the Fifth Monarchy men.

The Legislative Power is Christ's Peculiar Prerogative also enumerates laws just as Cotton's Abstract does. In Cotton's first law of trespass, if a man's beast damages another man's field, the owner shall make full restitution (Abstract 181). This law resembles Aspinwall's first trespass which requires that a man causing detriment to his neighbor recompense him fully (The Legislative Power 32). Cotton's next laws involve relationships between man and his animals: in the second law, a man accidentally destroying another man's beast must pay the owner; in the third one, a man whose animal kills another's beast also must pay for the dead animal (181). Aspinwall, however, concerns himself with the death of a man by a beast and the death of a beast by a beast. For him, a man whose animal causes the death of another man must die, if the owner realized the aggressive

proclivities of his animal, or he should indemnify the wronged party (32). His third law resembles Cotton's third trespass but attempts to delineate the human elements in the situation. If the owner of a beast which killed another beast knew of the dangerous nature of the animal, then he must compensate the injured party fully; but, if he did not foresee the possibilities of harm, then both parties "bear a share in the losse" (32). Cotton's fourth law correlates with Aspinwall's second law. For Cotton, if a man's beast kills a human, then the beast must die and the owner receive no benefit from the animal. However, if the owner knew of the danger of his animal and failed to act to prevent a death, then the owner should die with the beast or pay a fine (181). These trespass laws reveal the agricultural interests of the seventeenth century.

Both men also deal with property relations in their codes. Cotton's fifth law of trespass involves the loss of property: if a man delivers goods to his neighbor who loses them, then the receiver of the goods must swear to his innocence or guilt. If no evidence shows that he acted unfaithfully or falsely, then he owes the lender nothing; but if he behaved negligently, then the keeper must pay double to the lender. However, if the borrower hired out the lender's goods and someone stole them, the keeper must pay. But if a loaned beast expires and the animal's death was not the keeper's fault, then he need not compensate the owner for the animal (181). Covering similar legal concerns, Aspinwall's fourth law repeats Cotton's assertion that a man hiring

someone else's goods must pay for the loss of those goods (32). Law five focuses on the question of borrowed goods that fail the lender. If the lender was present when the goods failed, then the borrower need not repay the man; but if the owner was absent, then the borrower must pay (32). Aspinwall decides the issue of misused goods between lender and borrower upon the presence of both parties; Cotton uses an oath to resolve the negligence in the affair. Aspinwall departs most completely from Cotton's Abstract in his sixth trespass, a prohibition that extends unfaithfulness and fraud beyond Cotton's fifth law which through oath-taking attempts to arrive at the truth in the lending and borrowing situation. For Aspinwall, if a man gains "anything by force, fraud, or unfaithfulness, he shall restore the principal, and one fifth part more" (32). Apparently, his own actions, whatever he felt they were in the Planter and Witherden cases, did not hamper his ideology.

Capital laws exist for sins against God and Christianity. In Cotton's Abstract and Aspinwall's The Legislative Power resemblances and differences exist in laws for capital crimes. Cotton's first law demands death for blasphemy, "which is a cursing of God by atheism" (182); for Aspinwall blasphemy also brings death, "when men deny the essence or being of God or his attributes . . . which is a boring of Gods name" (30). Aspinwall considers cursing God a degree of blasphemy and a capital offense in his second law while Cotton, without defining it, prohibits idolatry. For Cotton,

witches who participate in a "fellowship by covenant with a familiar spirit" (182) and consult with witches may receive the death penalty although the authorities may banish consultants, too. Aspinwall lists idolatry, the "worshipping God in a molden or graven Image" (30) as capital law three; but in the fourth criminal law, as Cotton did with witchcraft and consultants with witches, he creates another category of enticers to idolatry, men who "perswade men to forsake the Lord, and worship other Gods" (30). In the fifth law Cotton defines heresy as the "maintenance of some wicked errors, overthrowing the foundation of the christian religion which obstinacy, if it be joined with endeavour to seduce others thereunto, to be punished with death" (182). On the other hand, Aspinwall's fifth capital law concerns witchcraft, which includes those who "foretel things to come, or have a familiar Spirit" or those who "consult with witches" (30). Cotton's sixth law corresponds to Aspinwall's definition of idolatry--worshippers of God "in a molten or graven image must die" (182). In law six, Aspinwall prohibits the "Wilful profaning the Sabbath or rest of the Lord: or any that will transgress any other Command with a high hand" (30). Cotton's article 11 calls for death for profaners of the Sabbath (182). Instead of death, Cotton's seventh law advocates banishment for those church members who "do wilfully reject to walk, after due admonition and conviction in the churches' establishment" (182); and in his eighth prohibition, Cotton reserves banishment for those who "revile the religion and worship of God, and the government of the

church, as it is now established" (182).

Other laws also prescribe capital punishment for certain offenses. Aspinwall's seventh law prohibits cursing of a man's parents, willful disobedience and rebellion "after due course of chastisement used", and "cursing the Rulers of the people" (30). Cotton advocates death for "Reviling of the magistrate in highest rank" (183) in his fourteenth law; for "Rebellion, sedition, or insurrection, by taking up arms against the present government" in the fifteenth law; and for "Rebellious children" who continue to drink and who curse or hit their parents in the sixteenth law (183). In Aspinwall's eighth offense, premeditated murder and testifying falsely against a man's life deserves death (30). Aspinwall includes in the eighth category "all Treasons against the State, and Chief Rulers in the same" (31). Cotton also punishes murder, "a wilful man-slaughter" (183), with death in his seventeenth law; and in his twenty-fourth law, he advocates death for "false-witness bearing" (183) though he does not limit the perjury to actions involving a man's life as Aspinwall does. In his ninth and tenth law Cotton focuses on perjury. In the ninth one, willful perjury, either in the judicial system or in private, results in death; but perjury in public or in private brings banishment (182). Aspinwall's last article prohibits man-stealing, an illegality that Cotton addresses in article 23 (31).

Both men also proposed laws regulating sexual relations. Aspinwall advocates death for "unnatural copulations" (31) in

his ninth law, a sexual crime that Cotton also forbids in his twentieth law (183). Aspinwall also penalizes other sexual matters in his code: in his tenth article, he demands death for adultery "of what kind soever it be" (31), excusing only a betrothed virgin if she were forced. Cotton handles the issue of adultery in article 18, recommending death for both parties in "the defiling of the marriage-bed" (183) of an espoused woman; and for the rapist of a forced woman, who he excepts from the punishment (183). Aspinwall in article 11 wants death in the "Whoredome of a maid in her Fathers house" (31); Cotton covers the same issue in his article 22, but like Aspinwall does not specify which parties he intends to punish (183).

Having presented his criminal code in The Legislative Power, Aspinwall writes of his laws in the same tract that he has "not omitted any . . . for which there is an exact word of Christ" (31), but confesses "there be more in Number, reckoned up in Mr. Cottons Abstract of Laws" (31). However, he states that his articles encompass some of Cotton's laws and "some are doubtful to me, whether they be Capital or no, as in Chap. 7. Sect. 7, 8, 9, 20. which I shall refer to the examination of the judicious Reader" (31). In fact, those of Cotton's articles which he doubted touch areas of personal difficulty in New England for Aspinwall and may explain his hesitancy in making them capital offenses. Article seven banishes church members who fail to accept the church establishment. In England, now writing Fifth Monarchy pamphlets, Aspinwall harbored memories of banishment to Rhode

Island and the accusation of sedition there that perhaps made him shy away from Cotton's penalty for failure to follow the church establishment. Article eight prohibits reviling religion, worship of God, and the government of the church "as it is now established" (182). Further, whereas Cotton provided a law against willful perjury, Aspinwall omitted perjury in his legal scheme. Memories from the Gainer affair and his possible involvement in of jury tampering in the windmill case may have dictated this neglect, although no evidence exists to explain why Aspinwall did not include perjury as an offense. His dislike of Cotton's article 20, if the number is not a misprint, seems strange, considering that he suggested the same punishment himself for sodomy and buggery and testified in the capital trial of Spencer in New Haven.

More revealing of Aspinwall's personal or intellectual dislikes are the issues that his capital codes do not cover, articles which bring death if violated. Cotton advocates death for heresy--"maintenance of some wicked errors" and "overthrowing the foundation of the christian religion" (182)-but Aspinwall's code does not mention heresy unless he means in article six to imply that the transgression of any of the Commandments is heretical. In addition, Aspinwall's scheme offers no articles similar to Cotton's penalty of banishment for failing to agree with the government of the church. When Aspinwall decided on his capital laws, he might have remembered the antinomian crisis and his role in

challenging the established order .

If Cotton and Aspinwall seem to offer excessively harsh capital laws, a comparison of Aspinwall's laws in the The Legislative Prerogative and the capital laws contained in The Lawes and Liberties of Massachusetts, the code of 1648, reveals a similarity between Aspinwall's capital laws and those in the Massachusetts code. Aspinwall's first four capital offenses are contained in laws about the deity, and the code of 1648 covers false worship and blasphemy in laws one and three (Farrand 5). Aspinwall prohibits witchcraft in the fifth law and the code of 1648 does so in its second capital law (Farrand 5). Aspinwall's seventh law addresses the crime of cursing parents and rulers, issues of authority that the code of 1648 legislates against in injunctions 13 and 14, when it prohibits the act of cursing fathers and mothers and scrutinizes the behavior of sons (Farrand 6). Aspinwall addresses murder in his eight law; the code of 1648 distinguishes several types of homicide as capital offenses in its fourth, fifth, and sixth laws (Farrand 5). Law nine in The Legislative Power calls for death in the case of unnatural copulations. In the code of 1648 the crimes of bestiality and homosexuality receive the death penalty in laws seven and eight (Farrand 5).

Aspinwall's laws 10 and 11 address adultery and the whoredome of a maid; the Massachusetts criminal code focuses on adultery and rape in the ninth and fifteenth law (Farrand 6). The Legislative Power prohibits manstealing in law 12 and the code of 1648 forbids the same act in law 10. A

subdivision of law eight concerning false witnesses corresponds to law 11 in the Massachusetts code (Farrand 6). The 1648 code made it a capital offense to conspire against the commonwealth or to "perfidiously attempt the Alteration and Subversion of our frame of Politie, or Government fundamentally" (Farrand 6). Not defining treason in law eight, Aspinwall legislates against "all Treasons against the State, and Chief Rulers in the same" (30), and in law seven he wants death for those who curse the people's ruler. The Massachusetts code and Aspinwall's code differ in one particular. The 1648 Code contains no equivalent of Aspinwall's sixth capital law: the profaning of the Sabbath "or any that will transgress any other Command with a high hand" (30). Except for Aspinwall's position that all violations of the Ten Commandments should receive death, the capital laws in the The Laws and Liberties and Aspinwall's capital laws in The Legislative Power make the same crimes punishable by death. Aspinwall advocated for England what New England had already placed in a written code.

Cotton's and Aspinwall's sections of laws deserving corporal punishment or fines focus on crimes of moral turpitude and criminal acts. Cotton in article 1 outlaws rash and profane swearing; punishes it by loss of office, honour, and freedom; limits the offender's right to give testimony; and specifies corporal punishment either "by stripes or by branding him with a hot iron, or boring through the tongue, who have bored and pierced God's name" (184).

Aspinwall wants rapes punished by whipping, a fine, or by a marriage of persons involved, noting that if the victim dies because of the attack then the crime is murder (31). In article two, Cotton would whip the drunkard; Aspinwall in articles two would force the fornicator to settle a dowry upon the woman, pay a fine to the father who refused to consent to marriage, or marry "the party" (32), although he does not specify his referent. Cotton's article 3 resembles Aspinwall's first non-capital offense: the rapist pays a fine to the father of the maid; if the woman and her father consent, then marriage ensues; and the fornicator receives stripes (184). Cotton's fourth law against fornicators suggests Aspinwall's second law. For Cotton, the fornicator must marry the maid, provide a dowry, or suffer stripes (184). In Aspinwall's system, article three covers the crime of battery: for non-mortal injuries, the offender loses "member for member, or valuable recompence, together with charge of his cure, and restitution of the losse of his time" (31). Should a master injure a servant, biblical law demands that the master free the servant (31). Aspinwall in article four requires a thief to pay double restitution, and his inability to pay means that the authorities may sell the thief into involuntary servitude (31).

Cotton's fifth law deals with the crime of maiming, his punishments resembling Aspinwall's (184). Aspinwall's final article gives a whipping to a man who has slandered his wife's chastity and a fine if "the Slander bring damage" (31). Cotton's sixth article on stealing, like Aspinwall's

fourth article, seeks indemnification and service from the thief (184). Like Aspinwall's article four, Cotton's article seven grants immunity from punishment to a man killing a housebreaker during the night (184). And his final article requires the slanderer to publicly acknowledge his crime, pay a fine if the slander damages anyone, and endure stripes if the slander "be gross, or odious, against such persons whom a man ought to honor and cherish" (185). Cotton's Abstract, then, corresponds to Aspinwall's list of non-capital crimes in The Legislative Power except for his first law against rash and profane swearing and its second against drunkenness, neither of which two offenses appear in Aspinwall's pamphlet.

As scholars have observed, Aspinwall in the Fifth Monarchy turmoil of 1654 and 1655 advocated a moderate position. Although The Legislative Power and A Premonition of Coming Calamities alludes to Cromwell's dissolution of the Barebones Parliament, Aspinwall advocates passivity for the saints. In places a jeremaid, bewailing the failure of the New England experiment, A Premonition even pauses to wonder at the efficacy of biblical laws for England. The Legislative Power continues to advocate an idealistic form of holy government much as his earlier works did. Although he republished Cotton's Abstract and added a preface to it, his criminal provisions and concepts of government in The Legislative Power actually differ from Cotton's laws and views of government. Contradictorily, while he writes of New England's failure, his capital offenses repeat virtually all

of those laws contained in the The Laws and Liberties, the code adopted in Massachusetts in 1648. While lamenting New England's evolution away from the ideal, Aspinwall in England described the components of a holy commonwealth he perceived as lost in the American wilderness. But events in England would fail to meet his expectations--the English garden seemed no more capable of fostering ordered growth towards Christ than Boston or Rhode Island had. And after two more millenarian tracts, as so had often happened before, other shores would beckon to the aging radical.

NOTES

¹
See Louise Fargo Brown 54.

²
See Capp 109; Solt "The Fifth Monarchy Men" 318.

Solt's Saints in Arms has useful ideas on radical sects in relationship to the army. For the insurrections, see Champlin.

³
See Firth's The Last Years of the Protectorate 2 and Brown 89.

⁴
See Brown 101-104.

⁵
See Brown 119.

⁶
For a discussion of the question of the readmission of Jews to England, see Roth 154-172.

⁷
See Cotterill 689; 702-03.

⁸
See Nourse's "Law Reform Under the Commonwealth and Protectorate" 522. On law reform see Veall 81-96 and Harding 259-267.

⁹
See Nourse 525.

¹⁰
See Nourse 526-528.

¹¹
See Nourse 528.

¹²
See Veall 1-2. For crime and punishments, see Veall, Chapter 1.

¹³
See Capp 162-165; 103. Capp observes that American precedents influenced the English Fifth Monarchists and that their extreme penalties for immorality followed

Puritan thinking (167-171).

14

Haskins in Law and Authority argues that the colonial leaders recognized that the Bible could not provide a complete judicial guide for men (115-116) and thinks that in the first decade, the law came primarily from the decisions of the magistrates in the Court of Assistants, but after the deputies' inclusion in the General Court, the legislature became more important as a source of law. The code of 1648 marked the end of the legislative phase, and later law developed from judicial decisions (118).

15

Haskins comments in Law and Authority that many of the capital laws contained both words taken directly from the Old Testament and non-Scriptural elements (146-147). He argues that the colonists retained their own ethical and moral conceptions and did not follow the Bible's commands when they opposed them (151). He thinks that the Bible served more as a warrant for the death penalty than as a dogmatic rule (153). He notes that because the courts insisted on a clear proof in a capital case, few capital convictions occurred.

16

In deciding how to reconcile these various laws and the role of magistrates, Puritans assumed different positions. According to Haskins, Cotton thought that "Most, if not all, of the 'judicial' laws of Moses reflected the moral law, and hence were as eternally binding as the Decalogue itself" (160). On the other hand, he thinks that Winthrop emphasized that all civil laws depended upon natural law and stressed the role of the magistrate in interpreting and applying the law (160).

law (160).

17

In addition, Haskins argues that the General Court returned the Cotton code because its capital laws were too harsh; it was not comprehensive enough; and the colony needed a bill of rights; but he thinks that the code made freemen aware of the kind of code they wanted (126).

18

Scholars have recognized the reluctance of the Puritans to find in the Bible a solution to all of their legal questions. See Haskins 116-118; 158-160; and Erikson 58.

19

See Winthrop's Journal 1: 323-24 for the magisterial position.

20

Winthrop designated the Massachusetts system as a mixed aristocracy in which the people's power of election represented a democratic part of government and the governor and assistants added aristocracy to the polity. See Brown's "A Note on the Puritan Concept of Aristocracy." Edmund Morgan writes that the people governed the political covenant: "In the covenant between the people and God, God dictated the terms, but in the covenant between the people and rulers, the people dictated. And although they must dictate only terms that God approved, the judgment of what He approved was left to the people" (Political Ideas xlv). Furthermore, the Puritan concepts of calling and the covenant conceptualized beliefs about the roles of the deputies and the magistrates. Men of Winthrop's political persuasion interpreted the duties of the magistrate to mean that the administration of the laws belonged to the magistrates and

that the deputies should not participate in the judicial function of the General Court. In the philosophy of the covenant the subject and the ruler fulfilled political and religious roles with both parties attempting to see that the people covenanted with God. See Morgan's Political Ideas xviii. Breen writes that in theory the freemen's political calling demanded that they monitor the magistrates' performance in office but in actuality the deputies, disagreeing with the magistrates, demanded an active role for themselves: "The deputies argued that the freemen themselves delegated civil power, determining, not only which persons gained an office but also exactly what prerogatives the office carried with it" (69).

²¹

See Oberholzer for comments on heresy 33; 79; banishment 37; 79; fornication 150; and slander 184. Oberholzer comments that "Only one case of bestiality has been uncovered in the church records, and in all of New England only four such cases have been found in the records of the the civil courts during the entire colonial period" (149). Perjury was a denial of guilt before the church: "A convicted member who would not own his guilt in public or, in some instances, before the Church, was merely impentient, but if he continued to assert his innocence he was guilty of perjury as well" (182).

CHAPTER IX

FINAL WORKS AND YEARS

Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days: Which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ. Colossians 2:16-17

For he that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his. Hebrews 4:10

As England slowly rejected the political and religious positions of the Fifth Monarchists, Aspinwall wrote his last two pamphlets. In one of them, The Work of the Ages, the aging colonist again mapped out his vision of Christ's holy commonwealth--the dream which had inspired his life from the founding of Massachusetts Bay¹. The vision had now expanded from a simple pledge of church fellowship to a theoretical exposition of the Lord's Providence throughout the ages and into the millennium. From actively participating in the antinomian crisis and Rhode Island sectarianism, Aspinwall had become a theoretician penning in his final works a reassuring formula for the realization of his dream. Although he offered his vision of a Christian commonwealth which stretched from ancient times into a grand

eschatological event, Aspinwall finally designed a very elaborate and private mental garden protected from the hurly-burly of actual events. The visionary had retreated from working to see his program initiated as England slipped toward the Restoration, but found security and order in the Bible and its prophecies. Finally, the dream had become only a dream, the rococo quality of his writings a monument to failed Fifth Monarchy visions.

In the same year that he published Thunder from Heaven and reprinted Cotton's Abstract, Aspinwall published two other Fifth Monarchy tracts. In The Work of the Age: OR, The sealed Prophecies of Daniel opened and applied (1655), defending the rule of the biblical prophet and by implication the Fifth Monarchist pamphleteer, Aspinwall combines various verses and chapters to arrive at a chronological scheme for the millennium². Opposed to arguments between men of Christ, he asserts in his preface that to discover Scriptural truth exegetes must examine passages in relation to each other. If a passage appears obscure, then the exegete should explain "the same; and leave it to the blessing of God (a) to persuade, and to the breathings of the Spirit (whose office it is) to (b) convince" (Preface 2). He warns against spiritual pride, existing "in all our explications of dark and Prophetical Scriptures," where "oftenstimes there lye much of Self, secretly hidden under verbal Self-denial" (Preface 3). Men of God should inquire "into the holy Counsels of God, especially these mystical Scriptures, and seriously weigh every word, and every IOTA in the text,

comparing Scripture with Scripture" (Preface 3). Then, Aspinwall justifies the visionary's method.

As he did in The Legislative Power, the persona of The Work of the Ages assumes the role of the prophet and reveals that the Holy Spirit has enlightened him in order to bring his message of deliverance to the people of England. Observing that Christians should not calumny each other in their theological disputes, the persona in the preface observes that men may feel satisfied when they have "born witness to the truth" (Preface 1). Men like himself should present the light of truth to correct disagreements and misunderstanding: "It is the nature of Light to expel Darkness. We shall need to do no more, but hold forth the word of truth, with as much cleanness as we can, and apply all other interpretations thereunto, and it will appear what is strait, and what is crooked" (Preface 1). The persona perceives that his job is to "hold forth the truth with all cleanness" (Preface 1) and to leave it to God to persuade and "the breathings of the Spirit (whose office it is) to (b) convince" (Preface 1).

The persona offers advice on how the prophet may best perform his office. He should study "these mystical Scriptures, and seriously weigh every word and every IOTA in the text, comparing Scripture with Scripture" (Preface 2). Sounding antinomian, he thinks that the Holy Spirit engages men of God: "For holy men of God spake, (and writ) as they were acted by the holy Spirit 2 Pet. 1. 21. When the prophet

inspects the scriptures, he should keep a spirit of love and deny the self. Aspinwall avers that a divine decree seals some biblical prophecies and Christ reveals its meaning. In these prophecies, the secret counsels of God are the engraving of this seal; the effigies or impressions made by the seal are the written Word of God; and the "the Book sealed is the Book of Providence", where is shown "the persons and things . . . as do exactly answer the minde and Counsel of God revealed in his Word" (3). The Spirit of God seals the Gospel and expresses himself with "darke representations, Hieroglyphicks, and metaphors" (4) until Christ appears to unseal it by producing the persons needed to act in a providential way. In a vision, spiritual eyes may glimpse the engravings of the seal, but until Christ draws out the last lines of the seal, the visionary may not make "particular Application of such Sealed Prophecies (4). Because he depends upon Christ to initiate the visionary process, the interpretor who applies the Scriptures to events may speak "to those Prophecies only, which are already accomplished, or in accomplishing; and shall proceed not further than Christ hath gone before mee in the Acting of his Providence" (5). Following this premise, Aspinwall intends to examine those events which Christ already had caused to appear.

In The Work of the Age Aspinwall returns again to the rhetoric of the four monarchies by using Daniel 2. In Daniel 2, Nebuchadnezzar calls his magicians and sorcerers to interpret his dream upon the threat of dismemberment. Angry

at the interpreters' inability to explain the dream, the king orders the wise men of Babylon killed. But Daniel receives a night vision and, appearing before king Belshazzar, explains the great image, which possessed a golden head, silver breasts and arms, brass thighs and belly, and iron and clay feet. In the vision, a stone, cut without hands, breaks the image and then turns into a mountain, filling the earth. Daniel explains that the golden head of the statue represents the king. After this king, other inferior kingdoms will arise: a third one of brass, and finally a fourth kingdom of iron. Partly strong and weak, the fourth kingdom will be divided, as the mixture of clay and iron signify. During this fourth kingdom, God will institute another kingdom:

And in the days of these kings shall the
 God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall
 never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall
 not be left to other people, but it shall
 break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms,
 and it shall stand for ever. (Daniel 2:44)

In response to this interpretation, Nebuchadnezzar worships Daniel and rewards him by appointing him to rule a province of Babylon.

In explicating Daniel 2:31, Aspinwall argues that God in the vision of the statue shows Nebuchadnezzar the "true and proper nature of all earthly formes of Government . . . during the time of the four great Monarchies" (5). Furthermore, since the rejection of Christ's government, all

governments form this image of pomp, splendor, complacency, and tyranny (4). The golden head represents the Babylonian monarchy; the silver corresponds to the Persian empire; the brass signifies the Grecian monarchy; and the two legs of iron imply two kingdoms after Constantine the Great (7-8). In the final monarchy, the iron signifies the saints, and the ten toes of the statue mean ten kingdoms, each containing strength and weakness:

So that by Iron thus interpreted I
understand the Godly part in these Nations,
which at length shall break down all
Image-Government in all the Ten Nations,
that will not submit to Christ . . . Yet
before that time . . . They will make (m)
Confederacies, and Marriages with Carnal men,
and adversaries of Christs Kingdom. (8)

As iron is a baser metal than brass, so the fourth monarchy will abuse the people of God more completely than formerly (9); but in the brittle fourth monarchy the different kingdoms will eventually destroy each other (10).

Naturally, the Fifth Monarchy will arise to replace the fourth monarchy. Aspinwall interprets the vision of the stone's smiting the large statue as Christ's kingdom desolating the fourth monarchy. Beginning in the ten kingdoms of the fourth monarchy, the Fifth Monarchy of Christ "is not (as some apprehend it to be) a Spiritual and internal Kingdom, whereby Christ reigns in the hearts and Consciences of his people; but it is an external Kingdom, whereby hee

rules and guides the World with Righteousness and Judgement" (11). The spiritual kingdom of Christ having actually occurred earlier before His civil government, in the Fifth Monarchy Christ receives power from the Lord; the kingdom functions with a perfect constitution and administrators, the saints; and the dominion of Christ continues in perpetuity (12). The phrase but not with hands explains to Aspinwall that no human policy establishes the Fifth Monarchy, which comes from above when Christ's "Servants would not then fight for it, till the time was come which the Father had appointed" (12). Aspinwall asserts that the image of carnal government falls by the preaching of the Lord's servants and God who "smites the Image, or Image-Government, by the Ministry of his Word" (12). After having pulverized the image government to dust, Gospel preaching further destroys the memory of the former government, an event "Which argues it must be a continued Act of the ministry of the word that must effect this" (14). Before the coming of Christ, the saints prepare Christ's way "by publishing to all the world his Royal Power and Sovereignty" (13) so that Christ may destroy image governments "with his Iron Scepter" (13) and then found his kingdom. Gospel preaching, not arms, will usher in the millennium for Christ.

Mentioning that he had already established Charles Stuart as the little horn in An Explication and Application of the Seventh Chapter of Daniel, Aspinwall nevertheless repeats his interpretation of the characteristics of the horn and denies

that it refers to Antiochus Epiphanes, Mahoment, William the Conqueror, and the Roman Civil power as other commentators argue. Because the little horn rises up before the forms of the beast and because ten horns comprise the Fourth Monarchy, he questions how the little horn could pluck the three kingdoms before the Fourth Monarchy (19) and wonders how the rest of the horns may exist after the "Beast whose Horns they are, is slain" (19). He rejects the interpretation which says the three destroyed horns refer to an indefinite number because such a loose construction of the number three might open "a door to some, to question the Trinity of Persons in the God-head" (20). As he did earlier, he carefully enumerates seventeen reasons why the qualities of the little horn match the traits of Charles I (20-22) before moving to an explication of Daniel 8:1-27.

In Daniel 8, during the third year of the reign of Belshazzar, a vision appears to Daniel. In a palace Daniel sees a ram with two horns, one higher than the other, standing before a river. The ram pushes west, north, and south; and no other beasts are able to withstand his power. However, a goat arises from the west with a horn between its eyes. The goat attacks the ram and breaks its horns; and then the goat grows strong, after which his horn breaks, revealing four horns. One of the horns grows strong and attacks the "host of heaven" (Daniel 8:10). The goat magnifies himself and "by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down" (Daniel 8:11). Daniel next overhears one saint asking "How long shall be the vision

concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation" (Daniel 8:13). The saint replies that "Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed" (Daniel 8:14). Wondering about the meaning of the vision, Daniel hears a voice commanding Gabriel to reveal the vision. Gabriel explains that the two horns of the ram represent Media and Persia and that four kingdoms shall "stand up out of the nation, but not in his power" (Daniel 8:22). In the latter time of these kingdoms, a king will arise who shall prosper and destroy the holy people. However, although the king will "also stand up against the Prince of princes" (Daniel 8:25), in the end the king will fall.

Having related Daniel's revelations to Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius, and Cyrus, Aspinwall next applies the vision of the ram and the goat to his scheme of history. The ram represents the second monarchy of the Medes and the Persians, and the goat means the third monarchy of the Greeks (29-30). As in his other interpretations, Aspinwall discovers from the verses certain characteristics of the Grecian monarchy: it is strong, ambitious to conquer, irresistible in power, and at war with the Persian prince; it comes from the west, performs heroic exploits, extirpates the Persians, and exhibits a fierceness of spirit (30). A conqueror, Alexander the Great demonstrates the qualities that Aspinwall discovers in the goat: he was strong and ambitious, and came from the west of Persia; at his death his

kingdom devolved into two parts, the kingdoms of Macadonia and Syria. The horn which springs forth signifies that the remnant of Alexander's empire prepared for war against Egypt while the Romans subdued the Greek empire of Antiochus Epiphanes, one of the thighs of Nebuchadnezzar's image (32). The horn warred against the people of God in Judea and took away their daily sacrifice (33).

Aspinwall wonders how long God will permit the sanctuary and the Host to be abused and presents his solution to this puzzling biblical chronology. Although he argues that some commentators think the time interval from the first monarchy to the end of the fourth one comprises about 2,300 years (34), Aspinwall decides that the angel does not say "Then shall the Fourth Monarchy end, or then shall the fifth Monarchy begin: but then shall the Sanctuary be justified or cleansed" (35). To explain the length of time between the fourth and fifth Monarchy, Aspinwall distinguishes between natural days and artificial days, which the Scripture does not mention but must acknowledge, because it "owneth the distribution of the naturall day, into two parts; The light part, and the dark part thereof" (35). The day and night added together "constitute a whole day of twenty four hours, which wee call a Naturall day" (35). By this logic, then, 2,300 artificial days equal 1,150 natural days or three years and two months (35). Aspinwall argues that the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple entailed more than 2,300 natural days and that 2,300 years lasts too long, so he sees "not how that interpretation can any way suit with the words

of the Text" (37).

Verses 17 and 23 of Daniel 8 solve the chronological dilemma, though, because "Towards the time of the end" and "in the afterpart" forecast the horn's rising and its domination of the sanctuary for 2,300 evenings and days (38). Verse 22 suggests that the four kingdoms succeeding Alexander will not equal him in power, and the many days of verse 26 implies that the time interval is "a longer tract of time, than so many artificall daies and nights, or three years and two months" (39). Futhermore, the characteristics of the horn allow Aspinwall to know the ruler who oppresses God's children in the vision of the ram and goat. The horn, arising from the successor of Alexander, predicts a younger brother and cruel prince possessed of deep understanding and subtlety who corrupts the consciences of his people while preparing for action against Egypt. The cruel prince oppresses the people of God, profanes the Temple, and finally dies by a divine stroke (39-40). By this logic Daniel 8 must then refer to Antiochus Epiphanes rather than to a Roman or an Antichristian State (40-41). In other words, Aspinwall thinks that the goat refers to the third monarchy of the Greeks and the surviving horn to the remnant of Alexander the Great's empire. He rejects a 2,300 year period as the time from the first monarchy to the end of the fourth one, thinks four kingdoms will follow the Greek empire, and decides that Antiochus Epiphanes is the dominant horn in the vision. Another chapter in Daniel allows Aspinwall to continue his

chronological scheme.

In Daniel 9, Daniel professes to understand the number of years "where the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem" (Daniel 9:2). After acknowledging Israel's sin, its failure to heed God's laws, and God's righteous punishments, Daniel prays that God will turn his anger away from Jerusalem. While he prays, Gabriel gives him another vision:

Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.

Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times.

After after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but nor for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate. (Daniel 9:24-27)

In discussing Daniel 9, Aspinwall comments on the beginning and the end of the 70 weeks of verse 24. He avers that "these seventy weeks of Daniel must take their beginning from some WORD" (43); and although the Biblical translators render the text commandment, the Hebrew means Word (44). The angel's phrase spoken to Daniel--"To cause, to return, and to build Jerusalem" of verse 25-- is the word, the same edict which Cyrus issued in regards to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which marks the beginning of the seventy weeks (44). To explain the conveyance of this message among the principals, Aspinwall thinks that Daniel, who received the message from the angel and who understood Jeremiah and Isaiah, related the message to Cyrus, the instrument of Divine Providence (44). Using weeks to mean "sevens" of years and interchanging years with weeks, Aspinwall divides this 70-week-period into three parts based on verses 24, 26, and 27, which proclaim that from the command to build the temple to the messiah shall elapse 69 weeks. The interval between the edict and the construction of the Temple in the fifth year of Darius' reign constitutes 7 weeks or 49 years (7 x 7). From the completion

of the Temple to Christ's 25th year equals 62 years. In the midst of the last week or 7 years, a time interval of three-and-one-half years, Christ made "the sacrifice and oblation to cease" (47). Christ confirms the covenant in the last week of the 70 weeks, the 70 weeks ending at his death. In other words, 70 weeks - 7 weeks = 63 weeks - 62 weeks = 1 week, or 7 years, the time in which Christ confirms the covenant (47-49).

Aspinwall uses Daniel 11 to provide more scriptural events for his chronology. In Daniel 11 a speaker claims that the fourth king of Persia shall rise against the Grecian empire. When the fourth king stands up, however, the kingdom will be divided into four parts with a prince from the south achieving dominion. Eventually, though, the princes will join together; and from a union of a king of the north and a king's daughter of the south, a man shall capture with an army the fortress of the king of the north. After the king of the south attacks this kingdom a time of upheaval will occur in which the southern king's sons and their father shall fight and the northern king returns. Eventually, the king of the north will fall, and a tax raiser will assume power for a short period before he too falls. Then a flatterer will obtain the kingdom. After taking spoils and riches, this king will fight the southern king and overwhelm him. In these evil times, one of the kings will go to the south and his army "shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place

the abomination that maketh desolate" (Daniel 11:31). In a time of corruption, people loyal to their God will remain firm while this king exalts himself and speaks "marvellous things against the God of gods" (Daniel 11:36) In the end, though, the king of the south and the king of the north will attack this ruler, and in a time of desolation countries will fall as the king will control Egypt and Libya. Finally, although this ruler shall "plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain" (Daniel 11:45), the king will fall and "none shall help him" (Daniel 11:45).

In his explication of Daniel 11, Aspinwall argues that only four more princes will rule after Cyrus as Gabriel, the prophetic angel, affirmed in his silence: "Doubtlesse, if there should have be any more, the Angel that came to tell Daniel the truth, would not have concealed the same" (50). This angel thus counters historians who claim 13 rulers from Cyrus to Alexander; and forced to choose between human writers and an angel, Aspinwall admonishes his readers to "chuse you whether you will beleeeve" (51). Verses 14 to 18 reveal the suffering of the people of God in the days of the Persian princes after Antiochus (52); verse 20 shows that a raiser of Taxes alludes to Augustus Caesar; and the vile person of verse 21 indicates Nero, who attacked the church (53).

Daniel 12 provides the final key to this scriptural jigsaw explanation of history. In Daniel 12 the speaker forecasts the apocalypse--a time of trouble when the people

are delivered for judgment and the dead arise either to everlasting life or punishment. In this last chapter, the speaker commands Daniel to seal the book and the words. Daniel looks and sees "the other two" (Daniel 12:5), one on one side of the river and the other on the other sider. One questions a man clothed in linen and asks him "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" (Daniel 12:6). Daniel hears the man in linen swear that " it shall be for a time, times, and half" (Daniel 12:7). Wondering what this means, Michael informs Daniel that "From the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days" (Daniel 12:11). Michael warns Daniel that "Blessed is he that waith, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" (Daniel 12:12).

Scripture provides the clues to history. But what does the expression time, times, and half of Daniel 12:7 signify, the answer that the man clothed in linen gives as the answer to the question of Daniel 12:6, "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?"? Referring to verse 7, Aspinwall asserts, "By He, I understand Vespasian and Titus, By power of the holy people, I understand the ruine of that State, and people of the Jews" (54). Although Daniel declares that the secret will remain sealed until the end, the man in linen provides "Daniel an Epocha, from whence he may begin the accounts following . . . The Epocha given, is the taking away of the daily sacrifice, and setting up of the abomination

which makes desolate" (55). Perceiving Daniel 12:11 to be spoken after the destruction of the Temple, Aspinwall thinks the event means a spiritual captivity, specifically a boogieman of seventeenth-century Protestantism: "that abominable desolating Idol the Masse, for the living, and for the dead, joynd with intercession of Saints, by which the vertue and efficacy of Christs death is made voyd, which is the taking away of the daily sacrifice" (55). For Aspinwall, this corruption began about the year 383. Adding the 1,290 days of Daniel 12:1 leads the reader to 1673, "the end of all wordly Image-Government, and the Churches troubles together" (55). To 1673, the 1,335 days of Daniel 12:12 reveal "the time of the New Jersualems coming down from Heaven, or the perfect constitution and settlement of Christs Government all the world over" (56). Thus, according to Aspinwall's rendition of Daniel, the millennium will appear in the year 3008³ .

Having once more given a chronological scenario for the Fifth Monarchy, Aspinwall turned to the question of the proper time of the sabbath in his last work. Claiming that he had deferred publication and that other saints had asked him to attack error, in 1657 Aspinwall published The Abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath, his last address to England⁴ . With a duty "to bear witness against such a persecuting and Antichristian Practice" (Preface 1) of those in power, in the preface he compares himself to Nehemiah (Nehemiah 13:15) who first debates error before employing power to suppress it (Preface 1). Although a magistrate may

preserve the holiness of the Sabbath in many ways--seize goods, close city gates and shops, and restrain person from work--to exercise these powers "until due means have been used to inform and convince conscience" (Preface 2) is to act in an unchristian manner. Logic and argumentation vanquish error.

In The Abrogation of The Jewish Sabbath, Aspinwall's persona in this final work continues to present himself as the learned prophet. Recognizing the difficulty of correcting error, the persona writes that he was discouraged from publishing his comments, but after "being excited by some precious Saints, to divulge the same for the good of others", he "resolved to send it abroad in that plain and comely dress as first it was prepared" (Preface 1). He depicts his role in the dispute over the proper day for the Sabbath as restorative: he intends "not to grieve or wound; but to cure and heal any that are gone astray" (Preface 1). Like a prophet, he must "bear witness against such a persecuting and Antichristian" practice that offends the gospels (Preface 1). As he did in previous pamphlets, he stressed the role of the Holy Spirit, which comes from Christ in times of sin "to convince them of their Errors" (Preface 1). Reviewing the situation of the prophet Nehemiah, who in a dispute over the time of the Sabbath rebuked transgressors rather than punishing them, the persona argues that the prophet needs to convince men before he employs power. Informing his dissenting brethern that they should know he

does not intend to wound them, the persona warns his opponents that they should not offend their fellow-saints nor violate the Lord's day "lest they suffer as evil doers" (Preface 2). Ending his preface, he warns men to practice moderation because "the Lord is at Hand" (Preface 2).

In his treatise, Aspinwall relies on Colessians 2:16-17 to demonstrate that the institutions of the New Testament supplant and abrogate the Mosiac law. Appointed by Christ through Moses, the events in Jewish public worship--feasts, new moons, and sabbaths--"are a shadow of things to come, the body (or Substance being Christ" (3). Syllogistically, he argues from the Bible that Christ abolished the types or shadows, that the Jewish days of public worship are shadows, and that with Christs' advent the shadows or types vanish (2). The need for the shadows or ceremonies of public worship no longer exists with Christ's advent. Christ's coming satisfying the major premise of his argument, the Bible shows the particulars, the types of Jewish worship, and proves the minor premise.

Composed of tabernacles, the Passover and Pentecost, the feasts prefigure Christ in several chronological ways. An eight day observance, the Feast of Tabernacles, beginning on the 15th day of the seventh month, indicates Christ's birth, according to Aspinwall's rendering of John 1:14: "The word was made flesh and tabernacled amongst us" (4). Aspinwall argues that the first day of the festival foreshadows Christ's birth and that the last day points to the Messiah's circumcision. Types and antitypes demonstrate God's wisdom

in showing the coming Messiah to an unobservant race blinded by God:

so that when they should see such a Son as this, born of the Line of David, and conceived in an extraordinary manner by the Virgin, and that upon the first day of the week, and also at the new Moon: born also upon the feast-day of Tabernacles, and circumcised upon the last day of the same; suffering death upon the true day of Passeeover; and lying in the Grave upon the SABBATH-day; and last of all, pouring out the Spirit in Gifts of Tongues, upon the day of Pentecost, they might be convinced that he was indeed the Messiah promised; and of whom all those Ceremonies were but shadows: for all these things concurring in one person . . . were a demonstrative proof of the Messiah, and might have convinced the Jews of that Age, had not their hearts been hardened, and their eyes blinded through the righteous Judgement of God. (4).

Just as the Feast of Tabernacles shadows forth events in Christ's life, the Passover on the 15th of Nisan, and 50 days later the Pentecost represent in advance the future. Killing their lamb on the 14th and eating it on the 15th, the Jews slayed "their Paschal Lamb, at the very same hour when the Lord Jesus was slain upon the Cross" (5). According to

Aspinwall, the Pentecost indicates Christ's ascension to the right hand of God and fulfills a general rule of typology: "That it is the safest way to compare the Ceremony with the accomplishment of it, in Christ" (5). He agrees that Pentecost happened upon the seventh day of the week, but nevertheless avers that Acts 2:1-2 proves that Christ did not rest with his Father until the completion of the seventh day and beginning of the first (5). The Pentecost occurred in the Mosaic system on the seventh day; the Jews superstitiously observed it on the first; yet the Apostle shows both practices; and Acts 2:1-2 covers both eventualities. This resting of Christ--his sitting with his Father--admonishes Christians to "observe our days of Rest or publick worship by vertue of the fourth Commandment" (6).

The new moon, another shadow, also signifies New Testament events. The conjunction of the sun and moon at a new moon "doth darkly shadow forth (as the Apostle speaketh) the conjunction or a union of the two natures of Christ in one person" (6). Counting backwards forty weeks from Christ's birth on the Feast of Tabernacles reveals the time of Christ's "conception at the new moon" (7). Specifically, this conception "fell out upon the seventh day of the week or Sabbath" (7), as Aspinwall states, though he avoids evidence of the chronology of this event because "such Demonstrations are not so easie for every vulgar capacity to apprehend" (7). However, the uneducated may understand other prefigurations.

Aspinwall decides that the Jews honored four kinds of

Sabbaths, all of which prefigured in some manner Christ and occurred in the seventh month, except the sabbath of the seventh day. The yearly, moral Sabbath depends upon the Fourth Commandment and signifies Christ's rest in the tomb. The first day of the seventh month, another Sabbath or rest, possessed a double shadow: (1) the new moon which indicates the conception of Christ and (2) a memorial day for the blowing trumpets which proclaimed God's act of creation and which foretold the union of humanity and divinity in Christ. (8). On the tenth day of the seventh month, a public fast reminded the Jews of Adam's disobedience and anticipated the humiliation of Jesus Christ, the second Adam (9). And finally, as previously demonstrated, Aspinwall considers the first and last days of the Feast of Tabernacles as Sabbaths or rest days.

Although Christ abrogated these Jewish ceremonies, Christians commemorate only the "Lords day" (10), a celebration of the Resurrection, but recognize in addition fast and thanksgiving days. Having disposed of reasons for the retention of the Jewish seventh day Sabbath, Aspinwall supports the first day of the week as "our Observation of the first day of the week or Lords day" (10) because the Fourth Commandment and Hebrew 4:10 mean that Christians ought to honor the day that God relaxed from the Creation and Christ rested after the Ascension. Also, the evangelists asserted that the resurrection happened on the first day of the week and that the "pouring forth of the Spirit" (11) at the feast of the Pentecost shadows Christ's rest with God, an act which

assures His disciples that "he was then entred into his Rest, and had sent forth his Spirit as a pledge and assurance thereof" (11). Biblical evidence exists to support Sunday, the first day of the week, as the Lord's Day.

In The Abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath, Aspinwall challenges the arguments and conclusions of two pamphlets which consider the seventh day of the week as the Lord's day. Objecting to J.W.'s The Unchangeable Morality of the Seventh-day-Sabbath, he asserts that the Fourth Commandment commits Christians to celebrate the first day as the proper Sabbath (12). Admitting that the commandment does not indicate "whether it be the first or the last day of the week" (12), nevertheless he thinks that it "bindeth us Christians as firmly to the observance of the first day of the seven, (which by way of excellency is called the Lords day) ever since our Lord Jesus, the Lord of the Sabbath rested fom his own proper work, and entered into his Rest" (12). He claims that the Fourth Commandment obligated the Jews to the seventh day and now instructs Christians to count seven days from Christ's rest from his Redemption, the first day of the week. The Fourth Commandment, "as firm an institution for our Lords day, in the fourth Precept, as ever the Jews had for the seventh day" (13), fails to designate the seventh day of the week; but it indicates the day "in the week whereon Jehovah rested, accounting seven days from Jehovah's Rest, be it on the last day, or be it on the first day" (14). Thus, the morality of the Fourth Commandment consists not "in the

number of the days of the week; but in observance of that day of the week whereon the Lord himself rested from his work" (14). Christ's abrogation of the Mosaic law does not dispense with the morality of the Second Commandment which now requires another type of worship because God's commandments allow man the liberty to "vary the manner and time of publick worship" (16). Unlike J.W., the author he attacks, who claims the last day of the week as the Sabbath, Aspinwall wants to honor the Sabbath upon the first day of the week (13).

After displaying several instances of J.W.'s faulty reasoning and chop-logic, Aspinwall displays his knowledge of biblical texts in arguing his case. Although the author alleges that John 21:1-3 shows the disciples fishing on the Sabbath, Aspinwall points out that the passage does not mention a Sabbath nor the first day of the week (19). J.W. claims that Acts 20:7 refers to the Pentecost, but Aspinwall, computing the number of days from the previous verse, concludes that "it was but twenty days at most after Passeeover; and therefore cannot be meant of Pentecost, which was the 50th day after the Passeeover" (19). Relying on the language of the passage --"When the disciples came together to break bread" --he translates it to show that the words refer to ordinary eating as opposed to the Eucharist: "in which place, the Syriack useth a word commonly taken for breaking of bread at our usual repast, distinguishing that breaking of bread from the breaking of the Eucharist or bread in the Lord's Supper mentioned in the 7 verse" (20). To

challenge J.W.'s assertion that Sabbath in the singular number means the seventh day of the week and Sabbaths in the plural suggests ceremonial feasts, Aspinwall confesses that "it is true indeed, that the word Sabbath is generally put for the seventh day of the weeks Rest . . . yet it doth not therefore follow, that when the word is pronounced in the singular number, it must always be so understood" (21). He avers that "Sabbaths, is for the most part (in Scripture) meant of the dayes of Rest upon the seventh day of the week . . . onely once you read it up for weeks, . . . and five times the word Sabbaths in the plural number is used for Sabbatical yeers, . . . But it is never to be understood of solemn Feasts, as he would have it" (21). J.W. postulates that the Lord's day in Revelation 1:10 means the seventh day; Aspinwall counters that "it is not written the seventh day of the week . . . for Moses doth not call the seventh day of the week the Lords day" and "Neither doeth John say, I was in the Spirit upon the sabbath day" (24). The Unchangeable Morality of the Seventh-day-Sabbath misunderstands Hebrews 4:10 when it urges reading the verse as establishing a parallel between the "temporal and eternal Canaan" (25) because the Apostle wants to lead the people to Christ and thus provides a principal day for worship (25). After reviewing his reasons for supporting the first day of the week as the Lord's day and exhorting authors to weigh their words and examine the Scriptures and readers to assess the matter and the words (28), Aspinwall reasons that arguments will convince his

opponent only if the Holy Spirit "do undertake the work, and breath in poor weak instruments" (28).

Having challenged The Unchangeable Morality of the Seventh-day-Sabbath, Aspinwall next attacks the anonymous The Morality of the Fourth Commandment, arranging his arguments to correspond with the seven chapters of the treatise. He agrees with the author that the world believes error and ignores truth, but wonders "what is this to prove the seventh-day Sabbath?" (29). He challenges the contention in the second chapter that argues that Sabbath comes from seven and fulness and, after pointing out etymological niceties, writes that "the Author should have been better advised, ere he had put an occasion of stumbling, before such as are ignorant of that Tongue, or discovered his own weakness in pushing such a thing without examination" (30).

For Aspinwall, the argument that the Sabbath is moral because the prophets speak of it with other moral things shows poor reasoning: "for by the same reason, burnt offerings, and legal sacrifices; yea, the Temple itself might be counted moral and perpetual, because they are mentioned in the same place amongst things that are moral" (32). In scrutinizing the texts, Aspinwall faults the author's exegesis in his third chapter. Luke 23:56 implies a "perpetuity of the day, but onely prove their consciencious observance of the seventh day Sabbath" (33). Acts 13:33 shows that Paul preached on the Jewish sabbath in "obedience to the Commandment, as the day of the Lord's rest: for at that time the seventh day was not abolished" (34); and John 19:20 does

not mean that Christ's work of redemption ended with the crucifixion (36).

Aspinwall summarily disposes of the arguments of the remaining chapters. He condemns the idea that Mary did not rest on the first day of the week because the women bought spices on that day by positing that, as Christ had not appeared to his disciples at that time, he had "not declared his minde for observation of that day" (38). He finds in the fifth chapter nothing about the sabbath but discoveres much of "singing, anoynting with Oyl, and a holy kiss" (39). The stories cited in the sixth chapter prove only that the Jews superstitiously observed their day and do not relate to the morality of the day (39). He dismisses the seventh chapter because "The last Chapter saith as little to the proof of the Point, as the former" (40) and he also disposes of a claim in the postscript which argues that church histories do not mention infant baptism and the first day as the Sabbath.

Although the government in 1658 moved against the Fifth Monarchists following Venner's abortive uprising, after this final pamphlet, Aspinwall turned away from England as the country slipped into more political chaos. Whatever personally motivated Aspinwall to go to Ireland remains unknown, as no tracts, if he wrote any, survive after The Abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath. Perhaps he believed that the beginning of the Fifth Monarchy would not occur until 1673 as he had predicated, or perhaps as a moderate, he disagreed with armed rebellion and saw an opportunity in

Ireland to practice the gospel preaching that he said would begin the Fifth Monarchy and thus viewed Ireland as a new chance to promulgate his religious beliefs in a new setting. Perhaps he feared for his personal safety and for his family's, if any of his children or Elizabeth still lived by 1658.

Besides helping his brother William find a way to earn a living upon his return to England⁵, Jirehiah Aspinwall may also have used his influence to provide some type of protection against the reaction against Fifth Monarchists and may have served as a connection for William's venture to Ireland. The Aspinwall Families explains that Jirehiah served as a Commissioner for Lancashire under various acts to raise money for the army between 1649 and 1657, for the Church and Parochial Survey of Lancashire, and under the ordinance to eject ministers of 1654 (14). Thus Jirehiah's connections may have helped deflect reprisals against William.

For whatever reason, Aspinwall joined other ministers in an attempt to Puritanize Ireland. England had established the foundation for such an evangelizing effort when Aspinwall still lived in America. According to St. John Seymour, after Oliver Cromwell returned from Ireland, the Cromwellian government directed the Commissioners for Ireland to advance religion, to propogate the gospel in Ireland, and to encourage and appoint all "such persons of pious life and conversation as they shall find qualified with gifts for preaching the gospel, and instructing of the people there in

all godliness and honesty" (14). As Seymour explains, the saints in England intended to revamp the Irish church government:

Thus nothing less was contemplated than the utter subversion of the Episcopal system of church government; all church lands and property were to be applied to the use of the State, its clergy were to suffer equally, while their places were to be taken by such 'persons of pious life' as the Governemnt appointed to the cure of souls; while the rising generation was to be trained up in the way it should go by schoolmasters appointed by the same authority. (Seymour 15)

In going to Ireland in his later fifties, Aspinwall entered a religious situation in which, according to L.R. Brown, the Baptists mostly opposed Cromwell, while the Fifth Monarchy Men seemed not to have been organized (137). The Baptists had supported Charles Fleetwood, but Fleetwood had left Ireland in September 1655 when Henry Cromwell, replacing Fleetwood as commander-in-chief, arrived on the island in the summer of 1655, filling Fleetwood's position with "Presbyterians and moderate Independents" (Brown 154). A response by an Irish minister to a situation in England opened the way for an appointment for Aspinwall. Seymour relates that at Kilcullen, a man named Heritage Badcock had attempted to dissuade soldiers from wanting to return to

England to aid in the suppressions of a royalist uprising led by Sir George Booth of Chesire. After Badcock's arrest, he was suspended from his church on August 30. William Aspinwall assumed his place at Kilcullen (175).

Aspinwall's position as a minister in Ireland quickly changed though when he faced another twist of political affairs with the Restoration. According to Seymour, on January 1660 Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, and Major William Bury were appointed as Commissioners for Government and Management of affairs in Ireland. On February 7, 1660, a convention of those mostly supporting Episcopacy met in place of the Irish Parliament; and shortly after the convention opened, eight ministers, two from each province, arrived to consider the Irish religious settlement. By May 7, after the convention had adjourned, the sitting committee had determined guidelines for the selection of suitable preachers. These guidelines required the ministers to baptize all the children who professed faith in Christ, to administer Holy Communion to those who were not ignorant or scandalous, and to agree to the Restoration.

These church requirements in the new monarchy certainly did not match the prerequisites of the kingdom of the saints which Aspinwall had described in his tracts. Moving to cut out the more radical ministers, the committee delivered a list of Anabaptists who received state payments. Some of these men were ministers "who enjoyed State payment, amongst whom were some preachers, all of whom were consequently deprived of their salaries" (180). The committee,

recommending about 160 men as ministers (180), next tried to supply new ministers. On April 7, 1660, in their first recorded order, the commissioners restored Heritage Badcock, the man whom Aspinwall had replaced at Kilcullen (180). Whether Aspinwall returned with other ejected ministers to England after Badcock's reappointment or whether he had departed Ireland prior to April 7 is unknown⁶. But a letter to New England survives to show that the old radical, fifty-seven-years-old in 1660, managed somehow to return again to his native country after so much wandering.

On April 13, 1662, Aspinwall wrote a letter from Chester, England, to Massachusetts, asking an unknown person to consider him "a friend, & one of yo^w, though farre Remote" who had removed because "of necessity" (William Aspinwall, letter from Chester, England, ms. 13 April 1662, 15B: 163, Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Massachusetts). In the letter he asks the person to attend to his land on which the mill had stood:

11

mediat for me to the Gen^l. Court, that
 that smale parcel of land in Boston whereon
 the Mill stood w^{ch} was mine owne purchase
 (& never aliened as I suppose the Court Records
 will evince, w^{ch} land I gaue to my Son) may
 not be aliened by an Act of the Court from the
 true Owner hereof & his Sonne who is
 a Native & ffreeborne subject vnto yo^r
 Government. (William Aspinwall, letter from

Chester, England)

Besides revealing that his son Samuel still lived and that he intended for him to retain possession of the mill land, Aspinwall's letter suggests that the old rebel, if not active in Fifth Monarchy affairs, still felt England's political pulse and wanted Massachusetts to remain free from crown meddling⁷. His letter shows a sense of caution at a time when many royalists in the Restoration period paid back old political scores: "I may not inlarge to speak how affaires goe wth vs, yo^w heare it from better hands" (William Aspinwall, letter form Chester, England). Although he could elaborate on other political events in England, he felt reticent about these affairs: "I doubt not, but yo^w heare as much & a great deale more then I can informe yo^w" (William Aspinwall, letter from Chester, England). One affair did bother him, though.

Aspinwall knew that some in England wished to bind Massachusetts closer to the crown. He mentions Thomas Breedon and Samuel Maverick, Massachusetts' old nemesis in the Remonstrance of 1646, and explains that these men⁸ intended to harm the Bay Colony :

I can only assure yo^w that Capt. Breedon
& M^r Maverick are yo^r back friends,
& wanted not to doe yo^w all the disservice
they could, as a pson of quality informed me,
who once & againe laid a stopper vppon
their proceedings. (William Aspinwall, letter

from Chester, England)

Aspinwall correctly portrays Breedon's and Maverick's animosity to Massachusetts. On March 11, 1660, Captain Thomas Breedon had appeared before the Council for Foreign Plantations to complain about certain political conditions in Massachusetts Bay. He spoke of the distinction between freeman and nonfreemen in New England, a distinction he thought "as famous as Cavaliers & Roundheads was in England, and will shortly become as odious, and I hope abandoned" (Brodhead 39). The colony's independence from English control also irritated him: "how they sate in Councill in December last, a week, before they could agree in writing His Mat^{ie} there being so many aganst owning the King, or their having any dependence on Engl^d" (Brodhead 39). He played up the colony's feeling of independence among the soldiers, saying that the soldeirs "do desire and expect a Governor to be sent from the King: others fear it, and say they will dye before they loose their liberties & priviledge; by which it may appeare how difficult it is to reconcile monarchy and independency" (Brodhead 40). Pointing out that many desired a king, Breedon stressed that Massachusetts' laws prohibited by death any alterations in its form of government. He informed the commissioners that "if anyst speake for the King's interest, they are esteemed as ag^t their frame of policy or governm and as mutiners" (Brodhead 40). Breedon proposed to the commissioners that they consider an embargo on Massachusetts' trade "untill His Ma^{ty}

shall conclude of sending over for establishing and setting that country in firme place and due obedience" (Brodhead 40). Aspinwall had warned the colony about the activities of Breedon and Maverick, both of whom would work against the colony in a few years.

In his last comment on New England, Aspinwall speaks of the necessity for believing in Christ and of the Saviour's care of New England:

But whilst yo^w make Christ yo^r friend
yo^w need not much to care who are yo^r
foes; he both can & will protect his owne
plantation, w^{ch} is the prayer of
"Yo^r humble servant

"William Aspinwall

He does not mention New England's inclusion in his grand Fifth Monarchy scheme, nor does he refer at all to the Fifth Monarchy. He only reminds his audience that Christ will guard his plantation in Massachusetts. In England Christ had not yet established his kingly rule. Charles II had marched in triumph to London and received the crown reserved ultimately for Him. Now nearly sixty years old, having chartered the future from God's Holy Word, William Aspinwall, observing the return to royalism, could still feel confident: after the beginning of the downfall of the Antichrist in 1673, the New Jerusalem would come in 1728. Having survived numerous defeats and experienced much in his journey across the American wilderness to carry his millenarian speculations to England, Aspinwall could await his own death, secure in

anticipating God's final triumph¹⁹ .

NOTES

¹

The Fifth Monarchy movement also may be viewed as an effort to restructure a communal life in the new conditions of America and the chaos of the Civil War. See the Handlins' Power and Liberty, especially Chapter 1 which offers valuable insights into the colonial response to the American experience.

²

His preface dates the pamphlet on the "Sixth Month (commonly called Febr) 1655". This dates shows that Aspinwall now dated the year from the autumn, a principle he had advocated in his Speculum Chronologicum.

³

This later work reflects a much later date for the millennium. In early tracts he had predicated the millennium to begin in 1728.

⁴

Observing "an unmistakable philo-semitic tendency in certain English circles" (149), Roth writes that some extremists thought the Old Testament bound believers to a seventh-day Sabbath (149). Oberholzer points out that the Puritan Sabbath began not on Sunday morning, but "overlapping Jewish practice, on Saturday evening" (57).

⁵

Jirehiah Aspinwall may have helped his brother William to purchase a farm in England. According to The Aspinwall and Aspinwall Families, Jirehiah's name appears "in the Royalist Composition Papers, in the case of James Stanley, Earl of Derby in connection with a contract by Wm.

Aspinwall, gentleman, to purchase a fee farm rent of L25. 2s. 10d. out of a tenement in the Manor of Trayles, in the occupancy of Jirehiah Aspinwall, late parcel of James late Earl of Derby (24 December 1652)" (14).

⁶ Overlooking Aspinwall, Seymour incorrectly comments about the ministers in Ireland that "Only one (Rogers) is certainly known to have been a Fifth-Monarchist, and he did not become notorious for these opinions until after his departure from Ireland" (205).

⁷ The Suffolk Deeds show however that Aspinwall deeded the windmill and one-half acre of land in Boston to Richard Woodward on October 27, 1658 (Suffolk Deeds 150). Whether or not Aspinwall conveniently forgot this deed, he apparently did not consider the land in this letter to refer to the one-half acre.

⁸ See Wall 157-197.

⁹ Capp notes that "a W.A. of Chester" died in 1662 (240). I have been unable to verify this statement or determine if these initials refer to William Aspinwall. Maclear's article in the Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century presents a capsule summary of the major events in Aspinwall's life.

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Particular, The Beheading of Charles Stuart, who
is proved to be the Little Horn by many Characters,
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