



BIBLIA AMERICANA
Cotton Mather
Volume 1: GENESIS

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Reiner Smolinski

Cotton Mather.

BIBLIA AMERICANA

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Volume 1

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Cotton Mather

BIBLIA AMERICANA

America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the
Old and New Testaments

Volume 1
GENESIS

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,

by

Reiner Smolinski

Mohr Siebeck
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For Tanya, Hannah, and Madeleine

My Advice to you is, That it be your Practice, to *Read* the *Sacred Scriptures* in the *PORISMATIC WAY*; Or, with a Labour to observe and educe, the *Doctrines of Godliness*, which this inexhaustible *Store House of Truth*, will yield unto them that are seeking after it. Make a *Pause* upon every *Verse*, and see what *Lessons of Piety* are to be learnt from every *Clause*. Turn the *Lessons* into *Prayers*, and send up the *Prayers* unto the GOD, who is now Teaching of you.

Manuductio ad Ministerium (1726)

Acknowledgments

Cotton Mather's holograph manuscript "Biblia Americana" had a very long gestation period – considerably longer than the decade it took me to transcribe, edit, and annotate the first of ten-volumes, in which Mather's commentary is now going to be published for the first time. I have been frequently asked what possessed me to undertake this gargantuan project. A well-meaning friend, no doubt speaking from experience, pointed to several renowned compilers of Bible commentaries (let alone their editors) who did not live long enough to see the final volume through the press. With so much left to be done, the rumors of my premature elevation, I hope, are greatly exaggerated.

The origins of this project go back a good number of years. My friend and colleague Jesper Rosenmeier of Tufts University serendipitously bestowed upon me the content of several filing cabinets, which Kenneth B. Murdock had lovingly gathered for his splendid edition of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1977). What Murdock had gathered here in the sixties and seventies – before word processors, the internet, and online databases became the tools of the academic trade – is a testimony to his labor of love, an obsession no less than a conviction that a scholarly edition of colonial America's most significant history was well worth the effort. Much the same motivation led me (in the early eighties) to work on Cotton Mather's "Triparadisus" manuscript at the AAS, a book-length essay on eschatology, which subsequently appeared as *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of "Triparadisus"* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995). The initial transcription of this manuscript was undertaken, it is hard to believe, on one of the first home computers a poor student's budget could muster. The technological breakthroughs since then are mind-boggling. Without them, editing and annotating the "Biblia Americana" manuscript would hardly have been possible.

For support of my ongoing research on Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana," I wish to thank the Department of English at Georgia State University for various research and travel grants, including a summer 2008 RIG grant, which allowed me to spend time writing rather than grading essays. I am grateful to my colleagues at the Massachusetts Historical Society for a W. B. H. Dowse Fellowship, to the Huntington Library for a Mayer's Fellowship, and to the American Antiquarian Society for a Kate B. and Hall J. Peterson fellowship. Moreover, I wish to thank Marcus A. McCorison Librarian and Curator of Manuscripts

Thomas G. Knoles; John B. Hench and Nancy Burkett (both retired); Caroline F. Sloat, Director of Book Publishing; and the many fine librarians on staff at the AAS for the collegial atmosphere and the stimulating lectures at the Society during my residence in Worcester. Every research library should have a Goddard-Daniel House to accommodate its fellows as royally as the AAS does! My heart goes out to Stephen T. Riley Librarian Peter Drumme and to Worthington C. Ford Editor Conrad E. Wright at the Massachusetts Historical Society for their professional support and the stimulating environment in one of the premier research libraries for colonial Americana materials. Thanks, Conrad, for the delicious food during the heady fellowship lunches! Thank you, Peter, for the many conversations and the coffee on those Saturdays when the library was undergoing renovation.

Apart from the quality time at the Huntington, the AAS, and the MHS, I had the privilege of accessing rare books at the Andover-Harvard Library, the Boston Public Library, the Harvard Divinity School Library, the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library and the Rare-Book Room of the Science and Engineering Library at UCLA, the university libraries of Tübingen, Mainz, and Berlin; and, closer to home, Pitts Theology and Woodruff Libraries at Emory, and Pullen Library at Georgia State University. Special thanks go to Margret A. Pitts Librarian Patrick Graham at Pitts Theology of Emory, and Margie Patterson (now retired) of Interlibrary Loans at Pullen Library. In this context, it is not remiss to praise Dean Lauren Adamson, Dean Nancy Seamans, and Provost Ron Henry (now retired) for their prescient investment in expensive online Humanities databases (EEBO and ECCO) – in the nick of time before the mortgage industry, AIG, and Wall Street took us to the cleaners on Sub-Prime Alley.

Over the innumerable hours during the vetting process, of collating the typescript against a digital version of the microfilm copy of the “Biblia Americana,” and during a marathon onsite vetting session of five weeks at the MHS, I benefited from the help of many kind individuals. Particular thanks go to Merit Kaschig, Florian Schwieger, Jan Saathoff and, especially, Damien Brian Schlarb, for their faithful support. Thank you Damien! And thank you Matthew Roudané and Randy Malamud for the gift of a graduate research assistant for the past several years. Without your and their help, the “Biblia” would still repose in a computer file. I am indebted to Heribert Dillmann of Niederbrechen (remember?), to Käthe Ristow of Mainz (on whatever cloud that good angel might now rest), to Jeffrey Walker of Oklahoma State University for the inspiring summer seminar on the *Magnalia*, to Mark Langley of Topeka for many valuable suggestions on the transcript and annotations, to my dear colleague Patricia Graves, who went the extra mile to make my writing more felicitous, to Ken Minkema and Adriaan Neele of the Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale Divinity School for their support, to H. Clark Maddux of Austin Peay University and, especially, to Robert E. Brown of James Madison University, and to Jan Stievermann of

the University of Tübingen, for reading portions of the manuscript and for suggesting improvements; to Bernd Engler, rector of Eberhard-Karls Universität Tübingen, and to Jan Stievermann, for hosting and organizing the first ever International Symposium on Cotton Mather’s “Biblia Americana” (October 23–25, 2008) in the Hohentübingen Castle of the University (Mather could not have wished for a setting or audience more illustrious).

Jan Stievermann, Assistant Professor of American Studies at Tübingen, Executive Editor of Cotton Mather’s “Biblia Americana,” and dear friend, deserves my particular gratitude. It is through his hard work that the Mather Symposium in Tübingen was made possible. Jan was also instrumental in introducing me to Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, Editorial Direktor of Mohr Siebeck, the Tübingen publishing house, which is bringing out the “Biblia Americana” in collaboration with Baker Academic, a Division of Baker Publishing Group. It is through the vision of Henning Ziebritzki and James Ernest, Editor of Baker Academic, that Cotton Mather’s magnum opus is now being made available. Indeed, there’s a time and season for everything – even if it takes nearly three-hundred years to get there.

My deep appreciation also goes out to several scholars who have given their “thumbs up” for our Mather project: To Dale C. Allison, Jr., of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, to Bernard Bailyn of Harvard University, to E. Brooks Holifield of Emory University, to David Lyle Jeffrey of Baylor University, to Donald K. McKim of Memphis Theological Seminary, to Robert Middlekauff of University of California, Berkeley; to Mark A. Noll of Notre Dame University, to Stephen J. Stein of Indiana University, to Harry S. Stout of Yale University for their sterling endorsements. I believe I can speak for all of my fellow editors – Jan Stievermann, Ken Minkema, Harry Clark Maddux, Rick Kennedy, Michael P. Clark, and Ava Chamberlain – when I extend our warmest thanks.

Two more paragraphs and we are done: I wish to thank the Massachusetts Historical Society for permission to edit and publish Cotton Mather’s “Biblia Americana” manuscript, Linda Smith Rhoads, editor of the New England Quarterly, for permission to reprint major portions of my article “How to Go to Heaven or How Heaven Goes? Natural Science and Interpretation in Cotton Mather’s ‘Biblia Americana’ (1693–1728), published in *The New England Quarterly* 81.2 (June 2008): 278–329; to Gaby van Rietschoten of Koninklijke Brill NV for permission to reprint a portion of my article “Authority and Interpretation: Cotton Mather’s Response to the European Spinozists,” which appeared in *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714*. Eds. Alan I. Macinnes and Arthur H. Williamson. Leyden: Brill, 2006. 175–203. My special thanks go to Frau Anna Krüger of Mohr Siebeck for her expertise in all matters of the production.

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on you, Hannah, and Madeleine, when I “disappeared” in my study and was lost to you and the children in the interminable Mather bog. I am ready to take up my badge of shame. Hannah Sophie, dearest Hannah Montana, daughter after my own heart: how many times did I want to get away from the computer and spend quality time with you on the playground before you grew up to become a young person? Madeleine Marie, dearest Maddie Chatterley: how you tugged on my shirtsleeves and pleaded with me “to come down” and play with you? Oh, sweet child of time. I promise to do better. My siblings Irene, Horst, Gudrun, and Ute: so much anguish, so little time. My beloved parents, Horst and Anneliese Smolinski: I wished you had lived long enough to share in the pleasure of seeing my Hannah and Maddie grow up, and to feel the warm embrace of your grandchildren. Doch es kam alles ganz anders.

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List of Abbreviations

AAS	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols.
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> . 10 vols.
"BA"	"Biblia Americana" (holograph manuscript). 6 vols. folio. The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
BBH	<i>Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch</i>
BBK	<i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i> . 29 vols. <<www.bautz.de/bbkl>>
CBTEL	<i>Cyclopedie of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature</i> .
CE	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i> . 16 vols.
DNSP	<i>Dictionnaire des Noms, Surnoms et Pseudonymes Latins De L'Histoire Littéraire du Moyen Age [1100 a 1530]</i>
DGRG	<i>Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography</i>
DGRBM	<i>A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> .
DUSE	<i>Dictionnaire Universel des Sciences Ecclésiastiques</i>
EJ	<i>Encyclopædia Judaica</i> . 26 vols.
ESTC	<i>English Short-Title Catalogue</i> (online).
HJP	<i>History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ</i> . 5 vols.
JH	<i>James Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . 4 vols.
JPS	<i>Jewish Publication Society</i> (OT) 1917.
KJV	King James Version (1611)
KD	<i>Keil & Delitzsch, Commentary on the Old Testament</i> . 10 vols.
KP	<i>Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike in fünf Bänden</i> .
LXX	Septuaginta
LCD	<i>Lemprière's Classical Dictionary</i>
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
NJB	<i>The New Jerusalem Bible</i>
NPNF _i	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> . (First Series). 14 vols.
NPNF _{ii}	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> . (Second Series). 14. vols.
NT	New Testament
OCD	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
OT	Old Testament
PT	<i>Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society</i> , London.
SH	<i>The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge</i> . 12 vols.
SBD	<i>Smith's Bible Dictionary</i>
TJE	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> . 12 vols. <<www.jewishencyclopedia.com>>

PART 1

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Section 1

“Biblia Americana”: An American Commentary on the Bible

It may be, God our Saviour will in His Time, dispose the Minds of some eminent and opulent persons, to cast a benign Aspect upon a work [“Biblia Americana”] which may hand down their Names with lasting Acknowledgments unto posterity. Be it as it will, I do with the greatest Acquiescence of Mind in the holy Dispositions of His Providence Leave all in His glorious Hands. (Cotton Mather, 1715)

Cotton Mather’s “Biblia Americana” has waited nearly three hundred years to be published. By cooperative agency of Mohr Siebeck and Baker Academic, it is finally brought “into the Light,” as Mather once expressed his hope for publication (*Diary* 2:332), in a ten-volume scholarly edition. Written between 1693 and 1728, “Biblia Americana” is the oldest comprehensive commentary on all the canonical books of the Bible to have been composed in British North America. With its more than 4,500 folio pages bound in six volumes, Mather’s holograph manuscript, which has remained almost unstudied in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, represents one of the great untapped resources in American religious and intellectual history. Combining extensive discussions of biblical scholarship with scientific speculations and advice for practical piety, Mather’s scriptural interpretations reflect the growing influence of Enlightenment thought in America as well as the rise of the transatlantic evangelical awakening. His commentary also marks the beginning of historical criticism of the Bible in New England theology, a solid one hundred years before German Higher Criticism gained a permanent foothold in American theological seminaries. In his annotations Mather engages a vast array of source-texts, from the Church Fathers, medieval and Reformation theologians, Rabbinic scholarship, ancient history and geography, to the cutting-edge philological and philosophical studies of his period. “Biblia Americana” thus represents the greatest achievement of an American theologian before Jonathan Edwards.

In this General Introduction, I will address a number of issues that are relevant to Mather’s commentary on Genesis and to the ten-volume edition as a whole. Examining the nature and significance of “Biblia Americana,” Section 1 provides a sketch of Mather’s life, surveys the history of the manuscript’s composition, and explains his failure to publish the opus he deemed “one of the greatest Works, that ever I undertook in my Life” (*Diary* 1:169). Section 2

appraises his biblical interpretations in the context of the scientific revolution of the early Enlightenment: Newtonianism, the miracles debate, and philosophical accommodationism. Section 3 examines Mather's changing understanding of the Bible, his hermeneutical approach to the scriptures and doctrinal position on key issues, and his response to the historical and philological criticism of the Bible as text in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Finally, section 4 assesses the physical condition of the manuscript and outlines the editorial principles governing the entire project.

Among the Bible commentaries of Mather's time, "Biblia Americana" is unique in more ways than one. Even a cursory comparison of Mather's commentary with those of his English peers – Matthew Poole (1624–79), Simon Patrick (1625–1707), Samuel Clarke (1626–1701), and Matthew Henry (1662–1714) – uncovers major conceptual differences.¹ Mather abandons the standard approach and instead devises rhetorical questions for each chapter-and-verse annotation. He assumes a skeptical reader, incorporates excerpts from opposing camps of the hermeneutical debate, and tries to harmonize the new philological methods and scientific discoveries of his age with the Reformed exegesis of the Bible. Unlike his peers who compiled conventional commentaries, Mather elects to concentrate on those chapters and verses he deemed most in need of updating. He also abandons the traditional chapter summaries and reprinting of each verse, and adopts, instead, a dialogic question-and-answer method of presentation. For each annotation he devises a rhetorical question that brings specific topics and interpretative problems into focus. His answers are digests of the most pertinent philological, scientific, and theological debates of his day, often incorporating excerpts from opposing camps and his own judgment on the issues. Through the persona of his rhetorical interlocutor, Mather also voices the concerns of the most radical biblical critics of his period – Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), Isaac La Peyrière (1596–1676), Benedict Spinoza (1632–77), and Richard Simon (1638–1712) – and engages their ideas in a surprisingly constructive manner (*see* Section 3). It is another distinguishing quality of "Biblia Americana" as a Bible commentary and of Mather as an intellectually open-minded theologian that he does not necessarily seek to refute those who destabilize the authority of the scriptures, but allocates ample space to each arbiter, as if to provide a forum for Enlightenment debate. In many places his observations show unmistakable traces of modern skepticism – a new form of Pyrrhonism that he valiantly seeks to redress by reconciling the Bible wherever possible with all available modern insights into the natural sciences. In the philosophical battle between skeptical rationalism and revealed religion,

¹ Matthew Poole, *Annotations Upon the Holy Bible* (London, 1683–85); Simon Patrick, *A Commentary Upon the Historical Books of the Bible* (London, 1695–1710); Samuel Clarke, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New, With Annotations and Parallel Scriptures* (London, 1690); Matthew Henry, *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (London, 1708–10).

Mather – like his contemporary Isaac Newton – merged facets of what Richard H. Popkin has defined as “empirical and rationalist thought with theosophic speculation and Millenarian interpretation of Scripture” to meet the intellectual challenges of his time.²

The range of subjects Mather engages in the “Biblia” is, quite simply, breathtaking. Beyond the more conventional concerns of biblical philology and academic theology, he ventures into the realm of natural philosophy and wrestles with the questions raised by the great scientific thinkers of his day such as René Descartes (1596–1650), Sir Isaac Newton (1643–1727), or William Whiston (1667–1752). (See Section 2). Moreover, Mather frequently includes asides on specifically American topics such as Native American religions, culture, and medicines, as well as discussions of the flora and fauna of the New World. Occasionally, Mather’s answers grew into independent essays of ten or twenty pages that far exceed the immediate concerns of the biblical chapters and verses under discussion. With its breadth of topics and essay-length discourses, “Biblia Americana” in more ways than one resembles works such as Johann Heinrich Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia Septem tomis distincta* (Herborn, 1630) or Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Rotterdam, 1695–97, 1702) rather than such popular Bible commentaries as those by Matthew Henry or Matthew Poole. If “Biblia Americana” explodes the framework of conventional commentaries, it more than lives up to Robert Boyle’s call for a scholar-theologian to address the philosophic advances of his age in a biblical handbook: “I cannot but hope,” Mather quotes his friend and correspondent, “that when it shall please God, to stir up Persons of a Philosophical Genius, well furnished with Critical Learning, and the Principles of true Philosophy, and shall give them an Hearty concern for the Advance of His Truths, these men will make Explications, & Discoveries that shall be admirable.”³ How seriously Mather took the famous scientist’s call to arms is evident throughout “Biblia Americana.” In fact, in a missive to Dr. John Woodward of the Royal Society of London, Mather confesses his secret obsession. Referring to himself in the third person (ostensibly to appear as a disinterested observer), he explains that in spite of all his duties of composing sermons, ministering to the largest congregation in English America, and publishing more than two-hundred books, “neither these, nor *any* other obstructions could retund his passion for the Favourite Work of his, *Biblia Americana*.⁴

Here, then, we find competing explanations of the Mosaic creation account and mechanistic theories of Noah’s flood; Cartesian rationalism and Newtonian science; miracles vs. natural causation; reason vs. revelation and verbal inspiration; problems of philological-textual transmission, lacunae, scribal errors, and

² R. H. Popkin, *Third Force* (90–91).

³ Cotton Mather, *Bonifacius* (200).

⁴ Mather’s “Letter to Dr. John Woodward, Nov. 17, 1712,” in David Levin, “Giants in the Earth” (760).

interpolations; Spinozism; the Calling of the Jews; millennialism; Trinitarianism vs. Unitarianism; African slavery, Native American conversion, and captivity narratives; the origin of fossils, religious rituals, dogmas, and idolatry; pietism and world missions, and many more topics difficult to summarize. As he put it in the “General Introduction” to his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702),

I considered, That all sort of *Learning* might be made gloriously Subservient unto the *Illustration* of the *Sacred Scripture*; and that no *professed Commentaries* had hitherto given a thousandth part of so much *Illustration* unto it, as might be given. I considered, that Multitudes of *particular Texts*, had especially of later Years, been more notably *Illustrated* in the *Scattered Books* of Learned Men, than in any of the *Ordinary Commentators*. And I consider'd, That the *Treasures of Illustration* for the Bible, dispersed in many hundred Volumes, might be fetch'd all together by a Labour that would resolve to *Conquer all things*; and that all the *Improvements* which the *Later-ages* have made in the *Sciences*, might be also, with an inexpressible Pleasure, call'd in, to assist the *Illustration* of the *Holy Oracles*, at a Rate that hath not been attempted in the vulgar *Annotations*. (104)⁵

In short, “Biblia Americana” goes beyond the immediate concern of a commentary on the Holy Scriptures, because in digesting a whole library of ancient, classical, and Enlightenment research filtered through the screen of Reformed theology, Mather collects the most significant discoveries of the ages in *all* disciplines from literally hundreds of different tomes.⁶ Strongly invested in the traditional belief in a divinely organized universe of correspondences, hence the unity of all knowledge, he sought to bring together the combined learning of the different branches of human and divine knowledge.⁷ “Biblia Americana” was to become a clergyman’s personal encyclopedia (in the absence of a college library), a one-stop shop where educated readers could interface with Pagan antiquity, Newtonian science, and Old-Time Religion.

As the most renowned member of a family dynasty of Puritan clergymen spanning four generations, Cotton Mather was the leading New England divine of his generation. He was one of the last Renaissance men who had the knowledge of the ages at his fingertips. Above all, he understood the need of his Reformed peers for a conservative guide to stir a safe course between the Scylla and Charybdis of the early Enlightenment. Mather intended his “Biblia Americana” to be this vademecum. If the effigy of Mather as America’s “national gargoyle” is still railroaded through the popular press on occasions, there is little to support this grossly distorted caricature in his commentary on the Bible.⁸

⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all citation references to the *Magnalia* are to Kenneth B. Murdock’s edition.

⁶ See “Bibliography of Primary Works” at the end of the present volume.

⁷ See J. Stievermann, “Writing to Conquer All Things” (263–97).

⁸ See K. Silverman, *Life and Times* (425); and D. Levin, “Monster” (157–76).

Quite to the contrary, a completely different Mather emerges from the manuscript pages: an urbane, erudite scholar-theologian who had long transcended narrow partisan exegesis by incorporating in his commentary the landslide of philosophical innovations of his age. In doing so, he not only demonstrated that American scholarship easily matched that of his European peers but also created a unique record of the hermeneutical, philological, and scientific debate then raging in Europe. His "Biblia Americana" is the product of his lifelong endeavor to synthesize and – if possible – to reconcile this new, threatening scholarship with his abiding faith in the authority of the Bible.

Samuel Mather (1706–85), Cotton Mather's son and heir to the pulpit of Boston's Second Church (Old North), did not exaggerate when he described his father's huge *Biblia* manuscript as

a Work the writing of which is enough constantly to employ a Man, unless he be a *Miracle of Diligence* the half of the *Threescore Years & Ten* which is the Sum of Years allowed us. I mean, his *Illustrations of the sacred Scripture*. The Doctor, from an Hint given by that very great and learned Man my Lord BACON, begun this Work in his *thirty first Year*, tho' he had before *some Materials* for it by him; and in his *fifty first Year* so finish'd it, as to publish his PROPOSALS for printing it, intituled, *A new Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning*. Ever since that Time to his *Death*, he was adding to it; so that now it is judged to be *by far the greatest Amassment of Learning that has ever been bro't together to illustrate the Oracles of GOD*.⁹

Indeed, "Biblia Americana" is an immense resource for students, scholars, and pastors interested in American religious and intellectual history. Our scholarly edition will make this work accessible to a wide audience. Before we can appreciate Mather's magnum opus and begin to understand its full import, we should review some of the highlights of his life and times.¹⁰

⁹ Samuel Mather, *Life of... Cotton Mather* (1729) 73. For Cotton Mather's proposal "A New Offer" (1713/14), see below.

¹⁰ There are several well-known nineteenth- and twentieth-century biographies of Cotton Mather's life in addition to the most recent one by K. Silverman (mentioned above): Rev. William B. O. Peabody, *Life of Cotton Mather* (1836) was published in volume VI of the highly popular "The Library of American Biography" series, edited by the Unitarian Jared Sparks, and designed for school use ("School District Library"). The biography went through at least three editions and reprints in its lifetime (1836, 1840, 1856). Rev. Enoch Pond, *The Mather Family* (1844), a partisan biographical history of the Mathers which is as unabashedly apologetic as those of Pond's contemporaries are unashamedly disparaging. Rev. Chandler Robbins, *History of the Second Church, Or Old North* (1852) is intended as an encomium to the bicentennial of the Old North Church and its pastors. Barrett Wendell, *Cotton Mather: The Puritan Priest* (1891); Rev. Abijah Perkins Marvin, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1892), and Ralph and Louise Boas, *Cotton Mather: Keeper of The Puritan Conscience* (1928). Wendell's biography, almost exclusively based on Mather's then unpublished diary, was written by the first professor of English and American literature at Harvard and reveals a remarkable sympathy for New England's roots and for Mather as a towering figure of the Puritan Priest; Marvin's *Life and Times* is a highly readable apologia by a Congregational minister in Winchendon, MA, and prolific author of American histories. Marvin views Mather's life through the lens of his pastorate. *Cotton Mather: Keeper of*

Cotton Mather (1663–1728)

The eldest son of New England's leading divine, Increase Mather (1639–1723) and grandson of the Massachusetts Bay Colony's spiritual founders Richard Mather (1596–1669) and John Cotton (1585–1652), Cotton Mather was born in Boston (12 Feb. 1663), educated at Harvard (B.A. 1678; M.A. 1681), and honored with a D.D. degree from the University of Glasgow (1710). As pastor of Boston's Second Church (Congregational), he stepped into the political limelight during the colonies' version of the Glorious Revolution, when Bostonians rose against the tyranny of James II and deposed their royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros (April 1689). During the witchcraft debacle (1691–93), Mather both warned the Salem judges against admitting "spectral evidence" as grounds for indictment and, instead, advocated prayer, fasting, and reassurance as antidotes to cure the afflicted, but he also wrote New England's official defense of the court's procedures, on which his modern reputation largely depends: *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, 1693). As the Lord's remembrancer and keeper of the Puritan conscience, he wrote the grandest of American jeremiads, his epic church history of New England *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702). Like his father a staunch defender of Puritan orthodoxy, Mather persuaded Elihu Yale, a Welsh merchant and practicing Anglican, to endow Yale University (1701, 1718) as the new nursery of Puritanism, when Harvard seemed to become too liberal under the influence of John Leverett and William and Thomas Brattle, Mather's erstwhile rivals. If such endeavors bespeak Mather's partisan politics on the one hand and his transcendent thinking on the other, it was his chiliastic credo that led him to champion Pietist ecumenism, his effort

the Puritan Conscience is one of the first psychoanalytic studies of Mather's life, written by the Boases, two professors of English at Wheaton College, Massachusetts. They translated for generalist readers the many controversies surrounding Mather's life into a highly readable journalistic account unencumbered by such traditional academic tools as a table of contents, footnotes, bibliography, or index. The fashionable psychoanalytic approach of the day, however, is not without its problems. Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals* (1971). This Bancroft-Prize winning biography of the Mather dynasty is one of the finest studies covering an entire century of Puritan hegemony in New England. David Levin, *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord's Remembrancer* (1978) – along with his collection of essays in *Forms of Uncertainty* (1992) – is a sympathetic, but forthright study of Mather's accomplishments and some of the controversies surrounding his life. Written as a college-level introduction, Babette M. Levy, *Cotton Mather* (1979) is a sympathetic discussion of Mather's life and principal works, still one of the best prologues for readers unfamiliar with his complex personality. Although not a biography per se, Richard F. Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather* (1979) is still unsurpassed as a study of Mather's theological impact on the development of American religion. Finally, Kenneth Silverman, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1984) remains one of the most comprehensive studies of Mather's life. It is hoped that the appearance of the *Biblia Americana* in ten volumes over the next decade will inspire a new generation of scholars and biographers to reassess Mather's significance as scholar-theologian, an assessment that may well re-examine Jonathan Edwards's monolithic status as America's foremost theologian.

to unite not only all Christian denominations in New England, but also all Christians, Jews, and Moslems in the Orient and Occident, under the umbrella of his "Maxims of Piety" to hasten the Second Coming of Christ.

Likewise, his interest in the new sciences and in new medical theories distinguishes Mather from his American contemporaries. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London (1713) for his physico-theological contributions to the Society, his "Curiosa Americana." He popularized in his *The Christian Philosopher* (London, 1720/21) the new scientific theories of William Derham, John Ray, John Woodward, Robert Boyle, Thomas Burnet, William Whiston, and Sir Isaac Newton, and staunchly advocated a new germ theory and inoculation against smallpox – in the face of the united opposition of Boston's physicians during the epidemic of 1721. Whereas Increase Mather never quite made the transition into the Enlightenment, Cotton was well on his way; he represents the best of early Enlightenment thinking in colonial America. His contributions to the literature of the New England "Errand" are as diverse as his publications are prolific and inexhaustible. In all, he published more than 450 works on all aspects of the contemporary debate: theological, historical, biographical, political, and scientific.¹¹ It is therefore deplorable that Mather's reputation is still largely overshadowed by the specter of Salem witchcraft.

No single work of Mather's gargantuan publication record does justice to his long, productive career in New England's foremost pulpit, but several representative types afford a glimpse of his interior life and overall achievement. *The Diary of Cotton Mather* (1911–12, 1964) provides a more comprehensive insight into his volatile nature than his autobiography *Paterna* (1976), which (by and large) is extracted from his diary.¹² Often called his "Reserved Memorials," his diary is a Puritan document par excellence.¹³ It focuses on his inner life and on Mather as an instrument of divine providence. If his public persona in his sermons is overbearing and pompous by modern standards, his private persona in his diary can be modest, even unostentatious, yet passionately confessional and soul-searching. No doubt, baring his breast to public inspection was a risky business – if his Reserved Memorials were to fall into unsympathetic hands.

¹¹ Cotton Mather's son Samuel estimated the number of his father's publications at 382 (*Life* 67). The bibliographer of the Mathers, Thomas J. Holmes, raised the number of Cotton Mather's "known printed works" to 444, in *Cotton Mather: Bibliography* (1:ix). Keith Arbour identifies additional works in his article "Additions" (81–130). Some of Mather's largest manuscripts he had intended for publication were not printed until the twentieth century: *Diaries* (1911–12, 1964), *Angel of Bethesda* (1972), *Paterna* (1976), "Problema Theologicum" (1994), "Triparadisus" (1995). His largest manuscript, the tome he considered his most important work, is "Biblia Americana" (1693–1728).

¹² *The Diary of Cotton Mather* (1911–12), hereafter, *Diary 1 and 2*. *The Diary of Cotton Mather for the Year 1712* (1964), hereafter, *Diary 3*. *Paterna: The Autobiography of Cotton Mather* (1976).

¹³ D. Levin, "Misnamed Diary" (177–97) and L. A. Rosenwald, "Cotton Mather as Diarist" (129–61).

Revealing his most intimate thoughts, fears, and desires, Mather inadvertently invites modern readers to psychoanalyze and thus to misapprehend his record of meditation and introspection. For as he poured over his real and imagined sins, examined the promptings of his passions, and confided his musings to the privacy of his diary, Mather created a didactic ledger to measure his spiritual progress toward sanctification. Yet when read as a civic document intended for public consumption, his memoir becomes a goldmine for those who scour his confidential thoughts for hidden motives. Those not personally conversant with the nature of religious affections, with a Puritan's vulnerability in the process of introspection and self-humbling, with his psychological need to heighten his want of grace by deeming himself "the chief of sinners," – in short, those unaware of the psychological turmoil involved in the Puritan *ordo salutis* are likely to misjudge his acts of mortification and incessant confessions of vanity and pride as admissions of true character flaws: "*Proud Thoughts* fly-blow my best Performances!" (*Diary* 1:16), the young Mather early on confided to his diary as he consciously or unconsciously emulated St. Paul's confession (1 Tim. 1:15): "Christ came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief." The more he magnified his sin of pride and vanity, the greater his self-abasement; and the more intense his soul's agony, the more perfect his Augustinian *imitatio Christi*.¹⁴ Modern readers unacquainted with this quaint ritual are struck by this seemingly mechanical, if morbid, exercise. Unless read in small doses, Mather's private confessions may appear to be repetitious, formalistic, and ultimately insincere. Yet each of these exercises represents untold pangs of distress and breast-beating couched in the language of self-abnegation. Such, then, is his principal purpose of keeping a diary.¹⁵ The modern reception of his diaries is not the only source of his problematic reputation.

¹⁴ In his *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, Jonathan Edwards explained the psychological pitfall of one marooned in the cycle of religious introspection as follows: "[He] that is truly humble, and really sees his own vileness, and loathsomeness before God, the distance [from the sin of pride] appears the other way. When he is brought lowest of all, it does not appear to him, that he is brought below his proper station, but that he is not come to it; ... And this distance he calls pride. And therefore his pride appears great to him, and not his humility. ... The degree of humility is to be judged of by the degree of abasement, and the degree of the cause for abasement: but he that is truly and eminently humbled, never thinks his humility great, considering the cause. The cause why he should be abased appears so great, and the abasement of the frame of his heart so greatly short of it, that he takes much more notice of his pride than his humility" (*Religious Affections*, part 3, sec. 6, subsec. 3.2, in *Works* (2:333)). Benjamin Franklin, it is well known, poked fun at this spiritual exercise in his autobiography. "In reality there is perhaps no one of our natural Passions so hard to subdue as *Pride*," Franklin commented facetiously. "Disguise it, struggle with it, beat it down, stifle it, mortify it as much as one pleases, it is still alive, and will every now and then peep out and show itself. ... For even if I could conceive that I had completely overcome it, I should probably be proud of my Humility" (*Autobiography* 76).

¹⁵ See D. Leverenz, *Language of Puritan Feeling* (esp. chs. 4, 6, and 7); P. Caldwell, *Puritan Conversion Narrative* (chs. 1–2); D. B. Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography* (chs. 3–6); J. O. King, *Iron of Melancholy* (1983), and J. H. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy* (1994).

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