

SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN PURITAN PORTRAITURE

By

Linda M. Johnson

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

American Studies

2011

ABSTRACT

SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN PURITAN PORTRAITURE

By

Linda M. Johnson

Puritan portraits provide historical evidence about Puritan spirituality in American Studies scholarship. By means of an interdisciplinary methodology of formal art historical criticism, material culture studies, biblical typology, and religious historiography, this study shows a correlation between the documented textual evidence of a select group of Puritan spiritual autobiographies and the portraits of ten notable men who represent themselves as visible saints. Ideas about visible sainthood and Puritan election related to the scholarship of Janice Knight's *Intellectual Fathers and Spiritual Brethren*, John Calvin's theory of predestination and election, Reformation typology, Christian mysticism, and millennialism, as well as the implicit and explicit ideas of Neo-Medieval painterly ideals are utilized in this study.

Each man's biographical distinctions become obscured as their pictorial choices in the portraits extended their visual compositions beyond mere exhortative devices or autobiographical treatises into transcendent mystical expressions of an elected High Priesthood. In that transcendence, they strove to embody Christ's life from vocation to service in the prospect of sharing in his glory.

Human consciousness is affected by underlying motivations that may be represented in painting as repressed thoughts. Despite the Puritans familiarity with expression through language, the sheer variety of the iconography such as narrative biblical tiles, engraved silver, patterned textiles, picture Bibles, and the sophisticated imagery carved into gravestones, belies

the charge that they were iconophobic and of mindless uniformity. The selections of Puritan clerical portraits for this study are steeped in irony, heavily laden with classical and mythological motifs, as well as scriptural text, and are rich in dress choices and theological associations. Since portraits are images of contemplation, subliminal beliefs regarding visible sainthood are portrayed on the men's facades which are hidden metonymically in the style of dress, objects, emblematic conventions, posture, and gestures, embodying the different inner workings of their minds.

Copyright by
LINDA M. JOHNSON
2011

DEDICATION

To Divine Providence

To my husband whose support made this project possible.

To my children who, through their loving and lighthearted encouragement,
sustained me throughout this project.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My committee has been generous in its guidance and patience, particularly in the final stages of preparing this manuscript. This dissertation successfully presents its argument, owing to their thoughtful criticism and enthusiastic encouragement. I especially wish to thank my committee chair, Dr. C. Kurt Dewhurst of the Michigan State University Museum, for his unflagging support and longstanding belief in this project, as well as for his invaluable recommendations for my work in the museum field. He has been an exceptional mentor and I am extremely blessed to be the recipient of his guidance, knowledge, and expertise.

Dr. Amy Derogatis of the Department of Religious Studies encouraged my love of Puritan history and challenged me to answer critical questions about the men in the portraits while honoring their theology. Dr. Sally Gray of the Department of Art and Art History inspired me to look at dress and material culture and remained patient with me throughout many independent study sessions. Dr. Edward Watts of the Department of English tackled my claims with thoughtful questions and significant recommendations.

In the course of my graduate work at Michigan State University, I received three University Summer Fellowships that were submitted by the chair of my department, Dr. Anne Larabee. I thank Dr. Larabee for her continued support of my research tasks. Those grants allowed my research to continue unimpeded.

I conducted most of my research in primary documents in New England institutions. I am especially grateful for the efforts of Gigi Barnhill at the American Antiquarian Society, assistant

curator Tara Cerratini at Harvard University, and Rich Malley, head registrar at the Connecticut Historical Society.

I wish to offer my gratitude to department secretary Patience Adibe for her continued assistance in helping me address many of the college's policies. Lastly, a heartfelt and special thank you is extended to Tiffany Dziurman Stozicki. I owe the final crafted version of this dissertation to her careful and conscientious editorial assistance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
INTRODUCTION.....	1
METHODOLOGY.....	42
CHAPTER I	
John Cotton: A Portrait as Evidence.....	49
CHAPTER II	
The Council of Ministers: John Lowell's Communal Approach to Visible Sainthood.....	108
CHAPTER III	
Increase Mather and William Stoughton: Pre-Millennial Representations During the Revocation of the Massachusetts Charter 1685-1700.....	166
CHAPTER IV	
George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Ezra Stiles, and Charles Chauncy: The Variability of Visual Sainthood Adapting the Self-Image to Shifting Beliefs in Pre- and Post-Millennial Thought.....	234
CONCLUSION.....	314
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	321

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure I.1 Unsigned, <i>Richard Sibbes</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University), Oil on Canvas, c. 1630.....	25
Figure I.2 Wilhelm Van Der Vliet, <i>William Ames</i> (Cambridge: Memorial Hall, Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (27 in. x 22 in.), 1633.....	26
Figure I.3 Bishop's Miter. <i>Breeches Bible</i> , Exod. 28 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), 1599.....	27
Figure I.4 <i>John Calvin</i> (Grand Rapids: Michigan, John Calvin College), Print.....	28
Figure 1.1 Unsigned, <i>John Cotton</i> (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (33 in. x 26.5 in.), c.1649. This portrait was given to the Connecticut Historical society at Hartford by General Samuel L. Pitkin in 1844. Albert Bates, Librarian of the Society, wrote: "The portrait was presented to the Society in December, 1844, by Gen. Samuel L. Pitkin of East Hartford with the statement that it was a portrait of Increase Mather."	80
Figure 1.2 The "under painted" portrait of John Cotton. Shadow Graph.....	81
Figure 1.3 The "under painted" John Cotton. Shadow Graph.....	81
Figure 1.4 <i>John Cotton</i> (American Antiquarian Society). Black and White Mezzotint.....	82
Figure 1.5 Self-portrait, <i>Thomas Smith, American</i> (Worcester, Massachusetts: Worcester Museum), Oil on Canvas (24.5 in. x 23.75 in.), c. 1680.....	83
Figure 1.6 Charles Osgood, <i>John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1587/88- 1649</i> , (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University/ Winthrop House), Oil on Canvas (30 1/8 in. x 25 1/16 in.).....	84
Figure 1.7 Peter Pelham, <i>Cotton Mather</i> (Worcester: Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society), 1727. Pelham based this mezzotint on his earlier portrait of Mather (cat. 78).....	85
Figure 1.8 Illustration showing male neck collars. Doriece Colle, <i>Collars, Stocks, Cravats: A History and Costume Dating Guide to Civilian Men's Neckpieces 1655-1900</i> (Emmaus, Pennsylvania: Rodale Press, 1972), 17.....	86

Figure 1.9 Amice. Charles Herbermann, ed., “Amice” in <i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i> (Robert Appleton Co., 1913.....	87
Figure 1.10 A Puritan Gravestone in Hartford Connecticut Burial Ground.....	88
Figure 1.11 Levitical Ephod. <i>Geneva Bible</i> , Exod. 28 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition.....	89
Figure 2.1 Nathaniel Emmons, <i>The Council of Ministers</i> (Cambridge: Harvard Art Museum/Fogg Museum), Oil on Panel (77.3 cm. x 106.1 cm. unframed), 1744.....	141
Figure 2.2 Close up of Rev. John Lowell as seen in Fig. 2.1.....	142
Figure 2.3 Nathaniel Emmons, <i>John Lowell, Reverend (1704-1767)</i> (Cambridge: Harvard University Portrait Collection) oil on panel (36.7 cm. x 26.5 cm.), 1728. Signed across bottom, “NEmmons Pinx & Fecit AE tat: 24:1728.”.....	143
Figure 2.4 Rev. John Lowell Papers, <i>Diagram of The Council of Ministers</i> (Cambridge: Harvard Art Museum/Fogg Museum, 1744).....	144
Figure 2.5 Close up of the Bible as seen in Fig. 2.1.....	145
Figure 2.6 “The Golden Candelsticke,” <i>Geneva Bible</i> , Exod. 25 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition), 35.....	146
Figure 2.7 “The Altar of Swete Perfume,” <i>Geneva Bible</i> , Exod. 30 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition), 32.....	146
Figure 2.8 “The Table of the Shewe Bread,” <i>Geneva Bible</i> , Exod. 25 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition), 36.....	146
Figure 2.9 Bishop’s Miter. <i>Breeches Bible</i> , Exod. 28 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), 1599.....	147
Figure 2.10 <i>Overmantel from the Moses Marcy House</i> (Southbridge, Massachusetts).....	148
Figure 2.11 John Greenwood, <i>Sea Captains Carousing in Surinam</i> (St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum), Oil on Bed Ticking (37.75 in. x 75.25 in.), 1758.....	149

Figure 2.12 Nathaniel Emmons, <i>John Lowell, Reverend (1704-1767)</i> (Cambridge: Harvard University Portrait Collection) Grisaille Oil on Panel (36.7 cm. x 26.5 cm.), 1728. Signed across bottom, "NEmmons Pinx & Fecit AE tat: 24:1728."	150
Figure 2.13 Close up of dark-haired minister as seen in Fig. 2.1	151
Figure 2.14 Close up of opposing aviary features, ravens, and storks as seen in Fig. 2.1	152
Figure 3.1 Unsigned, <i>William Stoughton</i> (Boston: University Hall, Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (50.25 in. x 42 in.), c. 1700	203
Figure 3.2 Three-quarter-length view. Jan ver der Spriett, <i>Increase Mather</i> (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688	204
Figure 3.3 John Foster, <i>Richard Mather</i> (Worcester, Massachusetts, The American Antiquarian Society), Woodcut, 1670	205
Figure 3.4 Unsigned, <i>William Stoughton</i> (Boston: University Hall, Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (50.25 in. x 42 in.), c. 1700	206
Figure 3.5 Three-quarter-length view. Jan ver der Spriett, <i>Increase Mather</i> (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688	207
Figure 3.6 The word Ecclesias Jan ver der Spriett, <i>Increase Mather</i> (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688	208
Figure 3.7 The word Chap. Jan ver der Spriett, <i>Increase Mather</i> (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688	208
Figure 3.8 <i>Ichabod</i> sermon. Jan ver der Spriett, <i>Increase Mather</i> (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688	209
Figure 3.9 Pocket watch. Jan ver der Spriett, <i>Increase Mather</i> (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688	209
Figure 3.10 Johann Keresboom, <i>Robert Boyle</i> , 1689 (London: British Historical Portraits, Cambridge University Press, 1957)	210

Figure 3.11 A nonconformist minister. Janet Mayo, <i>A History of Ecclesiastical Dress</i> , 78.....	211
Figure 3.12. A Puritan Gravestone in Hartford Connecticut Burial Ground.....	212
Figure 3.13 The Fallen Bands. Jan ver der Spriett, <i>Increase Mather</i> (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688.....	213
Figure 3.14 Serpentine Cord. Unsigned, <i>William Stoughton</i> (Boston: University Hall, Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (50.25 in. x 42 in.), c. 1700.....	214
Figure 4.1 Joseph Badger, <i>Reverend George Whitefield ca. 1743-1765</i> (Cambridge: Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (42 in. x 32 7/8 in.).....	282
Figure 4.2 George Whitefield Funeral Broadside (Massachusetts Historical Society, 1922), Collections 75, No. 1157.....	283
Figure 4.3 John Wollaston, <i>George Whitefield</i> (New York: The Granger Collection, 1742), Oil on Canvas.....	283
Figure 4.4 <i>Reverend George Whitefield: Chaplin to the Countess of Huntingdon</i> (Winterthur Museum), Engraving.....	284
Figure 4.5 Samuel G. Goodrich, <i>George Whitefield Preaching to a Gathering Outdoors</i> in “Pictorial History of America” (Hartford, 1846).....	284
Figure 4.6 “Tiara” Crown of Life. Joseph Badger, <i>Reverend George Whitefield ca. 1743-1765</i> (Cambridge: Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (42 in. x 32 7/8 in.).....	285
Figure 4.7 John Ferguson Weir, <i>Jonathan Edwards c. 1746</i> (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas.....	286
Figure 4.8 Joseph Badger, <i>Jonathan Edwards c. 1751</i> (Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University), Oil on Canvas.....	287
Figure 4.9 Collar/Book. John Ferguson Weir, <i>Jonathan Edwards c. 1746</i> (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas.....	288
Figure 4.10 Joseph Badger, <i>Jonathan Edwards c. 1751</i> (Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University), Oil on Canvas.....	288

Figure 4.11. Nathaniel Smibert, <i>Ezra Stiles</i> (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas, 1756.....	289
Figure 4.12. Samuel King, <i>Ezra Stiles</i> (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas, 1771.....	290
Figure 4.13. Close up of Tetragrammaton. Samuel King, <i>Ezra Stiles</i> (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas, 1771.....	291
Figure 4.14. Reuben Moulthrop, <i>Ezra Stiles</i> (Rhode Island: Redwood Library), Oil on Canvas, 1749.....	292
Figure 4.15. Unsigned, <i>Reverend Charles Chauncy. c. 1786</i> (Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (79.4 cm. x 72.2 cm).....	293

Introduction

Puritans believed history was the arena of divine activity and that political events did not transpire in random fashion, but rather according to God's plan. Puritans, a term coined after 1590, addressed two divisions of church polity in Old and New England: the non-separating Puritans who were unsatisfied with the Reformation of the Church of England, yet decided to remain within the church in order to push for more reforms, and the separating Puritans or Separatists or Dissenters who believed that because the Church of England was so corrupt, true Christians should separate from it altogether.

The term "nonconformist" generally replaced the term "dissenter" in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹ Both non-separating and separating Puritans adopted a reformed theology in the sense they were Calvinists, but each group advocated greater "purity" of worship and doctrine, as well as personal and group piety developed from radical views critical of Huldrych Zwingli in Zurich and John Calvin in Geneva. Despite the Great Migration of the 1630s, Puritans who travelled to New England were non-separatists who supported the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.² Because they were Puritans in a new country, their views on church governance differed from those remaining in the British Isles. New England Puritans sought both individual and corporate conformity to the teachings of the Bible, emphasizing the need for self-examination and strict accountancy for one's feelings and actions.

George Whitefield, an Anglican revivalist, was a nonconformist who charged that his church had abandoned the Calvinist teachings on which it had been established.³ As a result, he met opposition from the Anglican hierarchy. In the 1740s, Whitefield sailed to the colonies at the invitation of revival preacher Jonathan Edwards, who, like Whitefield, was convinced America

was the chosen place for the advent of the millennium.⁴ Some scholars, including Richard Bushman, argue that the transition of Puritanism as a religious movement to the evangelical Congregationalism of the early eighteenth century occurred as early as 1690. Whitefield's reputation as a nonconformist, however, was well known in New England and his charismatic methods were unprecedented in that they helped to change the perception that Puritan ecclesiastical orthodoxy was the law of divine sanction; the power which gave Puritan ministers the right to address their congregants' personal "election."⁵

The incessant drive to be certain of one's election and share in the second coming of Christ was partly determined by the congregant's moral conduct, which included obedience to those in authority. Congregations experiencing spiritual lethargy, however, were already discontent with clerical authority.⁶ Whitefield's preaching encouraged his audience since resistance to the Puritan ministry had already undermined their confidence in achieving personal salvation.⁷

According to Bushman, Whitefield told everyone what they already knew; that they had broken the law and that impulses beyond their control drove them to resist divine authority. Estrangement from rulers was demoralizing. Confronting this guilt was the first step in acknowledging that they were no longer culpable.⁸ The revivalists undermined their main source of guilt not by repudiating law and authority, but by denying the Puritan ministers sanctifying power. The authority of Christ, given as unconditional grace, nullified all earthly authority.⁹

Ironically, revivalist preachers like Whitefield had much in common with the Puritan ecclesiastical guard. Whitefield based the foundation of his message on the Puritan belief in utter depravity and complete dependence on grace.¹⁰ However, in making peace with the guilt over

their disobedience, converts revolted against law and authority. Therefore, experiential religion advocated by revivalist preachers like Whitefield diminished ecclesiastical authority. Bushman argues that the true revolutionary aspect of the Great Awakening, the revitalization of religious piety that swept through the American colonies between the 1730s and the 1770s, was the dilution of divine sanction in traditional institutions and the investiture of authority in some inward individual experience, all of which led to various divisions in Congregationalism.¹¹

In seventeenth-and eighteenth-century New England, spiritual autobiography resembled the Puritan conversion narrative described by Patricia Caldwell as an individual record primarily concerned with the moments leading up to receiving “saving” grace.¹² It was more comprehensive for self-examination to include any and all experiences of one’s spiritual life. In comparing this genre to the conversion narrative, Daniel Shea writes, “the autobiography differed in that it was organized into a schematic story form widely separated in time portraying usually, but not always, chronologically, the psychological and moral changes in everyday existence which the autobiographer comes to discern in his past experience.”¹³ As a result, the autobiography produced conventional outcomes and mechanical patterns. Shea affirms that the stages succeed one another so nearly according to ideal form that a modern historian of the Puritans can safely offer a single narrative as representative of hundreds of others which indicates the uniformity of its structure and vocabulary in the seventeenth century.¹⁴ Yet because personal experiences vary, some aspects of autobiography were distinct.

Shea’s assertion that spiritual autobiographies cross genre boundaries is significant. His close readings of atypical forms of autobiography and his exploration of texts such as poetry, journals, and diaries from marginal biographers like Nathan Cole and poets like Ann Bradstreet, prove his claim.¹⁵ But autobiography can take other forms as well, including portraiture. The

repetition of familiar patterns of conviction, repentance, and the receiving of grace as written in Puritan spiritual autobiographies is also found in portraits and provides yet another way to decipher Puritan spiritual expression.¹⁶ The vivid display of emblems and the material expressions in Puritan portraits embodies a similar mystical strain found in Puritan spiritual autobiographies. The portraits express, in graphic images, the Puritan concept Edmund Morgan identifies as “visible sainthood.”¹⁷

This phenomenon of “election” or “visible sainthood,” unattainable by human volition, was the work of saving grace in which God’s freely given grace led to the salvation of men.¹⁸ Though it could not assist in moving a man toward salvation, sanctification or improvement of his behavior could also be a “clue” that he was a visible saint. This may have provided the assurance (although tentative) of knowing one was predestined as the elect and could be admitted to a church community as a visible saint. Though assumed to be a visible saint, the spiritual autobiographer, however, understood that in Calvinist predestination theology the only way to be sure was to live a life of uncertainty and frequent self-examination consisting of conviction and repentance. The Puritans inherited the Calvinist belief in predestination, which maintained that God had determined in advance those who were saved and those who were damned.¹⁹ Morgan states that in order to reach the assuredness of visible sainthood, an individual had to undergo a process for which he called “morphology of conversion,” which preparationists such as William Perkins and his student, William Ames, had spelled out in manuals eagerly read in New England.²⁰ Morgan affirms Calvin’s recognition that it would be impossible in this world to form a reliable opinion about whether or not one was a visible saint, even though New Englanders established exhaustive checkpoints for self-examination and detailed steps by which

to measure one's progress.²¹ Morgan lists a few of Calvin's "clues of assurance" as familiar experiences anxious Christians believed were indicative of salvation. He qualified that assurance, however, by noting that "Calvin had made it clear that justification (the imputation of Christ's righteousness to man) depended on faith, not works, and that sanctification (the gradual improvement of a man's behavior in obedience to God) was the product of justification rather than the cause of it."²²

Puritanism then, was a form of covenant theology which offered New Englanders the means to achieve salvation by entering, voluntarily, into a binding agreement (virtually a legal contract) with God who promised to give them the faith necessary to experience conversion, in return for total obedience to literal Biblical law.²³ Accepting this fact in the shadow of predestination was characteristic of the Puritan experience of conversion, which provided "regeneration" or God's saving grace only through a new birth in Christ, which was the best hope for personal salvation. Puritanism as a whole attempted to make the visible church a spiritual approximation of the Kingdom of God.²⁴ The thematic elements embodied in the clerics' portraits speak more about the journey of their souls than their physical likenesses, and may be among the ways Puritan clergy and their associates documented not only a physical and psychological biographical account of their lives, but a spiritual one as well.

This study of spiritual autobiography in Puritan portraiture uses examinations in art history, material culture studies, biblical typology, and religious historiography to show a connection between the portraits of ten notable Puritan men and their spiritual autobiographies in the years between 1649 and 1794. The selection of a few images out of hundreds for this study was aided, in part, by the scholarship of Janice Knight, who divides the leadership within Puritan orthodoxy into two categories: The Intellectual Fathers, headed by William Ames (the

Amesians), and The Spiritual Brethren, represented by Richard Sibbes (the Sibbesians).²⁵ In the portraits compiled thus far, Knight's Intellectual Fathers have yielded fewer symbols and descriptive texts than those of the Spiritual Brethren. Two images of Ezra Stiles, single images of William Ames, John Winthrop, William Stoughton, and Charles Chauncy and a group portrait depicting Rev. John Lowell, represent the Intellectual Fathers; portraits of Richard Sibbes, John Cotton, Increase Mather, Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield and one of Ezra Stiles, the Spiritual Brethren. A portrait of Whitefield is included as a transitional figure and is representative of the convergence of Puritan orthodoxy with the "New Light" experientialism of the early eighteenth century which transformed Puritans into Congregational New Englanders.²⁶ The portraits of Lowell, Edwards, Stiles, and Chauncy embody diverse religious ideas and concepts during this period of congregational evangelicalism.

Situating the portraits in the personal and historical context of their "religious awakenings" demonstrates both similar and dissimilar conceptual ideas. Additionally, this study explores how portraits were modified over time, showing how ideas about election had advanced. Changes in the individual portraits show how the men's self-image adapted to changing religious and scientific ideas, restructuring beliefs of strict Reformed doctrine and "New Light" experientialism in a period that was making reason the criterion of faith. While the images depict a colorful palette of doctrinal alteration, these men continued to represent themselves as the elect or visible saints in the wake of challenges to Puritan doctrine. The portraits depict a renewed emphasis on Christian experience, as well as an inclination to regard conversion and personal accounts of regeneration as authentic. In making reason the criterion of faith, these portraits can be viewed as indirect historical verification of the fellowship between the men and their ideas, which transcended disagreements over fine points of doctrine and

polity.²⁷ The men in these portraits are fictive constructions of an imagined election that depended on the community for grace as well as power. They are statements of philosophy or religious expectation, and iconographical expressions of the concepts of grace, resurrection, and salvation, which lay at the heart of Puritan belief.

While this is a study of male portraiture, numerous portraits of women are extant and may be explored in a future project. Even though the subject is too broad for this study, it is reasonable to conclude that, because of the number of portraits produced, the demand existed if only for private need and that the images were both similar and dissimilar in composition to the portraits of their male counterparts. In a historical inquiry the composition of their images would depend on the shifting cultural values and preconceived ideas of gender under the vestiges of Puritan male authority. The portraits of the women (wives, daughters, and extended family members) related to Winthrop, Cotton, Mather, Stiles, and Edwards are extant. At the time Cotton's portrait was presented to the Connecticut Historical Society in 1844, Gen. Samuel Pitkin presented a portrait of Rev. Cotton Mather's third wife, Anne. He also presented a copy he had made from an original portrait of Mary Lord, an ancestor of his mother, Sarah Parsons, who was born in 1764 and was the great-granddaughter of Rev. Eleazer Mather, Increase Mather's brother.

The selection of male clerical portraits are steeped in irony, heavy with classical and mythological motifs as well as scriptural text, and are rich in dress choices and theological associations. Biographical distinctions are relevant and valuable when a reductionist type of interpretation is required, and are used to discern or classify images chronologically and empirically when time and space and historical context are important. While a portrait is two-dimensional in form it can be generally an all-inclusive pictorial narrative, representing the vast world of material culture and incorporating important societal beliefs and trends. In the portraits,

depictions of dress, decorative arts, reading materials, personal emblems and mottos tell a rich and varied story about the sitter. The interdisciplinary methodologies of art history, material culture studies, biblical typology, and religious historiography help interpret not only the objects, patrons, and the portraits themselves, but the repetition, combination, and integration of symbols and emblems which elicit a typological and Christological reading. This method of analysis, along with knowledge of decorative art theory, is essential to understanding the portraits as spiritual autobiographies. In order to understand how the individuals in these portraits expressed or shaped their experiences, ideas, and values, and how they may have used, viewed, or possessed portraits in terms of their cultural preferences, this study demonstrates an interdisciplinary methodology. Three types of primary sources are also used: scholarly discourses; descriptive literature, such as sermons, diaries, and letters; and ten portraits with supporting illustrations.

Interdisciplinary Support

Psychoanalyzing art in order to answer questions about the human ego, mind, and society as a whole, provides a rich and varied examination of the products of culture. Paintings, for example, may exhibit an artist's or subject's underlying motivations or repressed thoughts (repression is a result of negative emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, that surfaces in concepts such as projection, displacement, and sublimation.) Psychoanalysis has, at various times, been used to address the content or subject-matter of individual works of art, the relationship of individual works of art to the artists who created them, and the relationship of the viewer to the image, as well as the creative nature of art itself.²⁸

Art historians Jules David Prown and Kenneth Haltman have conducted psychoanalyses of paintings by looking for thematic inconsistencies and binary oppositions in them that may

suggest some of the most persistent object metaphors express particular beliefs.²⁹ The ten portraits in this study express ideas about “certainty” (election) and “doubt” (covenantal conditions), as well as Puritan beliefs about representing oneself as a visible saint. The portraits express such beliefs using a visual language, as seen in the spatial and compositional elements, as well as metaphors as determined by formal analysis.³⁰ For example, displacement of inner thought is shown using light and dark shadowing, reflection, immediacy of the subject to the picture plane, and in how the thematic elements relate to one another. Thoughts of the patron’s certainty or doubt of his election may be projected onto clothing, as well as objects and gestures. The premise is that the configuration or composition of an artifact in the paintings corresponds to patterns of thought in the mind of the producer(s) and of the society in which they belonged.

Prown’s material culture methodology includes description, deduction, and speculation of the object whether in two- or three-dimensional form.³¹ Description is restricted to what can be observed in the object itself by analyzing form, content and context and then classifying the portraits chronologically and empirically. Deduction is the relationship between the object and the perceiver. This involves a sensory engagement of the object (in the case of a portrait it is empathetic), followed by an intellectual engagement and an emotional response. Speculation is analysis by the perceiver, which Prown states involves as much creative imagining as possible to form an interpretive hypothesis within the boundaries of common sense, judgment, and research involving diverse allied disciplines.³² While analysis of style and formal data embodied in the portraits of the ten clerics may not always provide new information, applying Prown’s method does provide a more subjective and affective mode of inquiry triggered by sensory perceptions.³³

Any changes or decisions in the representations of dress, emblem, gesture, and posture in portraiture is affected by the subject and depicts a shift in religious and cultural values.³⁴

Dress and textiles are among the most important signifiers of one's status. The use of expensive lace, billowing drapery, table rugs, and pulpit cushions are seen in the portraits of the "self-effacing" men chosen for this project. Calvin acquiesced that the prophets of the Old Testament were known by a certain and peculiar form of cloak, and therefore "doctors" or teachers might reasonably differ from others in dress so long as they kept to gravity and modesty.³⁵ Aileen Ribeiro's research, as well as that of other notable dress historians, supports Prown's speculation method and assists this study by deciphering fact from fiction, particularly in the examination of the shape and style of the men's clerical collars; as the fallen bands may be stylistic descendents of the mystical ephod of the Levitical High Priesthood and heir to the Roman liturgical amice.³⁶ In this study, different types of clerical collars – their translucence, shape, length, or lack of finish and starch – are viewed as embellishment in male dress. The proximity of the collar to the throat and head, for example, suggests a type of emblem recognizable to a culturally-well-read audience.

Spiritual Brethren and the Intellectual Fathers

While both the Spiritual Brethren and The Intellectual Fathers documented their spiritual experiences in different forms of autobiography, Knight states that the Spiritual Brethren not only embellished, in ecstatic language, their union with God, but described it as an expression of Divine love freely given by God, in contrast to the steps of preparation (not works) that The Intellectual Fathers alleged were necessary for justification.³⁷ The data collected from the images in this study demonstrate a similar change in emphasis, as the Spiritual Brethren enhanced not only their language, but their portraits with the addition of text and emblem.

Knight affirms that experiencing the passive infusion of grace, better known as the conversion process, fostered a certainty about personal salvation, counter to the doubt (covenantal conditions) of one's election that is more particular to Spiritual Brethren.³⁸ "When I read Richard Sibbes and John Cotton, for example," writes Knight, "I find a passionate mysticism in place; an emphasis on charity at odds with the logic of contract; an expansive communalism counter to tribal nationalism."³⁹

Sacvan Bercovitch's research of the typological framework linking a Judeo-Christian world-view to Puritan belief supports Knight's theories, as well as those in this study, that these men were depicted in their portraits as visible saints in the wake of pre-, post-, and a-millennial ideas of judgment.⁴⁰ The adaptation of typology was important to Puritan belief allowing the Christians to preserve the Old Testament. Typological interpretation insisted that all the events in scripture had occurred, but had been symbolic, as well as historical, true prophecies. Puritans favored typological schemes according to an archetype derived from the lives of individual heroes, saints, and prophets prefiguring the First coming of Christ in the New Testament. Similarly, the New Testament contains a pre-figurative model for the history of mankind's future redemption.

The reformed clerics in this project viewed the American colony as a type of Israel and themselves as prophets who participated in the future of the New Jerusalem. Bercovitch elaborates upon Morgan's term "visible sainthood" and describes this new identity as *imitatio Christi*, an attempt to obliterate what Puritan discourse termed "the self" or "ego."⁴¹ The richness of sacred images inherited from an Elizabethan-tradition encompassed many narratives from Hebrew Scripture, which typologically corresponded to the Book of Revelation influencing Puritan visual imagination producing various forms of Puritan iconography in material form. The

Spiritual Brethren's identity of *imitatio Christi* is further developed in the style and partition of the clerical collar which bears a symbolic resemblance to the rent veil in the Holy of Holies which represents Christ as the New Testament revelation.

Richard Sibbes (1577-1635) & William Ames (1576-1633)

Knight affirms that The Intellectual Fathers like William Ames made preparationism the center of their pastoralism, while the Spiritual Brethren more often focused on the immediacy of God's transformative love.⁴² The Intellectual Fathers also believed God's covenant was conditional and insisted on Christian works as evidence of election.⁴³ Compared to the Spiritual Brethren, The Intellectual Fathers were less interested in the international church than in their own congregation and were essentially pre-or a-millennial.⁴⁴ "They had little sense of participating in a prophetic errand into the wilderness," writes Knight, "and had no particular commitment to advancing the coming of Christ's kingdom."⁴⁵ Knight also states that this difference in doctrinal application diminished the mystical strain of Puritan piety originally associated with Augustinianism.⁴⁶

Richard Sibbes or the "Sibbesians" differed from their orthodox counterparts in becoming more emotional, "even mystical," in their writings, stressing divine benevolence and the passive infusion of grace over God's conditional power.⁴⁷ The term "mysticism" is related to Puritan theology as an affective knowledge seen within the autobiography as the writer embraces an experience of union in following the life of Christ, *imitatio Christi*. Mystical knowledge has usually been demonstrated in the extraordinary experiences of visionaries and ecstatic.⁴⁸ But according to Dennis Tamburello, the term can also be used to include all those who seek a

personal and passionate devotion to the divine.⁴⁹ Tamburello argues that the feeling of being “quickened” and ravished by Christ was not unique to mystical poets, but was characteristic of common practice even if the intensity was infrequent.⁵⁰ He explores Calvin’s understanding of the term “*unio mystica*,” which frequently was expressed as being “engrafted into Christ’s body,” a mystical notion which nevertheless adhered with the ideas of justification and sanctification.⁵¹

Knight argues that for the Spiritual Brethren the transformation of the soul was neither incremental nor dependent on exercises of spiritual discipline.⁵² How these doctrinal positions are metonymically embodied in their portraits is explored by using Prown’s deduction and speculation methods, which reveal oppositional findings similar to Knight’s which state that both portraits serve as contrasting mystical paradigms. Both portraits are didactic in nature, yet only one communicates through an eschatological framework the hope (and assurance) of justification and the promise of eternal glory. Through the choice of dress and emblem, a typological and Christological analysis combined with the men’s understanding of New England’s role in the broader context of Christian salvation history, this study demonstrates that the representation of Sibbes is mystical, revealing the certainty of his election, in contrast to Ames’ (covenantal conditions) doubt.

Dress is important to describe one’s transcendence to loftier ideals. Dress consumes the canvas in Sibbes’ portrait as he draws attention to himself in the translucent brilliance, as well as the abundance of the linen and lace that embellishes his cap and slightly parted multi-layered ruff.⁵³ A seventeenth-century collar encircles his neck and lies across the epaulettes of his fashionable seventeenth-century male suit known as a black doublet.⁵⁴ Sibbes makes the

decision to go without a wig and instead allows wispy curls of his golden hair to peek out from a snug black cap which is brightly trimmed with pointed lace.⁵⁵

Sibbes' portrait is unidentified as he renounces his identity for one of greater being. The representation of the gossamer lace of his falling ruff seems lightweight, ethereal with the delicacy of a veil, wafting slowly as if rising and falling about the neck. His ruff does not appear static but fluid, as if it could spin and flutter joining the wing-capped sleeves in a heavenly ascent floating to the top of the canvas, disembodied, over the top of his black doublet which dissolves into the background of the painting. Sibbes' depiction is unique in that all other male conventional accoutrements such as gloves, leggings, wigs, books, or gloves are forfeited in attempt to draw the viewer's eyes upward as he takes his flight. His cap resembles the miter of a High Priest as the "Heavenly Sibbes" invites his viewers into the Holy of Holies through the Temple Veil of the New Covenant (fig. I.3).

Samuel Mather, noted theologian and brother of Increase, was well aware of the significance of the clothing in the Levitical priesthood and set out in his discourse titled *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* to discuss its metaphorical associations.⁵⁶ In the chapter "The Gospel of the Priest's Holy Garments," he refuted the idea of scripture as an allegory and instead saw it as historical truth while applying his own imagined and unconscious metaphorical meanings of the nine holy garments of Levitical dress from the Book of Exodus. In it he describes the Levitical Miter stating its main purpose was to foreshadow the "crowne of life" in New Testament theology: "He who hath a Miter upon his head; He is a Royal Priest, Both King and Priest; He reconciles us effectually, and intercedes with Power, as a Prince prevailing with the Lord."⁵⁷ While Mather cautioned that "temporal things do not prefigure temporal" he did argue that the outward crown shadowed forth the spiritual Kingdom and regal dignity of Jesus

Christ. He stated that holy attire was typical (in the typological rendering of the word) and “shadowy” and of a great significance. He affirms, “Therefore now that Christ has come in his Divine Glory this external pomp and splendor of bodily apparel is ceased and vanished away with the rest of the ceremonies, by the appearance of the son of Righteousness.”⁵⁸

Drawing on the precept of typology and Prown’s speculation hypothesis, Sibbes’ laced cap represents the fulfillment of God’s evolutionary plan symbolized as the “crowne of life” expected to be bequeathed to the elect at the end of time as particularly described in Rev. 2:13. Wearing the royal “Miter,” Sibbes becomes an *imitatio Christi*, the royal priest-king laboring for the communion of saints in the international church. Viewing his cap as a metaphorical mode of dress in alignment with formal analysis, it becomes a tangible vehicle for spiritual truths as an outward form of Sibbes’ inner grace, transforming his image into a type of Christ, an *imitatio Christi*. Bercovitch affirms Puritan identification with the Old Testament:

Reformers insisted on an Christological reading of Scripture, they demanded a precise spiritual correspondence between the history of the Hebrews and the life of the believer. Like Christ, the Bible could be rightly perceived only by one who had transformed himself in His image. And like the process of that transformation, the story of Israel had its telos in the Christ-centered event.⁵⁹

Sibbes has no earthly hands or feet in which to continue his mortal work and has resigned himself to only spirit, as noted by his disembodied head rising above to the top of the canvas, vying for room in the picture space.

The half-length standing figure of Ames sports similar male dress and is depicted with his right hand clutching a pair of brown leather gloves and an unidentified document, while his left hand is placed across his chest.⁶⁰ White sleeves peek out from a similar doublet-like suit. A cloak hangs across his shoulders and is slightly draped along his left shoulder.⁶¹ His heavy cloak appears utilitarian at best, hanging downward lacking the fluidity and voluminous draping of

Renaissance convention.⁶² Ames' modest starched, linen ruff is in contrast to Sibbes' generous folds of lace and appears solid, opaque, firm and static without an aperture, binding his head with his body. His short brown hair reveals his ears and is covered by a round black cap. Short locks on men were popular during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Hair was lengthened to the neck and shoulders in the 1620s.⁶³ Wilcox states more orthodox or "fanatic" Puritans of England cut their hair short and round, barely covering their ears to show scorn against those who wore ringlets or "lovelocks" and ribbons. Ames hairstyle positions him as a "Roundhead" in the category of conservative tradition.⁶⁴ Sibbes' tendrils may depict his moderate stance.

Ames' body is painted below the top of the canvas seemingly pushed down to the bottom of the frame. His connection to worldly affairs is represented by his long, dark brown gloves and the folded piece of paper grasped in the same hand, while the fingers of his left hand point upward against his chest. Any ideas regarding a passive infusion of grace or "mystical transcendence" are aborted and blocked by his mortal identity and occupation stated at the apex of the canvas: "Rev.d William Ames.D.D." At the left of his head is written "AETATIS" and at the right, "Ag. 57, 1633."⁶⁵ Ames remains fixed in his idea of preparation and locked into the boundaries of his portrait. These overt conventions are telling and demonstrate an "election tension" between the pairs of portraits to follow in this project. Sermons and personal diaries historicize the construction of the paintings.

Anxieties about "visible sainthood" are expressed throughout Sibbes' and Ames' portraits. Their opposing beliefs, for example, are revealed in dress and emblem, as well as in such painting techniques as vertical and horizontal composition, plays of light and dark color, up and down lines, hard and soft surfaces, transparent and opaque materials, and body position.⁶⁶ These portraits serve as veritable representations of Puritan clerics and embody a typological and

Christological approach to visible sainthood, documented in a visual language used as the benchmark from which analysis of the remaining ten portraits develops.

Puritan Iconoclasm/Puritan Desire

While it might seem unusual to use images as a way to understand Puritan theology, one associated with iconoclasm, this study challenges previous notions of Protestantism and the arts and the belief that images were forbidden. According to Ilja M. Veldman, the Puritan's use of the Calvinistic doctrine supported a set of theological positions about the legitimacy of visual images and the degree of ornamentation specifically within churches that set it apart from Lutheranism and Catholicism.⁶⁷ The most outspoken of these critics was Calvin, who interpreted the prohibition of graven images in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 as the subject of the Second Commandment. He affirmed that veneration of many of the "signs and symbols" of Christianity was idolatry.⁶⁸

Philip Benedict's translation of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion 1.11* stated that Calvin devoted a long chapter of the first book to these propositions: "It is Unlawful to Attribute a Visible Form to God, and Generally Whoever Sets Up Idols Revolts against the True God."⁶⁹ According to Benedict, the chapter stresses, "That any figurative representation of a purely spiritual God is a betrayal of both the character and the commandments of the divinity."⁷⁰ He refers to Calvin's statements that images in churches are a standing invitation to idolatry and examples of the most abandoned lust and obscenity."⁷¹ According to Calvin, the divine could not be described, and spiritual things should therefore not be depicted in material form. God was not to be portrayed because he could not be perceived by the human eye.

Ironically, Calvinism promoted a different kind of relationship with visual materials; doing away with ecclesiastical patronage increased a demand for private works of art.⁷² Recent scholarship shows Reformed theology acted as a creative force that shaped an alternate aesthetic in art within post-reformation Europe and North America.⁷³ Calvin stressed the distinction of using images between private homes and churches and allowed illustrations of biblical texts, mainly New Testament and Old Testament stories of morality, in private homes in the form of biblical tiles, paintings, silver, textiles, and Bibles.⁷⁴ In Benedict's translation of the *Institutes* 1.11.12, Calvin states, "I am not so scrupulous as to think no images are to be tolerated."⁷⁵ Calvin implied that artists should avoid attempts to represent those mysteries beyond sensory perception and argued that artists should use their gifts to produce histories, aspects of nature, and forms of bodies for teaching and pleasure.⁷⁶ Calvin himself agreed to have his portrait painted during his lifetime, which had a legitimate and proper use as a memorial (fig. I.4).⁷⁷

Portraiture fits neatly within the acceptable subjects of Northern European Calvinistic art and culture. As an art and a craft, portraiture was a well-established genre hailing from a Renaissance tradition.⁷⁸ When privately commissioned portraits hung in colleges, homes, or public buildings, they were fulfilling their purpose by providing examples of virtue and demonstrating the power and authority of leaders. Under the context of Protestant patronage Mary Winkler states, "The portrait was an exercise in empiricism, a kind of visual report about a particular individual, and Renaissance patrons used portraits as family documents to record marriages, births, the rise of family fortunes, the loss of family members."⁷⁹ In 1672, Samuel Mather, in a revealing comment about what was permissibly excluded from the Second Commandment's ban on graven images, argued that, "The Civil use of Images is lawful for the

representation and remembrance of a person absent, for honor and Civil worship to any worthy person.”⁸⁰ As long as portraits were dismissed as a legitimate art form relegated to the status of a craft or document, portrait painting proliferated, becoming more useful than other kinds of painting associated with extravagance.⁸¹

Accusations about vain glory in portraits are not inconsistent with Calvinist theology. Calvin’s observation that “there is nothing that man’s nature seeks more eagerly than to be flattered,” may reveal tension in Puritan life, which is captured in portraits by an artist who, in an attempt to explore the character in one’s countenance, risked creating a form of idolatry.⁸² While portrait painting was unanimously accepted, less expensive, and smaller in scale, the stylistic methods and decisions made in representing a “worthy” person were arbitrary at best, and ripe for creative embellishment.

Chapter Summaries

Methodology: “The Selection of Puritan Portraits, Methodology, Data Collection, and Evidence,” describes the process of choosing the single portraits and the one group portrait for this study, the reasons for the types of data collected, and the decisions made in compiling evidence of visible sainthood. Approximately 184 images of portraits or prints and 217 images from various published sources were cataloged. Each image was reviewed for its amount and repetition of emblems, objects, and choices in male dress, as well as how it recorded the manner of the subject’s posture, gesture, and settings, disclosing the transmission of style. Each male image was photographed and then documented regionally and chronologically under two rubrics, Module #1: Quantitative Analysis of Portraits and Quantitative Analysis of Prints, and Module #2: Quantitative Analysis of Portraits/Supportive Material Culture Evidence and Quantitative Analysis of Prints/Supportive Material Culture Evidence. Common patterns in objects such as

dress, as well as distinct items painted in the images were noted within each time period and then eliminated or retained based on their complexity, variances, and atypical information. The combination of picture and text proved intriguing in many portraits as did the dress preferences and amount of personal objects and settings chosen.

In Chapter I: “John Cotton: A Portrait as Evidence,” the over-painting of the portrait believed to be Cotton into a later portrait of his son-in-law, Increase (or another veritable Puritan clergyman), suggests the determination, particularity, and distinctive needs of the patron, and the significance of the image as an “affective presence.” Painted at the time of the Antinomian controversy, Cotton’s over-painting suggests a need for a clergyman to be represented in full clerical dress and to be coiffed in style and armed with the verses of Revelation’s prophecies in the company of angelic messengers, which symbolically protect him. The portrait attributed to be Cotton is an excellent example of a Puritan minister who appears to have composed his image in order to offset any self-aggrandizement.

Chapter II: “The Council of Ministers: Reverend John Lowell’s Communal Approach to Visible Sainthood in 1744” focuses on the little-known group portrait “The Council of Ministers,” which embodies the exoteric traditions of Judaism and Christianity and the biblical foundation of much of the mystical symbolism in literature. The painting is a comprehensive pictorial narrative of what is distinctive in the tangible expression of Puritan visual imagination, particularly in the period of the Great Awakening. Painted as an over-mantle in the house of Rev. John Lowell (1704-1767) of Newburyport, Massachusetts, the panel’s subject was inspired by a council of churches that convened on July 24, 1744, to deal with a schism precipitated by the preaching of Whitefield. Group portraits such as “The Council of Ministers” may be a “speaking portrait” exposing the human desire for spiritual expression that imagines a place to

ground the eternal soul. Seven ministers of the reform tradition grace an altar-like surface located inside a temple-like structure floating within a mythical landscape. Temple accessories, the Bible, valleys, desert terrain, abundant foliage, floral motifs, dark clouds, birds and mountains are thoughtfully composed, though awkwardly positioned, within the picture plane, restating Puritan ideas through a collective understanding of the otherworldliness of a New Jerusalem. It is a demonstration of how human agency animated art and how the portraits may have influenced behavior and conscience formation through the visual imagination of *Sola Scriptura* during times of divided church polity.

Chapter III: “The Portraits of Increase Mather and William Stoughton: Pre-Millennial Representations During the Revocation of the Massachusetts Charter, 1685-1700” shows (by building on the ideological/mystical divisions demonstrated typologically) how the representations of visible sainthood embody notions of pre- and post-millennial thought by distinguishing between the two forms of eschatological doctrine. This, in turn, defines pre-millennial apocalyptic history as unalterable in contrast to the prophetic or post-millennial apocalypse that can be altered through the process of repentance. Most segments of the Christian tradition believed God had an evolutionary plan for mankind – played out in various forms by humanity – that could be traced back through the Jewish Nation’s idea of a chosen people. Millennialism was scripturally sanctioned in colonial New England, and became an accepted way to view the world. It was expressed in diverse doctrines, changing its form and momentum in regard to crisis and declension.

By exploring the differing perceptions of pre- and post-millennial thought in colonial New England’s representation of the transformation of sinner to saint in portraiture, a richer analysis of the compositions is offered, which may contribute to American historical

understanding of Puritan eschatology and millennialism. As visible saints, the portraits of Stoughton and Mather parallel documented evidence of an apocalyptic uncertainty, bearing witness to a frozen moment of relief in the life-long search for eternal salvation.

Chapter IV: “The Variability of Visual Sainthood: Portraits of George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Ezra Stiles, and Charles Chauncy: Adapting the Self-Image to Shifting Beliefs in Pre and Post millennial Thought” addresses variations in the representation of the visible priesthood during the Great Awakening in the portraits of clerics Whitfield, Edwards, Stiles, and Chauncy who defined this rapid period of religious revivalism and enthusiasm in ways that contrasted as well as maintained orthodoxy in Calvinist belief. The tenets of predestined election gave way to an egalitarian evangelism and a personal and communal mysticism of sorts that redefined what it meant to receive God’s saving grace. Experiential religion advocated by Anglican revivalist preachers like Whitefield diminished ecclesiastical authority. The research shows, in visual language, the remaining nuances of Puritan orthodoxy which continue to be classified along the ideological divisions of Knight’s categories. Finally, in this chapter, an additional method of inquiry is used to explore the personal election of the four clerics. By utilizing the principle thesis of Edwards’ treatise, *Distinguishing Marks of the Works of the Spirit*, this study examines whether or not each cleric’s portrait exemplifies visible sainthood by using the criteria Edwards claimed demonstrated the authentic infusion of grace. In his treatise, Edwards argued closely from 1 John 4, stating “I shall confine myself wholly to those marks which are given by the apostle in this chapter, where the matter is particularly handled, and more plainly and fully than anywhere else in the bible.”⁸³ While Edwards’ conceded that there were many “imprudences and errors” that had accompanied the Great Awakening, his summary of the apostle’s five points of visible sainthood was specific and

general enough to overthrow the fears of damnation for a predestination audience, while affirming the mystery of an unprecedented amount of conversion testimonials and calming the skeptic's fears of antinomianism.

Stiles' portrait is noteworthy because he described the event in vivid detail in his diary. A quote from Stiles, whose portrait is a typological example of his transcendence from high priest to visible saint, states, "These Emblems are more descriptive of my Mind, than the Effigies of my Face." Stiles revealed his portrait's place in articulating his inner self, as well as a public image of his election. He "disappears" and is no longer present in his portrait, leaving the viewer with an image of his invisible self – his soul. The representation of Jonathan Edwards' wispy "breathing" Geneva collar is contrasted with the flaccidness noted in Chauncy's fallen bands demonstrating the tension and gulf present in orthodoxy as "spirit-led" antinomian-like convictions challenged "Old Light" ecclesiastical sensibilities. Changes in setting, posture, and gesture in the portraits represent the spread and communal election of visible sainthood represented in the open air preaching styles of itinerant preachers like Whitefield, whose body becomes symbolic as a "mobile temple" of testimony.

Of the ten portraits chosen for pictorial autobiographies, five lack attribution: "The Council of Ministers" and the portraits of Stoughton, Cotton, and Chauncy. The portraits of Whitefield and Edwards are attributed to the artist Joseph Badger, while the portrait of Stiles is attributed to Samuel King – both colonial artists.⁸⁴ The careers of Badger and King, as well as their contribution to Puritan portraiture are reviewed in the appropriate chapters. The remaining three portraits – Mather, Sibbes, and Ames – were painted by Anglo-Dutch artists.

A close reading of the portraits reflects a deep interiority and elevates their images to transcendent metaphysical expressions, representative of the Puritan belief in the personal

inheritance of the Abrahamic covenant in anticipation of Christ's gift of redemption and securing an elect status. The representation of Sibbes' cap as the heavenly "crown of life" afforded to the elect at the Last Judgment, Mather's reference to Ecclesiastes, Edwards wispy "breathing" Geneva collar, and Cotton's symphony of angels overhead in tension with the Book of Revelation, as well as the otherworldliness of a New Jerusalem in *The Council of Ministers*, are typological examples of Puritan High Priests awaiting the fulfillment of a divine plan.

The portraits selected for the following chapters have intriguing personal emblems, objects, and dress that vividly "speak" to the sitter's particular personhood and profession. The force of biblical prophecies and the Puritan devotional piety that assisted in the visual construction and composition of these images are pictorial spiritual autobiographies in their own right. The personal choices made in the combination of emblems and dress symbolically enliven their portraits and reflect the inconsistencies of individual Puritan belief. Puritan portraits are, therefore, historical evidence of Puritan spirituality in American Studies scholarship.



Fig. I.1. Unsigned, *Richard Sibbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University), Oil on Canvas, c. 1630. For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. I.2. Wilhelm Van Der Vliet, *William Ames* (Cambridge: Memorial Hall, Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (27 in. x 22 in.), 1633.

Photo: Linda Johnson



Fig. I.3. Bishop's Miter. *Breeches Bible*, Exod. 28 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1599),

Photo: Linda Johnson.



JOHN CALVIN
1509 - 1564

Fig. I.4. *John Calvin* (Grand Rapids: Michigan, John Calvin College), Print.

Photo: Linda Johnson.

¹ Edmund Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965). Puritans were a self-defined group within the Church of England who regarded themselves as *the godly* and held little hope for those who remained attached to “popish superstitions” and worldliness. Puritans were English Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and best known as an activist movement within the Church of England. The term “Puritan” is often used incorrectly. Historically, the word characterized the Protestant group as extremists. The practitioners knew themselves as members of particular churches or movements, and not by the simple term. “Puritan” was applied unevenly to a number of Protestant churches (and religious groups within the Anglican Church) from the late-sixteenth century on. Puritans did not originally use the term for themselves, considering it was a term of abuse which first surfaced in the 1560s. “Puritan” thus always referred to a type of religious belief, rather than a particular religious sect. Two major educational foundations of the 1580s and 1590s – Emmanuel College Cambridge and Trinity College Dublin – were strongly Calvinist in tone and became Puritan by reputation. “Puritan” cannot be used to describe any new religious group after the seventeenth century.

² Ibid. In England, in alliance with the growing commercial world and the parliamentary opposition to the royal prerogative, the Puritans became a major political force and came to power as a result of the first English Civil War. The Massachusetts Bay Colony was founded in 1630 by Puritans for the purpose of building a “city on a hill,” a model city of religion for the world. Its religious foundation was Congregationalism, which was not separate from the Church of England. It is a denomination that emphasizes the independence of each church and acknowledges no coercive power of presbyteries or synods. Each church is operated by its own congregation. Those hailing from Massachusetts Bay treaded lightly as non-separatists, a smoldering concession which ignited and ultimately divided the Puritan orthodoxy during the withdrawal of the Massachusetts Charter. The massive Puritan emigration to New England ceased by 1641. Approximately 21,000 Puritans traveled across the Atlantic. Migration brought together Puritan communities with their own regional customs and beliefs.

³ Alan Miller and Perry Heimert, eds, *Whitefield: The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and its Consequences* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), 41.

⁴ Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1974), 283.

⁵ Richard Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1967), 161-164. Ironically, Congregational polity was first designed not to sustain social order, but to disrupt it and spread authority under God alone. Independents like the Puritans were trying to shake off the burden of ecclesiastical authority. In America at the turn of the eighteenth century, Congregationalism had to transform its polity from an instrument of rebellion to one of control. Ministers assuming “divine sanction” were chosen by God.

⁶ Ibid., 184. Congregational supporters of piety wanted more fervent preaching in the pulpit. They began questioning their ministers, especially those who had not experienced grace. Vices otherwise kept at bay, such as pride and contempt for authority, became more prevalent. Bushman states that several laws (much like Old England) were passed, but they did little to restrain corruption and the popular dissent regarding various economic and socio-cultural shifts.

⁷ Ibid., 16-164. The minister could not contain within the law the explosive social forces generated by economic expansion, especially after the turn-of-the-century. Controversy in any areas of life spread to the church. Reshaping them did not give power to the ministry. Organized groups of Baptists and Quakers and Anglican-Episcopalians, as well as indigenous dissenters, forced the establishment to take notice and consistently threatened to lead others out of the church. Clergy reverted to the practices the Puritans had once sought to escape. After 1690, changing conditions in the economy and in communal life made the authority of ministers increasingly extinct.

⁸ Ibid., 193. Great Awakening preachers like Whitefield repeatedly denied that salvation came from following the law. He exhorted to his audience that no amount of covenant owing, Sabbath Day observance, or obedience to rulers redeemed their souls.

⁹ Ibid. Men who had come to believe they were guilty learned to rely on God's unconditional grace.

¹⁰ Ibid., 192. According to Bushman, the peculiarities of the Puritan personality partially account for Calvinism's survival in the decades of the Great Awakening.

¹¹ Ibid., 194-212.

¹² Patricia Caldwell, *The Puritan Conversion Narrative: The Beginnings of American Expression* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 45. Caldwell references Edmund Morgan in stating that the early churches required an outward profession of faith. She is indebted to Morgan's term "Morphology of Conversion," in which repentant members would show understanding of basic doctrine, display good behavior, and divulge the series of events or steps that led them to hope that their inward spiritual state had undergone conversion allowing them to be part of an elect church. Caldwell states Puritans would record in linear fashion (in their diaries and journals) the exact order of events in their conversions (i.e., the day, month, and hour).

¹³ Daniel B. Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), xi-x. Shea states that the spiritual autobiography of early America should not to be categorized exclusively as a narrative of conversion, since the question of grace provides structure and order within a larger narrative describing any spiritual experience or moment.

¹⁴ Ibid., 100. Shea affirms that any Puritan autobiography demonstrates its author's awareness of the conventional stages through which an individual passed while being brought to grace by God. He compares the "Christian Experience" of John Winthrop with Edward Taylor's "Spiritual Relation," written more than forty years later, finding little substantial difference between them.

¹⁵ Ibid., 113-118. As stated, the range of personal redemption can be observed in apologetics that argue on doctrinal basis as well as in more subtle modes of spiritual experiences. The "Religious Experiences" of Anne Bradstreet, according to Shea, describe the emergence of grace in its various signs and stages. Shea asks whether one makes a false distinction in demanding that an autobiographer relate his experience rather than his ideas. Shea argues that the outline of autobiographical forms can be viewed in writings, such as Bradstreet's work, because her poetry remained an attempt to assemble the evidence of divine favoritism into a lifelong "personal memoir" of spiritual warfare and victory, aimed at some form of edification.

¹⁶ Charles Hambrick-Stowe, ed., *Early New England Meditative Poetry: Anne Bradstreet and Edward Taylor* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 1, 32. Hambrick-Stowe refers to Anne Bradstreet as a religious poet, stating that her poems can be classified as both private and public. This judgment resonates well in terms of spiritual autobiography and the public conversion narrative. Bradstreet writes about birth, death, fires, loneliness and her fears, always raising them up to God for consolation. Hambrick-Stowe writes that we learn more about her spirituality than her art. He also affirms Shea's argument that Bradstreet released emotional trauma through the prayer of poetry: her equivalent to conversion narratives and spiritual autobiography. "In analyzing the language of poetry," Hambrick-Stowe writes, "we are led by force to look for new tools, well aware that those that worked so well for dogmatic theology might not work here."

¹⁷ Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of the Puritan Idea*, 64-74. The idea of visible sainthood originated in Massachusetts among the non-separating Puritans and spread from Massachusetts to Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and back to England. They devoted themselves to describing the processes of salvation. The result of their studies established a morphology of conversion in which each stage could be distinguished from the next so that a man could check his eternal condition by a set of temporal and recognizable signs. "The Puritans, like all Protestants, especially of the Calvinist variety," Morgan states, "believed in predestination. God, they maintained, had determined in advance who was to be saved and who was to be damned. A man's fate was therefore decided before he entered the world of time, and his progress in this world either toward salvation or toward damnation was simply the unfolding of a decree made before he was born." They broke down the operation of faith into a succession of recognizable stages.

¹⁸ Ibid., 69.

¹⁹ David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 91. Saving grace was randomly bestowed by God and is irrevocable. However, the problem is that one can never be fully assured that

one's experience has amounted to saving grace. The doctrinal basis for the Puritan belief in election stemmed from the biblical interpretation in Romans 8.

²⁰ Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of the Puritan Idea*, 66-73. Morgan describes the "morphology of conversion" developed by two generations of Puritans like William Perkins and William Ames in the early seventeenth century. To be elect one must arrive at a "legall feare," which Puritans labeled as conviction, the fourth stage where the individual realized his or her own sinfulness. Morgan cites Perkins in stating that everyone could reach this stage, but it was the elect who "found in their minds a serious consideration of the promise."

²¹ Ibid., 67.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 69. See also John Calvin, *Writings on Pastoral Piety*, ed. and trans. Elise Anne McKee (New York: Paulist Press, 2001), 2-6. Essential to Puritan thought was belief in the sinfulness of man. Puritan writers conveyed the worthlessness of human nature. Human ability had no role at all in a person's spiritual growth, which depended entirely on the gift of God's grace. Once saving grace was "felt" by God, providing not only the content of belief and instruction for devotional exercise through scripture, but the will to believe itself, one could be reasonably assured of becoming a visible saints to reign during the millennium and be redeemed on the Day of Judgment.

²⁴ Ibid., 65. See also Randall C. Gleason and Kelly M. Kopic, *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004), 31-32. My dissertation expands on the wealth of information already documented on Puritanism. Its main tenets are summarized by Gleason and Kopic, who offer a succinct overview of the Puritan mindset. The major points the authors relate are: Puritanism was a spiritual movement that stressed the experience of communion with God, and that Puritans were united in their dependence upon the Bible as their supreme source of spiritual sustenance and guidance. Predominantly Augustinian in their emphasis upon human sinfulness and divine grace, Puritans placed great emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit in the believer's life.

²⁵ Janice Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts: Rereading American Puritanism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 2-12. For my study of portraiture, I chose a subset of Knight's two communities "within the Puritanism leadership." Her divisions are as follows: the first group is composed of Perry Miller's "orthodoxy," such as Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, Peter Bulkeley, John Winthrop, and most of the ministers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In England, William Perkins and William Ames were their authorities. Knight states they were pre- or a-millennial in that they had little sense of participating in a prophetic errand into the wilderness and had no particular commitment to advancing the coming of Christ's kingdom. Because these theologians stressed the importance of preparing the heart for the reception of grace, they are often referred to here as "preparationists" in contrast to the identification of their opponents as "spiritists." The second party closely embodies an

Augustinian strain led by Richard Sibbes and John Preston in England and by John Cotton, John Davenport, and Henry Vane in America. According to Knight, their theology was more emotional, even mystical, and stressed divine benevolence over power. These preachers saw evil as an absence of good. For the Spiritual Brethren the transformation of the soul was not dependent on exercises of spiritual discipline. "All Puritan preachers placed a high value on spiritual exercises," writes Knight, "but the 'Intellectual Fathers' (or Amesians) made preparationism the center of their pastoralism, while the 'Spiritual Brethren' (or Sibbesians) more often focused on the immediacy of God's transformative love." I am indebted to the scholarship on Puritanism as a religious and political movement in colonial New England.

²⁶ Heimert and Miller, eds., *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences*, xv. Whitefield was born in Gloucester, England, in 1714. He graduated from Oxford College in 1739 and was ordained a priest in the Church of England at age 22.

²⁷ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 293. Ahlstrom states fellowship between congregational schisms became not only interdenominational, but intercolonial. Jonathan Edwards' move to the presidency of Princeton symbolized both kinds of rapprochement and pointed to a new era of Protestant cooperation. Based on a wide and durable consensus, evangelicalism would become a powerful force in the future development of American culture. Ahlstrom affirms that Whitefield and Edwards – Anglican and Congregationalist – and Edwards and Chauncy considered themselves to be of one mind in their great undertaking.

²⁸ Anne D'Alleva, *Look Again: Art History and Critical Theory* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc. 2005), 88-115. D'Alleva references major psychoanalysts such as Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, Ernest Gombrich, and Carl Jung who documented the connections between art and the unconscious mind. Many art historians have studied the personality of both the artist and the patron, the effect of art on the viewer, as well as issues of reception.

²⁹ Jules David Prown and Kenneth Haltman, eds., *American Artifacts Essays in Material Culture* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000). Through a visual language of material expression this tension is further explored with attention to the formal opposition of thematic polarities, as well as conventional and iconographical methodology. The objects the patron (or the artist) has chosen in these portraits are evident of both unconscious and conscious patterns of deep cultural and religious beliefs related to life/death, male/female, security/danger, power /lack of control that is expressed artistically in techniques including but not limited to light/dark, soft/hard/ and transparent /opaque. Prown's Speculation category hails from earlier critical theorists in the field of Semiotics, such as the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce who argued that cultures and cultural expressions (language, art, music, and film) are composed of signs and that each sign has a meaning beyond its literal self. Art formal analysis also draws from the research of structural theorists such as Claude Levi-Strauss who asserts that every culture organizes its view of the world through pairs of opposites; binary oppositions. According to Stauss, we live in a world which encompasses life and death, beauty

and ugliness, violence and peace. The fundamental nature of human thinking is reflected in the hidden structures of binary opposition. Art embodies these ideas.

³⁰ Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 52. This source includes methods and questions that mostly concern the visual and physical aspects of the portraits I have chosen. Under formal analysis, I examine the portraits and look to answer my questions in the work of art itself, studying and interpreting what has been accomplished through visual means and what the artist and patron wanted to convey, not necessarily through its content. Although portraits are works of length and height and not depth or three dimensional forms, the specific following characteristics provide a sense of illusion. Though I approach these portraits methodologically by way of artistic formal analysis, by examining shadow, reflection, immediacy, lighting, color, line, space, scale, and composition, I do so in order to discover how these thematic elements relate to one another in order to tell a story about the artist or the patron. This method differs from art criticism or connoisseurship which evaluates art for its aesthetic and cultural merit. I examine the visual or physical qualities of the portraits in terms of a sliding scale between pairs of opposite qualities, such as linearity versus shading, tone, and contour; flatness versus three dimensionality; frontality versus recessiveness; volume versus diminution; highly saturated color versus low saturation; rough versus smooth texture; figurative versus abstract; or dark versus light. I interpret what formal elements have been emphasized visually, examining whether there is an underlying rhythm or repetition or geometric structure to the composition; asking whether the elements are unified, integrated, or distinct from one another. In addition I note whether or not the portrait's horizontal or vertical orientation alters the viewer's perception.

³¹ Ibid., 80-83.

³² Ibid. Prown's processes are concise categories developed from complex theories such as formalism and iconographical analysis developed in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries by notable art historians such as Heinrich Wölfflin and Edwin Panofsky. Prown's third category, Speculation, may synthesize different critical theories such as psychoanalytic and reception theory to examine the portraits as a process of interpretation rather than just description.

³³ Ibid. "Through stylistic analysis we encounter the past first hand," writes Prown, "we have direct sensory experience of surviving historical events." He attests that artifacts such as paintings are artistic signs that illuminate beliefs embodied within the objects themselves

³⁴ Ibid., 74. See Prown's analysis of how the style of Chippendale furniture and the changing form of neoclassical tables and teapots suggest shifting ideologies in a new nation. Prown states that a society in a particular time and place deposits a cultural stylistic fingerprint. One can find shared stylistic elements in the objects, as well as a shift in style concurrent with a shift in cultural values. The change in values in neoclassical objects relates to the arrival and acceptance in America of ideas about Enlightenment. Objects can be examined as pre- and post-revolutionary cultural imprints. The decorative details in pre-revolutionary objects, such as

rococo furniture, have more natural organic forms compared to the abstract geometric veneers of neoclassical shapes, suggesting dominion of the mind and emphasizing intellect over emotion. Prown argues that “portraits depict the essence of the deepest conviction,” and attests that it is the “style” of an object that connects all levels of society and that determines the way a community expressed themselves collectively.

³⁵ George Tyack, *Historic Dress of the Clergy* (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 2007), 24. The Geneva gown, analogous to the Eastern doctoral robe and similar to American judicial attire, was constructed from heavy black material; usually featuring double-bell sleeves with a cuff mimicking the cassock once worn under it. For historical and theological reasons, the gown is most typical of Congregational, Presbyterian, and Reformed Churches influenced by the Calvinistic traditions and church doctrine of the Church in England from 586 to 1066.

³⁶ Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction*, (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2005), 17. Costume historian Aileen Ribeiro writes, “Portraiture was the real craze of the seventeenth century. It had to be faithful to historical fact, for portraits were the visual documents of their age. There was an obsessive concentration on the details, but the factual record of a person had to serve as a commemoration of the sitter’s qualities, and in this context some element of idealization was necessary with perhaps some allegorical reference to underline the narrative of the life and some sense of the universal.” Ribeiro asserts that portraits were constructions of identity and status in society and are impossible to contemplate without acknowledging the presence of fabrics and accessories. Emphasizing the same “stylistic” analysis as Prown, Ribeiro affirms that at the end of the seventeenth century, people increasingly wished to be seen, not as abstract symbols, but as human beings with individual personalities and emotions, a result she states was best achieved by restraint in costume.

³⁷ Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, 2-3.

³⁸ Ibid., 3.

³⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁰ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 60-62. Adam foreshadowed Christ and Eve the Christian church. Since the coming of Christ was an event determined at the beginning of time, typological readings of the Old Testament are found in the collective experience of the Hebrews and in the lives of individual heroes, saints, and prophets prefiguring the first coming of Christ. The men in these portraits could participate in this redemption as elected saints.

⁴¹ Ibid. The men in these portraits could not only participate in this redemption, but be transformed into God’s image.

⁴² Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, 3. See also Charles Hambrick-Stowe, “The Bruised Reed” by Richard Sibbes, eds., Kavic and Gleason, *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics*, 80-91. The “Heavenly Richard Sibbes” – the adjective serving as a virtual title for him in Puritan circles – was famous for his affective spirituality. He flourished as an educator and preacher at both Cambridge and London until his death. Sibbes was a careful advocate of a distinctive theology which emphasized the inherent community of the Trinity rather than the more common Reformed emphasis on God’s simplicity and essential unity. For Sibbes, the elect were united by the Spirit’s work. Stowe writes that the Spirit accomplishes both conversion and sanctification by a single means; through the revelation of God’s attractiveness by an immediate personal disclosure. This unmediated initiative was seen to be the means by which God draws a response of heartfelt devotion from the elect. Sibbes views are placed in the context of the Calvinist-Armenian Struggle, the Antinomian controversy of New England 1636-1638 and the doctrinal upheavals of the English Civil war. Sibbes emerges as a seminal figure among a small but energetic band of Puritan ministers who pressed for a more Trinitarian and relational version of reform theology.

⁴³ Ibid. See also Charles Hambrick-Stowe, “The Marrow of Theology” by William Ames, eds., Kavic and Gleason in *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics*, 52-64. Stowe affirms that practical Christianity was the centerpiece of his theology. Ames’ conversion took place under the tutelage of William Perkins’ preparationism. See William Perkins, *The Arte of Prophesying or a Treatise Concerning the Sacred and Onely True Manner and Method of Preaching*, 1607 and *The Work of William Perkins*, ed., Ian Breward (Berkshire, England: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 325-349. Perkin’s manual develops the meditative practices for the ministers to become “vessels” for the Holy Spirit in order to “open” the Word of God properly. According to Breward, Perkins advised the preachers in his manual to let the Bible speak for itself, arguing that both exegesis and preaching must be aimed to that end. This was called the “plain style.” Breward, in his notes, refers to the major early Christian mystics like Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and Augustine who influenced Perkins and thereafter a host of well-known and lesser-known preachers in Old and New England.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid. Charles Hambrick-Stowe, “The Bruised Reed” by Richard Sibbes, eds., Kelly M. Kavic and Randall C. Gleason, *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2004), 80-91. Richard Sibbes was born in 1577. He completed his Bachelor’s Degree in 1595, a Master’s in 1602, and a Doctor of Divinity in 1627 from St. John’s College in Cambridge. According to Stowe, Sibbes was a moderate Puritan appointed as master of Katharine Hall at Cambridge University in 1626 and was a preacher at Gray’s Inn until his death. See also Charles Hambrick-Stowe, “The Marrow of Theology” by William Ames, eds., Kelly M. Kavic and Randall C. Gleason, *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004), 52-64. William Ames was born in 1576 in Ipswich and graduated from Christ’s College at Cambridge University. He was elected as a

fellow and ordained to the ministry in 1601. More conservative than Sibbes, Ames was taken into custody for rebuking the Church of England in refusing to wear priestly vestments. He ultimately sought refuge in the Netherlands and became a chief advisor at the Synod of Dort. Ames ran a “private “college where he tutored theology students. Later, in 1622, he was appointed a professor of theology at Franker University where he served for eleven years.

⁴⁸ Margaret Smith, “The Nature and Meaning of Mysticism,” in *Understanding Mysticism*, ed., Richard Woods (New York: Image Books, 1980), 19-25. The symbols for human access to God include crossing the sea and the desert, ascending the mountain, experiencing a dark cloud and fire, observing a sea of glass or sapphires, and finally coming to a land of rest. Prophets in Old Testament literature such as Moses, Ezekiel, and Isaiah expand the repertoire of symbols to include visions and voices, cosmic elements, numbers, animals and other codes also found in apocalyptic literature such as The Book of Daniel, Enoch, and the Book of Revelation to reveal special knowledge.

⁴⁹ Dennis E. Tamburello, *Union with Christ: John Calvin and the Mysticism of St. Bernard* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 21-22.

⁵⁰ Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 22. *The Oxford Dictionary of English*, eds., Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) defines quickening as “A movement, alive, animatedly alert, of Germanic origin related to the Dutch kwick, to make/become faster or quicker, stimulated or become stimulated. To give or restore life to.” For example, “On the third day of his death the human body of Jesus was quickened by the spirit.” In the ancient world the word “quickened” conveyed a way of spiritual seeing, commonly known in mystical traditions as seeing with the “third eye” or “eyes of the heart,” both of which were viewed as the locus of the soul. Being quickened therefore, gave one the ability to “see” what others did not.

⁵¹ Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 84-85. See Tamburello’s quote from Calvin’s *Institutes* 3.11.10 to see that Calvin does use the words “mystical union” and that he documented it as a gift from God through Christ.

⁵² Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, 2-4.

⁵³ Doriece Colle, *Collars, Stocks, Cravats: A History and Costume Dating Guide to Civilian Men’s Neckpieces 1655-1900* (Emmaus, PA: Rodale Press, 1972), 11. The early seventeenth century saw the demise of three, short-lived, contemporaries of the falling band; the starched, pleated ruff (c.1550-1625), the whisk (c.1610-1675), and the falling ruff (1625-1630). Most ruffs of this period tied in the front. The 1560s saw the expansion and height of the ruff where the ruffles achieved the figure-eight from a process called double-box pleating, gathering the top of the band into the neckband of the shirt, a style which remained for the next two decades. Ruffs were popular in the sixteenth century until the late 1640s alongside the more fashionable standing and falling bands. Ruffs were sewn into a fairly deep neck band. They could either be standing or falling, the latter being popular between 1615 and the 1640s.

Typically ruffs were made of Cambric, a fine light-or medium-weight plain batiste weave, usually made of cotton, but could also be made of linen and finished with a stiffer, brighter smoother finish. Larger and wider ruffs were supported on heavily starched collars or wire supports called “supportasses.” A variety of male neck collars were worn by Massachusetts Puritans who wore starkly simplified smaller falling bands. Some wore lace edged ruffs as well as lace cravats. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the ruff was sometimes worn open in front rather than completely encircling the neck. Both types of ruffs retained the deep projecting starched frill of several separately goffered folds of linen or muslin. For the rest of the century, when ruffs were still worn, and in the seventeenth century, bands referred to all the variations of this neckwear. All bands or collars arose from a standing neck band of varying heights. They were tied at the throat with band strings ending in tiny tassels or crochet-covered balls. Starching ruffs became a sought after art. Starching houses set them in shape with “putting sticks,” conical irons heated in coals applied to the ruff.

⁵⁴ Nora Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes 1600-1900* (London: Faber Press, 1964), 11-17. The doublet was the main body-garment which men had worn since the Middle Ages and continued to wear until the third decade of the seventeenth century, when it was replaced by the coat. It was close-fitting and heavily interlined. The body was cut with wide shoulder seams and two side seams, set towards the back and later a center back seam. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the extra “peascod” padding in the center front of the doublet might still be seen, but a more fashionable doublet was replaced by belly-pieces – two triangular pieces of extra stiffening which formed a lozenge-center front fitting into the slightly pointed waistline and reaching half-way up the center-front. The sleeves were straight with epaulettes. Changes in length, slashing, pinking and paneing of the material continued on and off each decade changing the overall sewing of the piece. Knee-breeches completed this standard outfit and were referred to as “square-based trunk hose” worn with canions, which were the tight fitting thigh pieces sewn to the full padded upper hose and added when knitted stockings came into vogue. The straighter line of the 1630s doublet was repeated in straighter breeches although there was still fullness around the waist, but not at the bottom. Shorter breeches were called “petticoat breeches.” By the end of the century, the doublet lost its stiffness, finally becoming a waistcoat, the petticoat breeches lost their petticoat and the full bloomer-breeches took over. Around 1680, the new fashion of coat, waistcoat and knee breeches was established. Typically the portraits are not full-length representations, therefore boots, stockings and shoes are not part of my analysis at this time. Clergy and other professional suits were more sober and conservative in cut and made of black cloth, yet it was in no way a uniform special to the ordained cleric. See Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (B.T. Batsford: London, 1987), 77.

⁵⁵ R. Turner Wilcox, *The Mode in Hats and Headdress* (New York: Dover Publications Inc. 1945), 109. Sibbes’ cap is referred to as a “negligee cap” – an informal cap worn only at home or in the bedroom and usually made of embroidered silk, with a turned up band edged in lace; an English trend noted in the early part of the seventeenth century from 1600 to 1630.

⁵⁶ *Samuel Mather Figures or Types of the Old Testament 1683*, ed., Mason Lowance (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), 499-520.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 519. Sibbes is adorned with the “crowne of life” mentioned in Revelation 2:13 as the reward of the perseverance in a life dedicated to *imitatio Christi*. The Old Covenant has been fulfilled in the New as Sibbes’ Mitre alchemically and typologically transforms into the “crowne of life.” Also mentioned in Rev 2:10, “bee thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crowne of life.”

⁵⁸ Ibid., 516.

⁵⁹ Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, 36. Bercovitch finds optimism central to the Puritan mindset, largely because the fulfillment of Hebrew Scriptures in Christ promoted hopeful ideas about personal redemption as well as the overall arc of history. “Puritans hoped that, as a community of elected saints,” writes Bercovitch, “they would participate in a thousand-year period of spiritual progress while awaiting Christ’s Second Coming when a New Jerusalem and Heaven would finally be joined.”

⁶⁰ Alice Morse Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America, 1620-1820* (1901; reprint, Rutland, Vermont: C. E. Tuttle Co. 1971), 116. See also Penelope Byrde, *The Male Image: Men’s Fashion in Britain 1300-1970* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1979), 208-210. Gloves have great symbolic significance. At first they were worn only by men of high rank in the church or state. According to Byrde, it was not until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that gloves reached a high point of design and decoration. Usually made of soft leathers such as sheep, doe, or goat skin, the glove’s cuffs or gauntlets were lined with silk. Gauntlets were trimmed with embroidery, lace, or fringes of silk or gold and silver thread. The most ornamental gloves were carried rather than worn. During the seventeenth century, gloves were fairly available in a wide-range of leathers. Plain leather gloves were for ordinary or practical wear.

⁶¹ Waugh, *The Cut of Men’s Clothes 1600-1900*, 16. For full dress, a circular cape always accompanied the doublet and breeches, easing the transition into coat, waistcoat and knee breeches. The cape usually was cut with two fronts, two backs, and two shoulder pieces. It was cleverly designed so that the fronts and backs could be buttoned together to form a coat, the shoulder pieces becoming sleeves.

⁶² Laurie Schneider Adams, *Art Across Time* (McGraw Hill: New York, 2002), 628-647. This style was introduced in Old and New England around 1630. Voluminous drapery, as well as the draping of cloaks, hails from the tradition of the Baroque. Ames forfeited the convention living up to Stowe’s reputation of him as practically-minded.

⁶³ Wilcox, *The Mode in Hats and Headdress*, 109.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Hambrick-Stowe, “The Marrow of Theology” by William Ames, eds., Kapic and Gleason, *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics*, 56. Ames died on Nov. 11, 1633,

the same year this portrait was painted. Stowe gives the account that he was on his way south to Rotterdam in the late summer to accept a co-pastor ship with his friend Hugh Peter at an English-speaking Congregationalist Church. Peter believed in adhering to strict orthodox doctrine and wanted to purge the church of unregenerate members. The journey was arduous and Ames traveled through floods. He contracted pneumonia which contributed to his death.

⁶⁶ Prown, *Art as Evidence*, 69-91. See also Prown and Haltman, eds., *American Artifacts*, 1-10. Haltman describes and details the Prownian analysis and interpretation of all material culture by suggesting that human objects consciously and unconsciously reflect the beliefs of the individuals who commissioned, purchased, or used them. By following a step-by-step format in interpreting the object, one can see that beliefs are embedded in a visual language of formal opposition. Through a visual language of material expression, this tension is further explored through the formal opposition of thematic polarities, as well as conventional and iconographical methodology. The objects Reverend Mather (or the artist) chose for this portrait may be essential evidence of both conscious and unconscious patterns of deep cultural and religious beliefs.

⁶⁷ Ilja M. Veldman, "Protestantism and the Arts," ed., Paul Corby Finney, *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts in the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Erdmann Publishing Company, 1999), 398-406. In doing away with ecclesiastical patronage, Calvinism promoted a different kind of relationship with visual materials in the private domain. The end result of the Reformation was the substitution of acceptable images in acceptable places. Despite public iconoclasm, Protestants created private spiritual spaces of innovative iconography in their homes and public institutions. Images portraying Old Testament figures, characters from the Apocrypha, and the New Testament parables, as well as allegorical figures, were seen to have didactic purposes.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 406.

⁶⁹ Philip Benedict, "Calvinism as a Culture," ed., Paul Corby Finney in *Seeing Beyond the Word, Visual Arts in the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Erdmann Publishing Company, 1999), 28.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*, 41-43.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 244.

⁷⁸ Veldman, "Protestantism and the Arts," ed., Paul Corb Finney, *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts in the Calvinist Tradition*, 415. Veldman notes that in Dutch Reform Holland in the latter part of the seventeenth century, inventories show that most seventeenth-century homes were full of paintings. The subjects were biblical scenes, historical allegories, episodes from mythology, still-life, landscapes, portraits, and genre pieces.

⁷⁹ Mary G. Winkler, "Calvin's Portrait: Representation, Image, or Icon?" ed. Paul Corby Finney *Seeing Beyond the Word, Visual Arts in the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmann Publishing Company, 1999), 246.

⁸⁰ Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture*, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 371.

⁸¹ Lillian B. Miller, "The Puritan Portrait: Its Function in Old and New England in Seventeenth -Century New England," (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts publication, Vol. 63, 1984), 159. New England Puritans "like their English counterparts," writes Miller, "opposed religious art – particularly attempts to give divinity (God, Christ, or angels) a corporeal representation – considering such art as idolatrous and in Calvinist terms a transgression of the second commandment."

⁸² Winkler, "Calvin's Portrait: Representation, Image, or Icon?," ed., Finney in *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts in the Calvinist Tradition*, 251.

⁸³ Jonathan Edwards, "Distinguishing Marks of the Work of the Spirit, 1741," [Early English Books Online](#), (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 10 Oct. 2010), 548-551,554-555.

⁸⁴ Mathew Baigell, *A Concise History of American Painting and Sculpture* (New York: Icon Editions, 1984).

Methodology

The Selection of Puritan Portraits

In this study of Puritan male portraits, approximately 184 images (either portraits or prints) and 217 images from various published sources were selected for the number of repetition among emblems and objects, as well as in male dress. Each image was also noted for the subject's posture, gestures, and settings. In New England, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artists produced a predictable variety of paintings and developed patterns that are now important to understanding the processes and productions of the culture.

Initially, the only prerequisite was that each image had to have been painted between the years 1630 and 1790 and feature a male subject. Images that were either extant or found in published works were put into two categories: oil portraits and prints. Prints originated from a variety of sources including woodcuts, engravings, lithographs and mezzotints (web images, frontispieces, etc.). Each image was photographed and documented by region of origin and year using two rubrics: Module 1 - Quantitative Analysis of Portraits and Quantitative Analysis of Prints and Module 2 - Quantitative Analysis of Portraits/Supportive Material Culture Evidence and Quantitative Analysis of Prints/Supportive Material Culture Evidence.

Out of approximately 300 images, eighty-five were chosen to represent various men of Protestant/Puritan descent. These images were then further separated and classified according to nine headings. Module 1 records date, patron, artist, books/scriptures, dress/gloves, collar, wig/hat/hair, location, church affiliation and apocalyptic tone (i.e. various cosmic depictions in natural settings); and Module 2 records patron, artist, posture, gesture, emblem, heraldry, decorative arts, tiles, furniture, silver, ecclesiastical, lighting, drapery/textiles and wall design/windows.

Several painting styles such as the Baroque, Rococo, Anglo-Dutch, and Neo-Medieval were considered and documented in the final ten portraits selected. While various artists are noted (which also delineated the tradition), documenting them was pertinent only to the final number. Different artists and their skills are not subjects for this study. Background information on the artist's stylistic preferences are noted, when necessary, to enrich the analysis of portraits.

Similar patterns in costume, posture, and gesture were seen in lesser-known and well-known portraits and prints of the men. In the clergy, doublets and three-piece suits, Geneva gowns, and formal church uniform, such as Anglican rochets, distinguished affiliation. The variety of neck collars and decisions to embellish them denoted tradition, period, and personal preferences. Hairstyles indicated fashion trends and generational differences, as well as religious affiliation. Noted objects in the images were symbolic of the sitter's profession and include Bibles for clergy; surgical instruments for physicians; and scrolls, due bills, and memorial buildings donated by governing benefactors, magistrates, or college presidents. The number of objects or emblems in the portraits did not necessarily follow professional status or position. Both ministers and magistrates embellished their images with gloves, jewelry and fictive drapery surrounding library shelves, as well as shoulders.

The decision to include only ten images in this study was based on the feasibility of locating the images in their original form (preferably oil). Six of the ten portraits were located in Massachusetts. The portraits of William Ames, John Winthrop, John Lowell (and his group portrait), William Stoughton, and George Whitefield were found at Harvard University. The portraits of Increase Mather and Charles Chauncy belong to the Massachusetts Historical Society. A group portrait titled *The Council of Ministers* was chosen because of its rich history,

naïve painting style and remarkable format – positioning seven ministers together in a mysterious symbolic landscape. This painting has been in storage at Harvard University.

Research, Data Retrieval and Selection:

Connecticut/Rhode Island

Research was conducted at the Connecticut Historical Society (CHS), Yale University, Yale Divinity School, Yale's Jonathan Edwards College, and the Redwood Library in Rhode Island. To gain a sense of the overall contribution of Puritan spiritual autobiography in portraits, well-known portraits of Ezra Stiles, John Cotton, and Jonathan Edwards were chosen to depict tensions within shifts in millennialism and evangelism, which affected Puritan belief.

Four research trips were completed at CHS in order to study the portrait believed to be John Cotton, as well as the primary evidence documenting Cotton's commission of the portrait. While a portrait of Nathan Cole was not located, CHS owns and houses Nathan Cole's *Spiritual Travels*, an important piece of supportive text about spiritual autobiography.¹ Additional data was collected on seventy-five early portraits at CHS, which yielded similar results found in Massachusetts when using Modules 1 and 2. A search of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century oil paintings was conducted at CHS in order to understand changes made in body posture and gestures among images of Puritan clerics over time. These later portraits were photographed and logged using both modules as evidence to support the later period portraits of Stiles, Edwards, Whitefield, and Chauncy.

Portraits of Stiles and Edwards are included because of the men's renowned reputation as leaders of their faith and because of the existence of documents to support portraits painted

during the Great Awakening. The research required repeated visits to New Haven, Connecticut, to study the early portrait of Stiles, a well-known Puritan cleric. Visits to the Jonathan Edwards College at Yale led to additional paintings featuring Edwards and his wife. The portraits of Edwards found in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and a later rendering located in Connecticut demonstrate subtle yet significant changes in representation compared to more glaring alterations observed in portraits of Stiles from 1756 and 1771. Faculty advisors at the Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale Divinity School provided Edward's correspondence which referenced the commission of his portraits, as well as the locations of his personal objects such as furniture. Whitefield's portrait was located at Harvard University and cross-referenced with a later portrait that showed an altered image.

Evidence & Hypothesis:

The Portraits

This study does have one serious limitation. There is little primary evidence on how the Puritan community perceived or directed the composition of their portraits. Objects chosen to represent the men in their portraits indicate their significance in the creation of a persona. They also indicate a resolution for iconophobia offered by Calvin and other Puritan theologians that painting and portraiture was acceptable as long as it portrayed the sensible or natural things that could be touched or seen. The portraits become a basis for criticism when it is determined that they serve functions never claimed for them. Portraits and paintings offer a context in which to see how objects (including the self) were utilized and perceived. Despite the overt display of many of the emblems and objects painted in the portraits, further inquiry is needed in order to discern whether or not objects were fact or fiction.² Textile evidence is limited: Puritan dress and

neckwear are rarely found, as are seventeenth-century Puritan meetings houses and their pulpits. Rarely, too, can a portrait be linked directly to a specific object. Increase Mather's personal 1599 Geneva Bible found in his portrait and housed at the Massachusetts Historical Society, however, was an unusual find.

Common themes that echo Puritan ideas, such as theological associations, were painted as familiar objects like dress, as well as more distinct items like temple imagery. These themes were noted for their time period and then retained based on their complexity, variances, and atypical information. The portraits with the combination of picture and text proved intriguing, as did dress preferences, book titles, scriptural references, and gestures. All of the men in the portraits had been educated in the ministry with the exception of Winthrop who was raised in the reformed tradition. The decision to select these ten portraits and the one group portrait was based on the repetition, combination, and significance of not only the objects, but in how these conventions were used by the patron.

Patterns

Portraits were an important part of personal expression not only in the orthodox forms of Protestantism, but in the non-conformist and separatist strains of the reformed tradition. Northern Renaissance convention was pervasive in these academic and provincial-style portraits through depictions of drapery, columns, and posterior landscape. Male professional dress in all of the portraits is of a black fabric and the male neck collars follow period trends. When the patron's name and information has been lost, their clerical affiliation can often be revealed by their traditional Anglican attire or street-dress in the portraits. The use of objects to denote profession and gestures, such as placing hands over heart, was a typical convention.

Once the portraits were categorized using Janice Knight's title divisions, it was discovered that those depicting the Spiritual Brethren (Sibbes, Mather, Stiles, Edwards and Whitefield) yielded more descriptive items, theological symbols, and scriptural textual references than those portraying the Intellectual Fathers (Winthrop, Ames, Stoughton, and Chauncy). Furthermore, in the portraits of the Spiritual Brethren these items embody an active presence compared to the static and fixed representation of each Intellectual Father. It is through action or the created movement of their gestures – spreading of fingers, pointing and raising hands, giving blessings – and how they used those gestures to note objects in their portraits (specific references in the Bible, position of lighting, watches, heraldry, etc.) that their images become transcendent metaphysical expressions of an elected sainthood. The hands and heads of the Spiritual Brethren work in unity as messengers revealing knowledge which detracts from their personhood and transforms their images from mere biographical accounts (Ames, Winthrop, and Stoughton) to representations of *imitatio Christi*, encouraging viewers to read the messages they hope to convey.

In the later portraits of Stiles, Edwards, and Whitefield, an active presence persists and is depicted in hand placement, dress, neck collars, and non-traditional settings that display subtle yet important alterations in Puritanism during this period of religious revivalism. When contrasted to Chauncy's traditional composition, the expression of a democratic theology can be seen in such variations as hands moving away from the body. The temple-like composition of interior spaces is depicted in many of the portraits. The symbolism in the decorative arts and dress were derived from Old and New Testament themes which typify the men in the portraits as elected saints by using coded messages in the scriptures they "open" in their portraits.³

¹ Nathan Cole, *The Spiritual Travels of Nathan Cole* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1741-1765), 2-70. This account of Cole's spiritual conversion and trials as a Separatist focuses on emotional experiences rather than intellectual ones. Cole perceived an egalitarian message upon hearing George Whitefield preach about the spiritual equality of all before God.

² Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 17-21. A dress historian, Ribeiro believes portraits were constructions of identity and status in society and are impossible to contemplate without acknowledging the presence of fabrics and accessories. I referenced a great deal of historical information on seventeenth-century neck collars from Ribeiro's work which was important in my research of Geneva collars and their use among Puritan ministers. Textiles were one of the most important signifiers of class and gender as its use in portraits demonstrates.

³ Lisa M. Gordis, *Opening Scripture Bible Reading and Interpretive Authority in Puritan New England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 2, 31. Gordis discusses the techniques of Puritan exegesis, explaining that Puritan ministers presented their preaching as prophecy and emphasized that they only "opened" God's word with His assistance. The Holy Spirit would then enable the community of saints to reach a consensus about God's will. The Bible was seen as an open text, a locus for ongoing interaction between God and His chosen saints.

Chapter I

John Cotton:

A Portrait as Evidence

Historians and art connoisseurs have long attempted to identify the sitter in this portrait (fig. 1.1) because it has been thoroughly repainted and liberally inscribed.¹ Alan Burroughs and Louisa Dresser have determined that three Puritan Divines were considered to be the sitter: John Cotton, Increase Mather, or his brother, Nathaniel.² Charles Knowles Bolton eliminated Mather and his brother, deducing that it is a portrait of John Cotton.³ He based his findings on the results of an x-ray (shadowgraph) which showed excessive over-painting that had concealed an earlier style of clerical collar on the sitter, as well as changes in his hair color, facial hair, and gestures (fig. 1.2 & 1.3).⁴

Henry Wilder Foote argues that whether cut in stone; cast in bronze; painted on plaster, wood, or canvas; or engraved, a portrait is a historical document. He is concerned that historians and biographers naively accept supposed likenesses which are “highly dubious as to their origin” as illustrations for their books.⁵ In yet another portrait thought to be Cotton, Foote found that Cotton’s face, which was widely reproduced and published in several sources, was misrepresented mainly because of the subject’s late date of dress and wig, as well as the working period of the artist. These observations proved that the portrait could not have been painted in the first half of the seventeenth century when collars were wider, hair was shorter and the composition of paintings was more linear (fig. 1.4).⁶

This study’s analysis of Cotton’s portrait illustrates Prown’s method of Description, Deduction, and Speculation. It certainly depicts a clergyman approximately sixty years old living

in New England in 1649 and interested in the third chapter of the Book of Revelation.

Furthermore, the portrait suggests that Cotton was aware of his dual role as Christian pilgrim and spokesman for New England and was emblematic of the tensions surrounding certainty and doubt of visible sainthood. The physiognomy and emblematic conventions depicted in the portrait shows clerics in this study as types of *imitatio Christi*, defined as the elect who viewed themselves as prophets.⁷ The visual construction and composition of Cotton's image aligns with his piety, which Knight states is counter to preparationist orthodoxy.⁸ Knight, who classified Cotton as one of the Spiritual Brethren, affirms that "Cottonian" piety was neither the product of specific American conditions, nor was it banished to sectarian groups in the aftermath of the Antinomian controversy.⁹

Biblical rationalism that characterized Puritan covenant theology was in tension with the character of a Puritan "spiritism." Puritanism exhibited a drive toward immediacy in religious experience. James Maclear states that spiritism validated the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men, freeing them from reliance on any of the marks of institutional Christianity. However, this Puritan synthesis created a strain which forged schisms early on.¹⁰

Cotton's "cover-up" in dealing with the Ann Hutchinson case relayed this tension and is well documented. Hutchinson had been one of Cotton's ardent admirers and based her independent spirit-led revelations of scripture on his teachings; grossly overstepping the boundaries between clergy and laity. Maclear writes that, on his deathbed, Cotton "ordered his son to burn all his papers relative to the religious dispute begun in that year."¹¹ As a Sibbesian convert, Cotton read Canticles, the favorite book of Christian mystics. Sibbes wrote twenty sermons on Canticles which affirmed the role of the indwelling spirit in each saint. The central point of spiritism was the rebirth of a life permanently transfigured. Maclear notes that a

homiletical emphasis on the indwelling spirit, which is centered in an evangelical faith in Christ, is noted in contemporary accounts about Cotton.¹²

Averting a narcissistic depiction, Cotton confidently displays his spiritism in the open verses of a Bible and, in so doing, delivers a didactic message about the indwelling of spirit to his viewer. In his image, Cotton arms himself with the force of biblical prophecies against the waning of Puritan declension in New England's covenanted status and, in so doing, assuages his own fear of predestination damnation, pictorially affirming visible sainthood. The depiction of the Bible reveals that at the time the portrait was painted, Cotton was not only interested in Canticles, but also in one or all of the concluding verses of the third chapter of Revelation. Bolton discloses that there is evidence that it is Cotton's Barker Bible open to Revelations II and III in the painting, thus proving Cotton was the original sitter. Cotton was famous for his devotion to the Book of Revelation. Bolton argues that Cotton's printed sermons included Revelation chapters 7, 13, 16, and 20 and asserts that they show his particular interest in those passages.¹³ According to Bolton, verse 22 in the third chapter was Cotton's favorite. "In a printed sermon, *An Exposition upon the Thirteenth Chapter*," writes Bolton, "he [Cotton] mentions this verse three times on page 13."¹⁴ Cotton's grandson, Cotton Mather, attested to his grandfather's ability to understand Revelations, the most mystical book of the Bible. "Another time, when Mr. Cotton had modestly Replied unto one that would much Talk and Crack of his Insight into the Revelations;" wrote Mather, "Brother, I must confess myself to want Light in those Mysteries!"¹⁵ According to Bolton, no other prominent New England divine showed interest in Revelation.¹⁶

Cotton's portrait is filled with emblems, motifs, and symbols of Christianity which can be cross-referenced to such things as church architecture, communion silver, illustrated Bibles,

gravestones, and dress and are not necessarily devoid of words. Sally Promey writes that “the signs and symbols derived from Christianity naturally extended into the visual field reiterating Puritan ideas through common objects, transmuting them into highly metaphorical understandings of human life.”¹⁷ Portraits are “technologies of the self,” she states, that convey intimate connections between pictorial and textual forms of Puritan imagination.¹⁸ Investigating the symbolic and metaphorical strategies of operation in Puritan art and the material practices of piety that influenced them, she argues that “portrait painting was a performance of devotional self-examination in the same manner as ‘literatures about the self,’ such as diaries, journals, and meditative poetry with the goal of finding and discovering the image of Christ in one self.”¹⁹

In this study, portraits like Cotton’s embodied many of the motifs which resembled not only the format in emblem books of picture, inscription, and motto, but also the scriptural text and moral teachings imparted from the emblem tradition. The use of finely crafted words in paint transform Cotton’s portrait into a distinctive narrative about spiritual conviction when integrated with the rest of the composition. The sheer exuberance and richness of the material evidence in Cotton’s portraiture tangibly and immediately forces the examiner to engage in new inquiry with the understanding that portraits, as historical evidence, shape personal identities and reinforce cultural hierarchies and social patterns, deepening the interpretation of existing textual models of expression rather than altering them. Roger Stein’s research on a portrait of Thomas Smith shows how an artist constructs and shapes a sound visualization from the seemingly unrelated materials of image and emblem (fig. 1.5).²⁰ The emblem chosen in one’s portrait “expands, interprets, and complicates the meaning of the visual image,” Stein writes, “turning what may at first appear to be a straightforward painting into an allegory, or extended metaphor.” He further states that “the emblem seeks to embody *not* reflect. This qualification is crucial! It is the

difference between a work passively illustrating some notion of the culture and its participation in actively giving one shape to that culture.”²¹

Description/Deduction

Cotton is represented as a middle-aged man of the clergy and in apparent good health.²² He is positioned at a slightly diagonal turn seated at a circular table or desk positioned at his left side. Cotton is in an enclosed room and engages the viewer through direct eye contact. His books and writing implements suggest his literacy and knowledge gained from his theological education which afforded him a certain level of authority on spiritual matters.²³ In the area behind Cotton’s body, a soft glow illuminates a quill pen situated vertically on a table or a lampstand near his left arm in a round receptacle that probably served as an ink well. He is positioned in front of a bookcase with three to four shelves that hold approximately four to six books on each level. Book bindings are reddish in color highlighted with gold decals, yet titles are absent. Other books are hidden behind his head and are concealed by a backdrop of green drapery that flanks his body on a diagonal line from right to left. The square shape of the portrait is comparable to a mirror hanging on a wall. The firm surface of a table separates Cotton from those viewing the portrait, thus preventing viewers from “entering” his room. Cotton is unapproachable keeping his distance despite his proximity to the picture plane. The concealment of his ears is consistent with hearing only the Word of God, which he “opens” for the viewer. In Christian humility, his closed lips suggest no words are coming from him.

The word “open” is in reference to Lisa Gordis’ use “opening” as an idiom for the experience of divine revelation in Puritan exegesis. In her book, *Opening Scripture*, Gordis examines the spectral identities ministers were known to assume while preaching and writing.²⁴ Clergy used the word “opening” to describe an experience of divine revelation when reading

biblical text, she states, and that Puritan ministers, in a laborious effort at humility, became intercessors who presented their preaching as prophesy, emphasizing that they merely opened God's word with assistance from the Holy Spirit. Manuals such as *The Arte of Prophesying*, written by William Perkins in 1609, instructed Puritan ministers to efface themselves from their own sermons by masking the efforts of their learning so that only the Holy Spirit was noted as the inspirational force behind the text.²⁵ Gordis writes, "Ministers believed they were channeled by the Holy Spirit and had to become skilled artisans, self-effacing in order to become conduits and prophets for the Word of God."²⁶ According to Gordis, the elect in the congregations were already divinely enabled to understand the divine word and were understood to hear Christ's voice through the minister. As a result of delivering sermons Gordis states, "An unconscious rhetorical confusion would pervade most dialogue delivered to a congregation from a minister because his discourse, based on scripture, would fuse with the text thereby assuming its own persona, which in turn would be equated with Christ's voice authenticating and authorizing the moral lessons as belonging to Christ."²⁷ Cotton was knowledgeable of the Bible's hold and traditionally used this theological instrument to support his missionary activity. He represented himself, using a visual language of opening the pages of The Book of Revelation, as *an imitatio Christi*, averting any inference toward self-aggrandizement. This idea of diminishing one's self while expounding scripture reinforces the theory that portraits depicted the transformation of a mortal identity into a mystical expression of divine revelation.

In his portrait, Cotton's dark wavy hair is at shoulder length. Hair considered too short (shorter than Cotton's) in the seventeenth century was associated with poverty.²⁸ For Puritans like Cotton, being poor was a sin akin to idleness and meant that one was not prosperous at their secular or ministerial calling.²⁹ However, as generations passed, Puritans were less averse to

displaying vanity in a painting; delight in self-accomplishment was viewed as being “fruitful” and received the blessings of the ministry. As heirs to the Levitical priesthood, they could expect to receive double their pay in return for their services to God were sanctioned by 1 Tim. 5:8.³⁰

Cotton Mather wrote from hearsay the following description of his great grandfather whom he never met or saw:

He was of a Clear, Fair, Sanguine Complexion, and like David of a Ruddy Countenance. He was rather Low than Tall, and rather Fat than Lean; but of a Becoming Mediocrity. In his younger years his hair was brown, but in his Later years, as White as the Driven Snow. In his countenance there was an Inexpressible sort of Majesty, which commanded Reverence from all that approached him.³¹

According to Dresser, Cotton’s full and sanguine (blood-red) lips described by his grandson are noted in the original portrait, as is Cotton’s white hair.³² In the portrait, Cotton has a ruddy complexion and facial stubble encircles his mouth creating minimal shadow on his face. Wendy Katz convincingly argues that the stylistic technique of shadowing in portraits was conventional in the seventeenth century and was not only determined by the artist’s knowledge or availability, but was also based on the personality, ethics, and the moral fortitude of the patron.³³ Seven of the ten portraits chosen for this study come directly from the Neo-Medieval tradition and follow Katz’s arguments about diminishing shadow. The faces of the men display only enough play of shadow to create displacement of inner thought while still affording them the virtues of integrity and truth that she argues a “lighted” face embodied. Katz believes that ministers, as well as men of seventeenth-century Boston who devoted themselves almost exclusively to mercantile matters, seem to have favored the new-medieval style of painting.³⁴ “Strong shadows were a departure from a gentlemanly style and left the image of the sitter at suspect...,” writes Katz, “promoting a

‘cunning style of illusionism’ which gave the appearance of skillful deception.”³⁵ Although Cotton’s portrait hails from the Neo-Medieval tradition, there is enough play of shadow to create displacement of inner thought while still affording him an honest appearance.

Concerns regarding idolatry in portraits was tempered and defused by the *memento mori* tradition. This tradition reflected that of the emblem which was created during the Italian Renaissance as a pictorial image accompanied by a verbal commentary such as a motto or verse. *Memento mori* expanded and complicated the meaning of the visual image, transforming what may at first appear to be a straightforward painting into an allegory or extended metaphor. Stein suggests this tradition enabled sitters and artists to paint into portraits such objects as skulls, timepieces, and hour glasses, as well as scriptural verses, which served as austere moralistic messages to counter any conceit which may have deflected the glory of the sitter’s mortal accomplishments of man to God himself.³⁶

Above Cotton’s head and clerical bands appears a gold curvilinear motto and emblem encased in the middle of the drapery with the Latin maxim *Non est mortale quod opto* (“I desire that which is not mortal”).³⁷ X-rays show that the ribbon on which the motto is written was added to the portrait later. In his assertion that the portrait depicts Cotton, Bolton notes that on the graceful curves at the end of the motto, along each side of the sitter’s face, dark paint conceals the letters “IST,” and perhaps “RIST,” which he assumes to be the word “CHRIST.”³⁸ “Looking for a suitable phrase of six or eight words in a chapter of Revelation used by Cotton,” Bolton writes, “I came upon these words in the sixth verse of Chapter 20: ‘They shall be Priests of God and of Christ.’” Bolton adds, “In one of Cotton’s sermons printed in 1642 and entitled, ‘The Churches Resurrection, or the Opening of the Fifth and Sixth verses of the 20th Chap. Of the Revelation,’ I find on page 2 the above phrase printed in italics.”³⁹ Bolton’s discovery of the

motto “They Shall be Priests of God and of Christ” unites with the verses in Chapter II of Revelation to visually demonstrate that in the over-painted motto, Cotton is certain of his visible sainthood and his role as *imitatio Christi*.

Dress

Lets bring Baals vestments forth to make a fire,
Their Mystires, Surplices, and all their Tire [attire],
Copes, Rotchets, Crossiers, and such empty trash;
And let their names consume, but let the flash
Light Christendome, and all the world to see
We hate Romes whore, with all her trumpery.⁴⁰

While there is not a known portrait of the celebrated writer Anne Bradstreet, her poem is a fitting portrayal of the power of dress as a means of identifying the mortal soul. While her poem is a colorful and witty expression of the Puritan stance on Anti-Catholicism, her use of apparel as the outward expression of all that was tainted and wrong with her beloved England is interesting as a means not only in which to discredit the papacy, but to depict the role of dress in identifying one’s moral and theological convictions.

It is well known that some of the less-thought out effects of the Reformation were targeted at removal and destruction of material objects in art and sculpture. The Puritans continued the tradition of eliminating extravagance in representing God’s Holy Church and extended this toward dress, rejecting every kind of special clerical apparel. Yet according to Janet Mayo, there was a slower break in dress with traditional vestments in England compared to the continent as the last outward sign of allegiance to Rome.⁴¹ Martin Bucer, a German ex-Dominican professor at Cambridge, called for a concession between nonconformists and conservatives to retain the vestments used in performing the Holy Eucharist.⁴² This gesture supports the idea that meaning and dress are interrelated. Despite the disdain for popish

vestments, clerics and laity alike enjoyed the luxury of clothes in daily life, some rivaling the jeweled embellishments of Roman Catholic vestments. According to George Tyack, Reformed doctrine modified and distanced itself from liturgical vestments, because of the meanings applied to them.⁴³ Puritans issued certain demands in 1605, one of which was the abolition of “copes together with surplices, crosses, and other things of ecclesiastical use.”⁴⁴ After the Restoration of the Monarchy in Great Britain in 1660, and for the whole of the eighteenth century, the clergy and ministers of all denominations adopted contemporary fashionable dress. Various nonconformist sects who had descended from the most extreme Puritans of the Commonwealth, eschewed clerical dress and wore a sober and conservative version of contemporary professional fashions adopting and adapting garments they considered suitable.

In his portrait, Cotton is heavily covered in a thick black robe. The black Geneva gown was worn at the introduction of lectures or discourses which led to its acceptance in Reformed dress, although it had narrower sleeves and a heavier black material than those provided by the academic English dress, sometimes called a “lawyers gown.”⁴⁵ The simple gown conveyed the authority and solemnity of the ordained ministry and was typically worn for “opening” scripture. Reform thought preferred its simplicity along with a lack of ostentation, drawing attention to the responsibility of the office rather than fashion and personality. Cotton’s choice, whether in the over-painting of a Geneva gown or in the everyday suit Bolton believes is painted underneath, depicts a somber, albeit professional dress, which adhered to the Massachusetts ruling on sumptuary laws. Alice Earle describes the law:

The Massachusetts magistrates prohibited the wearing of gold, silver, or thread lace; all cut works, embroideries, or needlework in the form of caps, bands or rails; gold and silver girdles, hat-bands, belts, ruffs, or beaver hats; knots of ribbon; broad shoulder bands; silk roses; double ruffles or capes; gold and silver buttons; silk points; silk and tiffany hoods and scarves.⁴⁶

Earle's colorful inventory of Governor John Winthrop's coats, however, refutes the idea that a somber and pious uniform was the only type of fashion worn by clerics. She affirms that in 1633, Winthrop had several dozen scarlet coats sent from England to the Bay colony. The consigner wrote, "I could not find any Bridwater cloth but Red; so all the coats sent are red lined with blew, and lace suitable; which red is the choice color of all." Earl writes, "Not all was not sad-colored and dun in the new land on the shores of the Bay or the banks of the Piscataquay." Despite his many red coats, Winthrop chose a black doublet for his portrait. Many of his emblems are similar to Ames portrait, affirming Knight's description of him as an Intellectual Father (fig. 1.6). Earle states that Winthrop had no less than fourteen ruffs accounted for in his will.⁴⁷

While black seems to be the dominant color of clerical and professional clothing in the portraits sampled in this study, it should be noted that what was depicted in paint may be different from the other items located in their inventories. The rejection of all priestly vestments, even those developed by the Church of England, became simplified in color and material in order to be considered acceptable.⁴⁸ As religious enthusiasts came to view not only the design or amount of certain garments, the materials used were also brought into question. It is no accident that the seemingly plain black wool fabric of a Puritan minister's doublet and breeches were the most expensive dyes available from Europe. Classes and occupations were noted more so by the quality and type of fabric in the quality of wool breeches, jackets, and coats than by style. Also, the color white and linen were the most desirable for shirts and neck cloths.⁴⁹ According to Ribeiro, in the 1630s there was a growing trend towards using darker colors and a greater sobriety in dress as plain linen, which was not necessarily less expensive, began replacing lace

collars and cuffs. Puritans could dress richly in expensive black woven silks and the crispest of starched linen from Holland. Pervasive trends of European fashion and good fortune led many New England colonials to acquire “vestments” of nothing less than quality and good taste from European markets. Ribeiro states one could still be committing the sin of pride since one could be proud of plain apparel since it was costly.⁵⁰

Early Christian teachings stress the link between outward appearance and the state of the soul, as well as a dislike for individualism which drew attention to the self. In a reductionist contextual analysis the choices, extravagances, and overall prominence noted in the wearing of collars among fashionable men provoked a derogatory yet colorful response from Puritan Philip Stubbes who stated “they [collars] goeth flip flap in the wind like raggs that flew abroad, lying upon their shoulders like the dishcloute of a slut.”⁵¹ According to Ribeiro, from the earliest times in the Christian church a code of morals was handed down which included strictures on clothing. Individualism was frowned upon. It was not until the Renaissance period that the fierce hold churches had on all aspects of morality, including dress, began to slip.⁵²

Attitudes toward clothing and appearance were dictated by Puritan concerns. The opinion that the soul was best revealed in simple clothes unhindered by worldly vanities was an essential precept of Puritan belief, even though the material evidence of portraiture may show otherwise. In this vein, Martha Finch found in her exploration of the power of dress, that Protestants believed one’s outward attire revealed his inward moral state.⁵³ Royalist poet Francis Quarles noted in his Epigrammes of 1640 that “the body is the Shell of the soul, Apparel is the Husk of that Shell, and the Husk often tells you what the Kernel is.”⁵⁴ While Puritan portraits reveal modest clothing trends, generational preferences depicted vanity, proving that attention to worldly style persisted. Subtle changes in fashion as illustrated in portraiture indicate changes

within the deepest of Puritan convictions. Cotton's son-in-law, Increase Mather, was vehemently opposed to the wearing of wigs even though his "favorite" son, Cotton, sported the latest fashion in his portrait (fig. 1.7). Mather wrote "that novelty and singularity in fashion is the badge of a vain mind. Some church members indulge themselves in the wearing of periwigs which make them resemble the Locusts that come out of the bottomless pit."⁵⁵

Bolton's discovery of the over-painting of Cotton's portrait is a fine example. The present Geneva collar depicting two small, white bands was superimposed over an earlier version of a lay collar recognized as a wide, flat, and square material reaching outward to the shoulders. As a result, the identity of the portrait's subject was in question, but definitively dated the painting to a generation earlier than previously thought. When the fallen bands were substituted for the flat, square collar, a moustache and a tuft of hair under the lower lip were also painted out. It appears it was important to the artist or patron of the over-painting to prefer a dress which showed the profession of the clergy so the bands naturally were substituted.⁵⁶ The original collar appears in two positions, having been changed probably in an effort to make the chest appear deeper. According to Louise Dresser, no less than three collars have been painted on this canvas which supports the idea that male neckwear distinguished the moral and mortal implications of the sitter's character.⁵⁷

In order to identify the metaphorical modes of Puritan dress it helps to distinguish various forms of dress and collars noted in the remaining portraits (fig. 1.8).⁵⁸ The Geneva collar or fallen bands varied in length and width. Many seem "painted" to appear translucent, suggestive of the finest Holland linen. Worn by clerics as well as lawyers, they typically took the form of two oblong pieces of white cloth (originally in the form of a wide collar), which was tied in front to the neck. Bands did not become academically significant until they were abandoned as an

ordinary lay fashion after the Restoration in 1660. They became identified as specifically applicable to clerical, legal, and academic individuals in the early eighteenth century, when they became longer and narrower in form. While it is true that Puritans opposed the rich and dense materials of the Levitical and Roman priesthood, Puritan clerics, in their assumed roles as spiritual leaders in the New Dispensation, used stylistic modalities in dress (such as Sibbes' miter), to fashion their portraits as symbolic of High Priests.

Cotton's neck collar and clerical fallen bands are white and appear to be translucent linen-like material that is split in two lengths falling approximately to mid-chest. All of the Reformed clerics in this study wear a combination of everyday dress, Geneva gowns and cloaks, which Tyack affirms were merely abbreviated forms of ecclesiastical dress like the Roman cassock, the clerical cloak, and modified copes.⁵⁹ He argues that white clerical collars are atrophied remnants of the liturgical amice, the vestment worn closet to the body in early Christian Eucharistic ritual (fig.1.9).⁶⁰ The central role of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collars is seen in Cotton's portrait. Using Prown's Speculation method, the collar's proximity to Cotton's throat, metaphorically becomes a "consecrated conduit," a material vehicle for dispensing the Word of God typologically through the "sacred temple" of his body.

Given the mysterious provenance of the portrait believed to be Cotton, it was generally agreed that the likeness was essential, but that some idealization either in dress or drapery would elevate the image, making it more timeless and thus with greater appeal for posterity. Ribeiro states that it had to be faithful to historical fact, for portraits were the visual documents of their age.⁶¹ She states there was an obsessive concentration on the details in order to describe the patron's factual record. But for the portrait to sustain an affective presence over time, an idealization through allegorical references and symbols created a pictorial narrative to give a

sense of universal truths.⁶² Interpreting portraits as “affecting presences” that assert constructive fictions demands an important shift in approach -- from one that views likenesses as reflections or memorials of a mortal life to one that sees the portrait as a representation of intangible virtues rooted in tensions that exist between two conflicting worlds.

Painting

The techniques used in painting Cotton’s portrait likely descended from the Baroque, Rococo, and Neo-classical traditions, since most portraits were copied from engravings and mezzotints imported from England or brought to the colonies by artists hoping to provide services for a new market.⁶³ Artists, such as the unknown limner of Cotton’s portrait in America, can still be separated into three categories: colonial artists who were either academically trained in Europe and lived in the cosmopolitan centers of the northeast; self-taught limners/tradesmen painting everything from portraits to shop signs; or the itinerant painters, entrepreneurial prodigies whose mass-produced portraits would become a form of American folk art.⁶⁴

A variety of traditions and techniques are seen in Cotton’s portrait which is most illustrative of the following ten portraits selected for this study. There are two distinct schools of colonial portrait painting which Abbot Lowell Cummings classifies as the Neo-Medieval a conservative, linear, highly detailed style; and the more progressive painterly school of the Anglo-Dutch which encompassed the Italian Renaissance principles of chiaroscuro, modeling, and convergent perspective.⁶⁵ Especially noteworthy from this tradition is the strong characterization of Cotton’s features and his conventional composition which leads the eye directly to the face.⁶⁶ Cummings defines the neo-medieval style as “the conservative persistence of English courtly painting traditions that resulted in highly detailed portraits referred to as ‘costume pieces’ owing to the close, undifferentiated attention paid throughout the entire canvas

to painstakingly delineated details of clothing and accessories.”⁶⁷ The detailed lace in Sibbes’ portrait and Cotton’s scriptural verses, as well as the attention to setting and dress, are heirs to this tradition as they are extremely patternistic. For both schools, there is abundant evidence of impressive painterly craft practices which colonial artists inherited. Most New Englanders who had their portraits painted in the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century composed a small but distinct group of educated elite patrons such as magistrates, merchants, and clergymen.⁶⁸ While it is true that portrait painting was viewed partially as having a utilitarian purpose, the composition of one’s image became as exacting as the words artfully composed in an autobiography.

Colonial Americans were still painting in the Neo-Medieval “Tudor-like” tradition of limners, a style popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. This Neo-Medieval tradition was consistently criticized by European aristocracy as being too-liney and old-fashioned. Rosemary Krill states that portraits similar to the overall composition of Cotton’s “determined that American art showed a provincial lack of comprehension of the complexities of Baroque composition due to the minimal exposure of sophisticated theories and techniques of European painting.”⁶⁹ She affirms that liney painting involved three-quarter positions, and inaccurate anatomical figures that were not integrated, but seem to be added one by one. Lack of curving, molding and three-dimensional form was prevalent in the provincial artist resulting in a flat appearance. It was only in the late 1700s that a more painterly approach was adopted through various means of training since no academies existed. Hundreds of imported mezzotints taught artists in the colonies the aristocratic painterly ideal. Art manuals imported as early as 1672, gave specific directions for preparing pigments and applying colors. Colonial artists had reading

materials, existing works, and personal instruction before the establishment of academic schools in the nineteenth century.⁷⁰

The ten portraits in this study have overlapping techniques and are heirs to both traditions. While the portraits of Ames, Mather, and Sibbes are attributed to Dutch artists and appear more painterly than the others in this project, the Neo-Medieval portraits, Cummings affirms, are not primitive or indicative of limited ability by the artist, but represent a stylistic option preferred by a significant number of clients.⁷¹ The portraits of Whitefield and Edwards are attributed to Joseph Badger and are somewhat more painterly. The unknown portraits of Stiles, Stoughton, Cotton and Chauncy are characterized by a flat form, decorative patterning, and linear definition. Shading is used timidly. Their anatomy is not mastered in the classical style and there is an absence of corporeal form which is an allusion to the spiritual dimension of another world. The rich textiles are reduced to line and minimal color and the lack of pattern, with the exception of Stoughton's tabbard, deprives one of tactile qualities. The dark background noted in all of the portraits hails from the Dutch tradition, introduced in New England around 1665.

Mysticism in Spiritual Biography:

Deduction /Speculation

In Puritan theology, the ongoing composition of a spiritual autobiography is derived from the lifelong discipline of honing a contrite and humble heart. Experiences of great spiritual satisfaction were achieved through the compulsory prerequisite of daily and weekly devotional activity.⁷² Puritans prepared their souls for communion with Christ through meditation on scriptural texts, as well as through prayerful contemplation, self-examination, the reading of devotional books, and even diary-keeping which oftentimes expanded into autobiographical

form. The Protestant position on prayer was that it had real power.⁷³ To be effective, prayer had to emerge from a quickened heart, the place of spiritual “seeing” which was activated through meditation in the same way as the communal power of sacraments or the introspective reading of scripture, all of which were dependent on the faith of the participants and on Christ’s presence in the moment to apply grace.⁷⁴ Charles Hambrick-Stowe affirms that prayer had strong scriptural warrant and was the means in which God “might elevate the soul out of sin into union with Himself.”⁷⁵

This meditative effort is portrayed as “light” in Cotton’s portrait which illuminates his high forehead and his right temporal area, known as the center of emotional sensibility.⁷⁶ The suffusion of secretive knowledge revealed to Cotton from his library from where his daily devotions took place, is expressed in plays of light flowing the length of the imaginary left-to-right descending diagonal line of the composition, beginning with his highly illumined forehead, coursing downward through the divided white clerical bands of his Geneva collar, and continuing through the pallid fingers of his right hand, which are shown open and curved upward, pointing to his mid-abdomen and chest. This line is in direct opposition to the dark diagonal line of drapery which flows from top right to left of the painting. The right thumb is bent backward and his right middle and ring finger are slightly bowed. Cotton’s outstretched left arm rests upon the table holding an open book cupped in his left hand and extended toward the bottom of the portrait tilted toward the viewer.

The maxim *Non est mortale quod opto* and the particular scriptural references Cotton has chosen for his portrait are symbolic emblems that befit his visual jeremiad and perhaps are in tension with his Spiritist ideals. The portrait is weighted by muted and darkened tones that create a heaviness evoking a sense of solidity conveyed by the rectilinear forms which vie for notice in

the illuminated soft surfaces. As a result of the corresponding colors of Cotton's skull cap and book bindings, his wisdom as a spiritual advisor is united with the knowledge derived from his personal library as a result of the contiguity and verticality of his body with the concealed and unidentified books located behind his head. Consultation with a spiritual counselor overlapped the boundaries of public devotions like Sabbath worship, psalm singing, sacraments, and special private and public days of fasting and thanksgiving.⁷⁷ When placed in the home or public building, Cotton's portrait became a means of reiterating spiritual discussions to needy souls. Knight quotes Cotton Mather who reported in his anthology, *Magnalia Christi Americana* 1:255, that his grandfather's veneration for Sibbes was so "particular and perpetual" that "it caused him to have the *picture* of that Great Man, in that part of his house, where he might oftenest look upon it."⁷⁸ In this regard, Sibbes' portrait takes on the life of a sacramental icon, Cotton's beloved advisor inspiring him through the process of the recognition of his image as an *imitatio Christi*.

Dennis Tamburello's rubric of mysticism summarizes the process of union with God as the Puritan populace understood it. He states, "The Holy Spirit brings the elect, through the hearing of the gospel, to faith; in so doing, the Spirit engrafts them to Christ."⁷⁹ This moment may have provided the assurance of knowing one was predestined as the elect and could be admitted to a church community as a visible saint. This "hearing" is pictorially transformed into "seeing" in the visual language of Cotton's portrait, and is mediated through the carefully chosen scriptural reference of Revelation's last verses in Chapter III, which are painted darker and heavier than the rest of the text: "Let him that hath an eare, heare what the Spirit saith unto the Churches."⁸⁰ Cotton's visible sainthood is confirmed as evidenced by the position of Revelation's verses which are singularly facing him, not the viewer, indicating that only he has heard the Spirit's

revelation and is thus engrafted to Christ. Becoming less a visual jeremiad, the verses running the length of the right column in Cotton's portrait are optimistic in the style of the Spiritual Brethren, promising eternal life to those who repent. According to Bolton, who believes it is the Barker Bible, these lines correspond with verses in the Geneva Bible, stating in Rev. 3:12, "Him that overcommeth, will I make a pillar in the Temple of my God, and he shall goe no more out: ... And I will write upon him my New Name."⁸¹ "My New Name" is interpreted in biblical exegesis as Jesus Christ and it appears that in elaborating that verse of Scripture in his portrait, Cotton alludes that the "new name" will be written upon him. Cotton found that any spiritual crisis could be alleviated somewhat through signs or marks of holiness that offered some relief of spiritual distress through the disciplined devotion of adopting the behaviors and beliefs of Jesus Christ.⁸² Participating in Christ's redemption in a system of repeated exercises of ritual self-emptying known as "dying to self," would prepare him for the renewed experience of "rising" again, filled with an intense experience of the Divine assuring him of his elect status. Hambrick-Stowe's excerpt of Cotton's comment in *Christ the Fountaine of Life* is telling: "Sometimes we must 'sit loose' and not 'look for life in the Word or Sacraments, or communion with God's servants,' but simply look for it all in Christ."⁸³

Cotton's eyes are directed to the center of the composition where movements of both the imagined left-to-right diagonal line and the dark diagonal line of the drapery unite near his heart. Cotton's upright position, the books on the shelves and the quill pen display and parallel his upstanding character.⁸⁴ The painstaking labor the artist took to ascribe the scriptural verses on the open book in Cotton's hand is curiously absent on the bindings of the books of his library. The maxim *Non est mortale quod opto* and the particular scriptural references Cotton has chosen for his portrait are symbolic emblems that befit his confidence as a visible saint and perhaps are

in tension with Puritan expectations of orthodox ideals. It is well known that Cotton faced challenges in witnessing the failure of the Christian Commonwealth in England, the devastation of the Restoration, and the reinstatement of the episcopacy, not to mention the apostasy of many in his church, as well as the interference of orthodoxy during the antinomian controversy. The decision to paint Chapter III into his portrait is telling of Cotton's analogy of seventeenth-century Boston to the ancient pagan cities described in Revelation that became places for Christian persecution and martyrdom.⁸⁵

The final glimmer of light terminates on the V-shaped curvature of the index finger of Cotton's left hand which points to "Chap III" and upward toward his chest duplicating the pattern of the pyramidal V on the lower edge of his Geneva collar. On the same imaginary descending diagonal line between collar and book the corresponding V pattern functions as interlocking pieces of a puzzle pressing together voice and text into the center space of the composition uniting Cotton and the Word of God. Hovering over the full length of Cotton's shoulders are the emblem's ribbon-like wings symbolically fluttering as an angelic cryptogram above the darkness of his lower torso.⁸⁶ Cotton's image is transformed into *imitatio Christi* as the new temple protected by the cherubim in the same way The Book of Exodus describes God's promise to the Israelites to reside albeit conditionally in the Holy of Holies in the Ark of the Covenant.⁸⁷ The jubilation associated with angelic messengers, the buoyancy of the winged emblem behind his head, and the maxim "I desire that which is not mortal" is a mystical portrayal of the joy of election.⁸⁸

The assurance of receiving grace and knowing oneself to be elect was always mediated through a variety of cultural products – intangible things such as preaching and prayer – and tangible things like Bibles, godly books, and communion silver.⁸⁹ Other Puritan objects

implicated in Puritan spirituality had a similar spectrum of meaning such as communion tables, carved pulpits, meeting houses, biblical fireplace tiles and mourning gloves.⁹⁰ Portraits are heavily laden with these objects evoking a sense of spirituality in reminding individuals of their need for grace, or the memory of having had received it. The affective feeling of receiving grace came through material things that required the expenditure of material sources to produce. Mark Peterson affirms that Puritans denied the notion that grace was a material substance that could be conveyed through objects, but he argues that metaphorically people grasped and expressed this abstract concept materially.⁹¹ As autobiographical accounts, the portraits in this study reflect back to the viewer “the visible saint,” the longing, memory, or experience of election through the choices and combination of motifs familiar to the Puritan audience. While a spiritual and pictorial autobiography can be limited, codified, and repetitive, a closer look into the interiority of the formulaic emblems of the disciplined Puritan spiritual life, yields telling mystical accounts that can be further analyzed using a typological examination.⁹²

Typology

The coming of Christ was an event determined at the beginning of time. Typological readings of the Old Testament are found in the collective experience of the Hebrews and in the lives of individual heroes, saints, and prophets prefiguring the First coming of Christ. Thus Adam foreshadowed Christ, and Eve the Christian church. According to Mason Lowance, this typological approach was an essential part of the Puritan method in reading Scripture and in applying it to all matters of daily life which affirmed the believer’s role in the fulfillment of God’s universal plan. A type, wrote Samuel Mather, “is some outward or sensible thing ordained of God under the Old Testament, to represent and hold forth something of Christ in the New.”⁹³

Cotton's portrait illustrates some of these conceptual ideas. The overt display of the Old Testament and temple imagery in many of the portraits supports positioning the Puritan community in a typological interpretation of scriptural history. Utilizing Bercovitch's thesis of *imitatio Christi*, the Christocentric images of the men merge in solidarity with heroes of scripture.⁹⁴

Illustrations of the Temple were popular in many Bibles printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the Geneva Bible of 1599, Puritans could see woodcuts of the Temple, the ark, mercy-seat, candlestick, pillars, and the garments of the high priest.⁹⁵ Puritans believed the temple artistry was a visible sign of God's presence among his people constructed from free will offerings by artisans who in their submission to God and earthly authority created a masterpiece of richly carved wood and complex woven textiles.⁹⁶ Puritans used the temple as a tangible symbol of how prayer, submission, and obedience were the means to achieve reconciliation and union with God. Samuel Mather wrote extensively on the subject of typology in his discourse, *Figures or Types of the Old Testament*, affirming that the New Jerusalem Temple was a metaphor for the saint's corporeal being:

The Temple itself was a sign of his Presence [Christ], and the Altar, the Ark, the Mercy-Seat, were affixed by God's appointment into those places to be observed and celebrated there, viz, .in the Temple, and in Jerusalem, but there is no place that is now privileged with this Symbolical Presence. There are no such standing signs and tokens of his Presence annexed unto any place. God hath given his Ordinances, to his Church, but he hath not tyed them to any place, He Dwells Not in Temples made with Hands.⁹⁷

Mather refuted the Roman papacy's literal interpretation of Levitical ritual and decoded, metaphorically, the traditions in a way Reformers could use to apply them to their lives. Puritan

doctrine held to this interpretation of scripture and continued to extract biblically sanctioned instructions, such as the Lords' Supper.

Typologically, in Cotton's portrait, the cherubic messengers of Exodus' narrative foreshadow and surround the Holy of Holies of Cotton's bodily "temple." They proclaim his image as a divine sanctuary for the Ark of the Covenant, housing the Holy of Holies, the spiritual presence of God. The seraphic disclosure of divine revelation from Chapter III is reversed by the cupped and pointed fingers of Cotton's highlighted left hand, returning upward in an ascending fashion to meet Cotton's phantasmal fingers pointing to where the intersection of the diagonal luminary line and the opposing line of darkened drapery unite near his heart, the location of the soul in Puritan belief.⁹⁸ The divisional structure of the portrait heightens, thematically, the psychological election tension of certainty and doubt. Indicative of the opposing forces of heavenly and worldly struggle in Revelation's cosmic battle, the pulling and pushing movements of the competing diagonal lines of light and darkness meet on the surface of the painting across Cotton's "soul." The verticality of Cotton and his library books creates an up/down interchange dissimilar to the horizontal position of the emblematic binding as well as the Book of Revelation. Compositionally, these lines splice the portrait into two, signifying the cross of Christ's crucifixion, which represents human fallibility to the commitment of God's mission and the religious/political rejection of that purpose. The metaphorical erection of Christ's cross in his portrait represents the spiritual tension and Puritan ambiguity between God's plan for the fulfillment of history and those chosen to participate as the elect. The four corners of Cotton's portrait is a "type," signifying the division of his church which is distributed through the four corners of the globe. The metaphorical erection of Christ's cross in Cotton's portrait represents the spiritual tension and ambiguity between Gods's plans for the fulfillment of history and in this

case the Puritan congregation's refusal to accept it. Cotton created an infallible persona represented as *imitatio Christi* where he could remain safe, apart from the Puritan "crucifixions" of his time.

In this study, temple furnishings include Puritan dress, specifically the clerical collar in Cotton's image as a benchmark for the remaining portraits; all of which typify the Levitical priesthood and the temple veil that Jesus' death was said to rent in establishing a New Covenant.⁹⁹ The veil of the temple was constructed to separate those in the outer court of the temple from the High Priest who was the only one allowed to enter the inner court of the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. When establishing the New Testament canon, early church fathers determined that the temple imagery was a pre-figurement of Christ's coming and that upon the crucifixion, symbolically the temple veil of the Holy of Holies was rent (split in two), creating a new way to achieve union with God.¹⁰⁰

The mystical text of Heb. 10:19-20 resonates in Puritan typology as the temple veil becomes a symbol for Christ's flesh. Divine union in the New Dispensation would occur only through Christ.¹⁰¹ Symbolically, in Reformed doctrine any one of the elect could enter through the torn temple "veil" implying that the soul of the visible saint could spiritually pass into the Holy of Holies or God's dwelling place.¹⁰² David Watters writes, "A believer repeatedly heard in sermons that he or she was a High Priest elected to enter Heaven, a living stone or pillar in the church militant elected to be part of the New Jerusalem Temple."¹⁰³ According to Sally Promey, in Puritan doctrine it was accepted that human beings were viewed as "consecrated spaces," rather than churches or temples.¹⁰⁴ "Puritan election enabled one to view their body as a temple where the Word of God resided in the same way the Ark of the Covenant had contained the

Decalogue,” she writes.¹⁰⁵ The Jerusalem temple, recognized as God’s dwelling place, had been interpreted by Puritan exegetes as a typological shadow of Christ’s body. Watters study on gravestone imagery affirms that the visible signs of the grace received in election are noted by the temple motifs of arches, pediments, pillars, veils and cherubim, as well as images of the departed wearing stylized Geneva collars cut into many New England gravestones (fig. 1.10).¹⁰⁶

Confidence in entering the New Jerusalem temple through the temple veil is witnessed in Cotton’s portrait as he becomes a pictorial earthy surrogate for the New Jerusalem Temple. In Watters study, it was only upon death that the Puritan elect would know they were saved as a result of transforming from a state of flesh to a state of spirit. While Watters research ultimately represents the elected saints’ eternal salvation witnessed in the graves, it is understood in the Puritan tradition that physically dying was also a metaphor to the process of “dying “ to one’s own will, as seen in the literature of daily devotions requiring obedience and submission, the qualities praised in building the metaphorical Temple.¹⁰⁷

Increase’s Mather’s brothers, Samuel and Nathaniel, who did not return to New England after continuing their education in Dublin, maintained a long correspondence with their New England remnants.¹⁰⁸ Both contributed to the discourse titled *The Figures and The Types of the Old Testament*, in which two chapters in particular aid in understanding the unconscious spiritual decisions made by dress. In a chapter titled “The Gospel of the Priest’s Holy Garments,” Samuel referenced two books of the Pentateuch – Leviticus and Exodus – which describe God’s specific instructions for clothing those he chose as his High Priests. In it, he stated that there were nine holy garments: “The holy Coat, the Girdle, the Robe, the Ephod, the Girdle of the Ephod, the Breast-plate, the Urim and Thummim, the Mitre, and the Golden Plate. All are called Holy Garments.”¹⁰⁹ Mather’s discourse was an exegetical account of clothing as symbolic of a higher

consciousness and weighty spiritual truths. He affirmed that the sheer lavishness in the five materials used in their composition: (specifically gold as the most rare and costly metal, silver, precious stones and fine linen), which represented the virtues of Beauty and Glory, personify Holiness. He fully explained that garments and objects are not capable of inherent Holiness and refers to many biblical passages stating, “The general end and use of these Garments was to be for Beauty and Glory, Exodus 28.2, as betokening a higher Glory and ...the taking away of the guilt of sin, and clothing the soul with Christ’s righteousness.”¹¹⁰ In a mystically symbolic writing, Mather described the purple and scarlet colored wool of Levitical robes as “bloody” and the purity of the linen as deeply emblematic of the glory of the true High priest Jesus Christ.¹¹¹

The clergy’s decision to wear the high priests garments to display status or occupation was refuted on a historical and doctrinal basis by Mather. In true reformed fashion, Mather dispelled the notion that Roman papists who feigned their roles as high priests by retaining the holy robe under the name of a surplice, Canonical Girdle, Canonical Coat, and the ephod as the pall were the Antichrist. In a common sense approach Mather wrote, “To fetch our Surplice from hence is as foolish as if Ministers should hang Bells at their Skirts, because Aaron did so.”¹¹² Mather disproved of the literal and allegorical use of ecclesiastical dress; instead he viewed them as typological shadows of Christ’s glory. He equated the rich artistry involved in the production of spiritual clothing with the transformation of the sinner to saint in terms of obedience and surrender to God’s laws.

The confusing language regarding the curious Girdle of the Ephod in the Book of Exodus is referenced again by Mather in his explanation of the spiritual mystery surrounding this garment which was worn close to the High Priest’s chest. Mather wrote, “the girdle which is upon the ephod is of fine twined linen and has with it two shoulder pieces joined at the two edges

so it will be joined together” (fig. 1.11). Mather interprets it to mean that the curious Girdle of the Ephod is not separable from the ephod “but to have been as it were a piece of it.” He stated that “the Ephod had as it were two bands or pieces going out from it in the weaving on this side, and on that side, with which they girded it. This curious girdle was tyed upon his [the High Priest] Heart, under the breastplate.”¹¹³ This sleeveless coat needed to be girded or held close to the body. The word “curious” implies the article had a mysterious appendage of sorts that even Mather had difficulty understanding.

The stylistic forerunner of the amice and, consequently, its remnant seen in the fallen bands trailing downward along Cotton’s chest, may be the mystical ephod. The design implications, noted in the changing fashion patterns of male ecclesiastical collars, may have been representative of a typological link to the Levitical priesthood demonstrated in these ancestral prototypes of the ephod and the breastplate, particularly in the absence of ecclesiastical dress.¹¹⁴ Using Prown’s speculation analysis, a Reformed cleric is transformed from an archetypal High Priest into an *imitatio Christi*. As a metaphorical High Priest, Cotton’s Geneva collar depicts the evolution of the cape-like ephod through its metamorphosis into the scarf-like amice, which was transitioning into the Geneva bands. Doriece Colle’s history of collars relays how the width and size of a sixteenth-century collar evolved from a sleeveless shoulder cape, which was a short coat fitted close to the chest without sleeves over the shoulder.¹¹⁵ Compositionally, below the fallen bands of Cotton’s metaphorical ephod, his right hand performs as a modern day breast plate securing the sheer weightiness of the ephod to his heart. Affirmed as a member of the Spiritual Brethren, Cotton, interested in the spiritual communion of saints, carries the names of the children of Israel on his shoulders in the same fashion as the Jewish High Priest, becoming a consecrated conduit for his fellow saints.¹¹⁶ Puritan humility would have downgraded such an

imitation of clothing as representative of elect status and viewed, however elaborate the description of clothing was, God's relation to Moses in the Pentateuch as a spiritual metaphor at best. However, Mather adhered to the importance of clothing the chosen ministers of God in a way that transcends ecclesiastical legalism, while at the same time cautioning his readers against a literal interpretation: "Clothing oneself (as the papists do) is to clothe oneself in "the filthy rags of their own Righteousness, rotten garments of counterfeit Graces, as Hypocrites and Justicaries do."¹¹⁷

In the same way a virtuoso might position his hand to forcefully push air up from his lungs so that it resonates through his vocal cords, so too are the open fingers of Cotton's right hand. The fingers, which are centrally placed, seem to be disappearing into his soul as if ready to emit upward through the "torn curtain" of the divided bands of his Geneva collar, (descendent to the Levitical ephod), a typological foreshadowing of the *revelatio*, the climactic unfolding of the redemptive cycle, the dying and rising of the Messiah prophesied in the Hebraic mystical literature, establishing Jesus of Nazareth as the New Covenant.¹¹⁸ Mather drew on the historicity of the High Priests, who he believed typologically shadowed Christ: "Is not our High priest in the sanctuary, Is He not clothed with Priestly Garments of Salvation and Righteousness? And doth he not bear the Names of his people upon his shoulders and upon his breast plate before the Lord?"¹¹⁹ The absence of corporeality represented in the neo-medieval style due to the unknown's artist's inability to master anatomy, demonstrates an allusion to the spiritual dimension of another world. In the mystical expression of his portrait, Cotton disappears into inner court of the Holy of Holies, transcending his mortal self into the identity of a dying and rising Christ, an *imitatio Christi*. In the same way the angel Gabriel heralded the birth of Jesus of Nazareth in the Annunciation as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophesy, Cotton's

metaphorical angelic emblem heralds his divine inheritance and spiritual birth as a seventeenth century Son of God entrusted in revealing Revelation's message that he is the chosen one in keeping with his painted maxim, "I desire that which is not mortal."¹²⁰ The series of seven cloth-covered buttons enclosing Cotton's robe serve to contain his elect soul within Cotton's symbolic temple.¹²¹ Speaking as the *imitatio Christi*, Cotton's image embodies Christ's transcendent incarnation construed in Christian ideology as the fulfillment of God's plan foretold in Hebraic and Christian literature. The Divine Plan revealed by Jesus Christ and told to the disciple John in the opened pages of the Book of Revelation is released through the sanctuary of Cotton's body, which has been alchemically transformed as the spiritual new temple.

Typologically the transformed Geneva collar, resting on Cotton's throat, further transcends its sacred role becoming the veil of flesh that has been torn in two, so that all believers viewing the immediacy of Cotton's image may be transformed from sinners to saints as directed by Cotton's spiritual leadership. To warn his congregation of the advent of a New Jerusalem, Cotton's s devotional piety assisted in the visual construction and composition of his image beyond a biographical account or exhortative device concerned with apocalyptic urgency, but rather functioned in the pattern of Pauline piety, unifying not only Cotton as *the imitatio Christi*, but his congregation as "one body in Christ," in hopes of delaying the apocalypse of the Puritan ideal. Avoiding self-grandeur, he arms himself with the force of biblical prophecies against the waning of Puritan belief in New England's covenanted status and, in so doing, assuages his own fear of damnation. The quill pen on the lampstand in his portrait is bathed in the soft, steady illumination of a sure-footed and replaced candlestick, which indicates that on him was written the name of his God.¹²²

As *imitatio Christi*, Cotton's image is a metaphorical vehicle for the themes of redemption and salvation symbolized in the accounts of The Book of Revelation. His mystical unity (certainty) is in tension with human vulnerability (doubt) and the retributive power of God. The areas of illumination juxtaposed over his darkened robe in the portrait represent the image and likeness of God in human reality paralleling the spiritual themes of light and dark in John's gospel. The darkness noted in the earthly materials of Cotton's portrait surround, the illuminated surfaces, but cannot overcome the lighted areas of head, neck, hands, and bible, or the library books, quill, and lampstand.¹²³ Cotton's image betrays a confidence in which he could remain steadfast in his convictions experiencing a peace "not of the world." His portrait represents the spiritual biography of his soul, in a journey from duality to unity reflecting a divine image back onto a believer and providing his audience with a window into his secret chamber where he experienced mysticism. Seeking to experience unity with God, his image demonstrates his retreat into silence, in hope of being quickened.



Fig. 1.1. Unsigned, *John Cotton* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (33 in. x 26.5 in.), c.1649. This portrait was given to the Connecticut Historical society at Hartford by General Samuel L. Pitkin in 1844. Albert Bates, Librarian of the Society, wrote: "The portrait was presented to the Society in December, 1844, by Gen. Samuel L. Pitkin of East Hartford with the statement that it was a portrait of Increase Mather."

Photo: Linda Johnson.

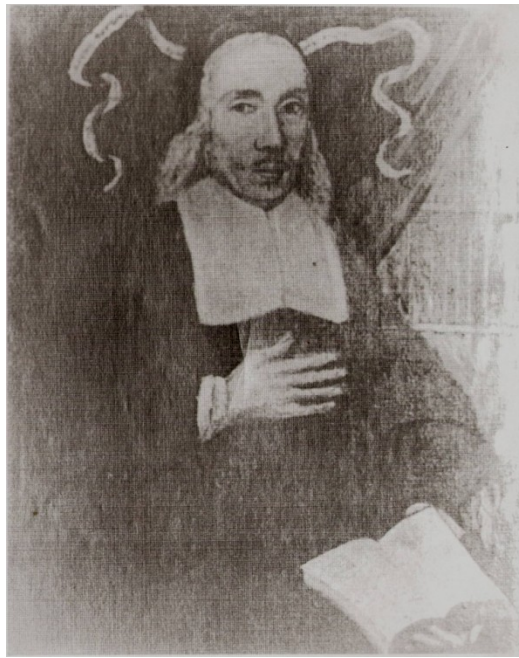


Fig. 1.2. The “under painted” portrait of John Cotton. Shadow Graph. Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 1.3. The “under painted” John Cotton. Shadow Graph. Photo: Linda Johnson.

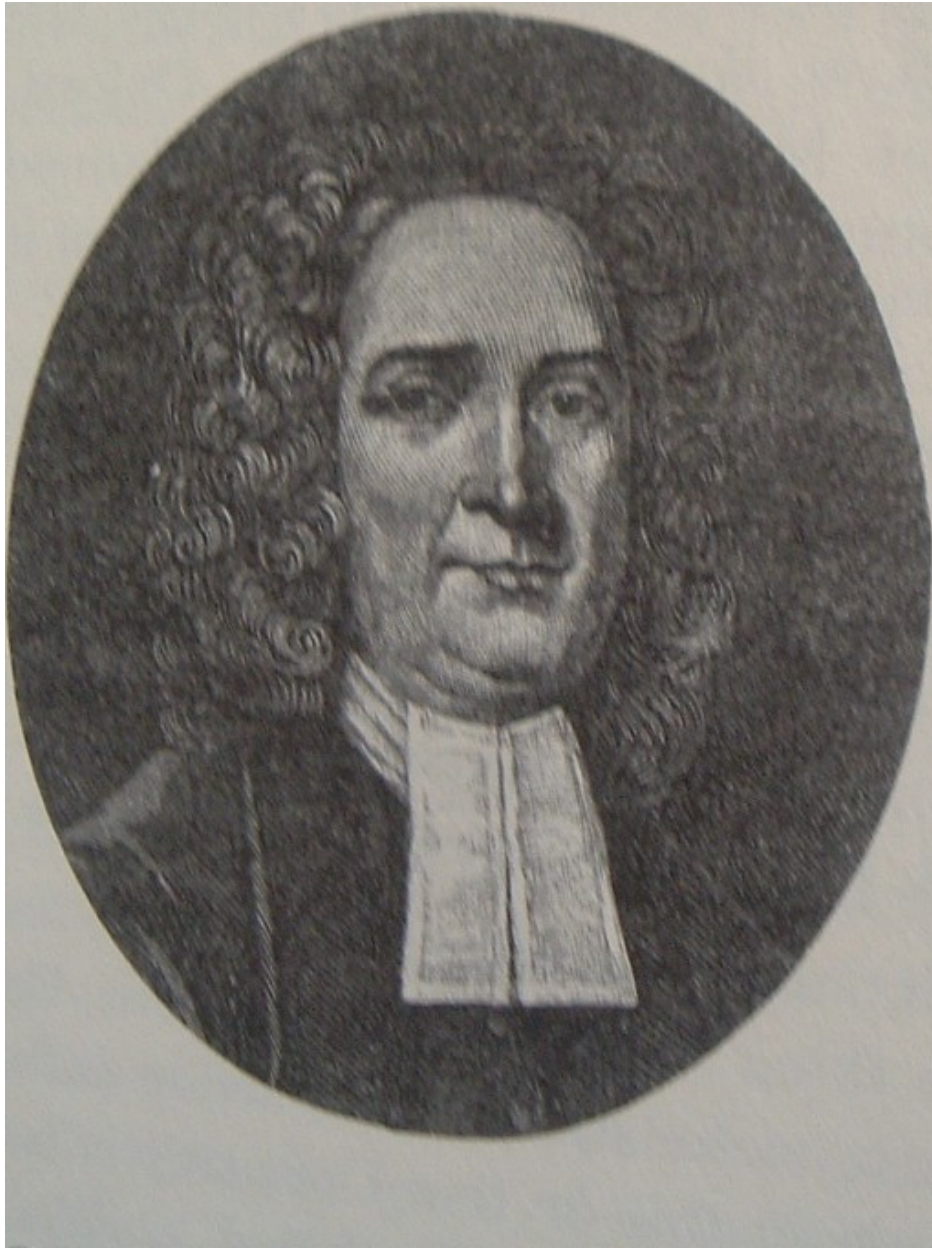


Fig. 1.4. *John Cotton* (American Antiquarian Society). Black and White Mezzotint. Photo: Linda Johnson.

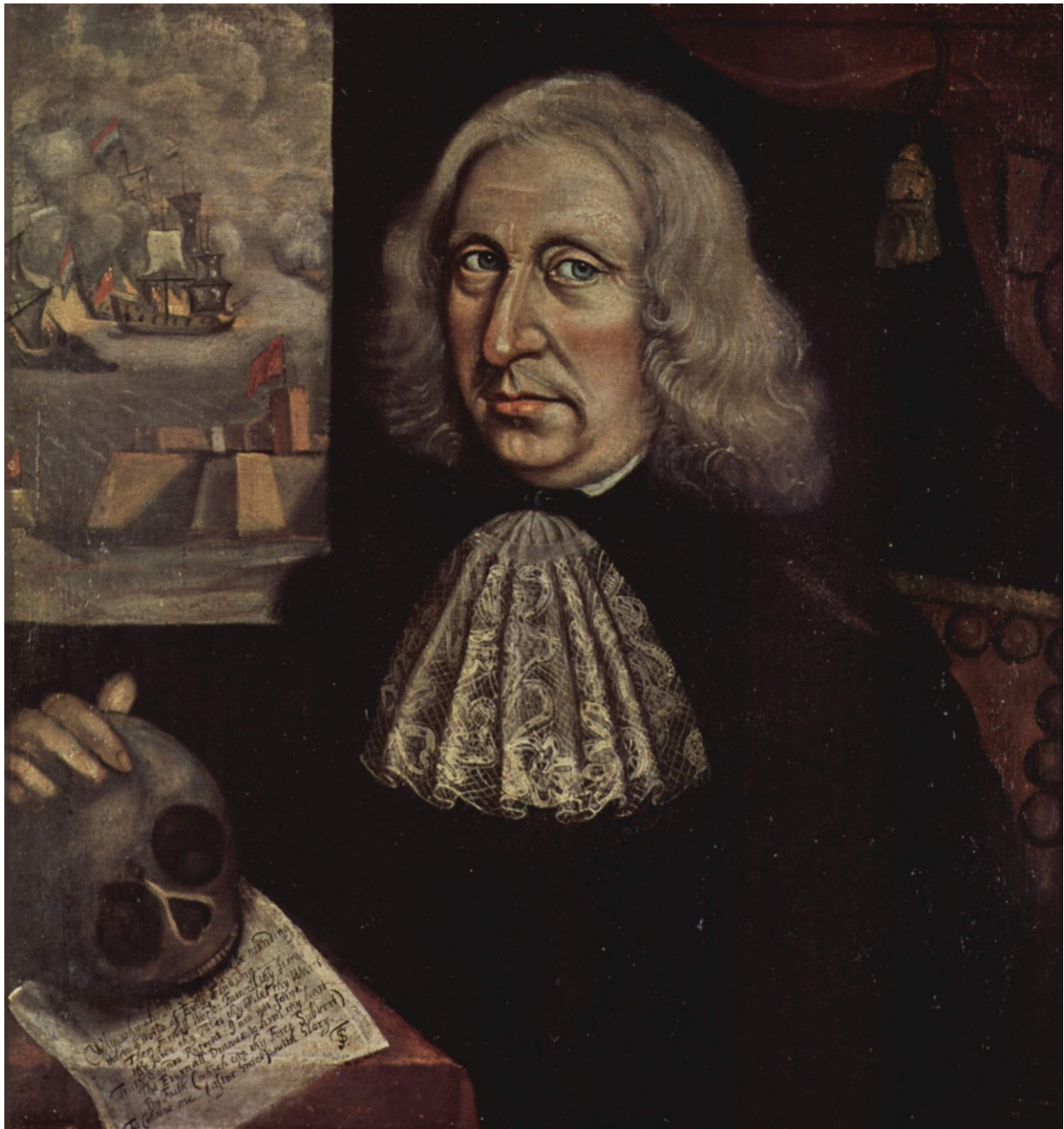


Fig. 1.5. Self-portrait, *Thomas Smith, American* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Worcester Museum), Oil on Canvas (24.5 in. x 23.75 in.), c. 1680.



Fig. 1.6. Charles Osgood, *John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony. 1587/88- 1649*, (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University/Winthrop House), Oil on Canvas (30 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. x 25 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.).

Photo: Linda Johnson

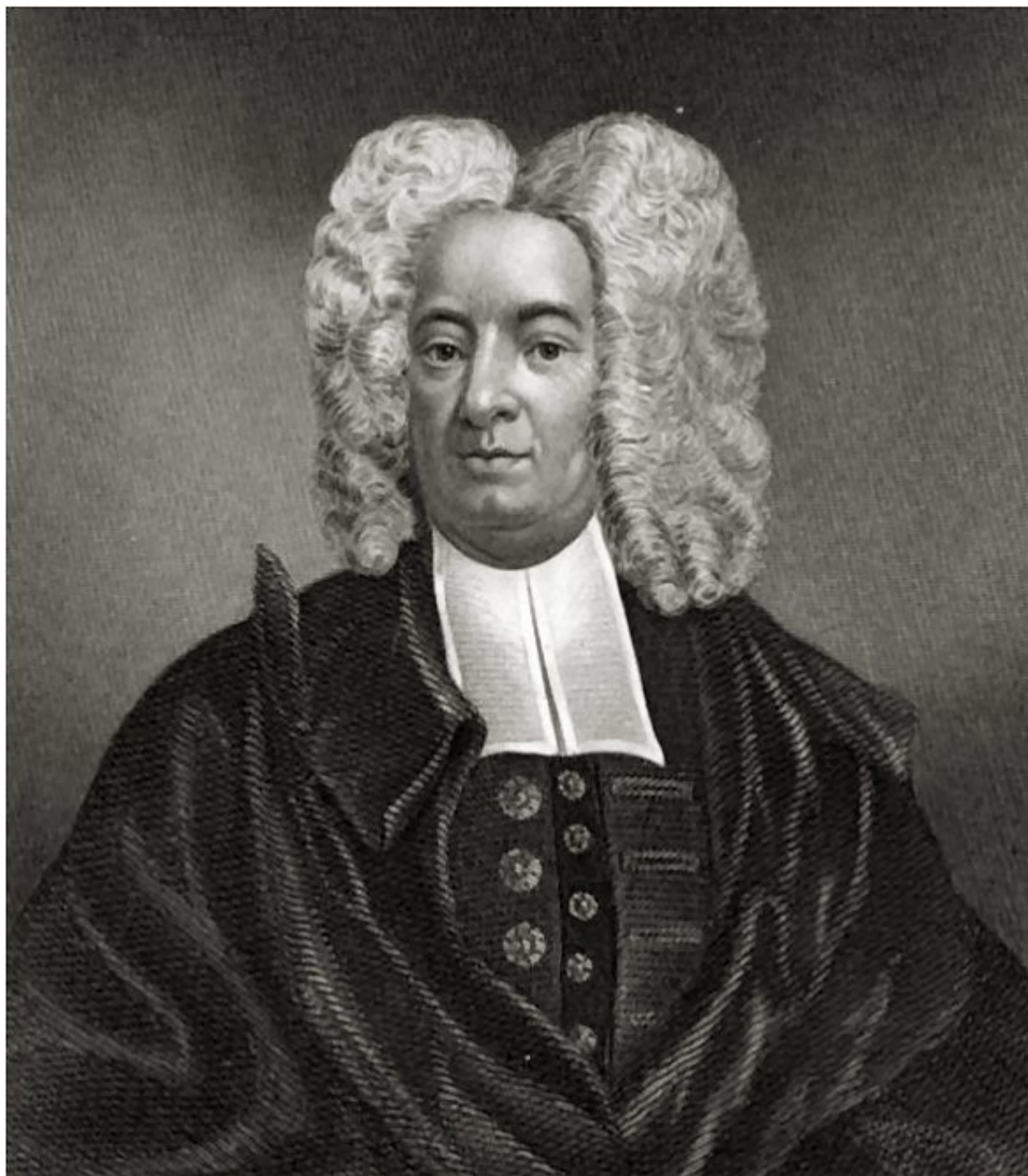


Fig. 1.7. Peter Pelham, *Cotton Mather* (Worcester: Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society), 1727. Pelham based this mezzotint on his earlier portrait of Mather (cat. 78).

Photo: Linda Johnson.

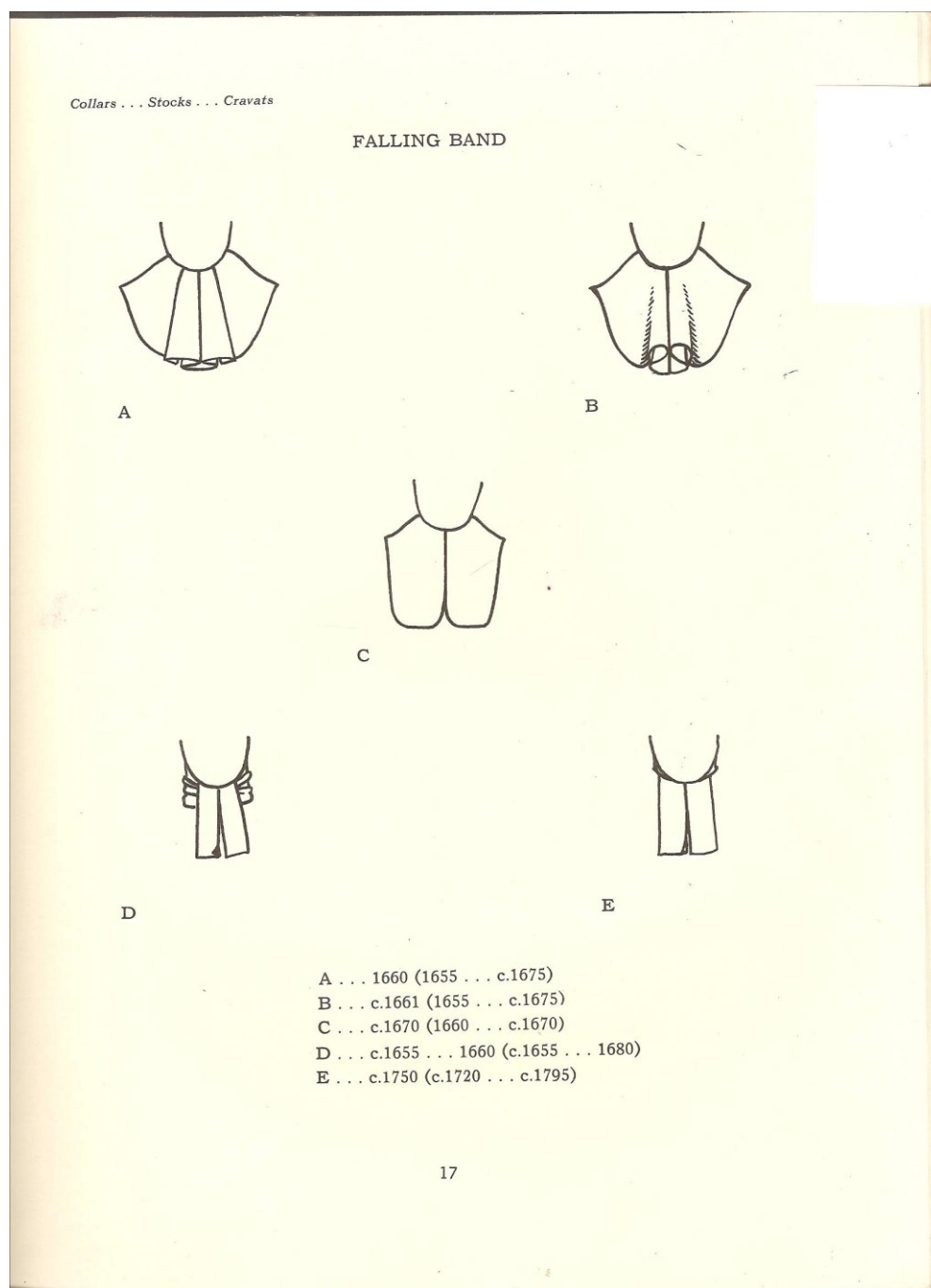
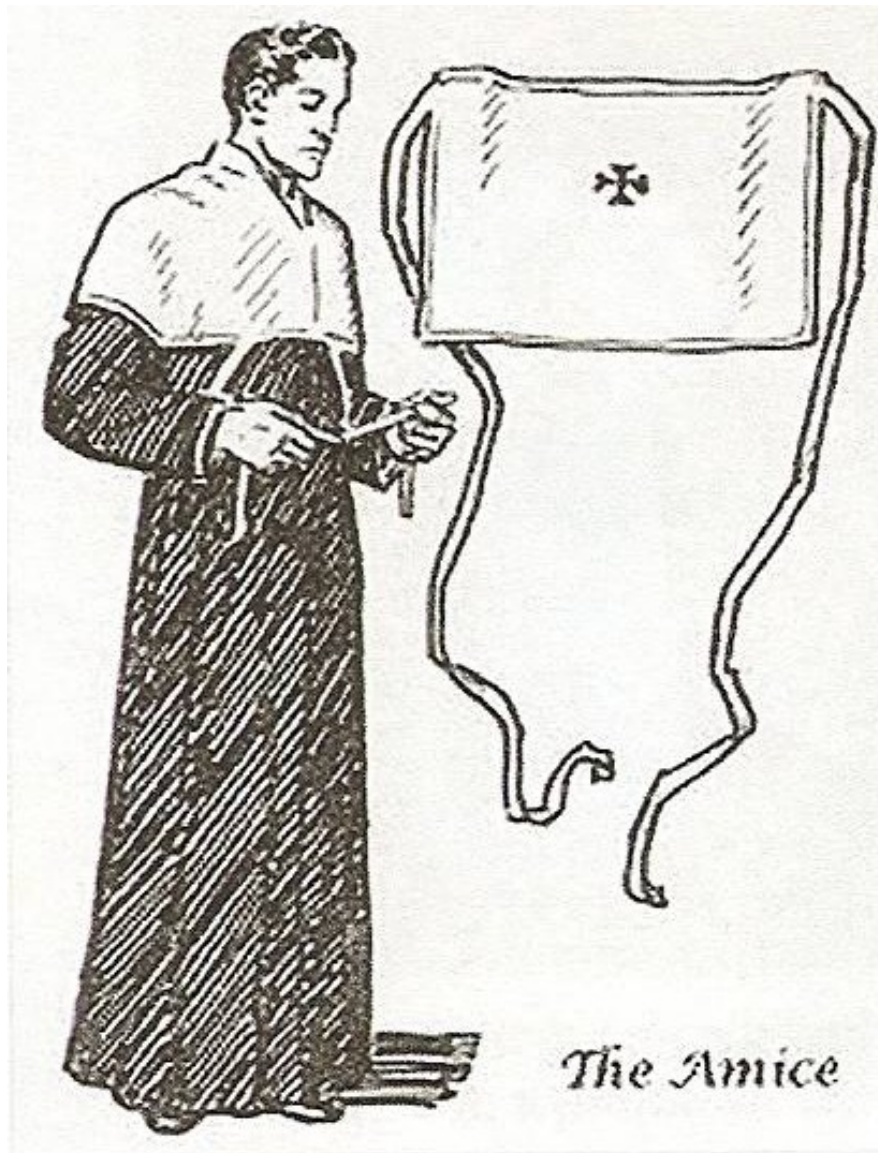


Fig. 1.8. Illustration showing male neck collars. Doriece Colle, *Collars, Stocks, Cravats: A History and Costume Dating Guide to Civilian Men's Neckpieces 1655-1900* (Emmaus, Pennsylvania: Rodale Press, 1972), 17.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



A diagram of an Amice. .

Fig. 1.9 Amice is a liturgical vestment used mainly in the Roman Catholic Church, Lutheran Church, and in some Anglican churches. It consisted of a white cloth connected to long ribbon-like attachment, by which it was fastened around the shoulders of the priest. Charles Herbermann, ed., "Amice" in [*Catholic Encyclopedia*](#) (Robert Appleton Co., 1913).



Fig. 1.10. A Puritan Gravestone in Hartford Connecticut Burial Ground.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 1.11. Levitical Ephod. *Geneva Bible*, Exod. 28 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition.

¹ Kenneth Murdock to Mr. Bathes, 10 May 1925, Connecticut Historical Society. "I do not pretend to be an expert in early American portraiture and all I can say is that after some study of the unpublished Mather material there seems to me no evidence which points toward the portrait in question being a genuine contemporary likeness of him."

² Charles Bolton, *Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America Before the Year 1701* (Boston: The Boston Atheneum, 1926), 1005-1015. See also Louise Dresser, *XVIIIth Century Painting in New England: A Catalogue of an Exhibition Held at the Worcester Art Museum* (1934) with a laboratory report by Alan Burroughs (Harvard University and Worcester Art Museum, 1935), 55-61. According to Alan Burroughs, there is a strong resemblance in technique and style among the portraits of John Cotton, John Davenport and John Wheelwright. The x-ray shadowgraph revealed an inscription over the subject's right shoulder and level with his head which appears to read *Anno Domini 1670, Aetatis Sue 4*. The second digit of the age is illegible. It may possibly read 0, 1, 9, or 4. If the first reading is accepted, then the year and age exactly fit Rev. Nathaniel Mather (1630-1697) who's missing portrait, known to have been sent from Dublin in 1683 to his younger brother Increase, has been the cause of much conjecture. The supposition that the CHS portrait may represent Nathaniel Mather was, however, refuted in statements he wrote in letters to his brother, Increase. In a letter dated August 25, 1679, and in response to a request from Increase for his own portrait and that of Samuel Mather, he wrote: "My Br. Sams picture is not to bee had. It was never taken that I can hear of during his life, neither is myne, and therefore I know not how to send you either of them." It was not until May 9, 1682, that Nathaniel informed Increase, "I must goe out, partly to sit for the drawing of my picture for you."

³ Artist unknown, *John Cotton* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, c. 1649), Oil on Canvas (33 in. x 26.5 in.). This portrait was given to the Connecticut Historical society at Hartford by General Samuel L. Pitkin in 1844. Albert Bates, Librarian of the Society, wrote: "The portrait was presented to the Society in December, 1844, by Gen. Samuel L. Pitkin of East Hartford with the statement that it was a portrait of Increase Mather. Charles Bolton, in his book *Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America Before the Year 1701*, writes "everywhere there is evidence that the portrait has been much altered." He agrees that the portrait represents a member of the Mather family which strengthens the theory that it is Mrs. Mather's father, John Cotton. Since the portrait was dated 1649 in the upper left corner, it was a generation too early to be that of Increase Mather, but might well be that of Cotton. The will and inventory of Cotton, the will of his widow who became the second wife of Richard Mather, father of Increase, and the will of Increase Mather do not mention the portrait. Cotton (1585-1652) sailed to America in 1633 and became an intellectual leader in Boston. His daughter married Increase Mather and gave birth to Cotton. Cotton was the religious leader during the founding. He was a powerful theologian devoted to establishing an ideal church in New England. He thought a church should consist of justified saints for whom God predestined salvation. Cotton originated a uniquely American system of confession of faith or conversion narrative. It was used when admitting a new member to the church in order to test his piety.

⁴ Ibid., Bolton, *Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America Before the Year 1701*, 1006. Bolton joined Kenneth Murdock, Worthington C. Ford and J. Gardner Bartlett on June 16, 1925, to examine the portrait by natural and artificial light. They agreed that on the following points: (1) that, two small, white bands had been superimposed over an earlier version of a Geneva collar recognized as wide flat and square reaching outward to the shoulders chevron-shaped, which placed the sitter at about the period of 1630-1650; (2) the sitter wears (or wore originally) a reddish-brown cap such as appears in earlier portraits; (3) a small brown moustache or goatee was now obliterated; (4) his hair originally fell over both shoulders; (5) a large ribbon on either side of the head was blotted out and a smaller one substituted; (6) the background was originally green; (7) the present hand was substituted for one placed just above it; and (8) an inscription in the upper left-hand corner of the canvas beginning *Aetat* and ending *AN:49* was blotted out by black paint. The open Bible was left untouched by the reconstructor. Louise Dresser also points out that the face revealed by the x-ray does not resemble Mather's two known portraits from life and several engraved portraits, which have been fully described and illustrated. Mather had a long straight nose, a fairly wide mouth and was clean shaven. The original subject of this portrait had a snub nose a rather small, full lipped mouth and a moustache. Originally, the sitter had his right hand raised to the bottom edge of his collar which was then larger and perhaps not intended to have a clerical significance. The sitter's left hand grasped the book by the bottom edge nearest him, instead of resting the back of the book in his hand. Although the head and features were originally much the same in shape and position as in the present surface, the eyes looked out toward the viewer's right. Dresser argues that these changes seemed to be made by the artist himself, since the brushwork of the hand visible on the surface corresponds to that of the hidden hand.

⁵ Henry Wilder Foote, *False Faces. A Study of the Use and misuse of Portraits as Historical Documents* (Boston: Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society: Volume 67, 1945), 562-579. Foote's research began as his research found "the careless of historians and biographers to use incorrect portraits to illustrate their work." (p. 563).

⁶ Ibid., 572. Foote states John Cotton did have a great grandson by that name but even that subject is ruled out due to age. Engravers of this "supposed" portrait substituted clerical bands for the Steinkerk tie, creating an engraving that is a falsified document. Foote's research began as his research found "the careless of historians and biographers to use incorrect portraits to illustrate their work," (p. 563). See Alice Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America, 1620-1820* (1901; reprint, Rutland, Vermont: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1971) for information about the Steinkerk cravat, popular in 1665-1730. It was generally a large square or triangle of linen, lawn, silk, or muslin, often starched with the ends bordered in lace, or decorated with tasseled beads, and tied loosely beneath the chin. Formal cravats were usually plain white. Tying the cravat in a bow was popular c. 1665, (See Fig. Thomas Smith and William Stoughton). By 1680-90, the cravat was worn falling over a stiffened ornamental cravat-string. Around 1695-1700, consumers saw the evolution of the Steinkerk style, with the front ends twisted and the terminals either passed through a buttonhole or attached with a brooch to one side of the coat. The cravat was popular until the 1740s and with the elderly thereafter. Randall Holmes defines the cravat as "an

adornment for the neck, being nothing else but a long Towel put about the Collar, and so tyed with a Bow Knott; this is the Original of all such Wearings, but now by the Art and Inventions of the seamsters, there is so many new Ways of making them, that it would be a Task to name them, much more to describe them.” See Randall Holmes, *An Accademie of Armorie*, 1688 (London: British Library).

⁷ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 28-36. In its original form, typology was a hermeneutical tool connecting the Old Testament to the New in terms of the life of Jesus. Puritans saw themselves as Israelite saints collectively foreshadowing the gospel revelation. Thus they attempted to imitate Christ’s behavior in their life’s journey. According to Bercovitch, the main hero of scripture that the men strove to unite with was Christ: “Reformers insisted on a Christological reading of Scripture, they demanded a precise spiritual correspondence between the history of the Hebrews and the life of the believer. And like the process of that transformation, Reformers believed the story of Israel had its telos in the Christ-centered event.”

⁸ Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, 9.

⁹ Ibid., 211. Knight states that Cotton mysticism “existed in a discursive community as a second orthodoxy both in New and Old England. A few of the finer points knight argues, which are present in Cottonian piety, are as follows: God required no conditional preparation, but supplied grace to be passively received, this grace should be understood as the indwelling of a personal Christ (*imitation Christi*), a mechanical faith of a preparationism without the Spirit is not grace; there is a new-found love toward one’s fellow man and a need to labor on behalf of the universal communion of saints, and finally, Cotton believed the millennium was imminent. See also Daniel Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography*, 105-109. Shea also emphasizes that Cotton believed preparatory steps were unnecessary in obtaining grace. His dealings with Ann Hutchinson resonate in the debates regarding the Covenant of Grace and the Covenant of Works.

¹⁰ James Fulton Maclear, “The Heart of New England Rent: The Mystical Element in Early Puritan History,” in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 42, No.4 (Organization of Historians, March 1956), 621-652. The popularity of prophesying private prayer and self-analysis in diaries and spiritual guides, such as Lewis Bayly’s *Practice of Piety*, illustrate the changes in a mystical strain in orthodoxy. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the concept of the indwelling Spirit in the saint were challenged. According to Maclear, almost every known library in Massachusetts contained the works of Richard Sibbes. Maclear states that spirit-mysticism validated the substantial and abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men which freed them from reliance on any of the marks of institutional Christianity.

¹¹ Ibid., 636. An emotional, experiential and even mystical element stood at the center of Puritan evangelical religion.

¹² Ibid., 636-640.

¹³ Bolton, *Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America*, 1006-1015. The first sermon titled, "God's Mercie Mixed with his Justice," was published in London in S. Dunstanes Churchyard in 1641 and the opening section, "God's Mercy in his People's Deliverance," was based on Chapter III in the Book of Revelation, the twentieth verse, "Behold I stand at the doore and knocke." Bolton states that on the right-hand page of the Bible, Chapter III begins a little from the top of the first column and ends at the bottom of the right-hand column. The artist makes the last verses (the chapter ends with 22) heavier than the other text in order to emphasize this section of the printed page. These are the only words indicated. He states that all of these details conform to the small quarto 1599 Barker Bible, which may be seen at the MHS. It bears the following inscription, which shows that the John Cotton gave it to his daughter Maria, wife of Increase Mather: "Mariah Mather her booke Ex dono Reverendi patris D. Joh.Cottoni." It is possible that Cotton gave a copy of this Bible to each of his children and, therefore, the copy shown in the picture is not the one owned by MHS. This copy shows no thumbing of the pages. The edition with Chapter III on the right-hand page was, however, one which Cotton thought to give his daughter. According to Bolton, Mather showed comparatively little interest in the Book of Revelation although his "Necessity of Reformation," printed in 1679, bears verses four and five from Chapter II on its title page. "The Mystery of Israel's Salvation," printed in 1699, contains more references to the Book of Revelation than to any other book, but no verse in Chapter III is cited. Increase Mather sent a likeness of himself (it has since disappeared) to his brother, Nathaniel, which was presumably the model for one of the many engravings he had made.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1852), 253-285.

¹⁶ Ibid. Bolton refers to sermons by Thomas Hooker, and Thomas Shepard and states as far as his research showed, neither used a text on Revelation III for a printed sermon.

¹⁷ Sally Promey, "Seeing the Self in Frame: New England Material Practice and Puritan Piety," in *Material Religion*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, 2006: 10-47.

¹⁸ Ibid, 11.

¹⁹ Ibid., 12-14.

²⁰ Roger B. Stein. "Thomas Smith's Self-Portrait Image/Text as Artifact," in *Art Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 4, *American Art* (Winter, 1984), 317-327. Stein examines the portrait of notable Puritan artist and patron Thomas Smith and states that it has energy and is "dynamic."

²¹ Ibid., 318.

²² Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 160. Many non-conformist ministers regarded vestments as superstitious and deliberately wore secular clothing, albeit of a sober and conservative kind. Most chose to wear the sober black cloth suit of the professional man, clerical bands, and sometimes the black Geneva gown. The clerical bands known as the Geneva bands were two pieces of white linen fastened around the neck. They indicated that the minister was attached to a particular congregation. They were also called falling bands when worn by academics and lawyers. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century were they largely replaced by the round collar popularly known as the dog collar. For more information on the evolution of ecclesiastical dress, see Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (B.T. Batsford: London, 1984), 77-88. Mayo's research focuses on the Geneva gown which was originally adopted by John Calvin in the sixteenth century (from the academic gown of the time.) She also details the many variations of white neck collars and fallen bands. Patricia Trautman, "Dress in Seventeenth Century Cambridge Massachusetts: An Inventory Based Construction," ed., Peter Benes in *American Probate Inventories* (Boston: Dublin Seminar for New England Life, 1987). In a probate inventory, conducted between 1652 and 1704 of 74 households in Cambridge, 36 inventories belonged to estates valued over 200 pounds and 38 to estates valued under 200 pounds. Falling bands totaled 10 in estates valued over 200 pounds and eight bands in estates valued under 200 pounds. Six head of households owning these bands were professional, four were in the trades, and seven were yeoman. Three neck cloths were owned by those whose estates valued over 200 pounds and three neck cloths were owned by those with estates less than 200 pounds.

²² Ibid.

²³ Erik Larsen, *Calvinistic Economy and 17th Century Dutch Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1979), 8. Material abundance is displayed in books and textiles testifying to material pleasures determined by Puritans to be a prosperity bestowed upon the faithful believers from God. The Word of God communicated through Books was a common convention in portraiture, yet the choice of passages was meaningful to the individual. Calvinist ideology was directed by a middle class that enforced its taste and desires on the country's artistic production. See also Wayne Craven, *American Art: History and Culture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1994), 42. Craven delves into the class consciousness of Puritan clergy, stating that worldly effort was a way to please God. According to Craven, colonial portraits seem devoted to elaborating the subject's biography through a visual language. An individual's personal appearance, such as the face, occupied a small portion of any early colonial portrait. Moreover, Craven asserts that numerous objects were typically placed with the sitter and describe their occupation, beliefs, and family lineage. It is reasonable to assume that a Book of Scripture would be of particular importance in defining Cotton's personhood. The descriptive evidence shows that he created a visual biography for the preservation of his likeness or as a commemorative piece. The visual biography tells us his station in life and the extent of his education, scholarly status, and prosperity.

²⁴ Lisa M. Gordis, *Opening Scripture Bible: Reading and Interpretive Authority in Puritan New England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 2, 31-85. Gordis explores the uneasy debates ministers strove to overcome to maintain this interpretation of the Bible. Many manuals were developed to teach clerics how to open scripture. *The Art of Prophesying* by William Perkins and written in 1592 became a “bible” to members of the New England orthodoxy. Prophetic authority is identified with ministerial authority.

²⁵ William Perkins, “The Arte of Prophesying or a Treatise Concerning the Sacred and Onely True Manner and Method of Preaching,” 1607 in *The Work of William Perkins*, ed., Ian Breward (Berkshire, England: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 325-349. Perkin’s manual develops the meditative practices for the ministers to become “vessels” for the Holy Spirit in order to “open” the Word of God properly. According to Breward, Perkins advised the preachers in his manual to let the Bible speak for itself and that both exegesis and preaching must be aimed to that end. This was called the “plain style.” Breward attests in his notes to the major early Christian mystics like Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and Augustine, who influenced Perkins and a host of preachers in Old and New England.

²⁶ Gordis, *Opening Scripture*, 104. Theoretically, ministers assisted their congregations offering them direct access to the text and to its author’s meanings. In this way sermonic language carried the possibility of intimacy and communion aiding regenerated visible saints to begin an active reading process which could include divine involvement with the Holy Spirit on their own. See also Patricia Caldwell, *The Puritan Conversion Narrative: The Beginnings of American Expression* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 36-38, 45-70. Gordis references Caldwell’s research on conversion experiences. Caldwell asserts that “personal and potentially dramatic events were transmuted into the reenactment of a biblical truth with the Word as a midwife. This new birth did not produce a new subjectivity, rather the convert learned to subordinate her subjectivity to the text, the minister, and the Holy Spirit. In this way Bible language and the convert’s language become one.”

²⁷ Ibid., 31, 167. Cotton’s congregation could be seen as submitting to God’s Spirit, further embellishing his role as the “Son of God.”

²⁸ Wayne Craven, *American Art: History and Culture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1994), 12. Wig wearing is associated with vanity, but ministers became more tolerant in the latter part of the seventeenth century. According to Craven, a periwig said a lot about a man’s economic and religious status in the early and late eighteenth century. Puritan’s associated long hair with “lovelocks” worn by papists and idolaters. They also associated long hair with lewdness and aristocracy.

²⁹ Ibid., 12-13. See also Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, 79-82.

³⁰ Craven, *American Art: History and Culture*, 42.

³¹ Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 280.

³² Louise Dresser, *XVIIIth Century Painting in New England: A Catalogue of an Exhibition Held at the Worcester Art Museum* (1934), with a laboratory report by Alan Burroughs of Harvard University (Worcester, Massachusetts: Worcester Art Museum, 1935), 55-61.

³³ Wendy Katz, "Portraits and the Production of the Civil Self in Seventeenth-Century Boston," in *Winterthur Portfolio* 39, No. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2004), 124. According to Katz, the style of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century portraits originated in the Neo-Medieval portraits of Elizabethan and Jacobean England of the sixteenth century as a reaction counter to the sensuous classical illusionist style that had spread across the continent. Anatomy was not mastered in the classical style and there was an absence of corporeal form, an allusion to the spiritual dimension of another world. The rich textiles are reduced to line, color, and lack of pattern, which deprives the viewer of tactile qualities. The dark background imitates Dutch art. Anglo-Puritans had a brotherhood with the Dutch and imitated them accordingly. This style of painting was introduced in New England around 1665. Katz reveals familial connections, neighborly and church associations, and inheritance decrees in portraiture using evidence found in diaries, letters, courtesy manuals, and sermons as a way to determine what each style meant to the painter and his subject.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid. Although it would be difficult to equate certain Protestant factions with a particular style of painting, Katz argues that the straight Neo-Medieval style with its linear presentation of objects was the choice ministers in particular imparted for its truthful disposition, which of course was a highly desirable trait.

³⁶ Stein, "Thomas Smith's Self-Portrait Image/Text as Artifact," 319.

³⁷ Bolton, *Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America*, 1010. Bolton affirms that this motto inscribed onto portraits was common in John Cotton's time. He has found it on the portrait of Rev. Samuel Moore, author of "Yearnings of Christ's Bowels Towards his Languishing Friends" where it was engraved by William Marshall in 1647. The Brooke family, in the adjoining county of Yorkshire, used the motto in connection with their coat of arms.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Anne Bradstreet, “A Dialogue between Old England and New England,” ed., Charles Hambrick-Stowe, *A Devoted Life*, eds., Kelly M. Kopic and Randall C. Gleason, *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004), 121. The surplice for all its simplicity and common affinity with the early church’s simple linen robe came under the greatest attack and has a prominent place as one of five articles of clothing most despised in Bradstreet’s poem.

⁴¹ Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, (B.T. Batsford: London, 1984), 64.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 66-69. Elizabeth I established the Church of England. In her Act of Uniformity, she re-introduced, in 1559, the Prayer Book of 1552. In it, “an ornament rubric” was introduced and allowed certain vestments, namely the alb, the surplice, the chasuble and the cope, to be worn at Eucharist. Puritans disapproved. William Ames was called into question for refusing to wear a surplice.

⁴³ Rev. George S. Tyack, *Historic Dress of the Clergy* (London: Andrews Co., 1897), 70-71. A long discourse on dress was written by Richard Hooker in 1594 in answer to Puritan objections to the surplice. “Their allegations were that this popish apparel, the surplice especially hath been by papists abominably abused; that it hath been a mark and a very sacrament of abomination; that remaining it serveth as a monument of idolatry, and not only edifieth not, but as a dangerous and scandalous ceremony doth much harm to them of whose good we are commanded to have regard; that it cause men to perish and make a shipwreck of conscience...that it hardeneth papists, hindereth the weak from profiting in the knowledge of the Gospel, grieveth godly minds, and giveth them occasion to think hardly of their ministers” (pp. 78-98). Tyack states that the ancient writers Polycrates of Ephesus implied that some of the Apostles adopted part of the distinctive vestments of the High Priests to mark the analogous position to which they had been called in the New Dispensation. He writes of St. John “becoming a priest, wearing the golden plate.” The golden plate refers to the breastplate described by Samuel Mather. Tyack stated, too, that the Emperor Constantine gave to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, a sacred robe woven of gold thread for him to wear when administering Holy Baptism. Both of these items mimic the color and robe of the Levitical High Priesthood. Tyack, however, asserted that apart from these few creative connections, such as an attempt to make the cloak Saint Paul left at Troas a sacerdotal chasuble, the evidence is too weak to support the contention of those who would seek sanction in the New Testament of the primitive use of sacerdotal vestments. So it seems that Christians inherited from the Old Testament sanction of color and exotic materials in priestly vestments. This is especially evident in the artistically illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages, which consistently represented all levels of ecclesiastics arrayed in the royal colors of blue, red, and purple, and garments adorned with gold, jewels, and fur.

⁴⁴ Tyack, *Historic Dress of the Clergy*, 108.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 36. Confusion and diversity of dress arose during the Reformation. The Geneva gown, also called the pulpit gown or preaching robe, was an ecclesiastical garment customarily worn by ordained ministers in Christian churches. It appeared during the historic Protestant Reformation as an attempt at uniformity.

⁴⁶ Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America, 1620-1820*, 14-17. Earle states that by 1650, the free commercial exchange brought comfort and prosperity to Massachusetts, which inspired a desire for finer and costlier clothes and fabrics, such as damasks and velvets. Sumptuary laws were passed to restrain luxuries of dress. According to Earle, inventories of apparel worn by the first New England settlers are well-documented.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 205. Earle states that the inability to enforce sumptuary legislation over time was witnessed in the inventory of lesser-known Puritan Richard Richbell, who, upon his death in 1682, had seven pairs of ruffles and ribbons worth seven pounds (p. 206). According to Earle, an estate worth at least 200 pounds was necessary in order to purchase costly and lavish attire. Earle is sure that Puritan lawmakers did not base these prohibitory laws on single instances of flaunting finery, suggesting instead that the excess occurred among all stations of life. Oddly, the prohibitive rulings were toward all the trumpery Bradstreet associated with her despised papists. It appears that the Geneva bands were stiff collars of linen or cambric worn by nearly all Puritans.

⁴⁸ Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, 74. See also Tyack, *Historic Dress of the Clergy*, 24-28. Anglican dress consisted of the alb, amice, surplice, gown, and chausuble. The canon of the English church, issued in 1604, insisted on “decency of apparel upon ministers.” It prescribed that in public, ministers should wear their coat or cassock and that they not wear any light-colored stockings. Once considered the proper dress for all clergy, knee breeches and gaiters were later considered secular attire for dignitaries. The cassock, however, was not considered a vestment. It was merely the orthodox version of the clerical coat, over which the robes and vestments proper to the divine offices were worn. Tyack states the cassock with the surplice over it has been put in a position amongst clerical garments it was never intended to occupy. The cassock was the dignified costume worn by all clergy in England.

⁴⁹ Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction*, 68. Ribeiro states that the well-intentioned role of sumptuary legislation in England and in the colonies was a guise to conceal the enforcement of class distinctions and to control morality, specifically in women’s dress. However, embellishing with doublets, stuffing and padding of waistcoats, using ribbons and silks, slashing, pincking, and lacing, as well as wearing wigs distinguished not only classes, but moral and social overtones in men’s dress. The differences between upper and lower class men’s suits were in fabric quality and the number of coordinated pieces. Most men’s suits were made of wool, with lesser-quality fabrics having been more coarse and unpatterned. Similar distinctions were apparent in men’s stockings, gloves, and neckwear, which were made from coarse linen and later in muslin. Earlier in the century men’s neckwear had extra trim such as lace or ribbons.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 70. Stubbes also thought starching houses were “consecrated to Beelzebub, archdivels of the monstrous ruffs.” Conversely, the idea that dress was so grievous a sin is vehemently demonstrated in a discourse by Puritan Philip Stubbes in what Ribeiro refers to as “the flagship of all moral diatribes.” In *The Anatomie of Abuses*, written in 1583, Stubbes wrote, “where clothing is the greatest sin of all it offends God more than “pride of the harte or pride of the mouthe.”

⁵² Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986), 67-70.

⁵³ Martha Finch “Fashions of Worldly Dames: Separatists Discourses of Dress in Early Modern London, Amsterdam, and Plymouth Colony,” in *Church History* 74, 2005: 494-505.

⁵⁴ Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 17.

⁵⁵ Increase Mather, “Burnings Bewailed,” *Departing Glory: Eight Jeremiads*, ed., Lee Schweninger (Boston; 1711, New York: Scholar’s Facsimiles &Reprints, 1986), 23.

⁵⁶ Bolton, *Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America*, 1010.

⁵⁷ Dresser, *XVIIIth Century Painting in New England*, 55-61.

⁵⁸ Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America, 1620-1820*. The falling bands worn in the 1540s to 1670s took three forms. First, a small turned-down collar from a high neck-band, with an inverted v-or pyramidal-shaped spread under the chin and tied by band-strings sometimes visible, but usually concealed. They were plain or lace-edged and popular from 1590 to 1605, reappearing in 1620-1650 when they were usually larger. Second, a wide collar, spreading horizontally from side-to-side across the shoulder with band strings. These were popular from 1630 to the 1640s. Third, a deep collar or bib, square cut and spreading down the chest with the front borders meeting edge-to-edge, flat or with an inverted box pleat. The corners were square or frequently rounded after 1660. Broad lace borders were usual. With the band strings, these were popular from the 1640s to the 1670s. Neckwear was ever-changing in the seventeenth century. Collars were composed of falls, bands, and ruffs. Collars in particular became more fashionable than ruffs, were costly, and usually matched the cuffs. An ordinary band with double cuffs costs six to seven pounds depending on the quality of the linen or lace. Bands for the clergy may have also been black and are referred to as Geneva bands. Bands varied from small, white, turn down collars and ruffs to point lace bands, depending on fashion until the mid-seventeenth century when plain white bands came to be the neckwear of choice among clerical and academic men.

⁵⁹ Tyack, *Historic Dress of the Clergy*, 108.

⁶⁰ Ibid. See also Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, 77-88. For more information on the evolution of ecclesiastical costume see Mayo's research on the Geneva gown, which was originally adopted by John Calvin in the sixteenth century (from the academic gown of the time.) She also details the many variations of white neck collars and fallen bands. See also Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction*, 79, and Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America* (p. 51). Many early colonists owned more than one band. According to Earle's inventory, there were four plain and three falling bands in various shapes and sizes that were supplied to each settler in Massachusetts Bay. They were usually severely simple. Embroidered and broad bands were forbidden by sumptuary laws in New England. They were sometimes fastened by narrow ferret or by bandstrings, cords, and tassels. "Lawyer Lechford in his notebook gave the cost of eighteen bands as thirty six shillings in 1639," writes Earles.

⁶¹ Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction*, 17.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Wanda M. Corn, "Coming of Age: Historical Scholarship in American Art," in *Art Bulletin* 70 (June 1980), 188-207.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Seventeenth-Century Boston Portraiture: Profile of the Establishment," in *Painting and Portrait Making*, ed., Peter Benes (Boston: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folk Life Annual Proceedings, 1994), 17-21.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 19. Cummings adds that early Puritan ministers were less concerned with the character of one's face compared to the metaphorical or emblematic connotations of typological objects. He states that the art of estimating character from the features of the face or the form of the body began later in the early eighteenth century, but was more present in the Anglo-Dutch tradition.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 19.

⁶⁹ Rosemary Troy Krill and Pauline K. Eversmann, *Early American Decorative Arts 1620-1860: A Handbook for Interpreters* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2001), 219-230. Two-thirds of surviving colonial portraiture dates 1750 or later.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Cummings, "Seventeenth-Century Boston Portraiture: Profile of the Establishment," 19-22.

⁷² Charles Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Puritan Piety* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 157.

⁷³ Stowe, *The Practice of Piety*, 175.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 179. The experiences derived from an affective mystical knowledge through prayer and the systematic discipline of repentance support the idea that male images mystically became Christocentric expressions of election. These images descended from the Judaic high priesthood, grounding the ordinary identities of their alter egos in the advancement of God's Kingdom which was imminent. Embodying a new identity as *imitatio Christi*, each patron's image reflected a divine presence back onto a believer. Through the constructed secret chamber of their painting, their audience was given a glimpse into eternal life.

⁷⁶ Jules David Prown. *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 46. Prown states since monochromatic robes offered little pictorial excitement, the use of illumination was a conventional format, concentrating "light" on the minister's head since these "men of God" were professionally concerned with matters of the spirit.

⁷⁷ Stowe, *The Practice of Piety*, 175.

⁷⁸ Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts Rereading American Puritanism*, 37.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 86.

⁸⁰ *Geneva Bible*, Book of Revelation (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition.

⁸¹ Ibid. Rev. 3:12. "Chap II" and "Chap III" in Mather's portrait expound on the apostle John's words to the cities of Asia Minor that judgments will come to those who have succumbed to temptation, and rewards will come to those who have overcome them. The verses build to an unforgiving textual thrust of severe punishment, admonishing additional communities for their shortcomings. Rev. 2:5 states, "Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and doe the first workes, or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy Candlestick out of his place, except thou repent."

⁸² Charles Hambrick-Stowe, "Christ the Fountaine Of Life by John Cotton," eds., Kelly M. Kapic and Randall C. Gleason, *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004), 71-73. These clues involved a sincerity of worship, loving Christ above the loathing of self and worshiping in submissive obedience.

⁸³ Hambrick- Stowe, "Christ the Fountaine Of Life," 73.

⁸⁴ Margaretta M. Lovell, "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images," in *Winterthur Portfolio* 33, No. 1 (Spring 1987), 244-247. Lovell states, upright objects are gender specific. Elongated objects or instruments suggest contact with the outside world. The quill is an elongated instrument suggestive of masculinity. In portraits, Lovell states visual and real gender-specific social conventions differentiate between the kinds of objects (man-made or natural) and the type of appropriation (firm, possessive grasp or limp gesture), that link individuals to the outside world and outside experiences. In America, portrait figures were typically pressed close to the picture plane, sharing the canvas with only the most important objects. Americans had no need for ancestral spaces. See also Tamara Thornton, *Handwriting in America A Cultural History* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1996), 36. A discussion about how handwriting was an additional skill which carried elevated associations of art and learning.

⁸⁵ *Geneva Bible*, Rev. 3:2-3 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, a facsimile of the 1560 edition). Sardis is the second of seven cities to receive letters from God in the Book of Revelation. Chapter III in the Book of Revelation has 22 verses: 1-4, 5-8, 9-18, 19-22, which follow the themes of opposition in the same pattern as "Chap II." This chapter, however, has a victim-like tone, that corresponds to the formal analysis of Cotton's portrait, which was determined to be a metaphor for Jesus' crucifixion. Crucifixion was the most barbarous and humiliating method of capital punishment. Cotton's choice of "Chap III," Sardis, a city of martyrdom, may illustrate the victimization he felt as pastor in a changing community and his identification with the martyrdom of the major prophets.

⁸⁶ Paul H. Kocher, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1953), 64, 119-121. Mottos and maxims were used as warnings or reinforcement of the rules of a disciplined ascetism. This was a double message since words that evoke fear and the frailty of life are floating in curvilinear form represented as cherubic messengers. The banner-like presentation of life's truism could also be viewed as a heraldic family crest worn by Increase Mather, which signified his role as a Divine Ambassador in the "family" of God. These dualities created additional tensions in the portrait as a message delivered by a loved, yet feared, minister of God whose mortality in essence is depicted as somewhat surreal. Angelic presences usually evoke fear and stem from a long history of belief in the supernatural. Convinced the Bible was the literal truth inspired by God, colonial clergymen like Cotton believed the universe was filled with both good and evil spirits like angels, ghosts, and Satan who could disguise himself in any form. Since miraculous events filled the pages of the Bible, it was not much of a stretch to see how wonder-stories and natural phenomena such as

comets, meteors and lightning could be seen as ominous supernatural portents of the future. For Puritan divines like Cotton, angels were thought to be in charge of the physical world aligning nations, communities, and individuals with the movements of planets or stars.

⁸⁷ Bart D. Ehrman, *A Brief Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 339. Originally, a portable tent was used as a sanctuary for the Ark of the Covenant by the Israelites during the Exodus. The Ark is referenced in a discourse titled, “Angelographia” and written by Cotton’s son-in-law, Increase Mather, who cited the Hebrew Scriptures of Exod. 26:1. In the instructions God gave his chosen people, angels are the sentinels in the building of this portable temple. Exodus 26:1 states, “Moreover thou shalt make the Tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twined linen, and blew, and purple, and scarlet: with Cherubims of cunning worke shalt thou make them.” See also Sidney E. Ahlstrom *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, second edition 2004), 130-165. Ahlstrom details the Covenant as interpreted by Calvinistic theology. Angels had long protected the temple of God.

⁸⁸ King James Bible, Exod. 26:1 (AV) (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2005, reprint of the 1611 edition). See also John Bowker, *The Complete Bible Handbook*, 42-43.

⁸⁹ Mark Peterson, “Puritanism and Refinement in Early New England: Reflections on Communion Silver,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 58, No. 2, December, 2001: 334.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 341.

⁹¹ Ibid., 334.

⁹² John Shea, *Starlight* (New York: Crossroads, 1991), 38. Shea discusses lay person’s responses to images. Sensory and intellectual engagement brings the viewer into a powerful and private space. Images and words do not communicate by naming things, he states, but by evoking in the listener or reader the realities they express. The Puritan listener or reader had to have an “answering” imagination. Mather and other ministers did this only if their words or images found a sympathetic soul. I claim that Mather hoped to evoke a spiritual experience with his image. “Receiving someone” may have resulted from religious formation, personal conflict, cultural conditioning, or other influences. The dispensing of reward and punishment is undertaken in Chapters II and III and are fitting models delivered in Cotton’s understanding of a dualistic religion, which was subconsciously reflected in the tension of thematic opposition and object metaphors in his self-portrait.

⁹³ Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament, Opened and Explained*, 2nd ed. (London, 1705), 52. Mather divulges the metaphorical and symbolic nature of the clothing described in the Levitical priesthood, which he states should not be adapted to contemporary use. Yet a close reading of his twenty-one page typological explanation as to the

meaning of the High Priest's Holy Garments is noted to be a foreshadowing of Christ and has symbolic meaning.

⁹⁴ Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, 36. The typological framework of Genesis, Canticles, The Book of Exodus, the New Testament Letters to the Hebrews, and the Book of Revelation, all of which converge on the metaphors of temple imagery, as well as the dress and consecration of the Levitical High Priesthood are either literally or figuratively painted into the portraits.

⁹⁵ David H Watters, *A Priest to the Temple*, ed., Peter Benes (Boston: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folk life Annual Proceedings, 1978), 25-36. "Puritans had a certain allegorical/imaginative freedom to move between literal and spiritual themes of the images used to depict the church and saints," writes Watters. In the Book of Exodus, Puritan imagination was ignited in reading how God ordained the most exquisite materials to fashion the richly carved cherubs, pillars, doors, all covered with gold, typifying the truly elect saints that will become the living temple themselves.

⁹⁶ *Geneva Bible*, Exod. 28.

⁹⁷ Samuel Mather, "The Gospel of the Priest's Holy Garments," *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament*, ed., Mason Lowance (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), 499-520.

⁹⁸ Promey, "Seeing the Self in Frame," 28-30. According to Promey, material expression near the heart symbolized an alchemic transformation which changes knowledge into truth. With the destruction of the historic Temple of Solomon (better known as the Second Temple Period) the deity took up residence in the believer's heart. According to Promey, the heart was God's spiritual temple, the physical area of spiritual truth and knowledge, and it was generally agreed upon in Puritan doctrine to be location of the soul.

⁹⁹ Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," 25. Watters states that the Puritan's use of the temple and its furnishings was on the scriptural decoding noted in Chapter 10 from "The Letters to the Hebrews," which is the most succinct narrative connecting the ritual laws and actions of Israelites and temple worship, with the actions of Jesus in the gospels. Watters' study is particularly revealing for my typological analysis of the Geneva collar and its association with the Levitical holy garments and the temple veil.

¹⁰⁰ *Geneva Bible*, Heb. 10. Only the High Priest could enter the Holy of Holies once a year on the Day of Atonement. The Puritan believer could, symbolically, enter the space by becoming a follower of Christ. Heb. 10 reads, "Seeing therefore bretheren, that by the blood of Jesus we may be bolde to enter into the Holie place By the new and living way, which he hath prepared for us, through the vaile that is through his flesh." The mystical text of Heb. 10:19-20

resonates in Puritan typology as the temple veil becomes a symbol for Christ's flesh, which has to be rent (split) before believers can enter heaven.

¹⁰¹ Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," 25-36.

¹⁰² Promey, "Seeing the Self in Frame," 12-14. Christ's death becomes the sacrifice, the atonement that was ritually performed by the animal sacrifices of the Jewish High Priest.

¹⁰³ Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," 25.

¹⁰⁴ Promey, "Seeing the Self in Frame," 12-14.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., and Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," 34. Watters states that the Geneva collar was the primary symbol of the believer's priestly right to enter heaven. On the carvings noted by Watters, winged effigies with Geneva collars pass from the earthly temple into the temple of heaven through pillars flanked by stylized panels or veils toward the Holy of Holies inhabited by Christ typically represented by a stylized sun or cut rays.

¹⁰⁷ Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Puritan Piety*, 78-91. Despite Puritan anxiety regarding an insecure and uncertain apocalyptic finale, Hambrick-Stowe states that the structure of the redemptive cycle of Christ's life, "while fraught with ecstatic episodes of angst and jubilee," afforded the believer experiences of great spiritual intimacy and gave meaning and purpose to his place in salvation history.

¹⁰⁸ Mather, *Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, xxii.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. According to Mather, the fact that the High Priest clothing and the tabernacle is mentioned in at least fifty chapters of the Old Testament shows that it held great and lasting fascination among the Puritans. It is in Lev. 8 and Exod. 28, where Mather found the most complete and distinctive list of items. Mather's descriptions of the High Priest's clothing include the holy coat, the ephod and the Girdle of the Ephod. Mather devoted a large section of his discourse to these items which resemble the inspired creation of Puritan self-image. The embroidered coat of fine linen, of which Exod. 28:39 states is a "Linnen curiously wrought" is referred to by Mather as the garment of justification. To be justified "wearing the coat of linen" is to be saved as one of the elect through faith alone. Linen in particular has a holy purpose. Mather affirmed that fine linen was symbolic of a person's good deeds, "the righteousness of saints" imputed to believers from Christ. Clerical collars are typically made of linen. Mather addressed the second article of clothing he finds representative of priestly garb, the ephod. He translates ephod's meaning from Greek to Latin and Hebrew as a verb meaning "to fit, to clothe, to shoulder." Mather stated that "it is a short coat without sleeves, put upon his other garments to

keep them close together-it reached from the shoulders to the loins. Simply stated it is to fit a sleeveless garment upon the shoulders.” He relates its sacredness to the High Priests who bears his church upon his shoulders. Accepting the ephod then is to accept the enormity of responsibility for one’s flock.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 449, 501-2.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 505.

¹¹² Ibid., 504.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Watters, “A Priest to the Temple,” 33. Watter’s singles out the ephod and the breastplate as particular items which have the most meaning regarding the passage of saints into heaven at death. The breastplate called the Breastplate of Judgment in Exod. 28; 15, 29, 30, was “put on Aaron’s heart” and was not, according to Mather, a judgment of punishment, but rather one of mercy. It was fashioned from the same materials as the ephod, but with added precious stones and was marked with the names of the Children of Israel (which to Mather signified all of Abraham’s descendants). Mather stated in *The Gospel of the Priestly Vestments*, “As he [the high priest] bore them [the children of Israel] on his shoulders of his Power in the two Onyx stones upon the Shoulder-pieces of the Ephod, of which before: So now here he bears them upon his Heart in deare Love and Favour.” His understanding of the symbolic nature of the breastplate fastened to the shoulder pieces of the ephod speaks to the inseparable conjunction of the Love, Power, and Righteousness of Christ in the great Work of Salvation.

¹¹⁵ Colle, *Collars, Stocks, Cravats*, 11-15.

¹¹⁶ Mather, *Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, 506. Mather states that the weight of this love is placed on the Ephod, bearing the names of all the believers. It is telling that not just the clerics wore the metaphorical ephods, because Mather clearly distinguishes between common and sacred ones. In his discussion about the differences, he noted that the sacred ephod had an additional ornament upon it, the engraved onyx stones bearing the Names of the twelve children of Israel bore over the High Priests shoulders. In a symbolic fashion Puritan clerics have become mediators in the same way as Christ, sons of God, as go-betweens, carrying their congregation upon their shoulders. The immense responsibility they felt toward their congregants is seen in a passage from Mather who states the high Priest in Jewish law was responsible for the atonement of all Israel’s sins .So too was clerical understanding of Puritan ministerial responsibility.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Bart Ehrman, *The New Testament*, 189-190. In the gospel narratives of the New Testament the curtain, which tears at the moment of Jesus' crucifixion, represents his death as the ultimate sacrifice for human sins. See Matt. 27:51-54. When Jesus gives his spirit up to God, "behold the veil of the sanctuary was torn in two from top to bottom." It is no longer necessary to go to the Jewish temple (in constant process of rebuilding) on the Day of Atonement and bring animal sacrifices. The New Covenant establishes that the ultimate sacrifice was made by Jesus' in upholding his Father's will that love over violence atones for man's sins. Staying true to this identity, God now resides in the human heart as the new temple. Cotton's portrait embodies New Testament ideology and replaced the Old Covenant through a typological interpretation. The cultural and religious belief of New Testament ideology was accepted widely as the "revelatio," the "testamentum" of God's ultimate victory. Ministers paralleled themselves with the great mystics to whom God's word had been revealed. In choosing The Book of Revelation, Cotton was a visionary and saw beyond earthly realities with knowledge from beyond.

¹¹⁹ Mather, *Figures and Types of The Old Testament*, 515.

¹²⁰ Luke 1:28-35 (AV). "And the Angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Therefore also that holy thing which shall be borne of thee, shall be called the sonne of God."

¹²¹ Bart Ehrman, *The New Testament*, 342. Interestingly, The Book of Revelation is a message written to the seven churches of Asia Minor. In Biblical numerology the number seven, symbolizes God's work as being completed universally. See Genesis' creation story, Chap2:1 "And on the seventh day God finished His work." The open pages Cotton displays in his portrait are letters to the seven churches in Asia Minor. The seven centers in Revelation are chosen for practical reasons; they were probably centers of the Johannine mission field, perhaps the only churches acknowledging John- and they were also linked, for purposes of communication by the imperial post road that bordered the west central regions of the provinces of Asia.

¹²² Rev. 2:5 (NAB) (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1987), 14-29. See also John 1:12 (AV). Cotton's choice of biblical verses in his portrait attest to his pre-millennial certainty that evil forces are expected and can only be conquered through the redemptive cycle of penance and divine mercy. Despite his harsh warnings about the sins of his Puritan community, slander against him and church membership decline. He is faithful to his reputation as *imitatio Christi*.

¹²³ John 1:10 (AV), a reprint of the 1611 edition. Fundamental to interpreting the hypothesis about Mather's portrait is an understanding that The Book of Revelation was thought to be written in the Johannine tradition because of its symbolic and mystical nature connecting the Hebrew scripture of an apocalyptic tradition. However, John's overture, "in the beginning" established Jesus as the light and the Word, the true embodiment of God prophesized in the Hebrew scriptures, and the one who reveals the New Covenant. The Word is understood to be God who is underlies all earthly reality, which is made flesh in the transcendent incarnate being of Jesus Christ.

Chapter II

The Council of Ministers:

Rev. John Lowell's Communal Approach to Visible Sainthood

The group portrait, *The Council of Ministers*, (fig. 2.1)¹ portrays classical motifs and scriptural beliefs depicting the ancient priestly tabernacle rituals in Hebrew Temple imagery, which foreshadowed, typologically, Christ's sacrificial death and resurrection for the priesthood of believers.² Fundamental to the Puritan conversion experience was receiving Christ's gift of redemption which secured one's position as a visible saint.³

Reverend John Lowell of Newburyport, Massachusetts, is believed to be the one who commissioned this group portrait. He is seated in the painting at the head of the table and in the company of the six other ministers (fig. 2.2). Lowell's individual oil portrait, which was painted in 1728 and two years after his ordination, provides additional evidence and support for the examination of *The Council of Ministers*, and further demonstrates his Calvinist ideology during the pre- and post-revivalism period (fig. 2.3). Surprisingly, both Lowell's individual portrait, painted by Nathaniel Emmons, and the group portrait *The Council of Ministers*, painted by an unknown limner, were painted using the "grisaille" method, a colonial technique that used black and white oil paint on wood to create an optical illusion, tricking the viewer's eye into seeing each painting as a mezzotint.⁴

In 1740, Lowell played host to George Whitefield who made seven trips to New England between 1738 and 1740.⁵ Alan Burroughs states that Whitefield's inflammatory preaching divided Lowell's community into the "New Lights" and the "Legalists" during the Great Awakening.⁶ Church members questioned the sincerity of their leaders and even withdrew from

their congregations to form new churches. These defections, particularly those from the First Parish headed by Lowell's colleague and mentor, Rev. Christopher Toppan, led to the formation of a council among the eight churches in Newburyport, which took place on July 24, 1744. To Burroughs, it seems evident that the painting was a representation of Lowell's efforts to make compromises between the churches (fig. 2.4).⁷ It is recorded in the *Boston Evening Post* of May 3, 1742, that religious hysteria was more pervasive in Newbury than elsewhere in Essex County. An order from the general court was needed to allow only regularly ordained ministers to exhort to the people on Sundays.⁸

Puritans like Lowell defined their religious and cultural identity in a context of conflict and division. Both mystical and formal elements in the group portrait are expressed polarly. Kenneth Haltman affirms that "such polarities and oppositions offer effective 'analytic hooks' of use in organizing thoughts."⁹ He cites the Prownian analysis, stating that the most persistent object metaphors that express belief seem embedded in polarities (such as life/death, power/lack of control). This, in turn, is expressed in a pictorial language of formal oppositions, such as light/dark, vertical/horizontal, and in/out. While *The Council of Ministers* represents Lowell's safe retreat to the sanctuary, the group portrait also depicts Lowell's desire to achieve dialectic relief while alluding to tensions of certainty/doubt regarding personal election and visible sainthood.

Moreover, the group portrait transcends an autobiographical account of Lowell's ministry by eliciting both a Christological and a typological response. This makes it a fitting representation of mysticism in Puritan belief; it also visually demonstrates the justification of faith based on scriptural exegesis and affirms Lowell's Calvinist ideology in the wake of

“enthusiasm.”¹⁰ It graphically shows how human agency animated art and, conversely, how, as an over-mantel portrait located in his home (it was inserted as a panel over a fireplace in Lowell’s library), it may have influenced behavior and conscience formation through the visual imagination of Sola Scriptura during times of divided church polity.¹¹

The overt display of the Bible in the group portrait suggests its central importance in positioning Lowell’s community within scriptural history and suggests a typological examination of the Book of Exodus, Letters to the Hebrews, and the Book of Revelation (fig. 2.5).¹² Chapters 9 and 10 in Hebrews connect the Israelite’s ritual laws and actions of temple worship in Exodus with the final disclosure of Jesus as the definitive Priest-King and Son of God in Revelation.¹³ Christ’s gift of personal redemption was humbly accepted by the Puritan community as the ultimate sacrifice for the atonement of sins. Puritans believed that this sacrifice was foreshadowed typologically in the ancient priestly tabernacle rituals in Hebrew Temple imagery.¹⁴

The sermon Lowell heard Thomas Foxcroft give at his ordination in 1726 resonated with Old Testament imagery. Foxcroft equated Lowell’s ministerial role to a Spiritual Father with the progenitors of the Levitical priesthood, Abraham, Job, and David. In his sermon, Foxcroft stated that “like the Spiritual Fathers [Lowell] remains a priest unto God that he must lead his family in the Spiritual Sacrifices of Prayer & praise; which should, as the continual burnt offering, be presented daily morning & evening.” He continued to augment Lowell’s position stating:

We find the Patriarch Abraham, wherever he pitch’d his Tent; building an Altar (A Family altar) & Serving at it, in his own person. We read also of Job sanctifying his Children, by burnt offerings according to the number of them all...It is spoken of David, as what was his Custom, after the Translation of the Ark, that he returned to bless his household...In like manner, Churches being a kind of larger Households, in which Ministers are Spiritual Fathers, they are to

bless these their Ecclesiastical Families in the Name of the Lord...but more especially in the publick Congregation. Like the Old Tribe of Levi, this makes a part of the Office of Gospel-Ministers also.¹⁵

According to Sacvan Bercovitch, a typological narrative such as Foxcroft's "recommended itself to the Reformers as an ideal method for regulating spiritualization, since it stressed the literal historical (as opposed to purely allegorical) level of exegesis."¹⁶ Bercovitch affirms:

Reformers insisted on a Christological reading of Scripture, they demanded a precise spiritual correspondence between the history of the Hebrews and the life of the believer. Like Christ, the Bible could be rightly perceived only by one who had transformed himself in His image. And like the process of that transformation, the story of Israel had its telos in the Christ-centered event.¹⁷

In a purposeful decision between patron and artist, Lowell is believed to have positioned himself and six visible saints around an altar-like surface located inside a structure similar to a temple that floats within a mythical landscape. Temple accessories, the Bible, valleys, desert terrain, a waterscape, abundant foliage, floral motifs, dark clouds, birds and mountains are thoughtfully composed, albeit awkwardly positioned within the picture plane, restating Puritan ideas through a collective biblical knowledge of the otherworldliness of a New Jerusalem (a heavenly pattern), transforming the Gospel, as Sally Promey stated, "into highly metaphorical understandings of human life."¹⁸

Lowell's "Great Awakening"

Lowell was born in Boston on March 14, 1704. A graduate of Harvard, he was ordained January 19, 1726, as pastor of the Third Church of Newbury.¹⁹ Lowell was described years later on July 2, 1852, in a tender and compassionate account by Rev. Jonathan Stearns, D.D, and pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Newburyport (which, ironically, was formed in part by the secession of Lowell's church "in circumstances of high excitement") as a man of integrity.²⁰

Stearns also wrote about the tensions he and his congregation experienced during the Great Awakening.

The Great Awakening was a series of revivals characterized by a popular religious enthusiasm and led by charismatic itinerant preachers such as Whitefield, as well as educated theologians such as Jonathan Edwards. Their sermons encouraged an intense personal piety that challenged traditional patterns of authority and deference within churches.²¹ Many revival meetings were centered on empowering people to personally and emotionally experience the guidance of the Holy Spirit to discern and reveal mystical knowledge. Many itinerant preachers would forgo sermon preparation, trusting God would give them the words needed to lead their congregation.²²

Lowell, unlike many of his conservative colleagues, welcomed the first signs of the revival, states Stearns. He “hoped it might be as happy a season as in the time of the earthquake when due to fright one hundred and forty-one professed converts were joined to Rev. Lowell’s church.”²³ He attests that Lowell “threw himself with no little apparent heartiness into the work; arranged monthly meetings, and paid personal pastoral visits.”²⁴ He also affirms that Lowell was optimistic during his ministry “to revive dying religion, suppress vice, and promote the peace and welfare of the church.”²⁵ In an unprecedented reception, Lowell allowed famous itinerants and other revivalists of the day to preach from his pulpit. Stearns states that Lowell was so caught up in the fervor that he publicly revealed his own religious experiences. As a result, he was perceived as a “special favorite” among revivalists and was intimately involved in the revival practices of the Great Awakening.²⁶

At this point in Lowell's ministerial career, his "spirited ideas" may have classified him as a Spiritual Brethren, welcoming all signs of God's spirit at work among his fellowship.²⁷ Knight attempts to uncover a variety of religious experiences within Puritanism "by giving voice to an alternative community within, not apart from, the univocal orthodoxy of the Intellectual Fathers."²⁸ She states, the Spiritual Brethren "were more emotional and even mystical, their theology stressing divine benevolence over power. Emphasizing the love of God, they converted biblical metaphors of kingship onto ones of kinship."²⁹ Knight affirms that the personal Christology among the Spiritual Brethren and their doctrine of the Holy Spirit was more private and immediate. It was "becoming more so a marriage of the heart," she writes, "rather than a contractual arrangement."³⁰ Lowell may have touched on this alternate community, with a restrained version of quickening the "dead" legalistic duties which the Intellectual Fathers embraced as their collective Puritan inheritance.

Paradoxically, however, Stearns believes that Lowell's goodwill was averted as he became concerned about the rights of pastors (of whom he had high esteem) being disregarded by "zealous itinerants and inexperienced youths," and "proprieties of all sorts that were neglected."³¹ Lowell warned his congregation not to "give in to such things, as our fathers for many weighty reasons fled from."³² Lowell ceased his evening meetings and pastoral visits and closed his pulpit "until the existing high state of excitement should have an opportunity to subside."³³ A wide division grew between himself and 38 male members of the church who, with their families, established The First Presbyterian Church.³⁴ Ironically, according to Stearn's journal charges that Lowell was "not preaching with sufficient distinctness, pungency, and direct application, such doctrines as man's depravity, the way of salvation by the merits of

Christ, and the work of the Holy Spirit” only served to acknowledge him as a spiritist.³⁵ He also states that Lowell was not discharged of any error “but in truth his manner of preaching was more polished than pungent, general than explicit.” He was referred to “as zealous for the honour of God, and the salvation of precious and immortal souls.”³⁶

Lowell’s grandson, Rev. Charles Lowell of Boston, offered a concise and descriptive account of his grandfather’s religious convictions, which he derived from observing *The Council of Ministers* portrait that hung above the fireplace in his grandfather’s library.³⁷ “On a panel in his house in Newbury (port) was a painting by one of his parishioners of a meeting of the ‘Association,’” he wrote. “The members are seated at the table, each one with a long pipe, apparently smoking with much satisfaction. My grandfather is at the head of the table and over a part of the picture is this inscription, which delights me much. ‘In necessariis unitas; in non necessariis libertas; in utrisque charitas.’ It must have been suggested, I think, to the painter, by my grandfather, as I have understood he was a mechanic belonging to my grandfather’s parish.”³⁸

Charles reflects on the subject matter of the over-mantle affirming:

In regard to the state of things in which the secession from his church originated, I have always believed that his conduct was wise, judicious, and Christian-like, - such as became a minister of the gospel of Christ, and the pastor of a Christian church. He was anxious, as he should have been for a revival of religion aiming his people; and when there were symptoms of such a revival, he encouraged them, he laboured more abundantly than ever, and he invited others to labour with him in his vineyard. But when he perceived that things were tending to excess, and that persons, whom he deemed unsuitable, were attempted to be thrust upon him as co-labourers, without his consent, and against his will, he paused, he resisted, not the *work* but the *workers*, and the *manner* in which the work was performed. The “zeal of God” that was “not according to *knowledge*,” the “strife and contention” he could not sanction, though, if the Gospel was preached, in that he did rejoice, yes and would rejoice.³⁹

George Whitefield was one of the “famous preachers” who had preached from John Lowell’s pulpit during his travels through Boston from 1741 to 1742.⁴⁰ Interestingly, the group portrait was painted only two years later, which may demonstrate Lowell’s adherence to Congregational polemics in the wake of religious disruption and disorder. Many years later, Minnie Atkinson, a Newbury town historian wrote, “Mr. Lowell, usually most liberal, invited (Whitefield) to preach in the meeting house. The invitation was never repeated, although owing to Whitefield’s flaming eloquence one hundred and forty three souls were added to the parish list of communicants.”⁴¹ In Whitefield’s diary the following entry affirmed that the Lowell residence was one of many stops on his whirlwind New England tour: “Saturday, October 4 – Lay at the house of Mr. Lowell, minister of the place-Preached in the morning to a very thronged congregation.”⁴²

In an apologetic pamphlet Whitefield wrote after his return to England, he described his work in New England as a positive experience. He supported his letter with signatures from eminent Boston clergymen and defended his preaching against an anonymous prosecutor, reaffirming that he always stays true to scripture.⁴³ “I would heartily join with him [the anonymous writer] and the other Ministers in New England,” he wrote, “was I therein bearing faithful Testimony against any Thing that I might judge to be inconsistent with the precious Rules of the Holy Scriptures.”⁴⁴ Yet Whitefield was aware of abuses such as those who preached without any propriety or education and cautioned the ministers writing, “At the same time I pray that even the Ministers themselves may act with the same Caution they recommend to their People, and then I doubt not but we shall see a happy End put to what may now be irregular or disorderly.”⁴⁵

Admitting to a certain amount of disorder and downplaying the divisions created in church government, Whitefield wrote to his anonymous adversary:

This dear Sir is nothing but what is Common.... After a Gathering there will always be a Sifting Time. And the Church is generally shaken before it is settled. But must the whole work of God be condemned as Enthusiasm and Delusion because of some Disorder?⁴⁶

Whitefield was adamant that “the Work lately begun and carried on in New England is not Enthusiasm and Delusion, but a great and Marvellous Work of the Spirit of God.”⁴⁷

According to Louise Karr, Lowell was an excellent arbitrator during this period. She attests that he was adept at “harmonizing the innumerable diverse elements, theological and personal that seethed and whirled in this interesting locality of Newbury.”⁴⁸ Sara Anna Emery, in *Reminiscences of Newbury*, described Lowell stating, “He was a lover of all good men, though of different denominations, and much given to hospitality.”⁴⁹

Lowell’s convictions were applauded in a good-humored letter written by his great-grandson, poet James Russell Lowell, to a friend on January 23, 1850:

My great grandfather, who was minister at Newbury, and who, being very much of a gentleman and scholar, held out against Whitefield and his extravagances used to take (I have no doubt) the grocer’s share of his salary in tobacco. He was a terrible smoker, and there is still extant in the house he lived in Newbury, a painted panel, representing a meeting of the neighboring clergy, each with his pipe and his pot. I have a great respect for this excellent man’s memory, strengthened by his notebooks and by his portrait in gown, wig, and bands, painted by (Alas!) one of his parishioners.⁵⁰

While Lowell remained tolerant to a degree, Stearns stated that “he referred to himself as a moderate Calvinist who did not hesitate to wield his pen, and employ his pulpit, in defending the cherished policy of the first settlers and the tenets of Congregationalism.”⁵¹ The desertion of many of his people was a great trial for Lowell. In a letter to his congregation, Lowell

reproached them, begging them to reconsider their decision of withdrawal: “I have carefully read and considered your letter to me, dated Oct. 31, 1743. In it you declare that you have withdrawn from communion. I desire now to call a church meeting that you may lay before me your reasons.”⁵² Later he wrote, “I am heartily sorry that in this day of temptation you should have been so unmindful of your solemn vows.” In these letters he signed himself, “Your affectionate and aggrieved pastor, John Lowell.”⁵³ His congregation asked his forgiveness for not telling him the reasons before and wished for a “peaceful and amicable” dismissal despite the fact that as stated in a letter to Lowell, they did not “need” him to determine their personal election; rather it was by their own “experiences” of grace they had come to know God. In a letter of withdrawal written by Timothy Toppan and Enoch Titcomb and signed by thirty-three parishioners, the democratic enthusiasm left in the wake of the itinerant revivalists was confirmed:

But bellowed to our sorrow, the conduct of our pastor the Rev.d John Lowell has been such as that we could not (he administering the Seal) sit down at the table of the Lord with that and unanimity as we think Communion at his table requires; nor gain that soul benefit and spiritual edification by the word preached by him as we by experience have found elsewhere and has been the reason of our withdrawing from you.⁵⁴

In answering Lowell’s accusation that they had broken their vows, the congregants respectfully denied the charge. Lowell’s conservative stance resonates in the following complaint from those who withdrew from his parish:

Now Rev. Sir we are not about to charge you with false Doctrine, or what is generally called an immoral life; nor was your Doctrine any ways uneasie to us (except a party sermon now & then too much respecting the Church of England) in a time of great deadness in religion, a time wherein (as we think) both the Wise & foolish Virgins were slumbering and sleeping....we expect of a Spiritual Father that he would speak more experimentally of the Christian course, as having a fresh sense there of his own mind, and deliver matters respecting the same from the Pulpit with much more liveliness & fervor.⁵⁵

Discussions between Lowell and his dissenting parishioners grew more acrimonious with time. While Lowell is remembered in a conciliatory manner, his decisions symbolized in the portrait, *The Council of Ministers*, belie his earlier tendency toward the more liberal and affective “heart religion” prevalent during the Great Awakening. Lowell’s steadfast faith in Calvinist ideology categorizes him as one of Knight’s Intellectual Fathers who believed election was more of an incremental, incomplete, and protracted process; unlike the Brethren whose conversion experiences tended to be more dramatic with an immediate transformation of the heart.⁵⁶

Lowell’s orthodox beliefs resonate in an ordination sermon he wrote on January 31, 1738, for Thomas Barnard, an ordained minister of the Second Church in Newbury believed to be another one of the ministers seated alongside Lowell in the group portrait.⁵⁷ Lowell was adamant regarding an educated ministry and addressed at great length, the qualifications necessary in serving God. He argued that while ordination alone could not entitle ministers to the esteem and respect deemed necessary for such an important office, without education those who proclaimed to understand the will of God would lack credibility. Lowell argued:

Those then that would approve themselves his [God’s] Ministers, must appear acquainted with the Instructions, Rules and Methods which God has proposed for the advancing of His Kingdom in the World; and to have competent Discretion and Judgment in applying themselves to every part of the Work; prudently to dispense to everyone his portion in due Season. Men will find that the Ministers of God are in his Word said- be able to teach others and therefore that themselves have been taught the faithful Word and able by sound Doctrine both to exhort, and convince Gainsayers: for there are many unruly and vain Talkers and Deceivers, whose Mouths must be stopped by solid reasoning from the Word of God. Ministers of God must have superior Degrees of Knowledge in sacred Things, to what are necessary for private Christians.⁵⁸

He added:

“it must be by giving our selves [ministers] to Reading and Meditation upon the holy Oracles, and many other Books, in several Arts and sciences, which will give

light into them; that we can come to be tolerably qualified, to instruct the ignorant, confute the erroneous, guide the doubting, and establish the weak and wavering.⁵⁹

New England Puritan ideology linked community to a tradition of oppression. *The Council of Ministers* is a pictorial defense against the powerful momentum of revivalism and the political discord Lowell suffered during periods of declension in his congregation. Including ministers from different churches and denominations at the table in the group portrait confirmed Lowell's tolerance for diverse opinion while upholding an educated and learned ministry. According to Louise Karr, the decision to place the painting as an over-mantel in Lowell's study "gave it a greater dignity of association."⁶⁰ It was viewed by a diverse audience able to interpret its coded messages. Karr affirms that "It has looked down upon gatherings – intimate and formal – of men and women, the most distinguished in the worlds of letters and society in our own land, and upon noteworthy visitors from beyond the seas during the period when Mr. Lowell was an outstanding figure in our national life."⁶¹ Lowell enjoyed the location of the portrait for over twenty years.⁶²

The Body in the Temple

The Council of Ministers is a "speaking portrait" that exposes a human desire to spiritually express or imagine a place (like the Jewish temple) to meet with God and ground the eternal soul. Illustrations of the Hebrew temple were popular in many Bibles printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Puritans viewed woodcuts of temple accessories such as arches, pillars, cherubs, altars, and lampstands (fig. 2.6, 2.7, 2.8).⁶³ They believed the temple artistry was a visible sign of God's presence among his people, constructed from free will offerings by artists who, in their submission to God and earthly authority, created a masterpiece

of richly carved wood and complex woven textiles.⁶⁴ Watters states as a result of this metaphysical understanding, that Puritans applied the temple and its furnishings to their own lives, seeing it as a foreshadowing of Christ and his church.⁶⁵ In specific terms, he refers to the tripartite division of the Temple, its outer court, inner court, and the Holy of Holies as representative of the world, the gathered church, and ultimately of heaven (fig. 2.9).⁶⁶

The Hebrew temple described in Exodus was known among Puritans to be a heavenly pattern or a shadow of the New Jerusalem. Puritanism attempted to make the visible church a spiritual approximation of the Kingdom of God.⁶⁷ Bercovitch finds this optimism central to the Puritan mindset, largely because the fulfillment of Hebrew Scriptures in Christ promoted hopeful ideas about personal redemption, as well as the overall arc of history. “Puritans hoped that, as a community of elected saints,” Bercovitch writes, “they would participate in a thousand-year period of spiritual progress while awaiting Christ’s Second Coming when a New Jerusalem and Heaven [the new temple] would finally be joined.”⁶⁸

The visual composition of Lowell expressing this election in the temple imagery explicitly acknowledges his body as embodying the sacred and having direct access to divine knowledge and power through the word of God. Lowell’s imagined “election” allowed him to figuratively enter the inner court of the temple giving those who desired it the hope of a similar experience of union with God better known in Puritan parlance as visible sainthood.⁶⁹ Martha Finch explores the idea of visible sainthood in what she calls the “theology of the body.”⁷⁰ Though her work centers on the Separatists of Plymouth colony, she attests that Puritan ideas of salvation began and ended in the body because “internal motivations required externalization in behavior, making publicly visible one’s moral state, assuring oneself and others that one was,

indeed, a saint.”⁷¹ One’s hidden spiritual state was manifested visibly through occupation, speech, or dress. Since portraiture depicts individuals in attentive attitudes in an effort to grasp their physiognomy and personality, it offers a means of visibly manifesting one’s spiritual state. Finch addresses this Puritan belief holistically affirming that “divine grace entered a person’s soul through the physical senses, and inner grace, in turn motivated one’s actions in the world.”⁷² She argues that “dissenting ministers viewed subjective intentionality and objective behavior as so closely interwoven that the ‘outer body’ – one’s conduct – immediately and accurately displayed the truth of the “inner heart.”⁷³

Similarly, Samuel Mather (brother of Increase) and author of *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* wrote extensively on typological associations between the Old Testament and the New as early as 1668. He replaced the temple imagery of the Jewish priesthood with the gathered church of Puritan bodies stating the temple rituals (a person’s actions) were useful only as a comparison to the foreshadowing of Christ:

The Temple itself was a sign of his[Christ’s] Presence, and the Altar, the Ark, the Mercy-Seat, were affixed by God’s appointment into those places to be observed and celebrated there, viz., in the Temple, and in Jerusalem, but there is no place that is now privileged with this Symbolical Presence. There are no such standing signs and tokens of his Presence annexed unto any place. God hath given his Ordinances, to his Church, but he hath not tyed them to any place, He Dwells Not in Temples made with Hands.⁷⁴

Increase Mather stated that the temple was a type of Christ: “The Temple was the most costly, excellent, glorious, House in the world; thereby figuring the humane-nature of Christ, which was adorned with graces and spiritual Excellencies beyond any other man or creature.”⁷⁵ Samuel described the rituals and ceremonies of the Levitical priesthood as mechanical repetitions that are remembered, often without real understanding of meaning or significance:

There was a religion and a way of worship ordained by God in those Times as well as now, though that Worship was not so Spiritual and evangelical as is the Worship of the New Testament: They had ordinances of worship, and a Seat of Worship then; but they were carnal. But the Ordinances now are Spiritual, and the seat of Worship Spiritual; For then it was the material temple to which God was pleased to tie and annex the Publick-Church-worship and ordinances of those Times; But now the seat of Worship is the several Churches and Congregation of his People.⁷⁶

Furthermore, Promey asserts that in Puritan doctrine it was accepted that it was human beings who were viewed as “consecrated spaces,” not churches or temples.⁷⁷ This belief was affirmed biblically in 1 Corinthians 3:16-17 which states, “Know ye not that ye are the Temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you.”⁷⁸ Watters writes, “A believer repeatedly heard in sermons that he or she was a High Priest elected to enter Heaven, a living stone or pillar in the church militant elected to be part of the New Jerusalem Temple.”⁷⁹ As priests, the visible saints, by way of their imagination, could move from the “outer court yard” toward the “inner courtyard” confidently, while moving closer to the symbolic heaven of the Holy of Holies where God resided.

Drawing on the Mather brothers’ typological understanding of the Temple as Christ’s body in the New Dispensation, every believer who followed Christ became like Christ, thereby becoming Christian temples for God’s dwelling place. Bercovitch uses the term *imitatio Christi* to describe believers:

Reformers insisted on a Christological reading of Scripture, they demanded a precise spiritual correspondence between the history of the Hebrews and the life of the believer. Like Christ, the Bible could be rightly perceived only by one who had transformed himself in His image.⁸⁰

Depicted as visible saints by their outward representation as ministers and behavioral adherence to Sola Scriptura, Lowell pictorially composed a communal spiritual autobiography. The

embodiment of his and his colleague's painted bodies represents mystical archetypes, High Priests metaphorically transformed into earthly yet "imagined" tabernacles typologically transcended into *imitatio Christi* (Christ's body) the New Jerusalem temple sharing in a mystical covenant with God.

Mystical knowledge has usually been demonstrated in the extraordinary experiences of visionaries and ecstasies.⁸¹ But according to Dennis Tamburello, the term can also be used to include all those who seek a personal and passionate devotion to the divine.⁸² Therefore, the term "mysticism" can relate to Puritan theology as an affective knowledge seen within the autobiography as the writer embraces an experience of union while engaging in the customary process in following the life of Christ.

Lowell's imagined retreat to a constructed sanctuary where God's Law and glory was known, assured him of his salvation during a period of doubt and sustained loss. As visible saints, Lowell and his supporters understood that it was in scripture where God would "speak" to them. Reassured by the temple rituals sanctioned typologically by the Christian promise of the Old Covenant being fulfilled in the sacrifice of Christ, Lowell composed his "body" in *The Council of Ministers* inside a recognizable, but imagined vision of a "heavenly pattern," affirming a solidarity between churches, discerning a clarity of purpose, and demonstrating through Puritan visual imagination that his unmediated experiences of God were lawfully sanctioned by Sola Scriptura. Unlike the unlearned enthusiasts of the revivals, Lowell explored a mystical temple while on earth that was grounded in doctrinal ordering, careful biblical exegesis, and theological responsibility. Sidney Ahlstrom affirms this ordering: "However deeply the Puritan was convinced of his call from God, however inflamed with prophetic fire, however moved by a conversion experience, his response was very rarely one of unstructured

enthusiasm.”⁸³ Lowell’s group portrait structures confidence and optimism in covenantal theology. By placing their bodies in a metaphorical holy place, Lowell bore witness to the group’s election, precisely as those from the Levitical high priesthood who had claimed full access into the consecrated space of the Holy of Holies.⁸⁴ As ministers in the Christian tradition, Lowell and his council members freely entered into union with God through the metaphorical embodiment of the Holy of Holies permitted by the New Testament writer of Heb. 10:19-20 who states, as believers in Christ, “We have then my brothers complete freedom to enter the Most Holy Place by means of the death of Jesus. He opened for us a new way of living, a living way through the curtain that is through his own body.”⁸⁵

Lowell referred to his ministry in the symbolic imagery of temple ceremony in the ordination sermon he wrote for Barnard in 1738. Sanctioned by the scripture of Rev 1:5-6, he viewed his role as akin to the Levitical priesthood whose daily rituals encompassed sacrifices for the atonement of sin, purification of the body, and the intercession of prayer requests. Lowell writes,” “It should not seem a small Thing unto us that the God of Israel hath separated us from the Congregation of Israel, to bring us near to himself, to do the Service of the Tabernacle of the Lord, and to stand before the Congregation to minister unto them.”⁸⁶ He concluded his sermon by restating the solemnity of his ministerial vow and the consecration of Barnard in typological fashion similar to Samuel Mather’s discourse:

And may we all, present at this Solemnity, Pastors and people, obtain Mercy of the Lord, to be faithful in our several Stations and Relations, and as good and faithful Servants, in due Time be admitted unto the Employments...in that *Temple* which is not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens.⁸⁷

The Painting

One of two reductionist analyses of the painting occurred early in the twentieth century art community. Karr's remarks on the group portrait are descriptive:

I saw in an alcove a fringed velvet cloth on a table; a manuscript before the clergyman at the head, an inkstand with several quill pens standing upright, a Bible, open and also upright, held so by some means not indicated. One of the assembled clergymen is pointing to the Bible. I saw also on the table a candle, a lot of churchwarden pipes, and a shallow dish for tobacco. I noted wigs, gowns, and bands, and, likewise, the circumstances that the ministers sat on frail, slat-backed chairs.⁸⁸

Nina Fletcher Little also wrote about Lowell's group portrait stating that while the table accessories are of unusual interest they are conventional in their similarity. Little describes *The Council of Ministers* as "a number of bewigged gentlemen sitting around a long table on which may be seen candlesticks, clay pipes, and other culminating features of a sociable repast."⁸⁹

Painted as an over-mantel, *The Council of Ministers* is in a format reminiscent of English tavern signs typically painted by itinerant painters who, for a modest sum, also painted a variety of objects such as ships, houses, and interiors.⁹⁰ The use of paint on paneled wainscot, woodwork, and walls artfully reproduced transformed home interiors with simulated pattern and color. Little states that the subjects painted by these country painters were often stylized expressions of what they saw, felt, or remembered and therefore, they found no objection to including in one picture completely dissimilar elements or of adding figures or buildings which appear to bear no relation to the rest of the composition (fig. 2.10).⁹¹ According to Little, the works of wall painters embody a personal approach and a freedom of design which is often lacking in the academic work of the period.⁹² In comparing *The Council of Ministers* with *Sea Captains Carousing in Surinam*, one is privy to the conventional depictions of an eighteenth century gentleman's leisurely merriment (fig.2.11).

While the portrait, as an over-mantel, can be categorized as a naïve object of folk-art complete with dissimilarities and eighteenth-century conventions, its formal elements hail from a tradition of Northern Renaissance group portraiture in the Dutch Neo-Medieval style. According to Margaret Iversen, Dutch group portraiture occurred in three stages.⁹³ First, the numerous figures in the early groups, such as the seven ministers in Lowell's folk depiction, are combined using symbolic attributes that signify common membership in a corporate body. During the second stage, the figures are brought together by their common participation in some genre-like activity, perhaps a meal or a ceremony, organizing figures around an event or a dominant figure, in this case the Bible or Lowell. In the final stage, a dramatic scene is contrived, which subordinates the figures, but also sets them in immediate relation to the viewer. While *The Council of Ministers* evokes most of the formal elements of Dutch group portraiture, its compact pyramidal grouping differs from the plan metric compositions and vertical axes of Dutch art.⁹⁴ The Bible at the center of the table creates an inquiring narrative that deepens the pictorial representation unlike the obvious conviviality of the *Sea Captains Carousing in Surinam*.

Description

Seven unidentified ministers are seated around a rectangular shaped table covered by a cloth of opaque material and embellished with fringe. Their long Geneva gowns and fallen bands that project from their necks define them as orthodox clerics in the Christian tradition. All the ministers sport powdered wigs except the one in the left lower corner who the painter depicts with dark hair at a length slightly below his ears. The *grisaille, trompe l'oeille* effect of the group portrait, originally painted in black and white heavy impasto, has become discolored over the years with a hazy ochre-like burnishing overlay, turning the color of the portrait into sepia tones. The central focus of the group is on the minister who is thought to be Lowell and who is

seated at the head of the table. His position in the portrait creates symmetry within what appears to be a relaxed and confident assembly of brethren. The group respects his authority and initiative, as well as his welcoming and generous temperament, which was noted in several accounts from family members. With his head casually bent to the left, he points with his left index finger to a white scroll-like document embossed with dark wavy horizontal lines. In accordance with his Calvinist sensibility, Lowell centers his meeting on a large book most certainly the Bible, propped open to its first few sections (probably the Pentateuch), which rests on the dense cloth that provides invisible yet ample support. It is possible that the seven ministers are reading the Book of Exodus, which includes a descriptive set of instructions responsible for igniting the Puritan imagination about temple imagery and the Levitical priesthood.⁹⁵

On a right-to-left diagonal line across the table, both the Bible and the document are encased in the protective boundary of Lowell's pointed index fingers and his wigless colleague at the lower left end of the table. Each minister appears to have finished smoking a clay pipe, five of which dot the length of the table and two which are placed in crisscrossed fashion over a large basin or bowl perhaps used for the pipe's ashes.

The pipes are in perpendicular harmony with the static vertical lines created by three quill pens in front of Lowell's lower torso. Lowell's upright position, the Bible, the quill pens, and the brass candlestick on the lower right edge of the table display and parallel each man's "upstanding character."⁹⁶ One's are directed to the center of the composition where a soft glow from the lit candle illuminates the center of the table where the Bible is positioned, suggesting Lowell's literacy and knowledge.⁹⁷ The portrait is weighted by muted and darkened tones

which create a heaviness evoking a sense of solidity conveyed by the rectilinear forms which vie for notice in the illuminated soft surfaces.

Surrounding this dignified council is an archway resembling a temple-like structure complete with architrave and Greco-Roman Corinthian columns. Engraved in stone are the Latin words *In necessariis, unitas; in non-necessariis, libertas; in utrisque, charitas* (In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in both, charity).⁹⁸ The Latin maxim's three statements are separated into three fragments which mimic the three imaginary sectors on the archway, duplicating the Roman keystone arch, known in architecture as a central support.⁹⁹ Abundant foliage and floral motifs surround the corners of the structure in shallow relief, challenging the viewer to decipher the natural flora from that carved in stone. A sapling olive tree in full bloom protrudes from the rock-like mound of earth at the bottom left corner, shadowing this mysterious enclave. One's eyes are drawn out to the left of the painting where a mythical landscape of mountains is positioned in the horizon. Protruding from the largest mountain is a cave-like entrance with no access. Three mountains, three skiffs, and two groups of three stork-like swans surround the base of the mountain. A body of water seems to separate the group of ministers from this mythical land as light and dark clouds swirl among an array of birds in portentous fashion and hover close to the mountain ridgeline.

One problem that arises for artists painting a group portrait is determining how to relate motionless figures with objects. A painter of group portraits, however, must find a way to unite the group without diminishing the individuality of its members. Borrowing from Alois Riegl's reception theory, Margaret Iverson states that group portraits convey an internal coherence (a relationship communicated only between those depicted in the portrait), as opposed to an external coherence (a relationship partially dependent upon the spectator to complete the

scene).¹⁰⁰ She cites Riegl who observed that the outward glance of a figure is not a necessary feature of external coherence; it can be achieved by other means such as composing a scene inside of an arch. This has the effect of pointing back to the viewer, which suggests that they are looking inside the painted scene and that it exists for only him.¹⁰¹ Riegl writes, “a group portrait is neither an expanded version of an individual portrait nor, so to speak, a mechanical collection of individual portraits in one picture: rather it is the representation of a free association of autonomous, independent individuals.”¹⁰² Iversen quotes Riegl’s account that since portraiture establishes an intimate relationship with the viewer, action (as a consequence of group dynamics) “always weakens a portrayal, because, on the one hand, every action has some distorting effect on the features, but, on the other hand – and this is the main reason – the attention of the spectator is drawn away from the personality.”¹⁰³

Initially, Lowell’s portrait forces a unity that is independent of the viewer and typical of the Italian Renaissance tradition Riegl calls “internal coherence.”¹⁰⁴ Yet according to Riegl, the temple arch in Lowell’s group portrait is a created space which serves to invite his audience to attend the meeting. Viewers, then, become intrigued by the composition’s ability to elicit action on the part of the ministers in this group portrait rather than the minister’s biographies. Comparing Lowell’s individual portrait with the group portrait suggests that the biographical depiction of Lowell and his fellow ministers is less important than the subject of their meeting. Lowell’s singular portrait appears more passive than active and is simply biographical in its relationship to the viewer. However, while its primary purpose was to be a visual memoir, the fact that the group portrait embodies similar painterly conventions in its fabrication, such as the *grisaille* method, and decision to insert Lowell’s image inside the floral temple like-arch of the

original gold frame's oval inset, makes the viewer curious about Lowell's personal story (fig. 2.12). Iversen states while the Dutch stylistic type is favorable in portraiture, the composition of *The Council of Ministers* points to the Dutch group portrait where the viewer divides his attention equally between compositional arrangement and psychological exchanges, or narrative devices, which contributes to a picture's coherence.

If not for the outward gaze of the dark-haired minister in Lowell's council meeting, the resulting internal coherence would cut off the necessary link with the viewer if he were not directly and personally called upon to enter the arch in order to observe or participate in the action and its immediate space and time. This convention is artistically applied in order to engage the viewer in an important discussion. The group painting implies an audience and appeals to Puritan sensibility, as Riegl's theories suggest, that classical art grouped things symmetrically because symmetry "was thought to display the essential, objective nature of things unclouded by sense experience."¹⁰⁵ The mystical elements in the group portrait, as well as the formal emblems demonstrate that the painting (despite its awkward and vernacular elements) was an ordered didactic message based on scriptural exegesis, which affirms Lowell's Calvinist ideology in the wake of Enthusiasm.

Deduction

"In the old legal Tabernacle, one called the Sanctuary, the golden candlestick, table of shewbread and the altar of incense furnished the room. In the other called the Holy of Holies the ark with its Appurtenances were kept." – Samuel Mather 1668.¹⁰⁶

In this group portrait, a lit candle is the only source of illumination on the long rectangular "altar" in Lowell's sanctuary. His seven ministers surround a table as if to partake of a meal, but there is no physical food present. The objects Lowell chose symbolically parallel objects known to have been the Holy Place (the inner court, and the gathered church) which

Samuel Mather typologically affirmed were “shadows of the New Covenant.”¹⁰⁷ Lowell’s table becomes the altar of incense complete with the “golden candlestick” and “shewbread,” a setting for transforming Lowell’s worldly council meeting into a “meeting with God.” By representing his gathered church inside the Holy Place, this meeting is a material expression of sustained and revealed knowledge in a period of competing religious ideas.

In *Figures and Types*, Mather parallels the golden candlestick with the Word of God and with the role of the ministry, stating that the candlestick suggested Christ as “light to the world.”¹⁰⁸ Referring to the gold in the candlestick, Mather wrote:

The matter of the Church is Saints; As the Candlestick was of Gold: Therefore Churches are called Golden Candlesticks, not Brass or leaden Candlesticks, nor Gilded Candlesticks, but Golden Candlesticks – not ignorant and unfound and scandalous Persons, but Saints, visible Saints.¹⁰⁹

Mather’s analogy of gold as the substance of divinity is telling. A substance derived from anything other than the Word of God is leaden and ignorant at best. Moreover, Mather aligned the Levitical priesthood Christologically with the words in the Book of Revelation stating that, “for as the Candlestick doth support the Lamp and the Light, so doth the Church the Ministry. A Church without a Minister is a Candlestick without a Light.”¹¹⁰

The meaning of the golden candlestick resonates with Lowell’s profound and deep reverence for an educated and ordained ministry in the church polity. In the sermon Lowell prepared for Barnard in 1738, he bestowed good wishes on the new minister in his conclusion thereby personifying him as a temple vessel exactly in the same way Mather described a minister’s character. He addressed Barnard as follows:

Our dear Brother, and Fellow-Labourer, go on and prosper, a Blessing to this Place and Neighborhood, and the Church of God: And when you must no longer be a burning and shining Light in this Golden candlestick, may He who holds the

Stars in His own right Hand, remove you to one of those glorious Spheres above,
where those that are wise, shine as the Brightness of the Firmament....¹¹¹

The candlelight in Lowell's group portrait is an obvious emblem for the ministers themselves as Lowell points out at the end of his speech: "It is not sufficient that Ministers have the Testimony of their Conscience, that they are pious and virtuous; but they are the Lights of the World, and should therefore so shine before Men, as that they may be induced to glorify our heavenly Father."¹¹²

Positioned at the center of Lowell's table, the upright Bible is perceived in New Testament scripture as the Word of God and the Bread of Life.¹¹³ Typologically, Mather affirmed this notion in Puritan belief citing John 6:48-51 stating that Christ was typified in the shewbread. He writes (in the Old Tabernacle), "This Bread is Christ; He is the Bread of Life. This Bread upon the Table in the Sanctuary was a type of Christ doctrinal, or Christ in the Word open and applied to hungry souls."¹¹⁴

In his analogy between physical and spiritual food, Mather inferred that mankind become spiritually hungry and must be fed daily just like the Levitical priests. He referenced the priestly instructions from Exodus on the care and keeping of the shewbread using the Word of God in an active and sensory way; physically being taken into the body not only as nourishment, but to be mystically empowered:

The Priests were to feed upon this all the Week after. It is a great neglect when the bread is not eaten; when the Word is not Digested, Meditated, Fed upon. But People think it is enough to come to some good meeting, and to hear the Word: But do you eat It and Feed upon it all the Week. Do you Mediate and Ruminare upon it?¹¹⁵

The Council's only meal around Lowell's metaphorical altar consists of spiritual food in a time of gluttonous religious enthusiasm.

The Council's table surface is transformed into the golden altar of incense, as the absence of smoke from the seven pipes and residual ashes in the bowl symbolize. The burning of incense occurred in the Most Holy Place. In Old Covenant theology the burned incense (tended by Levitical priests) represented the prayers of the people. Both the burned incense and the shewbread were offered up in combination ensuring the legitimacy of priestly requests. In typological fashion, Mather aligned Christ with the tabernacle's shewbread stating, "This Doctrine of Christ's Intercession is full of comfort to poor praying Souls, thou hath an High Priest which offered up thy Prayers, and they are made acceptable through his Intercession."¹¹⁶ Painted inside the Holy Place of the Temple, Lowell's council, collectively identified as *imitatio Christi*, engages in what Mather stated was the mystical meaning of the candlestick and shewbread and become the embodiment of Christ, interceding, sustaining, and upholding those who believe.¹¹⁷ Mather's words written many years earlier perhaps comforted and assuaged Lowell's anxieties providing, security in the illumination of the candlestick which balances their Calvinist ideology on an altar shaken by enthusiasm. Lowell's prayer requests for his ministry are satiated, supernaturally upheld by the Word of God in the same manner as the mystically upheld Bible in the portrait and the smoldering vessels.

Enveloping the tabernacle-like setting of Lowell's imagined Holy of Holies, the olive tree typifies Aaron's rod; the second item known to be placed in the Ark of the Covenant. Many years later, Mather's words were embodied pictorially in Lowell's composition, a reassuring lasting symbol of an orthodox ministry during a period of unpopularity. In his discourse, *Figures and Types*, Mather exhorted his colleagues to heed the lasting symbolic application of Aaron's rod in fulfillment of their ministerial role in troubled times:

The Holy of Holies housed the fruit-bearing Rod of Aaron. [Meaning] that you [an educated ministry] should bring forth Fruit, and that your Fruit remains. The Rod of Aaron is laid up before the Ark in the holy of Holies. An emblem of the nearness of faithful ministers unto God which is their Duty and their Privilege.¹¹⁸

The juxtaposition of the tree against Lowell's arched temple standing upright and firm is symbolic of sovereign authority in the congregational priesthood. Mather offered cautionary hope while acknowledging that suffering must be endured as consequence of visible sainthood.

The Fruit of the Ministry is never lost; it doth remain in the hearts of God's people. So the scriptures often speak of a Rod, for a rod of Authority and Government. For a minister to lie this aside, is the way to be popular, and to get Applause amongst the largest sort of professors for a time: But if he make Conscience to exercise the discipline of Christ in his Congregation, he shall be hated and laden with Reproaches and Revilings.¹¹⁹

Lowell positioned the olive tree (Aaron's rod) in front of his metaphorical tabernacle. Its fruitful origin harkens back to the Garden of Eden and is emblematic of his battle with temptation and evil.

A viewer's eyes are drawn to the center of the temple where the grouping reflects a cruciform outline, a matrix typically built into the temple structures of early eastern churches.¹²⁰ Regarding the golden candlestick at the corner of the "altar," the viewer's eyes follow the illumined objects to their source; the seated minister whose head is gently bent to the left, a typical, but perhaps unconscious postural effect replicating the humble position of Christ's head on the cross and intentionally positioned below the message *in utrisque, charitas*. The tension between apocalyptic warning and eschatological hope is embodied in the nuances of Renaissance imagery as *The Council of Ministers* replicates the Last Supper, the final meal celebrating Christ's death as the typological symbol of atonement. The wigless, dark-haired minister seated at the furthest corner from Lowell takes on the identity of a Renaissance Judas and personifies

the redemption needed from the thirty-nine families who abandoned Lowell's Third Church (fig. 2.13).

The council's meeting metaphorically takes place in the Holy of Holies in the Jewish tabernacle. According to Exod. 28:30, in entering the Holy Place, Levitical priests became prophets deemed able to discern the will of God while watching over the law. Dressed in the conservative garb of orthodox clerics in the Christian tradition, all seven ministers wear long Geneva gowns and fallen bands – an unaltered costume worn by Lowell eighteen years earlier and shown in his individual portrait – to commemorate his ordination.¹²¹ Lowell's repetition of dress symbolizes his stoic adherence to the role of an educated ministry in opening scripture.¹²² In a similar fashion, Puritan ministers, in a laborious effort at humility, became intercessors who presented their preaching as prophesy emphasizing that they merely opened God's word with assistance from the Holy Spirit. According to Gordis, the elect in the congregations were already divinely enabled to understand the Word of God and to "hear" Christ's voice through the minister, thus maintaining interaction between God and his chosen saints.¹²³

This idea of self-diminishment while expounding scripture reinforces the idea that portraits like *The Council of Ministers* depict moral identity transcending to a mystical expression of divine revelation. This gradual disappearance of corporeality is suggested by the men's ghostly pallor of their faces, as Lowell and his colleagues are painted in black and white oil and are essentially fading away. The group painting, as well as Lowell's individual portrait, resemble modern day photographic negatives; illusions of a hoped-for reality.

His mortal identity growing fainter, Lowell envisioned himself as an *imitatio Christi* who has entered the Holy Place in Puritan imagination. He has honored the rituals described in

Exodus in order to feel God's presence and calm his anxieties about the spirit-led revelations pervading his community. His painting becomes a Sabbath day sermon opening scripture in his church on the richly embroidered altar-cloth of the table in the portrait and reminiscent of the cushions typically used at his pulpit to hold books and papers.¹²⁴

Speculation

Dutch group portraiture's pattern of historical development is characterized by tensions between oppositions followed by reconciliation which finds a way to unify the group, while still preserving each person's autonomy. The reconciliation of the formal polar oppositions of certainty and doubt in Puritan belief are resolved in the painterly conventions of the council. The group portrait's metaphorical temple was awkwardly placed in the picture space floating upward toward the mountain top which resembles Mount Sinai, where God gave Moses the stone tablets of law found in the Book of Exodus.¹²⁵ As a Christological image, the painting transcends the stories of Moses and the biblical characters that followed by way of the Davidic genealogy that moved toward the fulfillment of the New Covenant in the signed scroll-like document to which Lowell points. The seven ministers sacred in their numeric fellowship, endorse Christ's sacrifice depicted by wing-like plumes which have been returned to their stand. The juxtaposition of the open pages appearing to include the Book of Exodus on Lowell's "altar," and the direct New Testament teachings of harmony and charity carved into the stone architrave overhead, mirror one another. Both are endorsed by the upright feather-like wings of the three quill pens symbolically fluttering as an angelic cryptogram pointing upward toward the arch's direct commands of the Christian principles of unity, freedom, and love. In the same way the keystone arch upholds the architrave and centers the Latin maxim surrounding the seven ministers,

Lowell's council confirms that Christ's teachings are structural support and without the temple (their bodies) will crumble (be damned).¹²⁶

When read from right-to-left (in proper Hebrew form), the portrait Christologically suggests Lowell's holy sanctuary is moving toward the tomb-like structure on the pinnacle of the mountain's craggy slope on what may represent Christ's death and resurrection, the embodiment of the New Jerusalem.¹²⁷ Symbolically described in the prophecies documented in the Book of Revelation and curiously composed in his image, Lowell's group portrait embodies the mystical symbols for human access to God envisioned as a pilgrimage across seas, deserts, and mountains before coming to a land of rest.¹²⁸ Similar to the descriptive literature of John Bunyan's pseudonymous autobiography, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Lowell's council must cross the waters and ascend the mountain's rocky incline, much like Bunyan's popular character, Christian, and his steadfast travelling companion, Faith, in their arduous journey to the celestial city.¹²⁹ Lowell's unwieldy tabernacle and depiction of closed mountainous caverns to the left of the painting concur with Bunyan's narrative with imagery suggests access (eternal salvation) is limited (predestined) and only accessible for the traditionally convicted saints.

Yet Lowell's temple is wavering with antinomian fears of what Stearns called "enthusiasm and delusion," as the tabernacle's altar is precariously unbalanced and seemingly spills downward from the mountaintop toward the viewer and out of the picture plane preventing entrance into the space. It is the weight of the council's numerically-sanctioned seven bodies, combined with the force of biblical prophecies fulfilled in the signed covenant-like scroll and the support of the maxims in the keystone archway (their mystical connections with the Gospel) that draw them back safely inside the Holy of Holies. Typologically, Lowell sits underneath the

fulfillment of the New Testament's commands which will guide him on his spiritual pilgrimage in the same way the Mosaic Law guided the Israelites through the desert.

The use of clouds in the painting comes from a long history of representing God's providence and guidance in the Old Testament. To the left of the tabernacle, dark and light clouds appear to move away from the temple arch suggesting God's absence, while carnivorous birds circle a valley and river scavenging for food. Seven black raven-like birds fly eastward overhead in direct opposition to the arrangement of nine white storks swimming in a westerly cadence (fig. 2.14). Lowell's decision to incorporate opposing aviary features in his painting (which would preside interestingly over his fireplace for at least a century) adds to the tension in the portrait and its role as a pictorial jeremiad. A telling biblical association is made from the arrangement of birds which perhaps alarmed Lowell's audience familiar with the counsel of the prophet Jeremiah:

Even storks know when it is time to return; doves, swallows, and thrushes know when it is time to migrate. But my own people you do not know the laws by which I rule you. Even the stork in the sky Knows her seasons; But My people do not know The ordinance of the Lord.¹³⁰

The ordinances of Lowell's church are in danger as his "storks" wade away from the east, the typical location of temple orientation. As a result, "ravens" (heart religion) birds associated with evil, threaten the promise of election.¹³¹

Conclusion

This analysis of *The Council of Ministers* borrows from Prown's research to show that artifacts are in fact metaphors for all aspects of the human condition. These artifacts articulate patterns of the mind most usefully when they reflect beliefs of which the makers, individual or collective (society), were unaware or unwilling to express. Lowell's hope that the religious

fervor of the Great Awakening would empower his church and increase membership took a devastating and fearful turn. His open invitation to famous itinerants like Whitefield was exploited by others and caused him to rebuke his liberal viewpoint. The painting suggests his retreat into the safety of the Holy of Holies and an educated ministry, supported by a typological approach to Sola Scriptura and Calvinist doctrines of predestined election.

While Lowell appears in charge and surrounded by the tenets of his moderate Calvinist ideology with the signatures of like-minded colleagues at his side, the painting symbolizes the fragile nature of his authority. As Lowell is strategically positioned at the head of the table pointing clearly to the scroll in front of him he leans into the surrender position. This body posturing is telling that he has, as the *imitatio Christi*, accepted God's divine plan in salvation history in accordance with the doctrine of Sola Scriptura. In accordance with the infallible narrative of Holy Scripture, the conjunction of image and word in his portrait represents the fusing of his church with Divine Law as prophesied in Old and New Covenant theology.

The Council of Ministers show how human agency-animated art and, conversely, how the portraits may have influenced behavior and conscience formation through the visual imagination of Sola Scriptura. These imagined images paralleled a print culture that guided, substantiated, and controlled the beliefs and moral conduct of the audience. *The Council of Ministers* affirms, in its union of imagined vision, heaven and earthly form – mediated experiences of God through the well-known symbols of Puritan imagination. Lowell and the Bible are both given a central place in the composition and relay his esteemed prominence as minister in the wake of revival activity. Lowell becomes *imitatio Christi*, sustaining and upholding those around him. He is the arbitrator within the congregational structure, much like the Levites before him, not only in

opening scripture, but in assuming the role of intercessor (like Christ) in making prayerful requests for his congregation inside his painted sanctuary.

The cost of Lowell's early revival tendencies was too great and his efforts at reconciliation with orthodox churches represented in the portrait sustained him and his ministry through a turbulent time. Still, Lowell positioned himself in a "mystical moment" as an Intellectual Father. He is between the comfort and safety of biblical truths as manifested in the promise of a New Jerusalem as long as he can hold on to the altar (the pulpit of his church), which seems to be spilling out from underneath him.



Fig. 2.1. Nathaniel Emmons, *The Council of Ministers* (Cambridge: Harvard Art Museum/Fogg Museum), Oil on Panel (77.3 cm. x 106.1 cm. unframed), 1744. This piece was painted in Newburyport, Massachusetts. It was gifted to the Harvard Art Museum/Fogg Museum by Dr. Francis L. Burnett and Mrs. Esther Lowell Cunningham in 1964.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 2.2. Close up of Rev. John Lowell as seen in Fig. 2.1.

Photo: Linda Johnson

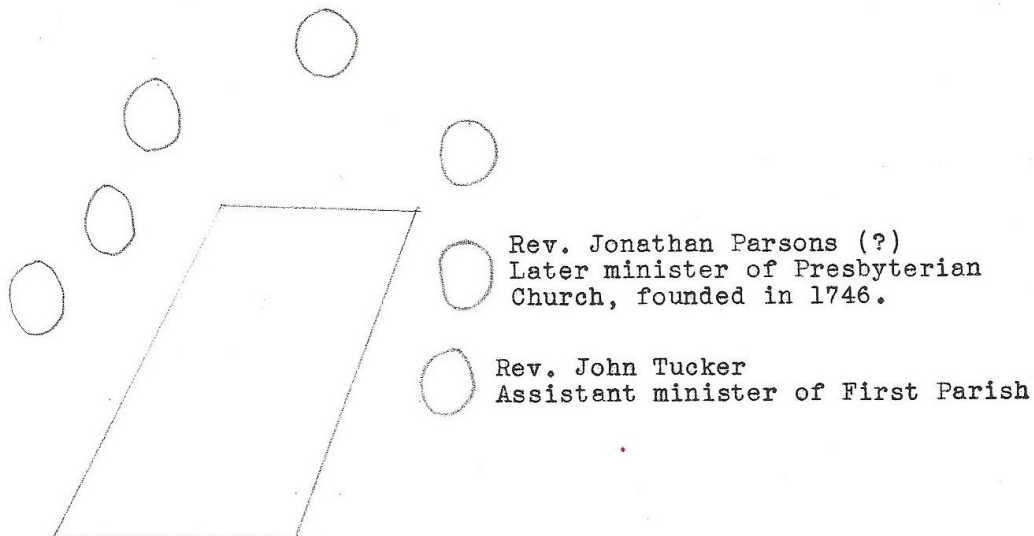


Fig. 2.3. Nathaniel Emmons, *John Lowell, Reverend (1704-1767)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Portrait Collection) oil on panel (36.7 cm. x 26.5 cm.), 1728. Signed across bottom, "NEmmons Pinx & Fecit AE tat: 24:1728."

Photo: Linda Johnson

A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
NEWBURY July 24, 1744

Rev. John Lowell
Third Church (Congregational)



Possible other four ministers at meeting:

Rev. Thomas Barnard
Second Church (Congregational)

Rev. William Parsons
Fourth Church

Rev. Moses Parsons
Congregational Church

Rev. Matthias Plant
Queen Anne's Chapel and St. Paul's Church (Episcopal)

Fig. 2.4. Rev. John Lowell Papers, *Diagram of The Council of Ministers*
(Cambridge: Harvard Art Museum/Fogg Museum, 1744).

Photo: Linda Johnson



Fig. 2.5. Close up of the Bible as seen in Fig. 2.1.

Photo: Linda Johnson

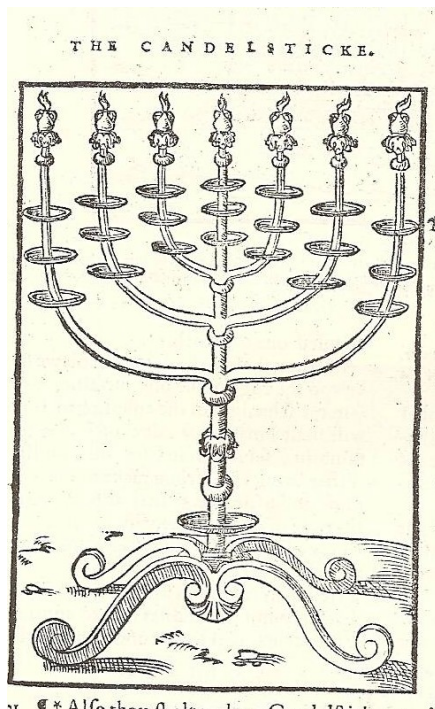


Fig. 2.6. "The Golden Candelstick," *Geneva Bible*, Exod. 25 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition), 35.

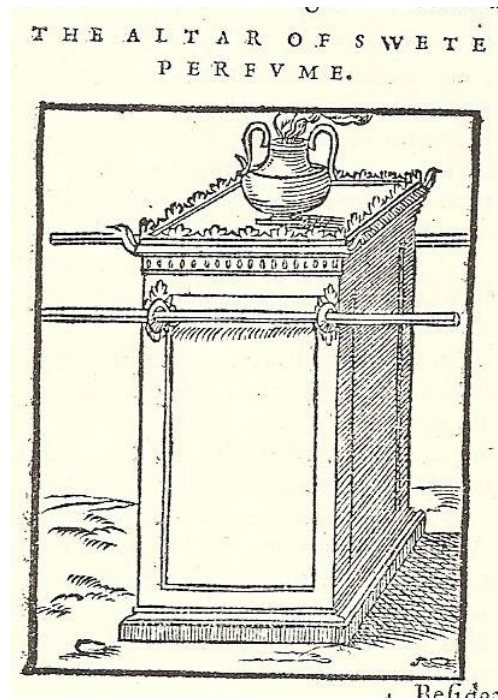


Fig. 2.7. "The Altar of Swete Perfume," *Geneva Bible*, Exod. 30 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition), 32.

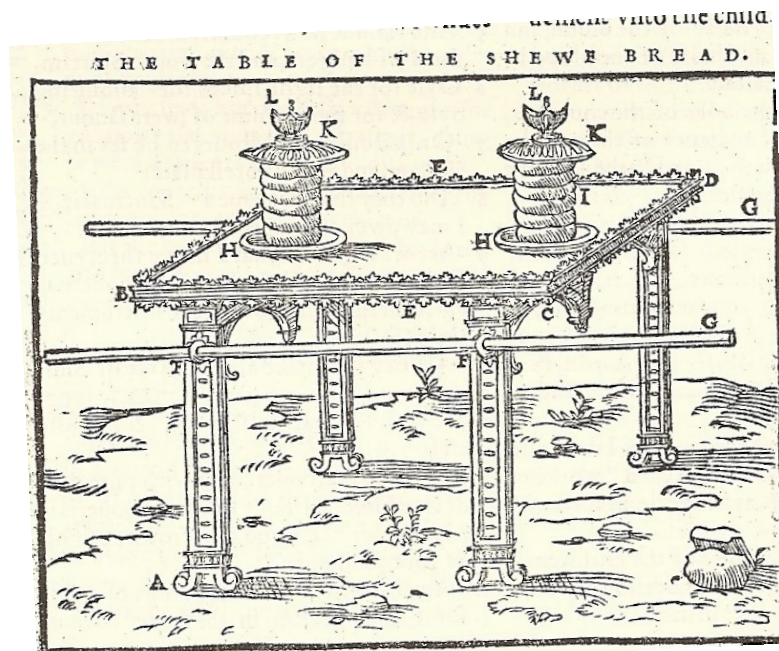


Fig. 2.8. "The Table of the Shewe Bread," *Geneva Bible*, Exod. 25 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition), 36.

Photos: Linda Johnson



Crescentius Mather married Maria Cotton
 daughter of John Cotton this book was given
 to her by her Father

Fig. 2.9. Bishop's Miter. *Breeches Bible*, Exod. 28 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1599).

Photo: Linda Johnson.

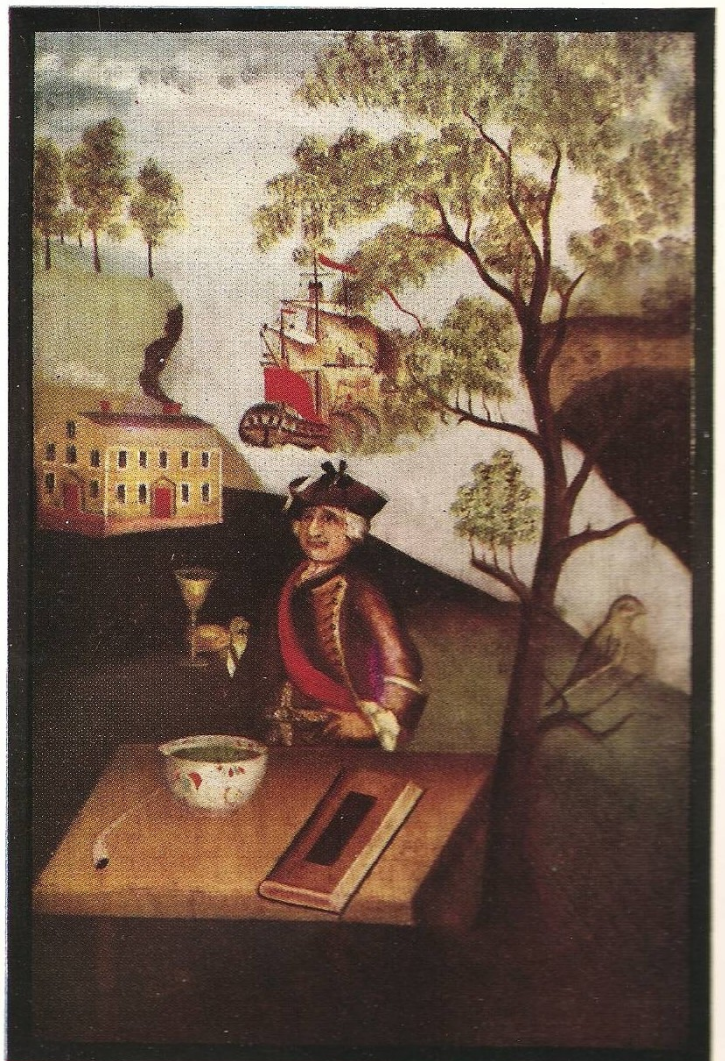


Fig. 2.10. *Overmantel from the Moses Marcy House* (Southbridge, Massachusetts). The house no longer stands, but does seem to have resembled that in the panel. Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts.

Photo: Linda Johnson



Fig. 2.11. John Greenwood, *Sea Captains Carousing in Surinam* (St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum), Oil on Bed Ticking (37.75 in. x 75.25 in.), 1758.

Photo: Linda Johnson



Fig. 2.12. Nathaniel Emmons, *John Lowell, Reverend (1704-1767)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Portrait Collection) Grisaille Oil on Panel (36.7 cm. x 26.5 cm.), 1728. Signed across bottom, "NEmmons Pinx & Fecit AE tat: 24:1728."

Photo: Linda Johnson



Fig. 2.13. Close up of dark-haired minister as seen in Fig. 2.1.

Photo: Linda Johnson



Figure 2.14. Close up of opposing aviary features, ravens, and storks as seen in Fig. 2.1. Arrows display the tension between contradictory aviary directions and represent Rev. Lowell's congregation.

Photo: Linda Johnson

¹ Nathaniel Emmons, *The Council of Ministers* (Cambridge: Harvard University), oil on canvas, 30 3/8 in. x 41 1/2 in., c. 1744. The portrait was an over-mantle panel and in the home of Rev. John Lowell (1704-1767) of Newburyport, Massachusetts.

² David H. Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," ed. Peter Benes (Boston: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folk life Annual Proceedings, 1978), 25-36.

³ Edmund Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of the Puritan Idea* (New York: Cornell University Press 1963), 64-74. The idea of visible sainthood originated in Massachusetts among the non-separating Puritans and spread from Massachusetts to Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and back to England. They devoted themselves to describing the processes of salvation with the end result to establish morphology of conversion in which each stage could be distinguished from the next so that a man could check his eternal condition by a set of temporal and recognizable signs. Morgan writes, "The Puritans, like all Protestants, especially of the Calvinist variety, believed in predestination. God, they maintained, had determined in advance who was to be saved and who was to be damned. A man's fate was therefore decided before he entered the world of time, and his progress in this world either toward salvation or toward damnation was simply the unfolding of a decree made before he was born" (page 64).

⁴ E. McSherry Fowble, *To Please Every Taste Eighteenth Century Prints from the Winterthur Museum* (Alexandria: Art Services International, 1991), 11-21. "Grisaille" is a term for a painting a monochrome or near monochrome color – typically shades of gray. This style of painting may have been chosen because it was faster and cheaper. It was also aesthetically pleasing. Artists usually copied their oils from mezzotints, black and white printed images derived from a printmaking process created by the intaglio family. It was the first tonal method to be used and it enabled the production of half-tones without using line or dot-based techniques like hatching, cross-hatching, or stipple. Mezzotint achieves tonality by roughening the plate with thousands of little dots made by a metal tool with small teeth, called a rocker. In printing, the tiny pits in the plate hold the ink when the face of the plate is wiped clean. A high level of quality and richness in the print can be achieved. Most provincial artists learned how to paint by copying etchings. Nathaniel Emmons reversed any derogatory notions of it being less academic and instead made a virtue out of painting a portrait to look like a mezzotint by using the grisaille process. In 1728, the same year Emmons painted Lowell's single portrait, he painted a portrait of Boston merchant and future lieutenant governor Andrew Oliver in the *grisaille* method. After 1729, decorative and commercial painting became the primary source of Emmons's income.

⁵ Alan Burroughs, "An Early Overmantle," *Art in America* 29 (1941), 227-229. As a student at Oxford, George Whitfield got caught up in Wesleyan Methodist movement. He was a rebel in the Anglican camp charging his church with heretically abandoning the Calvinism on which it had been established. His preaching met opposition from the Anglican hierarchy and he sailed to the colonies where his difficulties with the Church of England and his sermons had been

well publicized. Whitefield's presence was most keenly felt in New England where he drew some of his largest crowds and where he was known for his fiery oration and open air preaching. See also Edwin S. Gausted, *the Great Awakening in New England* (New York: Harper & Brothers 1957), 42-44.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 228. See also the *Newburyport Herald* July 16, 1841. A newspaper article describes the painting as a large fireplace panel belonging to John Lowell and describes it as "curious" and "old." The article goes on to state, "they [the seven divines] seem to becriticising a manuscript, probably some heretical utterance of the new views of their day....It furnishes a curious contrast to the present times. Such formidable ministers' meetings have passed away, and white wigs have lost their power."

⁸ Sara Anna Emery, *Reminiscences of Newburyport: A Nonagenarian* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 1978), 21.

⁹ Prown and Haltman, *American Artifacts: Essays in Material Culture* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000), 2-3.

¹⁰ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New London: Yale University Press, 1975), 37. The adaptation of typology was important to Puritan belief, as it allowed Christians to preserve the Old Testament. Typological interpretation insisted that all the events in scripture had occurred, but that they had been symbolic as well as historical true prophecies. See also Dennis E. Tamburello, *Union with Christ and John Calvin and the Mysticism of St. Bernard* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 21-22. Tamburello's research uncovered the mystical approach in Calvinism, aligning the faith tradition with Catholic mystics such as Bernard of Clairveaux.

¹¹ Nina Fletcher Little, *American Decorative Wall Painting: 1700-1850*, (New York: Sturbridge, 1952), 46.

¹² Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, 60-62. Since the coming of Christ was an event determined at the beginning of time, typological readings of the Old Testament are found in the collective experience of the Hebrews and in the lives of individual heroes, saints, and prophets prefiguring the First coming of Christ. Similarly, the historical record of the New Testament is seen as containing a prefigurative model for the history of mankind's future redemption. Bercovitch states that the American colony was a type of Israel. The New Covenant in Christian ideology establishes Jesus as the Word of God made flesh, uniting the Old with the New Testament as the prophetic Divine plan foretold in Judaic-Christian evolutionary history.

¹³ Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Puritan Piety* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982). See also John Bowker, *The Complete Bible Handbook* (New York: D.K. Publishing Inc., 1998), 27. Jesus is the central figure of Christianity. He is also called Jesus Christ, where "Jesus" is an Anglicization of the Greek Hebrew-Aramaic יֵשׁוּעַ *Yeshua*, meaning "YHWH is salvation;" and where "Christ" is a title derived from the Greek *christós*, meaning the "anointed one which corresponds to the Hebrew-derived "Messiah." The main sources of information regarding Jesus' life and teachings are the four canonical Gospels of the New Testament: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

¹⁴ Letters to the Hebrews, Geneva Bible A facsimile of the 1560 edition. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

¹⁵ Thomas Foxcroft, "A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. John Lowell, January 19, 1726" (Boston: N.E.B. Green for Samuel Gerrish in Cornhill, 1726), 24-25. Early English Books Online (East Lansing: Michigan State University, April 19, 2010).

¹⁶ Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins*, 36.

¹⁷ Ibid., 28. The central theme of the Book of Revelation is that through Christ, God will finally defeat all of his enemies, including Satan, and will reward his faithful people with the blessings of a new heaven and earth when this victory is complete.

¹⁸ Promey, "Seeing the Self in Frame: New England Material Practice and Puritan Piety," 11.

¹⁹ Karr, "A Council of Ministers," *The Magazine Antiques* 11 (1927), 45-46.

²⁰ William B. Sprague, D.D. *Annals of the American Pulpit or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, Vol. 1* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857), from the *Journal of Rev. Jonathan F. Stearns, D.D.* (Newark: July 2, 1852), 338-343.

²¹ Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 282. While competing denominations enjoyed periodic revivals throughout the eighteenth century, those of the 1740s were qualitatively larger with long-lasting results. Whitefield preached about the need for personal conversion and inaugurated the American tradition of charismatic non-denominational evangelists that persists today.

²² Ibid.

²³ Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 339.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Ibid., 340.

²⁷ Janice Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts Rereading American Puritanism*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 2-12.

²⁸ Ibid., 2.

²⁹ Ibid., 3.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Sprague, D.D. Annals of the American Pulpit, 340.

³² Ibid., 339.

³³ Ibid, 340.

³⁴ Sara Anna Emery, *Reminiscences of Newburyport: A Nonagenarian* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 1978), 206-208.

³⁵ Ibid., 341.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ William B. Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, Vol. 1*. (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857), from the Journal of Dr. Charles Lowell of Boston.

³⁸ Ibid., 343.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Minnie Atkinson, *History of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, Massachusetts*, 1933), 2.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² George Whitefield, *The two first parts of his life, with his journals, revised, corrected, and abridged* (London: A. B. Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon, 1756), 401. [Eighteenth Century Collections Online](#).

⁴³ George Whitefield, "Some Remarks on the Pamphlet Intitled the State of Religion in New England, since the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield's Arrival there" (Edinburgh and Glasgow: William Duncan, 1742), Early English Books Online.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁸ Karr, "A Council of Ministers," *The Magazine Antiques*, 45.

⁴⁹ Emery, *Reminiscences of Newburyport*, 205.

⁵⁰ James Russell Lowell, *The Letters of James Russell Lowell*, ed., Charles Eliot Norton (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894), 170-171. The parishioner who painted *The Council of Ministers* remains unnamed.

⁵¹ Rev. Jonathan Stearns in Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 339.

⁵² Reverend John Lowell, "Personal Letters & Papers" (Boston: The Massachusetts Archives, November 4, 1743), Folio, No. 689. Thirty-three parishioners signed the withdrawal from Lowell's church in "order to be gathered into a Congregational Church agreeable to the Word of God."

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Folio, No. 688. Thirty men and their families withdrew from the First Parish of Newbury while Rev. Lowell lost thirty-eight. These groups formed a Fourth Church. In 1933, it was still the Old South church. According to the Atkinson's *History of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, Massachusetts* Lowell's third parish kept 355 of its members and

remained prosperous despite its losses. Toppan and Titcomb requested that their letters to Lowell be read aloud to the remaining congregation. *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County, Mass.* (Boston: Congregational Board of Publication, 1865). The ecclesiastical history states that “two of the ancient churches of Essex North have departed from their original orthodoxy, and are now in connection with the Unitarian denomination,” (p. 234). The doctrinal defection of the church was gradual. After Lowell’s death in 1767, the church was unable to appoint a successor due to the divisions in opinion in regards to the doctrines of Christianity. An amicable division was the result of this diversity in religious belief. The “second “withdrawing party called their new church the North Church of Newbury. Rev. Carey, second pastor of the old church, succeeded Rev. Lowell, his views remaining somewhat “moderate Calvinist.” Dr. Andrews, his colleague and eventual successor, exhorted Arminian views and helped transform the church into a Unitarian denomination, (pp. 234-236).

⁵⁵ Ibid., no. 693.

⁵⁶ Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, 38.

⁵⁷ Rev. John Lowell, “Mr. Lowell’s Sermon At the Ordination of Mr. Barnard to The Pastoral Office of a Church in Newbury” (Boston, Draper for Kneeland & Green, 1739), 22-23. In Early English Books Online (East Lansing: Michigan State University)

⁵⁸ Rev. John Lowell, “Mr. Lowell’s Sermon At the Ordination of Mr. Barnard”, 22.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Karr, “A Council of Ministers,” *The Magazine Antiques*, 45.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² The Reverend John Lowell was pastor in Newburyport from 1726 until his death in 1767. The portrait was painted in 1744.

⁶³ Exod.28

⁶⁴ David H. Watters *A Priest to the Temple*, ed., Peter Benes (Boston: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1978), 25-36.

⁶⁵ Watters, *A Priest to the Temple*, 25.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 25.

⁶⁷ *Typology and Early American Literature*, ed., Sacvan Bercovitch. (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 12-13.

⁶⁸ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 60-62. Puritans favored typological schemes according to an archetype derived from a combination of Old Testament history and prophesy and the mythology of Christ in the New Testament.

⁶⁹ Morgan, *Visible Saints*. Visible saints were part of the elect, a priesthood of believers through which God's freely given grace operated toward salvation of men.

⁷⁰ Martha L. Finch, *Dissenting Bodies Corporealities in Early New England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 4.

⁷¹ Finch, *Dissenting Bodies Corporealities in Early New England*, 5.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 5.

⁷⁴ Samuel Mather, *Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, ed., Mason Lowance (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), Introduction vi-vii. Mather utilizes verses from Acts 17:24 to support his statement.

⁷⁵ Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Christ*, 85.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 389.

⁷⁷ Promey, "Seeing the Self in Frame," 10-12. For New England Puritans it was the conversion experience along with the reading of scripture where one felt a sense of communion with the Divine rather than the consecrated space of a temple building. Lowell's conversion and election, along with the authority of his ministry and spiritual exercises, allowed him to see his body as a temple where the Word of God resided in the same way the Ark of the Covenant had contained the Decalogue.

⁷⁸ 1 Corinthians 3:16-17.

⁷⁹ Watters, *A Priest to the Temple*, 25.

⁸⁰ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, 28.

⁸¹ Margaret Smith, "The Nature and Meaning of Mysticism," in *Understanding Mysticism*, ed., Richard Woods (New York: Image Books, 1980), 19-25. The symbols for human access to God include crossing the sea and the desert, ascending the mountain, experiencing a dark cloud and fire, observing a sea of glass or sapphires, and finally coming to a land of rest. Prophets in Old Testament literature, such as Moses, Ezekiel, and Isaiah, expanded the repertoire of symbols to include visions and voices, cosmic elements, numbers, animals and other codes also found in apocalyptic literature such as The Book of Daniel and Enoch to reveal special knowledge.

⁸² Dennis E. Tamburello, *Union with Christ, John Calvin and the Mysticism of St. Bernard* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 21-22.

⁸³ Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 130. The most fundamental component of Puritan belief in participating in the New Jerusalem was founded on the idea of the covenant of grace initiated by the Divine and firmly established with the descendants of Abraham in the Book of Genesis. Ahlstrom states that the idea of this covenant, known as Federal theology, had a long history in Puritan belief contextualizing reformed dogma in the Bible. Ahlstrom states, true faith in Puritan belief "involved inward, overt, and obedient preparation, appropriation, humility, dedication, gratitude- and a commitment to walk in God's way according to the "Law," (p. 132).

⁸⁴ Exod. 28. The "Law" is best described in The Book of Exodus which is sealed in the covenant God made with Moses after giving him specific instructions to build a tabernacle on earth for the sole purpose of living and "speaking" (conditionally on the Israelite's behavior) among his chosen people. Only those descended from the tribe of Levi could minister in the temple, see Exod. 28:1. Lowell heard that his ministry was set apart, separated "like the tribe of Levi" in Thomas Foxcroft, "A Sermon Preached At the ordination of The Rev. Mr. John Lowell," (p. 25).

⁸⁵ Heb. 10:19-20.

⁸⁶ Rev. John Lowell, "Mr. Lowell's Sermon At the Ordination of Mr. Barnard," 33.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Louise Karr, "A Council of Ministers," *The Magazine Antiques*, 46. Karr provides an early descriptive and reductionist approach.

⁸⁹ Nina Fletcher Little, *American Decorative Wall Painting 1700-1850* (Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village in cooperation with Studio Publications NY) 1952.

⁹⁰ Ibid., xv.

⁹¹ Ibid., xv, 25 The panel's subject was inspired by a council of churches in Newburyport that convened to deal with the schism precipitated by the preaching of George Whitefield. The panel is thought to commemorate John Lowell's efforts at a reconciliation. It was removed from his house in Newbury(port) and taken to Elmwood, home of James Russell Lowell (Lowell's great grandson) in Cambridge where it was placed over the fireplace in his study. Later it was removed and donated to Harvard University Portrait Gallery. Largest numbers of landscape panels are to be found in Massachusetts.

⁹² Ibid., 49. Lowell's group portrait was done by a personal friend who may have been a versatile decorator and who travelled from New England to Philadelphia. No definite evidence connects his name with over-mantel painting.

⁹³ Margaret Iversen, *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), 105-6.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 104-5.

⁹⁵ Prown, *Art as Evidence Writings on Art and Material Culture Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method* (New London: Yale University Press, 2000), 53.

⁹⁶ Margaretta M. Lovell, "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images" in *Winterthur Portfolio* 33, no. 1 (Spring 1987), 244-247. Lovell states that upright objects are gender specific. Elongated objects or instruments suggest contact with the outside world. The quill is an elongated instrument suggestive of masculinity. In portraits Lovell states visual and real gender-specific social conventions differentiate between the kinds of objects (man-made or natural) and the type of appropriation (firm, possessive grasp or limp gesture) that link individuals to the outside world and to outside experience. Also, in America portrait figures were typically pressed close to the picture plane, sharing the canvas with only the most important objects. Americans had no need of ancestral spaces. See also Tamara Thornton, *Handwriting in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 36, for a discussion about handwriting as an additional skill that carried elevated associations of art and learning.

⁹⁷ Erik Larsen, *Calvinistic Economy and 17th Century Dutch Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1979), 8. Puritans deemed material pleasures to be a form of prosperity

bestowed upon the faithful believers from God. The Word of God communicated through books was a common convention in portraiture, yet the choice of passages was meaningful to the individual. Calvinist ideology was naturally directed by the middle-class which enforced its taste and desires on the country's artistic production. According to Larsen, Puritans desired an unpretentious vision refraining from idealistic aesthetics that could lead to "non-verifiable interpretations" of the reality of their mental view. They demanded art that could be fashioned from what was witnessed in nature without deviation, yet adjusted to the most agreeable expression. See also Wayne Craven, *American Art: History and Culture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1994), 42. Craven delves into the class consciousness of Puritan clergy and their worldly efforts to please God. According to Craven, colonial portraits seem devoted to an elaboration of the subject's biography through a visual language. An individual's personal distinctive appearance, such as the face, occupied a small portion of any early colonial portrait. Moreover, Craven asserts that numerous objects described their occupation, beliefs, and family lineage. It is reasonable to assume that a Book of Scripture would be of particular importance in defining the council's priesthood. It is safe to deduce from the descriptive evidence that, at the very least, Lowell created a visual biography to preserve his likeness or create a commemorative piece. The visual biography tells us his station in life and the extent of his education, scholarly status, and prosperity.

⁹⁸ J.J. Currier, *Ould Newbury* (Boston, 1896), 451. This Latin maxim surrounding Rev. Lowell's arch is attributed to Melanchthon.

⁹⁹ H. W. Janson, *History of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997), 176-177.

¹⁰⁰ Iversen, *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory*, 101-104.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁰⁶ Samuel Mather, *Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, ed., Mason Lowance (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), 388. Mather affirmed its historical reality as a necessary model in which to understand covenant theology.

¹⁰⁷ Mather, *Figures and Types of the Old Testament*. On Dec. 6, 1668, Mather wrote extensively on how the sacred furniture and holy vessels located in The Holy Place were seen to foreshadow Christ and the New Jerusalem. The Holy Place was a rectangular room divided in two by a lavishly embroidered curtain (or veil). The front two-thirds of the rectangular space housed three significant objects in ceremonial ritual: the golden candlestick (lampstand), the table of shewbread, and the altar of incense. The remaining one-third square area accommodated the Ark of the Covenant, a gold- laden box believed to contain the golden pot of manna, Aaron's budding rod, and the stone tablets of the commandments Moses received from God on Mount Sinai.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 390.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 391. As Samuel Mather described, the golden candlestick typologically shadows the seven stars that shine in the tops of the candlesticks which are the Angels of the Seven Churches written in Rev 1:20. Mather also stated that the lamps were only fed by oils derived from olives in Exodus 27:20. In a metaphorical leap it was understood by Lowell and his colleagues that what Mather states regarding the candles "fuel" was the oil beaten from olives to fuel the "light" of Christ. Christ was the olive tree pressed to make available the pure oil of the Holy Spirit to fuel Lowell's candlestick. Mather's symbolic explication affirms that Christ's sacrifice was the oil that fills all lamps (believers like Lowell) who surrender to the identity of imitatio Christi in Christ's visible absence.

¹¹¹ Rev. John Lowell, *Mr. Lowell's Sermon At the Ordination of Mr. Barnard*, 35.

¹¹² Ibid., 34.

¹¹³ There are multiple references to Christ as the Word and the Word as Bread in biblical literature. See John 6:32-35, typological associations of Bread in the manna of Exodus 16:7, and the analogy in the number of twelve loaves of shewbread symbolizing twelve tribes and twelve disciples in Exod. 25:30, Lev. 21:21-22, and 1 Cor. 10 and 17, and Rev. 21:14.

¹¹⁴ Mather, *Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, 396.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 397.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 405.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 398 Mather states no prayers are acceptable to God, but only through the name and mediation of Jesus Christ. In the closing explication of the shewbread in his discourse *Figures and Types*, Mather stated Christ is by which “Lives are sustained and upheld.”

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 410.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Lyn Rodley, *Byzantine Art and Architecture* (New York; Cambridge University Press, 1994), 19-25.

¹²¹ Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London, B.T: Batsford, 1984), 11-13, 77. In the mid-eighteenth century, Puritan divines typically forfeited ecclesiastical vestments ministering to their people in simple everyday dress. Fashionable seventeenth century suits from England were made from plainer silk materials usually embellished with embroidery and interlined with wool. Ministers wore sober and conservative knee-length coats, which mimicked the Anglican cassock. This long single-buttoned coat (typically worn over a waistcoat) was worn with black knee breeches, buckled shoes and white fallen band collars (typical of Congregational, Presbyterian and Reform churches), and was usually made from linen or “lawn.” The seventeenth-century collar, or falling band, in Lowell’s image is turned over and pressed down from a tall neckband. It was generally of medium width during the 1720s. By mid – century, bands had become narrower, falling toward the chest. This three-piece suit was worn under a long “preaching” or Geneva gown typically featuring double-bell sleeves which arose out of the Reformation.

¹²² Lisa M. Gordis, *Opening Scripture Bible Reading and Interpretive Authority in Puritan New England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 2, 31-85. Gordis explores the uneasy debates ministers strove to overcome in order to maintain this interpretation of the Bible. Many manuals were developed to teach clerics how to open scripture. The *Art of Prophesying* by William Perkins and written in 1592, became a “Bible” itself to New England orthodoxy. Prophetic authority was identified with ministerial authority. Puritan interpretive practices privileged techniques that theoretically allowed the Bible to interpret itself. According to Gordis, paradoxically the minister must be a master craftsman, if self effacement is to be successful. Variations in the minister’s approach challenged scholarly views about Puritan preaching as monolithic and formulaic and testified to the diversity of the minister’s biblical appropriations and preaching styles, which contributed to their aesthetic appeal. See William Perkins, *The Arte of Prophesying or a Treatise Concerning the Sacred and Onely True Manner and Method of Preaching* 1607 and *The Work of William Perkins*, ed., Ian Breward (Berkshire, England; Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 325-349. Perkin’s manual developed the meditative practices for ministers to become “vessels” for the Holy Spirit in order to “open” the Word of God properly.

¹²³ Ibid., 8-9, 15-16.

¹²⁴ Jane C. Nylander, "Comfort and Uniformity 1750-1850," ed., Peter Benes in *New England Meeting House and Church; 1630-1850* (Boston: Boston University, 1979), 96-97. As early as 1650, several eighteenth-century minister portraits depicted loose pulpit cushions in scarlet or green material as large and trimmed with elaborate tassels on each of the front corners. The notes for the sermon were inside the open leaves of the bible.

¹²⁵ Exod. 24.

¹²⁶ Heb.12:18-24.

¹²⁷ Kaari Ward, ed., *ABC's of the Bible, Intriguing Questions and Answers* (New York: Reader's Digest, 1991), 53. One tradition from the second century B.C. held that Jeremiah, guided by God, took the Ark to the mountain where Moses had died and sealed it in a cave. There it waits the day when God gathers his people again, reveals the Ark anew and manifests his glory. This completes the typological association between Moses and Christ.

¹²⁸ Rev. 21.

¹²⁹ John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (A Facsimile Reproduction of the First Edition) (London: Elliot Stock, 1875), 54-57. See also Bercovitch, *Puritan Origins of the American Self*. He stated that, "To read oneself in Pilgrim's Progress is to read the imitatio Christi through the figures of the Old Testament," 31.

¹³⁰ Jerem.8:7.

¹³¹ Rev. 19:17-21. Ultimately the author of Revelation used the image of the birds of prey to picture the defeat of evil before the reign of Christ.

Chapter III

Increase Mather and William Stoughton:

Pre-Millennial Representations During the Revocation of the Massachusetts Charter 1685-1700

Portraits of Increase Mather and William Stoughton date to between 1685 and 1700 and were painted during the establishment of the new Massachusetts Charter.¹ The statutes replaced the independent colonies with a royal dominion of imperial control.² The mid- to late-seventeenth century witnessed major shifts in colonial administration brought on by Antinomianism, the Half-Way Covenant, scientific discoveries, witchcraft trials, and King Phillip's war. Increase Mather and the rest of the Puritan community viewed the war, in particular, as God's most severe judgment. Such a belief created an eschatological urgency.³ The war opened up land in central Massachusetts, leading to changes in colonial and church administration, frontier land hunger, land speculation, contested land titles and mercantile concerns about overseas commerce, all of which brought an imperial inquisition into the colonial affairs of the Puritan commonwealth.⁴ According to Michael Hall, despite these underlying conditions, it was Britain's economic challenges that made King Charles II notice once again, that New England provided the means with which to restore the royal coffers.⁵

The king and his Council on Trade and Plantations challenged Puritan faith. When the crown revoked the Massachusetts Charter, the belief among Puritans that New England was the chosen place of Christ's second coming was shattered. At the end of the seventeenth century, Puritans still hoped that, as a community of elected saints, they would participate in a thousand-year period of spiritual progress while awaiting Christ's Second Coming. Hall states that the loss

of the charter shifted New Englanders' ways of thinking; their providential world view became a modern secular outlook.⁶

Edward Randolph, a courier from England, reported on New England's unprecedented autonomy to King Charles.⁷ He informed him that Massachusetts had turned into a commonwealth and was governing apart from England. Paramount in Randolph's report was his testimony that Massachusetts Bay "had harbored regicides, denied Anglicans and Quakers religious opportunity, ignored Parliament's laws of trade, coined their own money, employed their own oath of fidelity instead of the oath of allegiance to the king, and allowed only church members to vote."⁸ Exposing New England's freedom made the colony's socio-political and economic status vulnerable. It also generated anxiety over the colonists' opinions about New England's millennial role.

The personal crisis in millennial belief experienced by both Mather and Stoughton was depicted in the visual language of their portraits. Both portraits portray tensions between the optimism and pessimism over New England's future and are indicative of the waxing and waning of Puritan public experience. Stoughton and Mather both faced misfortunes, including death, loss of colonial autonomy, and breaches in the New England covenant. They each viewed the charter's revocation as a judgment from God on New England's failed mission. The loss of colonial autonomy altered the way in which both men had previously defined themselves and their stations in life.

Both of their portraits, however, were painted using opposing painting techniques such as vertical and horizontal composition, plays of light and dark color, up and down lines, hard and soft surfaces, and transparent and opaque materials. They also included conventional objects, emblems, and dress, all of which reflected both men's personal thoughts.

In their portraits, Mather and Stoughton are portrayed as traditional, stoic, educated, and middle- to upper-class men. A closer reading of their portraits, however, discloses Mather's views about his personal election, optimism, and certainty of a New Jerusalem (at least for himself); while Stoughton's seems to show him as trepidatious and anxious about his election and the millennial future of the New England Way. Didactic in nature, the portraits communicate, through an eschatological framework associated with emblems, a sense of urgency that the final stages of God's plans for the world are imminent. As concrete manifestations of Puritan culture, they express intangible ideas and values in material object form. The portraits represent two different men with personal beliefs about their own salvation, which may be reflective of the divisions in Puritan society at end of the seventeenth century.

Interdisciplinary Support

Mather's and Stoughton's beliefs and ideas on how to attain personal election are represented differently in their portraits. Yet both images demonstrate the men's subtle departure from Puritan doctrine; a discovery that may support an alternative strain of mysticism in the mainstream of Puritan orthodoxy.⁹

Stoughton's and Mather's portraits align with the divisional structure of the two categories Knight describes as Spiritual Brethren (Mather) and the Intellectual Fathers (Stoughton). Knight notes that these two groupings challenged one another on the doctrinal principles of preparation, grace, and justification and that it was a difference in emphasis on tenets, rather than a departure from the New England Way.¹⁰

Mather's portrait depicts him as a Spiritual Brethren whose relationship with God is, as Knight defines, a mystical one based on a confidence in everlasting grace.¹¹ Even though, she states, Mather "trode the line between the pietisms and the preparationists, the events of the Half-

Way Covenant may have fostered Mather's pledge of allegiance to a pure church and a holy communion of saints. He became more flexible on issues of non-conformity in the interests of an uninterrupted ministry, and preached above all the importance of the Bible (as his portrait demonstrates), to a gathering of believers. Regarding the charter, Mather aspired to a more egalitarian relationship between Kings and colonists, placing as much value on the international community as on his local congregation. As Knight affirms, the Spiritual Brethren were willing to be both "in and out of the game" and were willing to disguise their nonconformity in order to remain active in the church.¹² Mather's willingness to negotiate the Massachusetts Charter (perceived as a governmental document based on a religious covenant), demonstrated his view on God's evolutionary plan.

Dennis Trumbello states that redefining mysticism is integral in understanding Protestant mystics. The intimate mystical feeling is not always fundamentally the same, and has been described by Catholic theologians and Reformers in a number of ways including, direct contemplation or vision of God, rapture, ecstasy, deification, living in Christ, the birth of the Word in the soul and radical obedience to the will of God, as well as profound physical sensations such as pricking in the heart, quickening, and melting.¹³ Trumbello believes there are broader definitions and that mysticism is simply "the insistence upon a direct inward and present religious experience."¹⁴ Trumbello disputes the description that absorption into the divine being is the only way to understand mystical union.

Mystical experiences were documented in Puritan conversion narratives, which Daniel B. Shea states were expanded into spiritual autobiography, extending the scope of self-examination to include any and all experiences of one's spiritual life:

The autobiography differed in that it was organized into a schematic story form widely separated in time portraying usually, but not always chronologically, the psychological and moral changes in everyday existence which the autobiographer comes to discern in his past experience.¹⁵

While Shea states that most spiritual autobiographies were of rote or codified nature, Perry Miller argues that these spiritual experiences were mystical events and that most biographers documented themselves as merging “with an all-pervading substance.”¹⁶ Miller affirms that the relentless demand of the soul for this knowledge is the driving force behind Puritan piety. With Miller’s idea, a pictorial spiritual autobiography must, in its deepest interiority, transcend the historical machinations of a reductionist sensibility.

Biographical inquiry into both Mather and Stoughton’s descriptive literature like sermons and spiritual autobiographies, diaries, and scholarly discourses, will posit them along Knights divisional lines which take material form in the subconscious decisions both men made to represent themselves in their portraits. Stoughton’s portrait has distinctive and fewer mystical emblems than Mather’s. His use of emblems reflects his judicial temperament and legalistic relationship with God. Such “legalism” is made more significant by the revocation of the Massachusetts Charter, translated visually in his portrait to an apocalyptic setting, indicative of celestial punitive judgment and his doubts about election.¹⁷

While Mather’s portrait is overtly religious (minister, costume, and Bible), both portraits represent the religious and political fusion within the commonwealth.¹⁸ Despite Mather’s religious affiliation, all converted saints belonged to the priesthood of the believers and the professional distinctions in the portraits were peripheral to the argument about their spiritual status.¹⁹ Mather’s portrait depicts the clerical profession and was painted in England while he was crusading to reinstall the Massachusetts Charter. Both of the early and later portraits of

Stoughton depict a career which had diverted from the ministerial profession. Both men worked tirelessly crossing the disciplines of both professions. While their symbiotic friendship elevated them to the zenith of their careers, (Mather was a Harvard president and Stoughton was a governor), a close reading of the visual language in their portraits sheds light on the reality of their unified professional bravado.

Mather's likeness was reproduced in his lifetime more than any other American-born Puritan of his time. Kenneth Murdock affirms that he had three portraits made that were then engraved by four different artists and issued more than once over a period of twenty years.²⁰ Murdock states that engravings made from portraits were necessary as frontispieces in Puritan public treatises since there was a new and popular curiosity for visual images in a print. Mather's political service and literary labors earned him a reputation not overlooked by engravers who knew that dissenters bought prints and illustrated books as eagerly as the conforming brethren.²¹ Murdock affirms that Mather's use of portraiture kept alive "reverence for godly elders and the faithful of the Lord."²² They were important to memory and relationship. Mather twice sent portraits of himself to Dublin and requested, in return, a portrait of his brother, Nathaniel.²³ In 1681, Nathaniel wrote to Increase in Boston: "I have received sundry from you; with severall books and your picture by Mr. David Hart, and one by Mr. Eales: For all of which I thank you."²⁴

The Life & Times of Increase Mather and William Stoughton

Stoughton (1631-1701) and Mather 1639-1723 were both born in Dorchester, Massachusetts. Their lives were similarly intertwined as peers, confidantes, and colleagues. Only eight years apart in age, both were raised in an austere Puritan environment with stoic fathers who encouraged careers in the ministry. Mather was the son of well-known dissenting

cleric Richard Mather (fig. 3.3)²⁵ He entered Harvard at age twelve and graduated in 1656 at age seventeen. Most of his education was provided by Rev. John Norton, a friend with whom he resided when away from home. Mather delivered his first well-received sermon at his father's pulpit the year after he graduated. In 1657, he sailed to England and later joined his brother, Samuel, in Dublin where he continued his education, receiving a Masters of Arts from Trinity College in 1658.²⁶

Stoughton was the son of Israel Stoughton, deputy, freeman, political and military activist, and benefactor who gave Harvard three hundred acres of land.²⁷ He graduated from Harvard in 1650, after studying divinity upon his father's recommendation. Travelling to England, he went on to receive a Master of Arts from Oxford where he secured a fellowship, preaching and ministering in various locales.²⁸ Mather preached near the residence of another brother, Nathaniel, in England as well, during the revolution and the period of the English Restoration reinstated by King Charles II.²⁹ Deciding not to conform, both Stoughton's and Mather's plans changed and they returned to New England at various times between 1661 and 1662.³⁰ Their similarities ended when Mather resumed preaching at his father's church in Dorchester and later was installed at the North Church in Boston. His career in the ministry was cultivated by the spiritual experiences he had at an early age. He later married Maria Cotton, the daughter of Rev. John Cotton, with whom he had ten children.³¹

Mather's autobiography centered on his spiritual pilgrimage and was dedicated to the spiritual legacy he left to his progeny. In it, he balanced the covenantal doctrines of reformed thought with an enlightened and loving approach of the Spiritual Brethren:

I am not altogether without hope concerning my own Interest in Christ. I have thought that the relation of what the Lord has done for your Father, and the

wonderful experience which he has had of Gods Faithfulness towards him, might be a means to cause you to give yourselves entirely to the Lord Jesus, and to endeavor to walk with God.³²

Hall affirms Mather's certainty that God will uphold his end of the covenant stating that he must be saved, because if he was not, he would be viewed as disingenuous:

Others after my decease, that should see the papers which I had written and kept as remembrances of my walking before God, would be discouraged. For they would see and say, here was one that prayed...and believed...and yet he perished...He would tell others, and then they would conclude that there is not so much in prayer, and that Faith is not such almighty thing as the Word of God sayth it is.³³

Interestingly, Stoughton's heart was not in the ministry. He refused to serve the church. It appears that despite his father's generous, yet presumptive, bequest to him of "halfe" of his library "for his encourag [encouragement] to apply himself to studies, especially to the Holy Scriptures; unto which they are most helpful," he declined repeated requests to lead various church positions at Dorchester.³⁴ He recognized his lack of passion after preaching in various English dissenting congregations, stating, "I had some objections within myself against the motion."³⁵ In 1671, John Hull affirmed his refusal stating that Stoughton's passion was focused elsewhere: "Mr. William Stoughton, an able preacher and very pious, but not yet persuadable to take any office charge in any church, was chosen into the magistracy, and accepted the same."³⁶

Stoughton entered into politics in Massachusetts where he held every conceivable office. He became a powerful figure serving from 1674 to 1686 in various governmental roles, such as commissioner and deputy of courts, Selectman of Dorchester, chief magistrate in the Salem witch trials of 1692, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts and acting governor from 1692 until his death in 1701.³⁷ In 1676, along with Peter Bulkley, he was sent to England to defend the Massachusetts Charter when King Charles demanded it be voluntarily submitted for

modification. According to Hall, Stoughton failed to restore the charter most likely because of Randolph's report to the King in which he stated that Massachusetts Bay had enjoyed an unsupervised autonomy for fifty-six years.³⁸ Whether it was a personal affront against Stoughton and Bulkley or, as Hall surmises, the King had more pressing matters to attend to (i.e. assassination plots), Stoughton and Bulkley returned to New England in 1678. Stoughton's lack of assertiveness on New England's behalf negatively affected his reputation as a leader. John Langdon Sibley states that, "Many persons were dissatisfied especially with Stoughton, whom they thought to have been too compliant."³⁹ Ironically, Mather and Stoughton reversed their roles as minister and politician, as it would be Mather who would differ with Stoughton's views and become the arbitrator in restoring the Massachusetts Charter negotiations.⁴⁰

The Charter

Stoughton's views were conservative and contractual. He was convinced there was no purpose in opposing King Charles' demands.⁴¹ Cotton Mather's laudatory term for him as the "Moses of New England" indicates that he was adherent to the law and the ultimate prophet.⁴² Cotton praised Stoughton's generosity to Harvard and for his assistance in writing the *History of New England*. "William Stoughton, the Moses of the New Englanders," he wrote, "who was the first benefactor of this institution, and has bound all true sons of Harvard to himself in bonds of everlasting gratitude."⁴³

Royal law was set apart from the federal theology Puritans had lived with for half a century.⁴⁴ In his election sermon, *New England's True Interest Not to Lie*, delivered in 1670, Stoughton advocated against any alteration in the original covenant with God for fear of losing an inheritance promised to New England.⁴⁵ "The Solemn work of this day is *Foundation-*

work;” he stated, “not to lay a new Foundation, but to continue and strengthen, and beautifie, and build upon that which hath been laid.”⁴⁶ Stoughton concluded that New England’s foundation was their inherited covenant, which distinguished them from all other New World inhabitants, including their parents who were born in England. Only the children could claim God’s special corporate promises by way of inheritance. New England would inherit God’s providences (eternal salvation) because Stoughton typologically elevated the first generation founders with the Patriarchs of the Old Testament. Harry Stout describes Puritans like Stoughton who spoke of this inheritance which transformed their New World history into a sacred mythology, writing “For them, the history of New England could be read as an extension of Holy Writ.”⁴⁷

Election speeches like Stoughton’s repeatedly claimed that federal covenants were probational and entailed a set of conditions. “When the Old enters into Covenant with any people, this Covenant of his is a Covenant with Condition,” Stoughton said. “Hence there are the Laws, as well as the Promises of the Covenant. As the Lord obligeth himself to us so he requires something from us, and thus the Commandments and Statues of God are frequently called his Covenant.”⁴⁸ For proof, he turned to sacred history in the Old Testament which confirmed that external contracts were “frequently broken and made void.” Stoughton warned his congregation that they must recognize that they were on trial for their lives: “We must look upon ourselves as under a solemn divine Probation.”⁴⁹

Stoughton viewed the world as judge and jury through a political ideology Knight refers to as “tribal nationalism.”⁵⁰ As both minister and politician, the tone in his election day speech was overtly judgmental and conditional.⁵¹ Using family, marriage, and fatherhood metaphors, Stoughton drew from covenantal literature rather than from life experience, as he was unmarried

and without children throughout his life.⁵² His judicial verdict and guilt-provoking nature resonates in this statement:

God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness. Thy God did expect better things from thee and thy children; not worldliness and insatiable desire after perishing things;—such as “whoredoms,” “drunkenness,” “oaths,” “oppressions,” “slandering,” “rudeness,” “not an itching after new things and ways,”... “not a growing weary of government and a drawing loose in the yoke of God; not these things, but better things, O New England, hath thy God expected from thee.”⁵³

Shortly after this sermon a synod had been summoned to meet in Boston as early as 1679 to assess the “evils” and the essential reforms needed in New England. Stoughton perceived England’s interference in colonial autonomy as God’s disciplinary judgment in addressing a long list of New England’s “lies.”

Stoughton’s religious ideology upheld the federal theology of the first generation. Notwithstanding his political aspirations, his religious convictions were of a covenantal (contractual) nature. Religious intolerance, like congregational polity, was a badge of New England’s covenant fidelity.⁵⁴ Given the probational nature of his sermon, it is surprising that Stoughton submitted to the hierarchy of royal authority, stating without confirmation, that “a more favorable administration might be expected to succeed it, and in better times there would be greater chance for reassuming it.”⁵⁵ Stoughton preferred to surrender the charter “rather than to suffer a judgment or decree against it.”⁵⁶

Conversely, Mather applauded the views of the popular party, which had voted against submitting the charter. Unlike Stoughton, Mather argued that “It was better to leave themselves in the hands of God, not knowing what his providences might effect for them, than thus to deliver themselves immediately into the hands of men.”⁵⁷ Stoughton feared total loss of

jurisdiction and appears to have been resolved to placate the King rather than God. He stated that “Wee are hugging our privileges and franchises to death and prefer the dissolution of our Body politique, rather than to suffer Amputation in any of its limbs.”⁵⁸

In 1683, the General Court of Massachusetts decided to defend its charter in the courts, but to no avail. The writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued that same year, extinguishing the Massachusetts Charter and appointing Sir Edmund Andros as Governor of the Territory and Dominion of New England.⁵⁹ Andros arrived in Boston in December 1686. Stoughton was appointed to Andros’s council. He consented to act, “in hopes, by that means, to render the new form of government more easy,” despite the fact Andros had committed what even Stoughton called an “irregular and grievous departure” from the established systems of the Massachusetts General Court.⁶⁰ However, Andros proved too much for Stoughton. He did join in signing a document submitted to the King by the popular party titled, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmond Andros and his Complices*, listing all of the atrocities the governor had committed.⁶¹

Stoughton’s indecision and ill attempt at equanimity resulted in the loss in favor among his people.⁶² In essence, he abandoned the New England Way for material life and did not obtain Andros’ confidence in the bargain. According to Sibley, “Andros would willingly have been rid of him, seldom consulted him, and by the influence he had over the majority of the council, generally carried the votes against his mind.”⁶³ This vacillating tension of cowardice and conviction during a period of New England’s probationary status is hauntingly embodied in his portrait, as Stoughton attempted to wield an elusive personal election as the benefactor of his architectural namesake Stoughton Hall.

Increase Mather’s Portrait

Excerpts from Mather's sermons and a close reading of particular portions of his autobiography afford a unique view of his contemplative journey from 1685 to 1700.

Additionally, the sermons provide supportive evidence in the interpretation of his portrait as a spiritual memoir and of his mystical relationship with God.

As I was praying that God would deliver New England I was much moved and melted before the Lord, not being able to speake for some time. But then I could not but say, God will deliver New England! God will deliver New England! So did I rise from my knees with much comfort and assurance that God had heard me before I prayed I was very dejected in my spirit; but after I had prayed, I was very joyful and cheerful. I will then wayt for God's salvation. The very next day King Charles II dyed, by whose death Kirk's coming as a Governor to New England was prevented; New England was that day delivered.⁶⁴

Mather's writing gave credibility to his views about his mission. He prayed for the grace bequeathed to a visible saint writing, "He gives more grace & enlarge ye gifts of his spirit." Yt his presence may be wth me, in work I am called to. Wisedome to goe in and out before his people over whom Hee hath sent me." ⁶⁵ Mather's optimism lay in an apocalyptic trust that Christ's second coming would usher in a new world. In his autobiography, he addressed the charter, writing, "I am now wayting for an earthquake, which shall issue in the downfall of the Lord's enemies and the exaltation of Christ's kingdom and Interest."⁶⁶

While the colony remained without a charter for several years, Mather was hopeful when James II issued a royal decree called a "Declaration of Indulgence." This act suspended penal laws against dissenters, such as the New England Puritans. Wanting to express gratitude to King James II, Mather, upon the approval of the technically defunct Massachusetts General Court, began his four-year sojourn in England (1688-92), negotiating for a new charter that would include the principal rights of the original charter, such as land titles, an elected assembly, and the continued incorporation of Harvard College.⁶⁷ Mather's social acumen is well-documented

and he gained favor placating many in the King's court. Hall affirms that it was his patience and the use of reason in relation to his minimal requests spread over time that led to him restoring the shreds of the original charter.⁶⁸ His arbitration skills were noted in the following request to James II for Puritan control of Harvard:

That it would be an obligation beyond all expression great, if His Majesty would grant them a charter for their Colledge; That if the Church of England men would build a Colledge for themselves no one would object against it; but they thought it hard, that the Colledge built by Nonconformists, should be put into the hands of Conformists.⁶⁹

Mather saw his position as one of increased responsibility in upholding the New England covenant during a period of crisis. His journal entries were reflective of his anxiety regarding his obligation to the ideals of the first generation Puritan fathers and his role in salvation history. He had sacrificed his relationship with his father in the publicized differences over the Half Way Covenant, and he stood apart from his son's liaison with Stoughton in the murders of innocent persons in the Salem witchcraft trials.⁷⁰ He wrote: "I said the Holy Ghost had made me overseer & what should I answer at day of Judgment if asked I should be sayd one going astray & You not used meanes to recover him which is worst of all, might fear would loose favor with God."

⁷¹ This time, however, his pre-millennial belief that a New Jerusalem was imminent allayed his anxiety that he was altering an earlier covenant. Rather the breaking of it signified God's final judgment. Mather's ability to politically maneuver many of the requests he carried into Whitehall, was due to his pre-millennial understanding of his place in biblical prophecy which enabled him to withstand not only the demise of the Massachusetts Charter, but to see the events leading up to its amended form as prophetic hope of Christ's coming. Mather declared the imminence of Christ's Kingdom against alternative evidence provided by contemporary

ministers of the jeremiad who saw in the future a bleak judgment with little hope for the “new heavens and new earth” prophesied by Isaiah.⁷²

David Watters states that Mather was considered unusual at the end of the seventeenth century. His discourse, *The Glorious State of the Church on Earth under the New Jerusalem*, established his pre-millennial faith in the future perfection of God’s society of saints.⁷³ New England degenerated in her errand into the wilderness so now saints like Mather could only hope for the coming of Christ’s future kingdom. Watters argues:

If the Puritan were to continue their imitation of old Israel, a theocracy modeled on the revealed laws of God, then they could only like Old Israel look forward to the coming of the Messiah to redeem them and establish a holy society out of the corruptions of contemporary life.⁷⁴

The events at the end of the seventeenth century were perceived as such. Mather expanded the possibilities of biblical interpretation in New England by extending the symbolic significance of scriptural typology to contemporary history. According to Watters, he persisted in an optimistic view of a millennial glory at a time when many ministers were more pessimistic in their assessments of the end of the world. The complexity of his millennial outlook assimilated into court culture was not a compromise, but an extension of God’s evolutionary plan.⁷⁵

It was during this period in England that Mather commissioned Jan van der Spriett to paint his portrait and Robert White to make an engraving.⁷⁶ By correctly assessing the “signs of the times” and relating current events to the patterns of biblical prophecy, Mather embodied (perhaps subconsciously), his ability to predict the future glory (or destruction) of New England, by correlating type (Israel) with an anti-type (New England) in his portrait. Mather had employed a coping strategy at the outset of King Phillip’s war. His journal entry from April 1675 is a typological reflection:

The Ld graciously dealing wth me, as he did wth Isa 65:20 and Dan.9:2. The Wayes of God are everlasting; wherefore he brings the same judgment upon his people now as in the dayes of old, in case there be the same transgressions. If then we would know why Droughts, Blastings, &c. have been upon our land, let us search the scriptures, and see for what sins those judgments have befallen God's Israel of old. Let us look into the scriptures and there see what sins have in the former ages brought the punishment of the Sword upon professing People; and if those very sins are prevailing amongst us, write upon it ,that it is for them, that this judgment has come upon us.⁷⁷

While focusing on covenantal breaches in his sermon titled, *Ichabod*, and the understood despair of the writer in Ecclesiastes, Mather's ability to withstand the four year roller coaster of events in securing a new charter is embodied in his portrait. It was his pre-millennial belief that Christ's second coming was imminent, which sustained his hope as each one of his recommendations for a new charter were consistently altered or forgotten due to the constant turmoil occurring on the European soil.⁷⁸ Hall admits that Mather had dropped the language of providential Puritanism during his four years in England. His portrait, however, depicts a personal response and an eschatological hope, which correlated with his optimistic tone written to his children in his autobiography.⁷⁹ "When the children of Israel murmured against those that had been the instruments of salvation what did they get for it?," he wrote. "They are forgetting their errand to seek the kingdom of righteousness."⁸⁰ Mather had not forgotten his responsibility as one of the elect in providential history. He left a "visual jeremiad" in the pictorial narrative of his portrait for perpetuity.

Although Mather did not get the exact charter he wanted, the Province Charter of 1691, under the reign of William and Mary, gave Massachusetts Bay a greater measure of home-rule than any other royal or proprietary colony. Mather nominated the first Royal Governor, Sir William Phips, and Stoughton as Lieutenant Governor, as well as the Massachusetts Council members.⁸¹ An optimist, Mather dealt with opportunists and dissenters, stating that in the New

Charter “great privileges are granted to the people in New England and in some particulars, greater than they formerly enjoyed.”⁸²

Description:

William Stoughton’s Portrait

The three-quarter length portrait represents an elderly man positioned in the center at a slightly diagonal turn and seated either in an enclosed room or outside on a lawn. It is unclear whether or not Stoughton is inside or outside. The dark brown vertical column behind his head may represent a pillar or a tree separating him from the Harvard yard in which he may be seated. The man engages the viewer through direct eye contact. He is attired in a dark green robe of voluminous fabric bustled at the hipline and is draped around a highly articulated yet awkward appearing clewed left elbow. The remainder of the fabric pools to the ground. His lower torso appears blanketed in fabric as well. Two elaborate yellow gold buttons clasp his coat underneath a green/brown cape with a dull red-orange lining. His right palm is turned up in a solicitous gesture. White lace peeks out from under his right sleeve cuff. His exaggerated right arm appears thin and bony which is painted tight to his body. He seems poised, reserved, and serene. His gaze generates an unsettling interaction creating a locked moment, an encounter of immediacy as a result of the darkened background behind his head. His own long under-curved white wavy hair covers his ears and falls to his shoulders. A snug cap holds his hair back displaying a high forehead. A pale complexion is the foundation from which an elongated jaw line is encircled by a dark shadowing around his pursed lips. Above his eyes his brows are heavy and well-defined semi-circles that are somber with dark bulbous spheres underneath completing the hollow orbit. The yellow gold collar of his verdant colored robe appears to have small golden patterned circles painted close together. Gold tie cords rest along a slightly distended neck weaving underneath

the long white strips of cloth falling to his upper-abdomen. His arranged pose has an imaginary right-to-left diagonal line connecting areas that are highly illuminated such as his forehead, hair, neck cloth, and hand.

Through the rectangular aperture to the left is a landscape of cone-shaped hills framing a prominent red brick building whose foundation falls upon the horizontal line extending across the center of the composition (fig 3.4). A small heraldic-like crest is painted on a medallion sign at the center of the building. Eyes are directed to the center of the composition where movements of both of these intersecting lines unite at mid-chest in the picture space. Nuanced tiers of black, grey, and gold foreshadow an ominous horizon which glows dramatically above both features.

Description:

Increase Mather's Portrait

Mather's image represents a middle-aged man of clergy in apparent good health and positioned at a slightly diagonal turn. He is seated at a table or desk that is heavily laden with red draping fabric. Mather is upright and forward, notably eager, and he engages the viewer with an affable disposition. His shoulder-length dark curly hair covers his ears and falls below his chin. A ruddy complexion is prominent over his cheeks and nose, while the forehead is lighted and white. Mather's lips are not parted and it appears his communication may be forthcoming as the viewer's drawn to his pointed left finger and the pages of the large book in front of him. Two protruding legs from a wooden bookstand support the large book propped up and opened to the words "The Preacher" to which he points (fig. 3.5). The letters "Ecclias" are noted on the top left of the page (fig.3.6). Mid-line below the words, his right thumb rests near the word "Chap," likely an abbreviation for chapter (fig.3.7). He is pointing to a specific verse in the Book of

Ecclesiastes. Another book with three pointed red finials is upright and perpendicular to this book and is resting on a red colored book stand or lectionary. Vaguely identifiable letters “THE ICHAB” are in a title on the top of the left page (fig. 3.8). Paragraph type blocks of writing are painted below. The right page has swirls of linear sentences painted from top to bottom. Wavy strips of scarlet cloth (perhaps ribbons) extend from the sides of the manuscript, but they do not mark or hold any pages. A red highlighted book noted on the center shelf casts a red saturated tone directly toward the center of this manuscript. A pair of brown gloves, one with a buckskin lining is noted on the turned-up cuff. The gloves, along with an unnamed book serving as an additional prop in elevating the Bible, are pressed into the table under its weight. A pocket watch purposely strewn on the table underneath the left corner of the Bible is encased in a silver filigree bezel, and is straight pinned to the tablecloth by its fabric fob (fig. 3.9). Thin dark lines portraying the watch’s hands determine the time. Mather is seated on a wooden armchair. The knob of the arm has a carved ornamental feature resembling a flower with five petals. Mather’s body flanks the backdrop of green drapery on a diagonal line from left to right which reveals only a partial book wall of three-to-four shelves containing four-to-six books each. Book bindings are reddish in color highlighted with gold decals. The painstaking labor the artist took to ascribe the scriptural verses on the open book on Mather’s table are curiously absent on the bindings of the shelved books. The unobstructed space of the scarlet-clothed table beckons the viewer to perhaps pull up a chair and enter his private area.

Mather wears a black open gown with billowing sleeves over what could be a buttoned collarless black coat. A black cloak of extensive fabric is casually draped over his right shoulder and arm and covers part of his right chest. His left arm is left uncovered as the satin sheen of the black woven fabric billows over the arm of his throne-like chair. His neck collar and square

clerical fallen bands are white and appear to be translucent linen-like material that is split in two lengths falling approximately to mid chest.

Deduction:

Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton

Stoughton had been lieutenant governor for nine years. For six of those years, he was commander-in-chief during the two extremes of popular and absolute government. As an extensive land owner by inheritance, as well as by purchase, Stoughton left an estate considered large for the time. His monetary legacy is a telling feature definitive of the changes in Puritan orthodoxy resulting from assimilation into the laws of the New Charter. He bequeathed to the church in Dorchester and to Harvard College money and silver objects such as communion plates and cups, as well as stipends for Harvard tutors and students who met graduate and residential requirements.⁸³ His proudest achievement memorialized in his portrait is the residential brick building named Stoughton Hall, which was located on the grounds of Harvard College and built in his honor just two years before his death.⁸⁴ As an emblem, this building is a personal memorial, as well as a statement of philosophy and religious expectation which lay at the heart of Stoughton's Puritan beliefs.⁸⁵ When hung in the legislative hall of the Massachusetts General Court, Stoughton's portrait fulfilled its purpose as an object of emulation over Stoughton's mortal accomplishments. The heraldic-shaped commemoration inscribed in stone in the center of the building is as an allusion to royal ancestry.⁸⁶

Stoughton's portrait is in the style of Neo-Medieval tradition as noted in the embellished clothing, accessories, and emblems and characterized by a flat form, decorative patterning, and linear definition.⁸⁷ In Stoughton's portrait, the vertical lines of the landscape in the foreground of the building should have converged at a point above his head, rather than in the middle as

correct Renaissance style would have dictated (hence the attempt at perspective placement of the building even though awkwardly rendered).⁸⁸ As a result, it is difficult to assess Stoughton's location. At first, he appears to be inside a room seated next to a window. However he may also be outside in a natural setting seated across from the red brick building which honors his name. Northern Renaissance ideals typically featured movement in the illusion of drapery flowing diagonally across the canvas. The drapery in Stoughton's portrait is fixed, central, and vertical, doubling as a stationary element such as a wall, pillar, or tree. The naïve composition and figurative style of the portrait indicates that the artist of the work had a second-hand knowledge of Dutch portraiture.

The constructed emblem of a window inside of his portrait window is a convention in portraiture dating to the early sixteenth century. According to Robert Blair St. George, the window was not only an embellishment to the portrait portraying a person's land, home, or particular historical or a contemporary event the sitter had participated in or deemed noteworthy, "it was a story within a story, typically fraught with socio-political conviction. It also could be a 'fiction' of sorts, a way to devise order in a New World typically teeming with chaos or unrest."

89

Sibley reports that Stoughton Hall's construction was shoddy at best. He states the bricks had come from the long unused Indian College where the early printing presses had produced Mather's books.⁹⁰ He writes that the building did not last the test of time: "Being originally an unsubstantial piece of masonry, it grew weak by age and having been injured by the earthquake of 1755, after undergoing many repairs it was finally taken down in 1780."⁹¹ Samuel Morison's description is a forthright appraisal of its construction:

Master builder Willis appears to have scamped on his work; for as early as 1714 the Corporation had to repair the roof, and in 1721, the Overseers represented the desperate and Dangers Condition of Stoughton House. A survey showed the building to be 'so exceedingly bow'd and broken that the Overseers recommended it be taken down and rebuilt. Nothing was done, however; and the walls became so bulgy and wobbly that everyone expected the earthquake of Lisbon in 1755 to shake it down into a heap of bricks.⁹²

In an attempt to portray his life story, Stoughton chose a receding glow layered into a far-away horizon (perhaps the setting sun of his years), which illuminate the illusory cone-shaped hills, known as the Blue Hills, of his birthplace and home in Dorchester.⁹³

Stoughton's voluminous dress not only consumes the canvas but expands and conceals his corporeal form. While Mather's dress more easily identifies him as a cleric, the viewer cannot discern that Stoughton was a chief magistrate and lieutenant governor in Massachusetts. However, an educated deduction can be made based on his dress and the conventions of a painterly ideal. Marieke de Winkel suggests that "dress is always a personal statement invaluable in discerning the messages the sitter is attempting to portray."⁹⁴ Northern Renaissance artists made deliberate use of clothing to emphasize the character or social status of the sitters in their portraits and to clarify the narrative or heighten the drama in paintings qualified as history pieces.⁹⁵

Stoughton's green robe, known as a tabbard, positions him as one who is highly esteemed.⁹⁶ De Winkel refers to the tabbard as an old-fashioned garment associated with antiquity and various forms of male learned professions.⁹⁷ Interestingly, De Winkel points to judges and magistrates in Holland who were wearing a tabbard and states it became "a convention and a sign of their authority." She writes, 'judges, councillors, and lawyers eventually became known as 'gown men' and every year they received a certain amount of

broadcloth, ‘tabbert-laken’ or its equivalent to have a tabbard made.”⁹⁸ Stoughton’s tabbard envelopes what is most likely a three-piece suit, consisting of a jacket, waist coat, and matching breeches.⁹⁹ Gold-embroidered buttons are fastened through the matching gold-colored stitched buttonholes clasped at mid-abdomen which restrain Stoughton’s posture. The tabbard is worn casually about his neck with golden cords hanging in a serpentine arrangement about his neck. Loops of golden paint encircle the tabbard’s epaulet shaped-collar depicting perhaps an expensive fur; typically a sheered lamb’s wool clipped and flattened, emphasizing Stoughton’s military career.¹⁰⁰

Stoughton is shown wearing a neck cloth known as a cravat and worn over the neckband or collar of his shirt.¹⁰¹ It was essentially a long strip of fabric wound around the neck and tied in front with a knot or a bow.¹⁰² As Doriece Colle states, the purpose was typically decorative and aesthetic in late seventeenth century when the cravat was a means of displaying fine linen and expensive lace.¹⁰³ Stoughton’s cravat falls to mid-abdomen denoting the expense of more fabric. Penelope Byrde states that a cravat owned by King Charles II was thirty-four inches long made from either white linen or silk. Lighter more delicate materials, such as lace, also became fashionable so that the cravat could be tied in a knot, twist, or fold.¹⁰⁴ We can see that the fine lines of shadow painted vertically through the length of the cravat in Stoughton’s portrait give it a lighter more translucent appearance. It also appears that there are many folds in both ends, suggestive of a larger volume of linen or silk.

Clearly Stoughton’s dress is a vital link in the long list of emblematic conventions that inform the viewer about his position in the community. The whiteness and fineness of the linen and the addition of fur on his tabbard proclaimed his education, profession, aspirations, and

allegiances to King and colony. Lace is also viewed on the cuff of Stoughton's sleeve, a fitting emblematic location embellishing a hand is symbolic of affluence as it gestures toward Stoughton Hall. Aileen Ribeiro references Cesare Ripa's famous dictionary of symbolic personifications titled, *The Iconologia of 1593*, which stated that emblems were "not only useful but necessary to poets, painters, and sculptors for representing human virtues, vices, affections, and passions."¹⁰⁵

Colonial New Englanders were aware of stylistic choices and were conscious of, although not necessarily ready for, the new painterly "naturalism," using shadow to create displacement of inner thought. Shadowing gave the appearance of deception in portraiture and was an established convention in the seventeenth century, though rarely used in the Neo-Medieval style.¹⁰⁶ Wendy Katz states that strong shadows were a departure from a gentlemanly style which left the image of the sitter suspect, promoting a "cunning style of illusionism." Although it would be difficult to equate certain Protestant factions with a particular style of painting, Katz argues that the straight neo-medieval style with linear presentation of objects seemed to be the choice in which ministers and magistrates in particular imparted a truthful disposition.¹⁰⁷

Deduction:

Reverend Increase Mather

No building commemorates Mather. Four years of service as a diplomatic emissary of Massachusetts brought him a certain amount of prominence, which he chose to represent in a constructed library in his portrait. In a diary entry written in 1680, he referred to his books as his major source of company: "I am with the people I greatly admire and all of the friends I need."¹⁰⁸ Many of his friendships were manifested in the various social contexts of the King's

court and leading Parliamentary figures. Mather was no mere politician and took full advantage of his years in London by cultivating opportunities to increase his knowledge of books and mankind. According to Murdock, he became friends with chemist Robert Boyle whose portrait curiously has many of the corresponding conventions of Mather's (fig. 3.10).¹⁰⁹ He also became an intimate advisor to Richard Baxter, one of the most eminent of English divines.¹¹⁰ Both men, as well as other political allies, gave Mather copies of their books. Perhaps his fictive library away from his New England stacks honored these gifts.

His upright position, the books on the shelves, and his written sermon display and parallel his upstanding character and suggests the literacy and knowledge he gained from his theological education.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the true friends Mather chose to represent "all that he needs" are the writers from the Book of Ecclesiastes and the many prophets he cited in his jeremiadal sermon, *Ichabod*, which is propped perpendicularly against the Bible containing the Old Testament narrative.¹¹²

The Book of Ecclesiastes contains the thoughts of The Preacher, a man who reflected deeply on the brevity and mystery of human life.¹¹³ The writer of Ecclesiastes affirmed (somewhat pessimistically) that earthly life is useless and that only in God is there greater meaning. Mather's left index finger points approximately to the middle of a page to the verses below the word "CHAP" on the page titled, "The Preacher," which identifies the text as Ecclesiastes. In the Geneva Bible, The Preacher states, "I the preacher have been King over Israel in Jerusalem And I have given mine heart to search and find wisdom by all things that are done under the heaven."¹¹⁴ The Preacher affirmed "that man should not be addicted to anie thing under sunne, but rather inflamed with the desire for the heavenlie life."¹¹⁵

Mather's sermon, which is rooted in the prophetic language of the Old Testament, may have been written while he was in England. According to Hall it was the most pessimistic sermon Mather had preached since the King Phillips War.¹¹⁶ Mather's references to the Book of Eli and Ezekiel depict how God literally abandons his dwelling place in the Ark, leaves the city of Jerusalem and moves eastward toward the Mount of Olives.¹¹⁷ The prophets tell of a moment just before the destruction of Jerusalem when all are about to be killed except those few faithful who have been marked for salvation. Penning an impatient God, the tone of Mather's sermon is apocalyptic, evoking a millennial mood of judgment. The texts Mather chose in the portrait reveal similar events of God's punishment, which he believed led to the loss of the charter.

Mather has opened this theological instrument to add the weight of God's punitive actions in support of his missionary activity. Gordis states that ministers like Mather commonly used the word "open" as an idiom for the experience of revealing divine revelation in Puritan exegesis.¹¹⁸ Gordis affirms that God spoke through the minister's oral reading of the text:

An unconscious rhetorical confusion would pervade most dialogue delivered to a congregation from a minister because his discourse based on scripture would fuse with the text thereby assuming its own persona, which in turn would be equated with Christ's voice authenticating and authorizing the moral lessons as belonging to Christ.¹¹⁹

An earlier entry from Mather's diary substantiates how he, as well as his audience, perceived him: "This day Cousin Coney with me, who through many Tears told me how much Hee was affected wth ye serm yesterday, saying I seemed to him as if I were come fro Heav." ¹²⁰

Mather's audience were spellbound for generations by his ability to speak in a prophetic voice in his portrait.

Mather opens his visual jeremiad based on the representation of the Geneva gown which is placed over his right shoulder and then strewn over the back of his chair. Mather's decision to

be draped in the gown signifies his religious tolerance at the end of the seventeenth century. Hall states that Mather refused to wear the gown in the 1660s, risking the loss of his degree from Trinity College in Dublin.¹²¹ His informal placement of the gown may convey the process of preparing rather than opening the sermon noted in the portrait. In New England, ministers like Mather typically wore a civilian's black doublet and breeches, perhaps with a cloak and a hat until the latter part of the seventeenth century, when those were replaced with the three-piece suit.¹²² Two strips of bleached Holland (linen) or similar material, known as fallen bands "falling down" from the collar to different lengths along the chest were adopted by dissenters and nonconformists (fig. 3.11).¹²³ Reformers preferred the simplicity and lack of ostentation, drawing attention to the responsibility of the office rather than fashion and personality.

That fact that Mather was a minister can be inferred by his dress.¹²⁴ Mather's decision to go with a periwig is telling of his age. Additionally, his curly locks afforded him some personal control during the modification of the charter, as natural hair was preferred.¹²⁵

Dressed as Priest to the Temple

The use of dress is a striking analogy with which to stylize and parallel the elected sainthood with the Levitical priesthood and the community of believers. Puritans had a certain allegorical/imaginative freedom to move between biographical and spiritual themes in their images, and dress was one way they could do this. Demonstrated below are two metaphorical patterns of imaginative modes in Mather's dress: first, the parallel of the Geneva bands with the Jerusalem Temple Veil; and secondly Puritan clerical costume as a Levitical Holy garment.

In the first pattern, Watters' study on gravestone imagery supports this study's interpretation that the fallen bands of clerical dress can be typified as the veil representing the saint's passage to eternal salvation through union with Christ, whose body was believed to be the

temple of the New Jerusalem.¹²⁶ According to Watters research, the architectural renderings of temple imagery on Puritan gravestones such as pillars, pediments, curtains, panels, tassels, and communion tables, symbolized that in death the Puritan believer would enter the earthly temple (the grave), then pass through to the heavenly temple (The New Jerusalem). This visual construct of the grave enabled believers to witness their loved ones as entering eternal salvation.¹²⁷

Watters states that many architectural components noted on the gravestones embellished the incised effigy of the believer who often times had a stylized Geneva collar carved below their neck, typologically representing their election (fig. 3.12).¹²⁸ According to Watters, “a believer repeatedly heard in sermons that he or she was a High Priest elected to enter Heaven, a living stone or pillar in the church militant elected to be part of the New Jerusalem Temple.”¹²⁹ On the carvings noted by Watters, winged effigies with Geneva collars passed from the earthly carved temple into the temple of the New Jerusalem (heaven) through pillars flanked by stylized panels toward the Holy of Holies, passing through in the same means Jesus passed through the metaphorical Jewish temple veil in death. This is further represented on the gravestones by a stylized sun or cut rays.¹³⁰ Interestingly, Watters states that the laity received a stylized collar in carved gravestones as well, demonstrating the message from the Book of Hebrews that all believers could partake in Christ’s glory.¹³¹ The particular qualifications of *imitatio Christi* were viewed by the believer as a symbol of those graces which enabled entry into heaven.¹³²

Mather’s detailed analysis of *Types of Christ* is well-documented in his discourse, *Mystery of Christ Opened and Applied*, written in 1686, which explored the symbol of the temple veil:

The Temple was the most costly, excellent, glorious, House in the world; thereby figuring the humane nature of Christ, which was adorned with graces and spiritual

Excellencies beyond any other man or creature. Particularly the Veil of the Temple typified the human nature of Christ...As there was no entering into the Holy of Holies but by the Veil; so there is no entering into the Holy of Holies but through that Sacrifice of the flesh, ie.the humane nature of Christ. And this truth is still mysteriously signified by that Ordinance of the Lord's Supper.¹³³

Entering through the "humane nature of Christ" by the veil was a passage made accessible to the elect as prophesied in Hebrews 10, through obedience and submission as *imitatio Christi*. While Watters research suggests the elected saints' gravestones are symbolic of receiving eternal salvation, this study supports the Reform belief that spiritual "dying" was an ongoing process. Dying to one's will in a daily ritual of "rising and dying" in the cycle of redemption, a term coined by Charles Hambrick-Stowe, was expressed sacramentally in Puritan life as Baptism and the Lord's Supper.¹³⁴ The redemptive cycle of Christ's death and resurrection was translated into a set of spiritual exercises and devotional acts such as repentance and prayer that became the path of Puritan conversion experience.

Samuel Mather's chapter, "The Gospel of Priestly Vestments" in his discourse, *Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, supports the idea that Puritan clerical dress had an imaginative typological and Christological association with the Levitical holy garments.¹³⁵ Samuel typifies the high priest clothing as an instructional metaphor for Puritan behavior, revealing the dominant (symbolic) connection between dress, behavior, and Puritan identity. He argued that the specificity of Levitical dress was a literal and historical truth, while applying an imagined metaphorical meaning to the High Priest clothing itself.¹³⁶ "The general end and use of these Garments," he wrote, "was to be for Beauty and Glory, Exodus 28.2 as betokening an higher Glory and ...the taking away of the guilt of sin, and clothing the soul with Christ's righteousness."¹³⁷ He affirmed that the sheer opulence of Levitical clothing is symbolic of the highest of personal qualifications; qualification he likens to Christ who was foreshadowed in the

Levitical priesthood. He compared priestly garments to converted believers and suggests they were now acting High Priests: “The mystical signification of these garments is the Righteousness of Christ, not only in regards of his own person, but also wherewith he clothes believers.”¹³⁸

Samuel Mather’s quote demonstrates the determination among Puritan nonconformists to analyze and make sense of the rich artistic tradition of priestly clothing within a tradition that historically determined that material wealth in church environments had no Biblical sanction.

In “The Gospel of the Priest’s Holy Garments,” Samuel referenced two books of the Pentateuch, Leviticus, and Exodus, which describe God’s specific instructions for clothing those he chose as his high priests.¹³⁹ The very nature of Mather’s discourse is an exegetical account of clothing as symbolic of a higher consciousness and weighty spiritual truths. He affirmed that garments and objects are not capable of inherent Holiness in themselves but he explains further that the sheer lavishness in the use of fine materials in their overall fabrication, (specifically gold as the most rare and costly metal, precious stones, and fine linen), personify the virtues of the beauty and glory of Christ.

The linen fragments or fallen bands of Mather’s Geneva collar can be examined historically as descending from the vest-like ephod worn by the Levitical High Priest which originally reached from the shoulders to the loins. The ephod became more cape or scarf like, then collar-like in Temple ritual and, according to Colle, probably became an heir to the amice, a liturgical vestment in the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches worn to perform the mystical rites of Baptism and Holy Eucharist (fig. 1.9 – Chapter I). Levitical and Early Christian vestments were worn to perform the rituals that were outward manifestations of inward grace.¹⁴⁰ The amice consisted of a white cloth connected to two long ribbon attachments by which it fastened around the shoulders of the priest like a neck cloth which in bib-like fashion protected

other garments.¹⁴¹ In the Tudor period, the amice was transformed into a neck cloth with long ends, which eventually became the clerical bands universally worn and, to some extent, still a part of the official dress of the English clergy.¹⁴²

As noted by Bercovitch, Puritan clerics fashioned themselves as *imitatio Christi*. This is demonstrated metaphorically in the alchemized ephod-like fallen bands encircling Mather's neck and which embody the white linen of Christ's righteousness and redemption, representing Mather as a chosen high priest in God's visible church on earth.

Both portraits also reflect the *memento mori* tradition. The passage of time is actively engaged in the pocket watch in Mather's portrait, as well as in the setting sunlight streaming across Stoughton's Blue Hills. According to Murdock, the watch on Mather's scarlet covered table was one of his most treasured possessions.¹⁴³ The bezeled case, richly engraved in wood and encased in silver, elevates Mather's waist pocket to a jeweled piece signifying the preciousness of time and Mather's attitude toward it. The viewer's attention is drawn toward Mather's pocket watch as it peeks out purposefully from under the lower left edge of the Bible contrasting with the scarlet table cloth.

In the portrait, Mather's watch joins a distinguished list of timepieces such as hourglasses and mantle clocks, which are emblematic moral reminders of life's fleeting nature. Rosemary Krill states that timepieces became a metaphor for the invisible world overseen by a powerful authority like God, the ultimate designer of time.¹⁴⁴ Chris H. Bailey adds that the inner clockwork of a timepiece was invisible and perceived much like the human soul.¹⁴⁵ Mather's watch was emblematic in the context of the evolutionary plan of biblical history, which Mather understood progressed in a linear fashion.

Speculation:

Increase Mather

Both Mather and Stoughton's images engage the viewer with a sense of immediacy. Both embody an impending danger somewhat optimistically qualified by the human integrity and perseverance of Mather's convictions in Scripture and Stoughton's financial generosity. Both confidently espouse their ideals in images that seem assured and driven. Upon close reading, the biographical depictions of both Massachusetts leaders divulge an interiority that things may not be as they seem. Mather threatens his congregants with his open Biblical message of demise without repentance, while Stoughton's apocalyptic horizon leaves one wondering about the fate of his building. Both paintings attempted to represent both optimism and pessimism in the face of physical danger and death that are perhaps indicative of the Puritan public experience.

Mather paints his mortal body into the space of the Holy of Holies envisioning himself Christologically embodied in the New Covenant. In the tension of awaiting Parliament's response to his demands for restoring Massachusetts autonomy, Mather knows the "glory of Israel has departed" from New England and shows himself secluded within a fictive space as an heir to the Levitical priesthood, rather than deep at negotiations with the hierarchy of London royalty and Parliament. Despite his political aspirations, Mather's image demonstrates that he never wavered from the grace experienced as a member of the Spiritual Brethren. His jeremiadal exhortations to repent, vicariously reproduced through "The Preacher" and the prophets of *Ichabod* on his sacred altar, offered hope of eternal salvation.

The suffusion of secretive knowledge revealed to Mather from the books on his library shelves is expressed in plays of light flowing the length of the descending diagonal line of the composition, beginning with his illumined temporal lobe, coursing downward through the

divided white clerical bands of his Geneva collar and continuing through the fingers of both hands supporting and pointing to the Book of Ecclesiastes. This line is in direct opposition to the dark diagonal line of drapery which flows from top right to left of the painting. One's eyes are directed to the center of the composition where movements of both of these intersecting lines unite at his left hand pointing at scripture.

His broad clerical fallen bands are without a discernable neck collar and are almost perfect squares painted in white (fig. 3.13). They appear to be a translucent linen-like material noted by the shading underneath each rectangle that is split in two lengths by a dark line of paint falling approximately to mid chest. The width of the square fallen bands and their illumined edging replicate and mirror the biblical folio on the table before him. Small white dots edge the opaque white hemmed borders of the bands, giving them a glistening reflection adding to the delineation of white linen from the black woolen coat. His black dress blends into the voluminous folds of dark drapery which absorb his mortal body into a darkened space leaving Mather's head and clerical bands appearing as separate entities, a disembodied binary floating over the portrait's composition. Christologically, his access to heaven is symbolized through the temple veil typologically believed to be Christ.¹⁴⁶ Black is known as the color of absence, and does not reflect or emit color in any part of the visible spectrum absorbing such frequencies of light. Mather's mortal body is absorbed into spiritual union with God through the material of his black dress which absorbs the incoming "light" of his gospel narratives.

Mather's left glove overlaps the cuff of the right hand resembling hands in prayer. The Bible is perpendicularly aligned with Mather's sermon creating an intersection of lines in a cruciform pattern. His scarlet-woven table cover transforms his table into an altar space where atonement for his sins, as well as the biblical authors in both texts, receives redemption in a

Christological mystical composition. His left index finger joins his mortal body to the center of the mystical cross achieving union with God on the scarlet woven cloth of the altar. Represented as an *imitatio Christi* figure, Mather creates an infallible persona where he could remain safe in the cross, apart from London's "crucifixions" of his time. The chair arm, depicting a flower motif with seven petals, becomes an extension of Mather's left arm and finger as he believes the verse he points to will bear fruit.

Prown's patterns of the mind are embodied in the design and materials of Mather's Geneva collar and the white sleeves of his undergarment which peek out from under his academic gown. Most likely made of a linen material, they are both layered closest to his body. Metaphorically, they become the Levitical linen ephod described by his brother, Samuel, as the garment which bears the weight of the sins of humanity; ancestral prototypes that were understood as consecrated conduits in achieving union with God.¹⁴⁷ This union is transcended Christologically and becomes the veil of flesh that has been rent in two, representing the torn curtain, the passageway believers may pass on their way to the heavenly Jerusalem. Through the construction of Mather's visual language the revelation he conveys becomes the light that "comes out of the darkness" in a period of puzzlement, fear, and bewilderment regarding the Massachusetts Charter.¹⁴⁸

As an *imitatio Christi*, Mather "mirrors" the pages of Ecclesiastes in corporeal form, demonstrating that his biblical faith is strong enough to take into account the pessimism and doubt resulting from the transition of New England as a plantation of religion to a plantation of trade. It is only a matter of "time" that the devastation of the Massachusetts Charter will be rectified in an apocalyptic reversal which is imminent. Mather's belief is embodied in the weightiness and the indeterminate hand movement of his pocket watch. The silver filigree border

remains a fitting emblem of redemption and atonement for the free will offerings in Jewish temple ritual.¹⁴⁹ Mather's pocket watch transforms into a compass, morally navigating "The Preacher" through this biblical epoch.

While many of Mather's colleagues found the pre-millennial ideas of the founding fathers archaic and mythological, Mather never gave up his belief in God's evolutionary plan. Remaining resolute, he stated in his last speech as Harvard's president, "I am Pure from the Blood of your souls; If any of you (Mercy prevent!) Shall Dy in your sins; your blood will be upon your own Unholy Heads. I have done the part of a Faithful father to you."¹⁵⁰ In this context, Mather's image suggests he is engaged in a mystical glimpse of divine revelation that facilitated his application of prophesies to Puritan temporal history. As "The Preacher" in The Book of Ecclesiastes, his esteem for his role as *imitatio Christi* is evident in his writing: "I am a Watchman and a Seer of the Lord and therefore you may expect that God will communicate Light to you by me."¹⁵¹

Speculation:

William Stoughton

A stationary object, perhaps a wide curtain, pillar, or tree in varying degrees of darkness, sharply bisects Stoughton's image contiguously to the picture plane, pushing his body forward as if to topple it out of the painting. A cap fuses his head posteriorly to the erect vertical feature, loosely securing Stoughton within the portrait. This instability creates displacement of Stoughton's inner thought and relates to his lack of faith. His verticality in the portrait and the asymmetry of the building creates an up/down, erratic, or haphazard interchange once more alluding to an indecisive moral fiber. The awkward divisional structure of the portrait gives rise to pulling and pushing movements of the competing vertical and horizontal lines of light and darkness, which

meet on the surface of the painting creating a disturbance in viewing, rather than a culminating focal point for the audience's eyes. Despite Stoughton's upturned right palm, viewers are unable to "enter the space." Unlike Mather's welcoming position, Stoughton's body obstructs the viewer's ability to enter the Harvard yard or enclosed room.

The weighted fabric of his dress conceals a torso that may be a bony frame assessed by his pallor and skull shaped head. The flat affect of his facial countenance and cast-iron gaze mimics the eeriness represented in the darkened clouds hovering above the man-made structure of Stoughton Hall. A spectral effect of doom indicates his image may be a posthumous portrayal, demonstrated by the long strip of cloth knotted under his chin which resembles a cranial bandage wrap. When raised and tied along the top of his head, it can support his jaw as death keeps it shut. A camouflaged (or missing) arm, along with the poor definition of corporeal form, lies beneath the bulging fabric. The fur-lined tabbard is an emblem for the winter of Stoughton's life. The expansive edges of the tabbard robe can be drawn together, enveloping him inside a shroud-like mantle. Stoughton's fears of damnation are realized as the serpentine tie of his golden tabbard is the only painterly active presence in his portrait since it weaves about his neck (fig. 3.14). Stoughton's phantom visage and morbid building portray him as being returned to dust. A physiognomic reading of his drawn and resolute face and the conventions of a formidable horizon suggest a supernatural knowledge of his own mortality and despondency toward eternal life.

The solid brick appearance of Stoughton Hall, the fur collared tabbard robe, and the lace cravat represent Stoughton's superficial benevolence and his accomplishments in education, wealth, and power. Literally and metaphorically, the building's future belies the commemoration due him as he nears the end of his life. Instead, the thematic elements convey Stoughton's unrest

and uncertainty. Stoughton's hand points to the earth, where the resurrection of his body and soul remains suspect perhaps meeting the same mortal fate as his building. The illusory ancestral line forged into the heraldic crest in the center of the building cannot usher his memory into the future. Spiritually, an apocalyptic storm arises in the sky of Stoughton's portrait appearing as a clairvoyant signifier; his body disguised as a corpse, ominous in the truth of a final judgment that Stoughton may not be one of the saints living out the period the thousand year reign. The setting sun in the turbulent sky is threatening, expressing a mood of apocalyptic expectation in the same way as Mather's woeful and jeremiadal millennial narrative, but with a different ending. The sky begs the question of Harvard's future, especially in the wake of a new century and new charter.

Conclusion

While both men lived "godly" lives, it is Mather's imagined retreat to a constructed sanctuary of purposely placed emblems where God's Law and glory was known to be contained and which afforded him an assurance of his own salvation during a period of late century apathy and fear. Reassured by the temple rituals sanctioned typologically by the Christian promise of the Old Covenant being fulfilled in the sacrifice of Christ, Mather composed his body inside a recognizable imagined vision of a "heavenly pattern," while Stoughton's image lives outside of a pillar-like temple structure, placing emphasis on preparation rather than indwelling grace. Mather's portrait affirms solidarity between churches, discerns clarity of purpose, and demonstrates through Puritan visual imagination that his unmediated experiences of God are lawfully sanctioned by Sola Scriptura.



Fig. 3.1. Unsigned, *William Stoughton* (Boston: University Hall, Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (50.25 in. x 42 in.), c. 1700.

Photo: Linda Johnson.

Fig. 3.2. Three-quarter-length view. Jan ver der Spriett, *Increase Mather* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 3.2. Jan ver der Spriett, *Increase Mather* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), oil on canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688. Three-quarter-length view. Photo: Linda Johnson



Fig. 3.3 John Foster, *Richard Mather* (Worcester, Massachusetts, The American Antiquarian Society, 1670), Woodcut. This woodcut was based on an earlier painting and the first print known to have been made in the American colonies.

Photo by Linda Johnson.



Fig. 3.4. Unsigned, *William Stoughton* (Boston: University Hall, Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (50.25 in. x 42 in.), 1700. Photo: Linda Johnson.

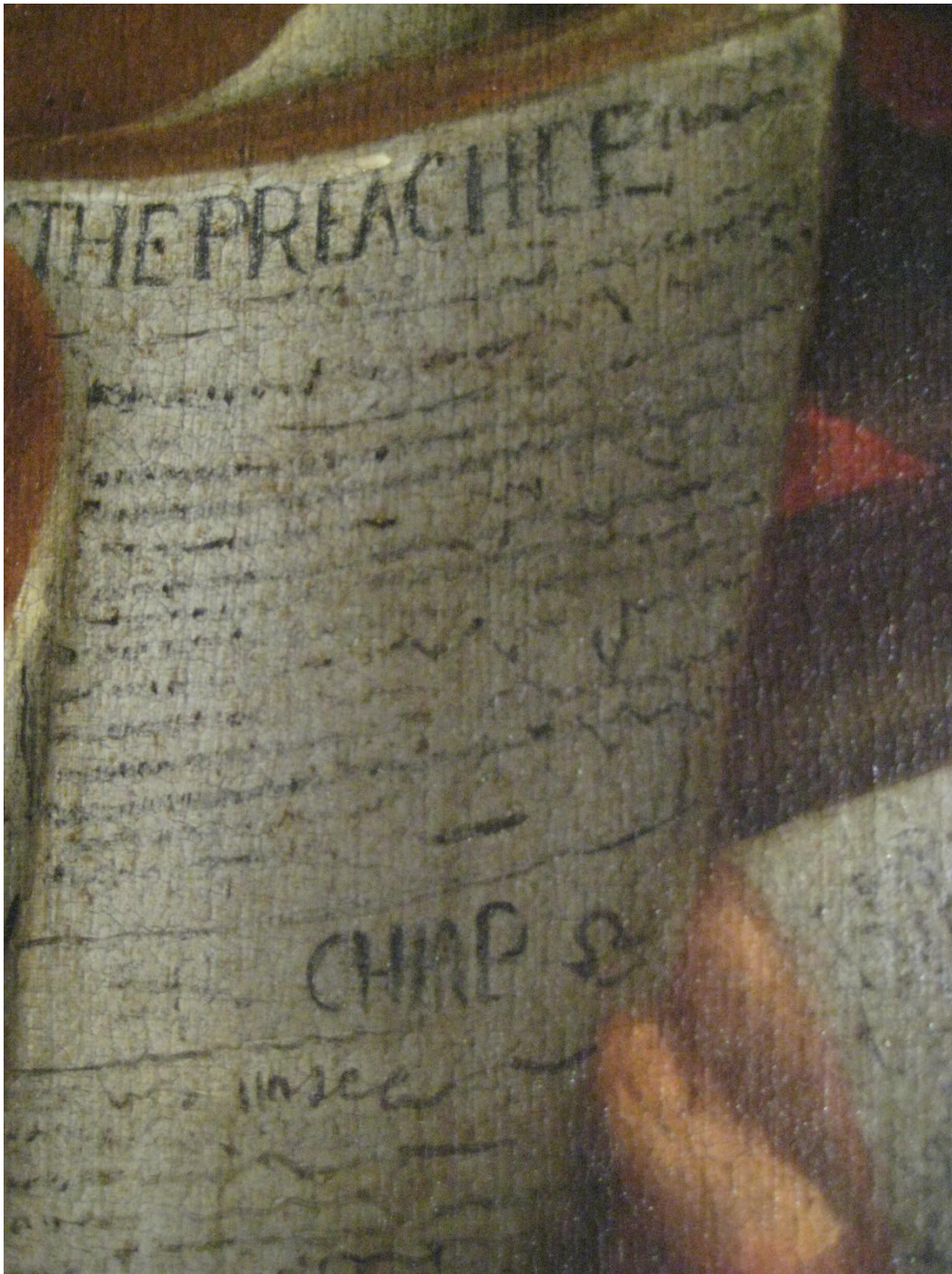
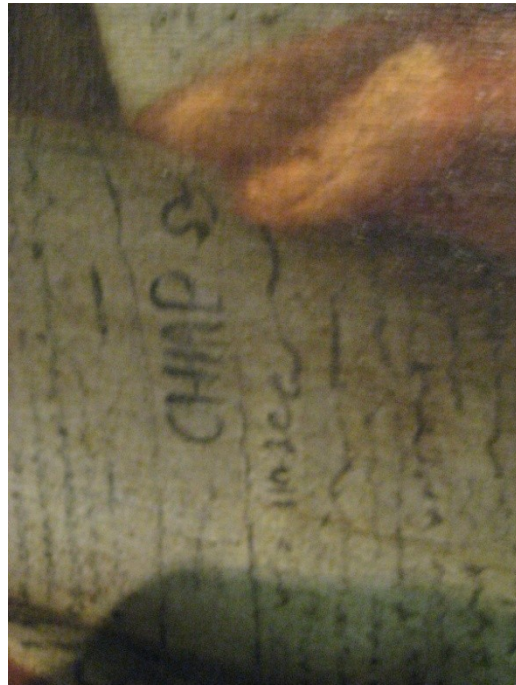
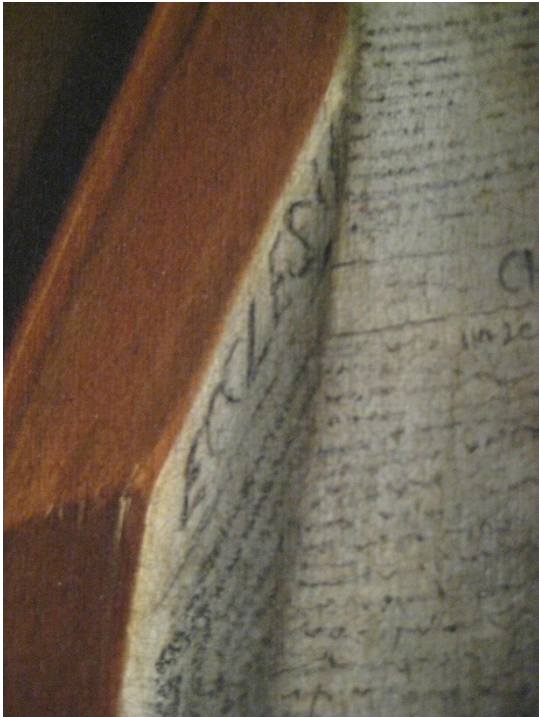


Figure 3.5. Three-quarter-length view. Jan ver der Spriett, *Increase Mather* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Figs. 3.6. The word Ecclesias Jan ver der Spriett, *Increase Mather* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688.

Fig. 3.7. The word Chap. Jan ver der Spriett, *Increase Mather* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688.

Photos: Linda Johnson.

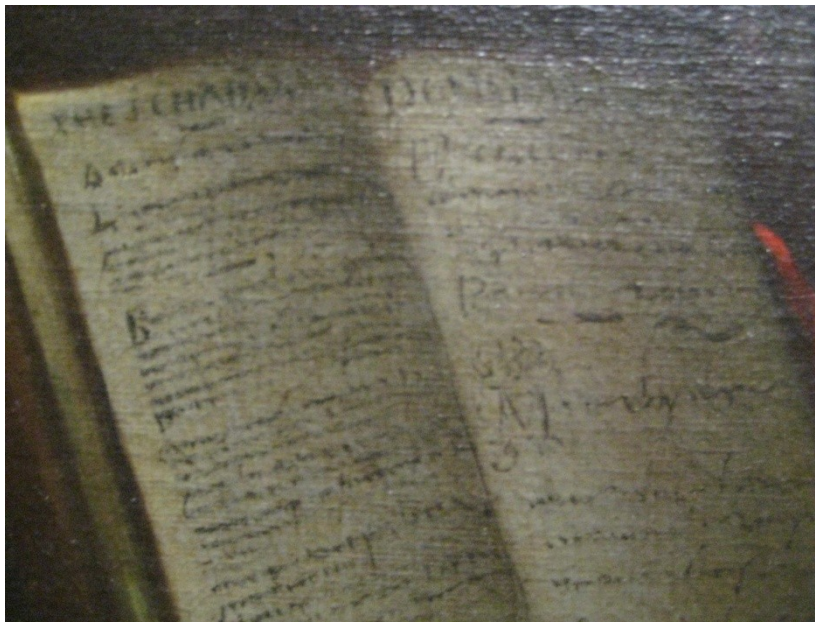


Fig. 3.8. *Ichabod* sermon. Jan ver der Spriett, *Increase Mather* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688.

Photo: Linda Johnson.

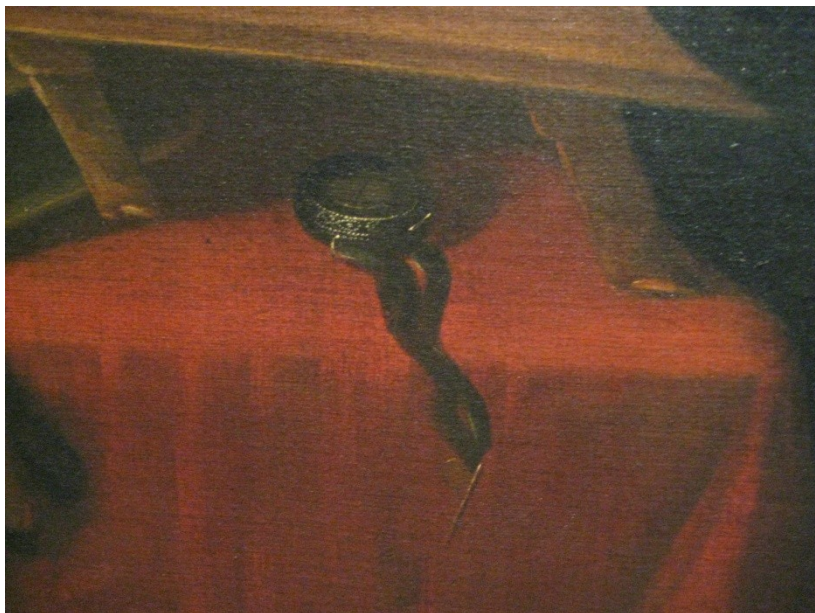


Fig. 3.9. Pocket watch. Jan ver der Spriett, *Increase Mather* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 3.10. Johann Keresboom, *Robert Boyle*, 1689 (London: British Historical Portraits, Cambridge University Press, 1957).

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 3.11. A nonconformist minister. Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, 78.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Stylized Sun.
New Heaven.

Angelic Cherubim
bordering the "Ark".

Stylized Geneva Collar

Fig. 3.12. A Puritan Gravestone in Hartford Connecticut Burial Ground.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 3.13. The Fallen Bands. Jan ver der Spriett, *Increase Mather* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (49 in. x 41 in.), 1688.

Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 3.14. Serpentine Cord. Unsigned, *William Stoughton* (Boston: University Hall, Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (50.25 in. x 42 in.), 1700.

Photo: Linda Johnson.

¹ Stephen Foster, *The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570-1700* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 250. Massachusetts, along with other New England colonies, was initially created for religious reasons and had a corporate charter with a great deal of administrative freedom, which was operated by few individuals who served the congregation as a whole. The New Charter would reinstitute a government completely controlled by royal power.

² Perry Miller, "Errand to the Wilderness," *William & Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 10, No.1 (Jan., 1953), 3-32.

³ Increase Mather, "A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England" (Boston, 1676), eds. Richard Slotkin & James K. Folson, *So Dreadful a Judgment Puritan Responses to King Philip's War 1676-1677* (Middletown: Wesleyan Press, 1978), 55-152. Mather states that New England had fallen short in its mission and must be punished. See also Alan Heimert, ed., *The Puritans in America: A Narrative Anthology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 15. Mather, as well as other second generation ministers, worried about a "frontier theology." Congregants were moving south and west and there was concern about policing the borders of the communities. The lack of churches and Puritan ministers worried Mather, as did the rumblings of Armenianism. Marginal church members, dissenters, and controversies such as the Anne Hutchinson case in the Antinomian Controversy caused anxiety and embarrassment. Western preachers like Solomon Stoddard were allowing communion and church membership without conversions (p. 268).

⁴ Michael. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather 1639-1723* (Boston: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 185. Overseas commerce worked to change the early Puritan way of life due to a complex web of trade routes which required regulation of complicated ocean traffic between New Foundland and the Caribbean. Navigation Acts were enforced effecting colonial autonomy.

⁵ Ibid., 186.

⁶ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 205.

⁷ Ibid., 184-187. The religious and political contest for the Crown in England created an unstable ripple effect across Massachusetts Bay. For fifteen years after the Restoration (1660), Massachusetts managed to maintain complete independence from England. A newly formed Council for Trade and Plantations was responsible for overseeing New England's mercantile commerce.

⁸ Ibid., 188.

⁹ Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 2-12.

¹⁰ Edmund Morgan, *Visible Saints*, 69. See also John Calvin, *Writings on Pastoral Piety* ed. and trans. Elise Anne McKee (New York: Paulist Press, 2001), 2-6. Essential to Puritan thought was belief in the sinfulness of man. Puritan writers conveyed the worthlessness of human nature. Human ability had no role at all in a person's spiritual growth, which depended entirely on the gift of God's grace. Once saving grace was "felt" by God, providing not only the content of belief and instruction for devotional exercise through scripture, but the will to believe itself, one could be reasonably assured of becoming a visible saint to reign during the millennium and redeemed at the Day of Judgment. See also Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 79-153. Ahlstrom defines the five points of Calvinist doctrine of belief. Preparation was a recognized feature of the New England Way, not to be confused with "doing works" thinking that God's sovereign will could be persuaded by human effort. The five points therefore function as a summary of the differences between Calvinism and Armenianism, but not as a complete summation of Calvin's writings or of the theology of the Reformed churches in general. Calvin counseled moderation in the application, but was not entirely successful in preventing the rise of extreme legalism in the Reformed tradition (p.79). The central assertion of these canons is that God is sovereign and is able to save every person upon whom he has mercy and that his efforts are not frustrated by the unrighteousness or the inability of humans. The doctrine of total depravity (also called "total inability") asserts that, as a consequence of the fall of man, every person born into the world is enslaved to the service of sin. People by their own faculties are morally unable to choose to follow God and be saved because they are unwilling to do so out of the necessity of their own natures. The doctrine of unconditional election asserts that God's choice for eternity of those whom he will bring to himself is not based on foreseen virtue, merit, or faith in those people. Rather, it is unconditionally grounded in God's mercy alone. The doctrine of limited atonement asserts that Jesus' substitutionary atonement was definite and certain in its design and accomplishment. This implies that only the sins of the elect were atoned for by Jesus' death. The doctrine is driven by the Calvinistic concept of the sovereignty of God in salvation and their understanding of the nature of the atonement. The doctrine of irresistible grace (also called efficacious grace) and the doctrine of assurance asserts that the saving grace of God is effectually applied to those whom he has determined to save (the elect) and, in God's timing, overcomes their resistance to obeying the call of the gospel, bringing them to a saving faith. The doctrine holds that every influence of God's Holy Spirit cannot be resisted, but that the Holy Spirit causes the elect sinner to cooperate, to believe, to repent, to come freely and willingly to Christ. The doctrine of perseverance asserts that since God is sovereign and his will cannot be frustrated by humans or anything else, those whom God has called into communion with himself will continue in faith until the end. Those who apparently fall away either never had true faith to begin with or will return. The word "saints" is used in the Biblical sense to refer to all who are set apart by God, not in the technical sense of one who is exceptionally canonized.

¹¹ Ibid., 2.

¹² Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, 35.

¹³ Tamburello, *Union with Christ: John Calvin and the Mysticism of St. Bernard* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 21-22. The denial of a mystical element in Calvin's theology is rooted in an inaccurate definition of mysticism which leads to an exclusion of a mystical strand in Puritanism. The nature of Puritan spiritual biography hails from a strain of Augustine piety which vividly dramatizes the habit of addressing God directly and almost continuously, so that the dramatic monologue representing unspoken reflections takes on the effect of dialogue. In opposition to reason, the dialogue unfolded an experiential conversion that defied rational explanation and, sometimes deepened into transcendent union with God.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), xi.

¹⁶ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967). Miller claims that grace is to be understood as something inward and spiritual. As I use the term, it is safe to say spiritual autobiography would not exist without this experience. Yet outside institutional church structures, a narrative of spiritual autobiography, in Puritan ideology placed such mystics beyond normal controls. Order in society was uprooted because radical religionists such as the Antinomians asserted the authority of God's voice spoken to them directly. Miller states these "Puritan-like mystics" felt that their union with the Holy Spirit was permanent, freeing them from all doubts and failings and empowering them to move forward, certain in the grace of God.

¹⁷ Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, 36. Knight argues that while the Intellectual Fathers subscribed to a more radical reform, they stood their ground ideologically, but were often forced to cede it literally. Perhaps this explains Stoughton's preliminary submission of the charter to King Charles. He remained, if only secretly to himself, a loyal reformer to the English church.

¹⁸ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 217. Hall's close reading of Mather's requests find him speaking more a language of liberty and property than one of religion.

¹⁹ Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," ed. Peter Benes (Boston; *The Dublin Seminar for New England Folk Life Annual Proceedings*, Boston, 1978), 25-36. According to Watters, all believers repeatedly heard in sermons that he or she was a High Priest elected to enter Heaven; a living stone or pillar in the church militant elected to be part of the New Jerusalem Temple.

²⁰ Kenneth B. Murdock, *The Portraits of Increase Mather* (Cleveland: Gwinn Mather, 1924), 2, 37-38. Murdock is certain from his study of the other mezzotints and engravings of

Mather that Vander Spriett painted his image from life. He states, “the face, with its high cheekbones and long nose, the thin hands and slender fingers, the pose, the watch, one of Mather’s treasured possessions, all suggest that the painter set down what he saw.” Murdock cites William Bentley, who apparently knew Increase Mather’s grandson, Samuel, and his family and who wrote in his dairy August 1804 about the portrait in the historical society’s collection, which was commissioned while Increase was in England on colonial affairs and out of health. Murdock states that it had a place on the walls of his Boston house. From this oil portrait were drawn nearly all the portraits which were to be reproduced. The portrait is signed by Jan van der Spriett in 1688, which corresponds to Mather’s age (49). At least four engravings were reproduced until 1723, such as in Mather’s *Ichabod* in 1702. The original work is in the Boston Public Library.

²¹ Ibid., 3-4.

²² Ibid., 1.

²³ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 178. The earliest picture of Increase is from 1683 and was requested by his brother, Nathaniel, while in Dublin. See Murdock’s *The Portraits of Increase Mather* for dates, locations, and various portrait artists thought to be responsible for the portrait which may have been done on Increase’s first trip to England in the 1660s. There is one problem regarding dating the patron and the engraving – it is that the engravings of Mather were made well into 1720, sometimes off of the Vander Spriett portrait of 1688.

²⁴ Murdock, *The Portraits of Increase Mather*, 30-31.

²⁵ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 3-37.

²⁶ Mason I. Lowance, *Increase Mather* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974), frontispiece. See also William B. Sprague, D.D. *Annals of the American Pulpit or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations*, Vol. 1 (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857), 151-160.

²⁷ John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1873), 1, 194-208.

²⁸ Ibid. 195.

²⁹ Increase Mather, *The Autobiography For My Children* ed. Michael G. Hall in *The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 71, (1961), 277-282. The autobiography consists of three parts. Mather wrote the first part on Christmas Eve 1685; the second in August, 1694; and the third between 1694 and 1715. Hall states that it was an unoriginal piece of work. Like many others before him, Mather had no intention of publishing the work. He wrote it for his

children, yet it spoke of a confidence in his own conversion and election. Hall states that like his father, Mather organized his autobiographies as narratives of their external, as well as their spiritual lives. His autobiography has an awkward structure interrupted with long quotes from his diary ignoring chronology.

³⁰ Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 195. See also Increase Mather, *The Autobiography*, 286.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 286.

³² *Ibid.*, 277.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 194.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 196.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 194-208.

³⁸ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 188-189.

³⁹ Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 197.

⁴⁰ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 189. The Massachusetts government was ordered by King Charles II to submit the charter for modifications or lose it entirely. For many Puritans, giving in to modifications seemed a concession to the principles of the New England covenant the first generation fathers had established. Others felt not to give in would be to lose everything and be under imperial control. Deep divisions on this matter were formed within the Puritan leadership that expanded into a severely divided popular party of freemen (full church members) of resistance versus the lobbying efforts of conservatives who were initially hopeful for total restoration. Before 1686 the Puritan colony had been governed by franchise based on church membership and a government of elected officials entirely within the colony. The magistrates could neither appoint nor veto. The Massachusetts General Court was executive, lawgiver, and judge rolled into one. The handful of “magistrates “elected at large by church members acted as an executive court of assistants, a supreme judicial body, and an upper house legislator. Authority was believed to come from God. The church governed the colony, and due to the revocation, control would be reversed and it would be the government from London who would supervise and direct the church. Freeholders (land owners), not just freemen (church members) would transform Puritan government. 249.

⁴¹ Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 197.

⁴² Cotton Mather, D.D., F.R.S., and Pastor of the North Church in Boston, New England, *Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical history of New-England: From its first planning the year 1620, unto the year of our Lord 1698*, in seven books, Vol. 2, 11.

⁴³ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 11. Mather's gratitude is extended toward Stoughton as a visible saint is telling. He states writing the history would not have taken place without Stoughton's funds. Perhaps money was one of the reasons Cotton recommended Stoughton to his father to be nominated as Lieutenant Governor. He writes, "but every undertaking of this nature being expensive, 'tis highly reasonable that I should make a publick and thankful mention of those worthy persons who have generously expressed their good will to my endeavors, by bearing some of the expenses which this work hath called for. Our honourable Lieutenant Governor, William Stoughton, Esq. are those that have kindly Mecenated my labours: may his name be found written in the Lamb's book of life, as well as ours!"

⁴⁴ Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 130-131. Sidney Ahlstrom states that the idea of this covenant known as Federal theology had a long history in Puritan belief contextualizing reformed dogma from events in the Bible. The covenant was a legal conditional contract with God. Ahlstrom states, true faith in Puritan belief "involved inward, overt, and obedient preparation, appropriation, humility, dedication, gratitude- and a commitment to walk in God's way according to the Law."¹³² Puritan theology was a form of covenant theology which offered New Englanders the means of achieving salvation by entering voluntarily and freely into a binding agreement, virtually a legal contract with God, who promised to give them the faith necessary to experience conversion in return for total obedience to literal Biblical law. Accepting this fact was characteristic of the Puritan experience of conversion, which provided "regeneration" or God's saving grace through a new birth in Christ, which was the best hope for personal salvation

⁴⁵ William Stoughton, "New England's True Interest Not to Lie" (Cambridge, 1670) in *The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 156 (1961), 1-40. The most fundamental component of Puritan belief in participating in the New Jerusalem was founded on the idea of the covenant of grace initiated by the Divine and firmly established with the descendants of Abraham in the Book of Genesis which would provide blessings while on earth as well as eternal salvation. For background in election-type sermon, see also Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford, 1986), 70. Stoughton's sermon parallels seventy-nine occasional /election sermons printed at Cambridge before 1690. The ritual significance of election-day had already been fixed by the founders as the time when God instructed the nation on federal covenants reminding the people how they had come into being as an elect nation and pointing out what they must do to preserve their privileged status. Beginning in 1663 and on a regular basis after 1667, these sermons were published so that they could be distributed to the ministers and summarized from every pulpit in

the land. Instead of the abbreviated head notes that characterized the surviving election sermon outlines of first-generation preachers, second-generation election speakers prepared fully written treatises, expanded after initial delivery to comprise fifty pages or more of printed text. These elaborate publications – more pamphlet essays than sermon outlines – testified that for one more year New Englanders had kept the faith and the legacy of their parents. They quickly became standardized and assumed a stereotypical form, (p.70).

⁴⁶ Stoughton, “New England’s True Interest Not to Lie,” 16.

⁴⁷ Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England*, 69. Stout states the causes of ancient Israel and New England were so closely allied as thought to be virtually interchangeable:

⁴⁸ Stoughton, “New England’s True Interest Not to Lie.”10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁵⁰ Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, 2.

⁵¹ Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England*, 72. Election speakers repeatedly claimed that federal covenants were probational and entailed a set of conditions. Stout argues that proportionally ministers when portraying their society as nearer and nearer to the edge of disaster, their words gained in power. See also Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), 2. Miller states that all the election sermons of this period were community expression. The titles alone tell the story of what was happening to the minds and emotions of the New England people.

⁵² Mark Peterson, “Puritanism and Refinement in Early New England: Reflections on Communion Silver,” in *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no.2 (December, 2001), 339. In 1701, when Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton lay on his deathbed, he asked Samuel Sewall to present the college with a large, covered, two-handled silver bowl, ten inches high and forty-eight ounces in weight, made, like the Norton sugar box, by John Coney, and engraved with Stoughton’s coat of arms. For Stoughton, who never married, his service to the college and the friendships he made there had been among his life’s emotional anchors, an imagined ancestral connection now commemorated in silver. See also *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 202. Stoughton died a bachelor.

⁵³ Stoughton, “New England’s True Interest Not to Lie,” 20.

⁵⁴ Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England*, 71.

⁵⁵ Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 197.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 191-206.

⁵⁸ Ibid. Hall states the populace was divided into the moderate party distinguished by wealth, education, and property, (which most ministers aligned), and the popular party of the interior. Stoughton remained lukewarm in the rising of the people against Governor Andros, but he did join the popular party in signing a message to Andros in 1689, and he did speak up confronting Andros that he only had himself to blame. However, he lost the faith and trust of the people in the colonies and did not receive one vote in an election. He did not participate in another office until the arrival William and Mary were crowned in 1692.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 194.

⁶⁰ Alan Heimert and Andrew Delbanco, ed., *The Puritans in America, A Narrative Anthology* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1985), 359. This was regarding taxing, commerce rates, and land titles. For Stoughton's comments, see also Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 199.

⁶¹ William Stoughton, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmond Andros* (Boston, 1691) in [Early English Books Online](#) (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 19 April 2010).

⁶² Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 197. The Charter was one of three unpopular decisions made by Stoughton. He justified the murder of innocent people in King Phillips War, which was perceived as the worst of Gods judgments over his people. He stated at a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies held at Boston September 9, 1675, "We have received from the Commissioners of *Plimouth*, a Narrative, shewing the rise and several steps of that Colony, as to the present *War* with the *Indians*, which had its beginning there, and its progress into the *Massachusetts*, by their insolencies, and outrages, Murthering many persons, and burning their Houses in sundry Plantations in both Colonies. And having duly considered the same; do Declare, That the said *War* doth appear to be both just and necessary, and its first rise only a *Defensive War*." Sibley states during the witch trials in Salem, Stoughton was chief justice. "Unfortunately, he seemed to lose all balance, and fell feverishly to work persecuting the hapless victims of superstition. Hence his name comes down to us sullied by his grievous acts at this time," (p.153). Stoughton was chief justice of a special tribunal to try cases for witchcraft. His "series of judicial murders" are well-known. He was brutally zealous to convict the accused due to his notion that the devil would never be allowed to take the shape of an innocent person. See also Hall, *The Last American Puritan*. His conduct was viewed as "heartless, unjust, and atrocious," (p. 201).

⁶³ Ibid., 199.

⁶⁴ Increase Mather, *The Autobiography For My Children*, 313.

⁶⁵ Increase Mather, *Diary of Increase Mather* (March 1675 to December 1676). Together with extracts from another *Diary by Him 1674-1687*. Intro. Dr. Samuel A. Green (Cambridge: Wilson and Son, December, 1899). Property of the State of Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. Retrieved from microfiche MSU Library. Green describes the diary as a small bound book, about three inches by five in size, which originally had clasps attached to its covers. A more detailed material culture analysis is not pertinent to this study. For more information on the number and type of pages, ink, and abbreviations. December 1675. There are far more phenomena sited, feverish epidemics, and fires as the war drags on through winter. Note the shorthand and abbreviations Increase used particularly with names.

⁶⁶ Increase Mather, *The Autobiography For My Children*, 320.

⁶⁷ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 207-210. Hall attests that the King was desperate for support and was willing to grant Mather an interview. New England's religious privileges, as well as civil rights, were at the point of extinction. The Declaration for Liberty of Conscience by James II was an advantage. Mather and a number of ministers made an address to the King expressing their thanks for the benefits which this measure of royal lenity secured to them. Mather was selected to bear the grateful acknowledgments to England. Sailing on April 1688, he was graciously received by the King at Whitehall. He had six interviews in six months trying to make the King understand and redress the grievous oppressions under which his New England subjects were still laboring.

⁶⁸ Ibid. See also Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 488.

⁶⁹ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, ed., Samuel Eliot Morison, 483.

⁷⁰ Mason Lowance, Jr., *Increase Mather* (New York: Wayne Publishers 1974), 155-157.

⁷¹ Increase Mather, *Diary In 1649*. The diary was written sixteen years before the Half Way Covenant threat; declension was already dividing church membership. Mather wanted the purity of the church at any cost. The biggest argument was whether the benefits of membership passed from generation to generation within the same family.

⁷² Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 274.

⁷³ Mason I. Lowance, Jr. and David Watters, eds., "Increase Mather's New Jerusalem: Millennialism in Late Seventeenth-Century New England," 343-344. According to Lowance and Watters, Mather reveals his views on what life would be like during the events preceding the second coming, as well as during the thousand year period.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 347.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 344. Watters states that Mather was persistently optimistic about millennial glory at a time when many ministers were more pessimistic in their assessments of the end of the world. The metaphorical language he used illustrated the vision as he conceived it and offered insights into how he applied biblical figures to the events in his own time. Watters states that it is also a work of great figural and symbolic significance depicting Mather's mystical propensity supporting the examination of his portrait in the same manner. Therefore, the complexity of Mather's millennial outlook assimilated into court culture was not a compromise, but an extension of God's evolutionary plan.

⁷⁶ Murdock, *The Portraits of Increase Mather*, 1-60.

⁷⁷ Mather, *Diary April 1675*. The prophets Mather cites from Hebrew Scriptures are Isaiah, Daniel, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel who prophesize the coming of a Messiah and correspond to the four Gospel prophets of the New Testament: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Mather finds great comfort in the historical melodrama of biblical narratives and with his mystical identification as the son of God may very well see them as personal mentors for his Puritan dilemma. The personal woes and lamentations of these men chosen by God were finally rewarded by obedience. This was Mather's strategy.

⁷⁸ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 264-271.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 266.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 484-488.

⁸² Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 252.

⁸³ Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 203-4.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 203-4. Stoughton Hall was situated at a right angle with the present Massachusetts Hall facing west. Sibley states, "one hundred feet long and twenty broad, and contained sixteen chambers for students, but no public apartments." According to Sibley, this

dormitory offered students novel amenities such as rented space in the cellar to keep wine during their term.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 518-521. Stoughton's father had donated land to Harvard and his son, William, continued in the tradition donating most of his library and Stoughton Hall. Stoughton's prestige and status are made abundantly clear through the inferred characteristics of education, intelligence, generosity, and wealth; all perceived from the open solicitous palm of his hand ushering the viewer to enter into the space within his portrait and look through the "window" at the building for which he paid above and beyond the 800 pounds listed.

⁸⁶ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 520. The inscription is difficult to read in the portrait, but Morison states it reads, "Deo Opt. Max. Bonisq. Literis S. Gulielmus Stoughton Armiger provinciae Massachuset. Nov-Anglorum Vice-Gubernator Collegii Harvardini Olim Alumnus Semper Patronus Fecit Anno Domini 1699." The heraldic-shaped crest inscribed on the façade of Stoughton Hall is not the first use of perhaps inventive heraldry in Puritan pseudo-aristocracy. Mather may have been guilty of such imagination as well, inventing a crest to secure or solidify his family line. Stoughton had a similar crest engraved on his silver grace cup from which he toasted and drank with colleagues and donated to Harvard. It is presently in the Fogg Museum. See Kenneth Murdock, *The Portraits of Increase Mather*, 58-60, for two Mather family seals. Murdock relates that a coat of arms was used in the Mather family by Increase's grandson, Samuel, who declared it to be related to an English family named Mather in 1600. The second coat of arms appears on a seal on a will of Increase Mather preserved in the Suffolk Registry of Probate as an armorial.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 17-21.

⁸⁸ Anne D'Alleva, *The Fundamentals of Art History*, (Saddle River: Prentice Hall Inc. 2006), 30.

⁸⁹ Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 368.

⁹⁰ Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 204.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 521.

⁹³ Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 202. His house was located on the northeast corner of Pleasant Street and Savin Hill in Dorchester. The blue hills were known for their blue color from the evergreen trees and could be viewed from the water.

⁹⁴ Marieke De Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006). Winkel's research helps make sense of the ubiquitousness of dress produced by an early modern society fixated on textiles and the crafts that fashioned them. She uses an interdisciplinary art historical, social, and cultural approach that may prove most fruitful in understanding the contextual analysis of dress deciphering the "fictive objects" and the many conventions that appear in paintings. She states people express themselves and their status and their aspirations, as well as their appearance through clothing, real or imagined.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 11.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 27-50. De Winkel refers to the iconography of the *Tabbard* in Dutch seventeenth-century portraiture. She states that it originally was an old-fashioned garment associated with antiquity and various forms of male learned professions. The tabbard was an outer garment for men typically possessing luxurious materials like "cloths of gold, brocades, and expensive furs." It had a cape-like structure with various sizes of lavish collars. De Winkel states that it did cease to be everyday fashionable dress, but was retained by elderly men as a comfortable house type robe. It did however have a formal function in the home in receiving guests. Older men of authority chose to be depicted often in the tabard which suggests it as a longstanding symbol of male authority.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 40.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 32-36.

⁹⁹ Nora Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes 1600-1900* (London: Faber Press, 1964), 53-59.

¹⁰⁰ Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, 30. Fur-lined tabbards were quite valuable items of dress, found in the inventories of very wealthy men. Fur lining on collars was typically used for the winter months. De Winkel states the fur was polecat or fox imported from the Baltic or Russia.

¹⁰¹ Doriece Colle, *Collars, Stocks, Cravats: A History and Costume Dating Guide to Civilian Men's Neckpieces 1655-1900*. (Emmaus, Pennsylvania: Rodale Press, 1972), 77-119. Cravats replaced the spreading lace-edged collar, which, before 1670, was attached to the shirt.

¹⁰² Ibid., 112-119.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Penelope Byrde, *The Male Image: Men's Fashion in Britain 1300-1970* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1979), 114-118. The development of the cravat occurred in England during the 1630s. At that time, the fashionable male doublet was accompanied by a broad linen shirt collar edged with lace which spread over the chest and shoulders. As men's hair was worn longer, such as Stoughton's, the lace began to be obscured and the weight of the hair tended to push the collar towards the center front where it fell in loose folds. It became the practice to tie the ends of the collar together with a ribbon and, before long, the collar was replaced by a separate length of linen and lace which could be tied or knotted at the throat. This practical measure allowed the lace previously hidden to be more prominently displayed hanging down rather than spread across the chest. Ends were trimmed with lace and the main part of the cravat was made of linen.

¹⁰⁵ Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 1-4.

¹⁰⁶ Wendy Katz, "Portraits and the Production of the Civil Self in Seventeenth-Century Boston," in *Winterthur Portfolio* 39, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2004), 124-160. According to Katz, the style of Mather's portrait originated in the Neo-Medieval portraits of Elizabethan and Jacobean England having been formed in the sixteenth century in reaction to the sensuous classical illusionist style that spread across the continent. Mather's portrait is characterized by a flatness of form, decorative patterning, and linear definition. Shading is used timidly. Anatomy is not mastered in the classical form and there is an absence of corporeal form, another allusion to the spiritual dimension of another world. The rich textiles are reduced to line, color, and the lack of pattern deprives one of tactile qualities. The dark background hails from Dutch Art, and Anglo-Puritans had a brotherhood with this acceptable middleclass Protestant country and imitated it accordingly. This style was introduced in New England around 1665.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 124.

¹⁰⁸ Increase Mather, *Diary of Increase Mather* (March 1675 to December 1676). Together with extracts from another *Diary by Him 1674-1687*. Intro. Dr. Samuel A. Green (Cambridge; Wilson and Son, December, 1899) Property of the State of Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. Retrieved from microfiche MSU Library. Mather, *Diary* (University Press, 1988), 51. Mather always had a room in his house designated as a "study" referring to it as his workshop or a retreat for meditation, prayer, and fasting. In 1664, his catalogue of books numbered almost seven hundred titles, more than a thousand volumes that would become his chief weapons in which to silence dissention. His portrait reveals different sizes and shapes of books on the shelf behind his head. In reality Increase listed his books not alphabetically but by shape and size as well in folio, quarto, octavo, and small octavo. He spent hours in Hezekiah Usher's bookshop, a prominent merchant and book seller, ordering books from England from Richard Chiswell, who would ultimately publish his works. Increase's self-portrait is telling of the importance of literacy in the English language. The Bible in his portrait is a display of literacy and biblically educated piety that was becoming commonplace. For a list of Mather's books, see the American Antiquarian Society's list composed by Tuttle. Hall lists several other books other than early church fathers such as non-Christian Latin and Greek classics, i.e.... Cicero, Tacitus, Demosthenes, Horace, and Aesop to name a few. The additional books in

Increase's portrait are a telling tribute to his assemblage of a great library and to his fine education at Harvard as well as at Trinity College in Dublin. Noting a library's value it is telling curiosity to the analysis of the portrait as to why titles would be absent. Mather was given many books as gifts while in England.

¹⁰⁹ Murdock, *The Portraits of Increase Mather*, 36-37. Boyle was a British chemist also noted for his writings on theology. Although his research and personal philosophy clearly has its roots in the alchemical tradition, he is largely regarded today as the first modern chemist and, therefore, one of the founders of modern chemistry.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹¹¹ Margaretta M. Lovell, "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images," in *Winterthur Portfolio* 33, no. 1, Spring 1987: 244-247. Lovell states that upright objects are gender specific. Elongated objects or instruments suggest contact with the outside world. The quill is an elongated instrument suggestive of masculinity. In portraits Lovell states visual and very real gender-specific social conventions differentiate between the kinds of objects (man-made or natural) and the type of appropriation (firm, possessive grasp or limp gesture) that link individuals to the outside world and to outside experience. Also, in America portrait figures are typically pressed close to the picture plane, sharing the canvas with only the most important objects. Americans had no need of ancestral spaces. See also Tamara Thornton, *Handwriting in America A Cultural History* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1996), 36. A discussion on the fact that handwriting was an additional skill which carried elevated associations of art and learning.

¹¹² Increase Mather, "Ichabod, or a discourse shewing what cause there is to fear that the glory of the Lord, is departing from New England" in *Departing Glory, Eight Jeremiads by Increase Mather* (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1986), 1-91.

¹¹³ Ecclesiastes, 1:1 *Geneva Bible*, A Facsimile of the 1560 edition. Introduction by Lloyd E. Berry (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). The Preacher was known to be Salome's son of the Davidic line, the genealogical branch of which Jesus of Nazareth is born. Citing the Book of Ecclesiastes in the month of March 1676 is revealing as it was the New Year, a time for intense self-examination. The mood of Ecclesiastes is somber yet his choice is telling in identifying with the ancestors of Jesus of Nazareth in the Davidic line. The writer was thought to be the King of Jerusalem identifying with David and Solomon whose search for wisdom often leads to sorrow. The narrative draws on marriage metaphors and union with God for support. It also is part of the passionate *Song of Songs*, best known as The Canticles which is divided into three books normally using marriage metaphors for union with God and the individual soul. The chapter Mather cites expresses the cynicism of old age and contains the thoughts of the Philosopher, a man who reflected deeply on how short and contradictory life is. Mather begins his diary in March 1675 at the outset of King Phillip's War with the same verse.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 306. Hall states it may have been written as a result of the surrender of the Harvard presidency and changes in its Charter.

¹¹⁷ Ezekiel 9:3 and 1 Samuel 4: 21. These are the texts referenced in *Ichabod*. The grandson of Eli the Prophet was born at a volatile moment in biblical history when God allowed the Philistines to take the Ark because Israel had been unfaithful and Eli had done nothing to stop it (1 Samuel 4:21). The text of the second sermon had an apocalyptic tone and is from Ezekiel 9:3, “And the glory of the God of Israel was gone up from the cherub.” Because the people of Israel and Judah are guilty of terrible sins God not only moves the Ark from the dwelling above the winged cherubs of the Ark, His spiritual presence literally moves east to the Mount of Olives.

¹¹⁸ Lisa M. Gordis, *Opening Scripture Bible Reading and Interpretive Authority in Puritan New England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 2, 31-85.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 31. 167. In this vein, Mather’s congregation could be seen as “submitting” to God’s will when viewing his image.

¹²⁰ Mather, *Diary*, April, 1676.

¹²¹ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 44.

¹²² Waugh, The Cut of Men’s Clothes 1600-1900, 53-60.

¹²³ Colle, *Collars, Stocks, Cravats*, 15-17. Bands were made from Holland, a fine white linen woven from the fibers of flax first made in Holland. Bands did not become academically significant until they were abandoned as an ordinary lay fashion after the Restoration in 1660. They became identified as specifically applicable to clerical, legal, and academic individuals in the early eighteenth century, when they became longer and narrower in form. Bands for the clergy may have also been black and are referred to as Geneva bands. Bands varied from small white turn down collars and ruffs to point lace bands, depending on fashion until the mid-seventeenth century when plain white bands came to be invariable neck wear of clerical and academic men. Bands are mentioned as forming with cap, gown and tippet, their costumes out of doors as early as 1566. The broad ends were afterwards dropped, except for ceremonious occasions and only the wide neck cloth remained; which within present memories has become, first a white collar with a necktie, and hence clerical collar as now usually worn or the band or strip of linen stretched over a black stock. Bands are usually referred to as plural because they require two similar parts and did not come as one piece of cloth. Plain linen falling bands,

commonly called preaching bands, tabs or Geneva bands, developed from the falling collar, which was replaced by the ruff in about 1640. By 1650, they were universal. Originally in the form of a wide collar, tied with lawn or lace in front, by the 1680's they had diminished to the traditional form of two rectangles of linen tied at the throat. Reading Doriece's history of collars one can see how the width and size of a sixteenth-century collar evolved from a sleeveless shoulder cape, a short coat without sleeves which was placed over the shoulders

¹²⁴ Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 160. Many nonconformist ministers regarded vestments as superstitious and popish and deliberately wore secular clothing, albeit of a sober and conservative kind. Most chose to wear the sober black cloth suit of the professional man, clerical bands, and sometimes the black Geneva gown. The clerical bands known as the Geneva bands were two pieces of white linen fastened around the neck. They indicated that the minister was attached to a particular congregation. They were also called falling bands when worn by academics and lawyers. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century were they largely replaced by the round collar popularly known as the dog collar. For more information on the evolution of ecclesiastical costume see also Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (B.T. Batsford: London, 1984), 77-88. Here, Mayo's research focuses on the Geneva gown which was originally adopted by John Calvin in the sixteenth century (from the academic gown of the time.) She also details the many variations of white neck collars and fallen bands. See also Prown, *Art as Evidence*, 46. He states that since monochromatic robes offered little pictorial excitement, the use of illumination was a conventional format, concentrating light on the minister's head since these men of God were professionally concerned with matters of the spirit.

¹²⁵ Increase Mather, "Burnings Bewailed" (Boston: 1711), 23 in *Departing Glory: Eight Jeremiads*, Lee Schweninger, ed. (New York: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1986).

¹²⁶ David H Watters, "A Priest to the Temple" in *Puritan Gravestone Art*, Dublin Seminar for New England Folk Life (Boston: Boston University, 1979), 25-45. Watters' research informs my work in depicting the Puritan penchant for typological inquiry. Watters' states Puritan material evidence draws from the illustrations that were popular in the 1599 Geneva Bible. Puritans saw in the woodcuts, the glorious artistry of the Temple, the ark, mercy seat, candlesticks, pillars, and garments of the high priest that God had ordained. The temple was a visible sign of God's presence among his people and Puritans agreed on the general significance of a Temple and garments which were assigned a multitude of Christian meanings which are integral to my analysis of spiritual autobiography in portraiture. The Jerusalem temple, recognized as God's dwelling place, had been interpreted by Puritan exegetes as a typological shadow of Christ's body as the New Jerusalem Temple. Divine union in the New Dispensation would occur only through Christ. Puritans used the temple, rich in its construction history and materials as a tangible symbol of how prayer, submission, and obedience were the means to achieve reconciliation and union with God.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 35.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 25.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 34-36.

¹³¹ Hebrews 10. This book is the most succinct narrative in connecting the ritual laws and actions of Israelites and temple worship with the actions of Jesus in the gospels. The curtains separated various entry points along the tabernacle proper, which only the high Priest could enter on the Day of Atonement. The mystical text of Hebrews 10:19-20 resonates in the Puritan typology defining the temple curtains as the temple veil which becomes a symbol for Christ's flesh, which had to be rent (split) before believers can enter heaven (entering the Holy of Holies.) In the Christian tradition, a believer would bear witness to Christ's life of obedience and submission in an attempt to identify with him. Bercovitch refers to this as *imitatio Christi* – to achieve union with God which entering the Holy of Holies symbolizes. Sanctioned by the verses in the New Testament, the Book of Hebrews affirms typologically that Jesus as the High priest provides the true salvation which was only foreshadowed by the rituals and animal sacrifices of the Hebrew religion. According to Hebrews 10:19- 20, ministers and laity alike had complete freedom to go into the Most Holy Place.

¹³² Watters, *A Priest to the Temple*, 28. The image of the veil separating the Holy of Holies from the inner court was held to be symbolic of their invisible ministry in guiding the saints' souls to heaven at death or during an intense moment of rapture in ultimate surrender to God. According to Watters, going into the Holy Of Holies was perceived as "heaven," but it was ultimately only upon a physical death like Jesus' death that the Puritan elect would know they were saved as a result of the transformation from a state of flesh to a state of spirit to join the saints in heaven.

¹³³ Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Christ Opened and Applied*. Printed at Boston in New-England, by Richard Pierce for Joseph Browning, anno 1686, 85. [Early English Books Online](#) (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 19 April 2010).

¹³⁴ Charles E Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Puritan Piety* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1982. Hambrick-Stowe studies Puritan culture via a lived religion model by depicting the ritualistic forms of worship in the practice of piety. Devotional Manuals can be trusted as revelations of popular experience because they model forms of meditation and prayer, corresponding with surviving records of private experience and were written in popular style, published in large and numerous editions that were widely disseminated.

¹³⁵ Samuel Mather, *Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, ed., Mason Lowance (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), Introduction, vi-vii. The clothing demonstrated in both Exodus and Leviticus is repeated for the specificity of God's instructions to Moses and Aaron for the sole purpose of appearing before God in a ritualistic fashion on the Day of

Atonement in the Jewish Temple. The tabernacle and the Levitical costume became one and the same oddly shadowing the colors and materials of the high priest clothing, suggesting that God and his High Priests upon entering the dwelling place, sanctuary would become as one.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid. 499.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 501.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 499-526.

¹⁴⁰ Tyack, *The Historic Dress of the Clergy*, 73- 76. The priest first drapes the amice over his head then lowers it to his neck, tying it around his torso. During this action, he says a short prayer asking God to clothe him with the “helmet of salvation.” Any office performed by the high priest without all the vestments of his order was deemed invalid. There was a certain similarity between the High Priest’s clothing and those worn by the clergy in Christendom. Tyack notes the cope, chasuble and dalmatic resembles the robe of the High Priest as well. The tall bonnet and breastplate foreshadow the miter and the pectoral cross in Eastern and Western traditions.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. The amice was generally supposed to have been the original of the modern use of white linen about the neck, whether only as a collar or as collar and white tie.

¹⁴² Ibid., 77.

¹⁴³ Murdock, *The Portraits of Increase Mather*, 40.

¹⁴⁴ Rosemary Troy Krill, *Early American Decorative Arts 1620-1860* (Walnut Creek, California: Altamira Press, 2001), 145. Krill estimates that clocks were the most complex mechanical devices a consumer could purchase. Scholars have estimated that by 1700, one in thirty-two white adult males owned a watch. Timepieces were taxed, further assessing their value.

¹⁴⁵ Chris H. Bailey, *Two Hundred Years of American Clocks & Watches* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 15,191. In the age of enlightenment, clocks demonstrated the New World of rationality as they taught that unfamiliar effects could be traced to concrete causes.

¹⁴⁶ Watters, *A Priest to the Temple*, 33.

¹⁴⁷ At the Final Judgment, Puritan ministers saw themselves as saints clothed in linen. Wearing linen is noted in the Book of Revelation 19:6-8, which refers to the mystical marriage of the lamb and his bride. “And to her was granted, that she should be arrayed with pure fine linen and shining for the fine linnen is the righteousness of the Saints.” Once again, in Revelation 19:14. as a lofty material for warriors of God, “and the warriors which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed with fine linen white and pure.”

¹⁴⁸ John 1-10 (AV) Authorized King James Version, a reprint of the edition of 1611. Fundamental to the interpretative hypothesis of Mather’s portrait is the understanding that The Book of Revelation was thought to be written in the Johannine tradition due to its symbolic and mystical nature connecting the Hebrew Scripture of an apocalyptic tradition . However, John’s overture “in the beginning” established Jesus as both the light and the Word, the true embodiment of God prophesized in the Hebrew Scriptures and the one who reveals the New Covenant.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., Exodus. 26: 18-25. Silver is noted as one of the free-will offerings given to God in the building of the Temple,,which symbolized atonement.

¹⁵⁰ Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 304.

¹⁵¹ Increase Mather, *Diary* (March 1681). See also Mason Lowance, Jr., *Increase Mather* (New York: Wayne Publishers, 1974), 35. The life altering effect of several of Increase’s long illnesses provided more depth to his conversion experiences and his identity as a Divine emissary. After experiencing recovery he arose renewed, grateful and refreshed and with even more religious fervor. Writing to his church, Increase saw himself as otherworldly, divine, and ethereal.

Chapter IV

George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Ezra Stiles, and Charles Chauncy: The Variability of Visual Sainthood Adapting the Self-Image to Shifting Beliefs in Pre- and Post-Millennial Thought

Two major ideologies preceded the Great Awakening.¹ Patricia Bonomi argues that by the 1720s, enlightenment rationalism and continental pietism were reaching increasing numbers of Americans through printed works and transatlantic learned societies.² By the 1730s, clergymen influenced by the spiritual intensity and emotional warmth of Reformed pietism asserted that secular forces were corrupting religion. Bonomi argues that some believed a moral life built on reason and could return New England to its former glory, while others viewed conversion that touched the heart as the only road to salvation.³ Either way, acquiring a genuine personal inward response, whether of the head or the heart, was the principle that either divided or unified New England's pre-, post-, or a-millennial great thinkers like George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Ezra Stiles, and Charles Chauncy. Edwin Gaustad states that this period of religious upsurge in isolated locations like the frontier of western Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley, ranging from Northfield, Massachusetts, to Saybrook, Connecticut, prepared the way for the more extensive Great Awakening.⁴ Gaustad asserts that no one escaped the influence or avoided the controversy of this revival furor, which had no social, economic, or geographical boundaries, and transcended both urban and rural communities, as well as upper and lower classes.⁵ Richard Bushman argues that the truly revolutionary aspect of the Awakening was the dilution of divine sanction in traditional institutions and the investiture of authority in some inward individual experience, all of which led to various divisions in Congregationalism. Therefore, experiential religion advocated by revivalist preachers like

Whitefield diminished ecclesiastical authority.⁶ In addition, the growing enthusiasm for Newtonian cosmology and Lockean philosophy had broad effects, impacting the religious movements of the eighteenth century.

The inception of enlightenment theory and renewal of personal piety were new schools of thought that branched out into various forms adopted by devotees, thereby transforming eschatological expectations of predestination. Orthodox beliefs were further muddled by a palpable Arminianism which transformed the pre-millennial belief in predestination powerlessness to a post-millennial ideology that insisted on a progressive purgation of sin and a new found hope to be “saved.”⁷ As Michael Mooney affirms, the chances for eternal salvation would increase with human effort which might then produce the necessary saving grace for eternal salvation. The habitual practice of prayer, faithful attendance at church, and the reading of God’s Word would secure one’s admission to a joyful afterlife.⁸ The Great Awakening established a post-millennial philosophy that emphasized God’s rationality about who to reward.

For decades, ministers on both sides of the Atlantic prayed to God to pour divine grace upon their congregations. Yet, with few exceptions, revival opponents and advocates drew the line at what was being perceived as antinomian intrusions of the Holy Spirit. When confronted with incidents of revival enthusiasm, a term Douglas Winarski believes denoted false claims to divine inspiration, they quickly criticized because they felt that the attacks on their ministry were by “dead” by unordained preachers.⁹ As a result, the Great Awakening began as a contest between clerical factions and not a popular uprising. The aftermath of these multiple visual expressions of “contests” in religious thought was metonymically composed in portraiture.

Visible Distinctions

There are cultural, personal, psychological distinctions between the four clerics; all of which influenced the men's views on piety. As a child and a young man, Edwards participated in the revivalism of the Connecticut Valley, while the young Chauncy absorbed the Arminianism of New England's most cosmopolitan city, Boston. Though he was not a New England Congregationalist, Whitefield's presence in the New England pulpits influenced the greatest thinkers of Puritan thought. His celebrity status afforded him freedom to evangelize in the colonies as a hero who broke away from the episcopal tyranny of the Anglican tradition. Stiles' ecclesiastical diplomacy originated from a liberal education, as well as his Newport ministry's diverse population.

Perry Miller contrasts the ideologies of Edwards and Chauncy's and sees them as a model of the battle between reason and revelation. His claim weakens, however, when interpreted through a visual language such as portraiture.¹⁰ Recent scholarship has also revealed that both Chauncy and Edwards agreed that popular claims to immediate revelations were, at best, uncertain marks of authentic religious experience. Like Chauncy, Edwards advocated a reasonable approach to the assessment of the conversion process while continuing to defend a religious enthusiasm spiraling out of control in his parish and surrounding areas.¹¹ His philosophy of the revival in *The Distinguishing Marks of the Works of the Spirit*, written in 1741, aimed to intellectualize the Awakening and offered a critical assessment later used to combat what he recognized as the movement's excesses.¹² Gausted affirms that for Edwards the revival did not mean revolting against or ignoring reason since reason was to be used, not glorified.¹³ The analysis of portraits as historical evidence blurs previous embedded assumptions.

New England's Great Awakening began with Whitefield's whirlwind tour of the region in 1740.¹⁴ Known as the Grand Itinerant, Whitefield claimed that preaching required no education or ordination; the only prerequisite was that the minister must have experienced conversion.¹⁵ Many itinerant revival ministers like Whitefield who, along with many other less famous unordained preachers, assured their followers that they could determine with certainty their elected status and their path to heaven.¹⁶ Convinced of their own conversion, confident and in demand, they took it upon themselves to travel through New England claiming the clergy to be unregenerate.

Whitefield had a dim view of religion in New England: "I am verily persuaded, the Generality of Preachers talk of an unknown, unfelt Christ. And the Reason why Congregations have been so dead is because dead Men preach to them."¹⁷ Upon meeting Presbyterian Gilbert Tennent on Staten Island, Whitefield persuaded him to visit Boston "in order to blow up the divine fire lately kindled there."¹⁸ Pre-millennialists like Whitefield focused on the sinfulness of the Puritan community and the fear of eternal damnation, assuring themselves that the second coming of Christ would be preceded by a series of terrible events brought on by mankind.¹⁹ Mooney states that a revival of religion served as a catharsis from what was perceived as sinful reality in the North American colonies. Ministers vividly made the embarrassing distinction between the ideal of the New Israel and failure of New England.²⁰ According to Edwin Gausted, cataclysmic events, such as the epidemic throat distemper of 1735 in New England, prompted a fearful response that resulted in heightened spiritual awareness.²¹ Whitefield's pessimistic eschatological interpretations challenged this uncertainty and despair, and urged New Englanders to begin an inward search for their individual souls. Jeremiads of itinerant preachers encouraged

personal responsibility over sinfulness, thereby assuaging guilt, redeeming the sinner, and relieving election tension.²² Whitefield's itinerancy, mystical otherworldliness, as well as his theatrics to "blow up and kindle" new spiritual life into dead congregations, are consciously and subconsciously depicted in his portrait and supportive imagery. As an heir to Knight's Spiritual Brethren, Whitefield typologically conveys an confident portrayal of his personal election, exhorting that the millennium is at hand.

Edwards' two portraits depict his conflict over religion of the heart and religion of the head. Remembered as an advocate of what would become the New Light Divinity, Edwards' portraits belie the supposition of his work that all manifestations of the Awakening were true works of the Spirit. The portraits represent him as somewhere between a newly defended mysticism and the boundaries of a deep seeded orthodox Calvinism which caused him to seek order in his life.²³ Perhaps painted at the moment of intense criticism by Boston liberals over his theology and the humiliating dismissal from his pulpit in Northampton, one of Edwards' representations includes books and papers (i.e. the tools of a literary and biblical mind) rather than being experiential displays of grace. In one of the portraits he is perhaps penning his treatise, *The Distinguishing Marks of the Works of the Spirit*, and finding common-ground with anti-revivalists like Chauncy. Edwards advocated a reasonable approach to the assessment of the conversion process while defending a religious enthusiasm spiraling out of control in his parish and surrounding areas.²⁴ Nevertheless, the second image of Edwards supports the idea that it was human affections that were the principal crux of true faith and knowledge of saving grace.

Stiles was only twelve years old when the Great Awakening began, yet he still took part in it. He mentioned in his notebook that "Octr. About the Latter End A: D: 1740 the Renound Revd. Mr. George Whitefield Came to New Haven on a Thurs Night."²⁵ Edmund Morgan states

that he was raised in an Old Light household and was exposed to varying degrees of European theorists as a student at Yale.²⁶ Stiles' three portraits represent the culmination of years of spiritual struggle between the certainty and doubt of his election as he engaged in a rigorous discipline of academic study in search of meaning in his life. Stiles went through a stage where he had deep doubts about his faith, even venturing beyond the fashionable Arminianism toward Deism. He believed in no other religion than nature and the Bible and questioned many traditional Calvinist doctrines.²⁷ A telling sentiment about his detachment from predestination doctrine is noted in the following quote: "If a man is not to be rewarded in the future World for His Virtue, neither can I see any Reason why punished for Vice."²⁸ Morgan states that such sentiments from 1749 portray him as an Arminian."²⁹

Stiles' early images represent an intellectualizing detachment from religion at a time when he was deeply concerned about the veracity of the Bible. The portraits explore his faith during his middle years as compromises between reason and revelation, nature and science, and reveal a hint of mysticism, as well. As Stiles entered his later years, vacillating between Calvinism and Deism, he ultimately reached a typological understanding of the supremacy of scripture and a Dionysius-like mysticism that emphasized Christ's treatment of the Old Testament as inspired.

"Supernatural rationalism" describes an evolving Puritan congregationalism which developed gradually in Boston. This position argued that individuals naturally had the ability to discern the fundamental truths of religion, but, unlike the Deists, supernatural rationalists insisted on the necessity of scripture to sharpen perceptions of divine truth.³⁰ Supernatural rationalists, of whom Chauncy is a prime example, encouraged a fundamental optimism regarding human

nature; the sense that mankind could save itself if it would only use the means available to it.³¹

Chauncy sought truth in common sense and natural philosophy and the created order, rejecting in the revival what he took to be the insistence that God acted apart from nature, order, and

reason.³² His intense rebuttal of the irrationality, of the revival, *Seasonable Thoughts on the*

State of Religion, was a direct refutation of Edwards' claims.³³ Chauncy provided an extensive

collection of evidence supporting the Awakening's extravagances and disorder, prefacing it with

a historical account of the Antinomian controversy.³⁴ In conclusion, he laid bare the chief

intellectual issue posed by the revival: "There is the Religion of the Understanding and

Judgment, and Will, as well as of the Affections; and if little account is made of the former,

while great stress is laid upon the latter, it can't be but people should run into disorders."³⁵

In his later writing *The Mystery Hid from Ages and Generations*, published in late 1785, Chauncy stretched himself in a somewhat Edwardian mystical fashion and stated that, "hell is not punishment for depravity but is the process of delivering the soul from its own

degeneration."³⁶ He argued that predestination conflicted with Christ's sacrifice for mankind.³⁷

According to Mooney, these ideas positioned Chauncy as an a-millennialist. Chauncy combined

elements of pre-millennialism pessimism – which expected a catastrophic end to the world –

with the post-millennialism optimism – which expected the world to steadily improve – to form

a-millennialism ideology that viewed the final catastrophe as a purgative and restorative return of

the world to its original role as paradise and believing God to be "infinitely benevolent."³⁸

Chauncy states, 'tis not easy to conceive, that he should bring mankind into existence, unless he

intended to make them finally happy."³⁹

Chauncy's portrait is a confident depiction of election, but not without the eradication of sin. Similar to the pre-millennialists, he expected that God would one day rain destruction on earth, bringing human history to a close. This final conflagration, however, would not mean the utter destruction of the earth, but rather its rejuvenation.⁴⁰ Unlike Edwards and most other interpreters, Chauncy saw the ultimate location of man's joyful union with God to be on this renewed earth.⁴¹ Optimistically, through reasoning he believed that a benevolent God would not inflict eternal punishment on the damned. Chauncy's stern and rigid image belies his spiritual development as a liberal thinker always synthesizing his Puritan heritage with the ordered rationality of an enlightened mind and a benevolent God. Remaining a theologian and caretaker of the First Congregational Church for sixty years he had not discarded theological categories such as sin, the work of Christ, salvation, and a millennial hope with all of its cosmic entities associated with orthodoxy.⁴² Griffin states that, "He simply began from a different starting point, he rearranged and reformulated doctrinal explication, which arrived at an unorthodox destination."⁴³

The Portraits:

George Whitefield (1714-1770)

George Whitefield was born in Gloucester, England, in 1714. He graduated from Oxford in 1739 and was ordained at age twenty-two as a priest in the Church of England.⁴⁴ As a student at Oxford, he became caught up in the Wesleyan Methodist movement. He was a rebel in the Anglican camp, charging that his church was heretically abandoning the Calvinism on which it was established. His preaching met opposition from the Anglican hierarchy and he sailed to the colonies where his difficulties with the Church of England and his sermons had been well

publicized. His presence was felt in New England, where he drew some of his largest crowds and where he was known for his fiery oration and open-air preaching style.⁴⁵

Despite his small stature, Whitefield exuded charisma. Some took his cross-eyed appearance as a mark of divine favor. His voice could be heard over vast distances, making him one of the first celebrities in the American colonies. Whitefield used print systematically, sending men out to put up broadsides and distribute handbills announcing his sermons. He also arranged to have his sermons published.⁴⁶ On September 30, 1770, Whitefield died in the parsonage of Old South Presbyterian Church Newburyport (fig. 4.2). He was buried, according to his wishes, in a crypt under the pulpit of this church. Whitefield's lifelong successes in the pulpit were not matched in his private life. Like many itinerants of his day, Whitefield was suspicious of marriage and feared a wife would become a rival to the pulpit. When he finally married an older widow, Elizabeth James, the union never seemed to flower into a deeply intimate, sharing relationship. In 1770, the 55-year-old continued his preaching tour in the colonies as if he were still a young itinerant, insisting, "I would rather wear out than rust out."⁴⁷ The content of Whitefield's portrait suggests his mastery (and election tension) at depicting himself as an ordained minister strictly adhering to Biblical scripture while promoting the itinerant revivalism of his day.

Description

The three-quarter length portrait represents a frontal view of an affable young man positioned in the center of the portrait with his head slightly turned on a right diagonal. He appears to be standing in an undisclosed space engaging the viewer. The background is lit by a rosy-hue which borders and frames his outline, casting a glow on his upper torso. His right eye makes direct eye contact with the viewer and his left eye is slightly turned in on the same

diagonal turn as his elongated neck and closely spaced shoulders. He is attired in a robe of dark fabric fitted snugly to his body, except for the bell type sleeves encasing the white-cuffed undergarment. His neck collar and stark white rectangular clerical fallen bands appear to be translucent linen-like material, which fall vertically from his neck. His egg-shaped face is fully rounded at its margins with a pink blush of color at mid-cheek. His eyebrows are low and stream out in a shadowed T-pattern from his nose almost separating his compressed facial features from his lighted high half-moon forehead. A silver white wig lays somewhat ill-fitting upon his head. Airy curls float wispily above his shoulders. His wig appears to be combed upward and held in place by at least two dozen bright white dots. His lips are closed. He stands before a brown pedestal-type column with a scarlet-colored pulpit cushion edged in gold with tassels hanging from both edges. His left illuminated hand and arm is placed across his chest with his five slender fingers slightly spread open. His right illuminated thumb holds open a small book resting on the pulpit cushion which is open to its mid-section depicting blurred dark shaded columns on both pages. The pulpit cushion is slightly indented underneath the book. It is unclear whether the book is right side up or tilted downward toward the viewer.

Deduction

It is difficult to determine during which of Whitefield's seven American voyages he sat for this portrait. Since Joseph Badger was painting from 1740 until his death in 1765, the portrait could have been completed at the beginning of his colonial tour in 1740 or upon this return to New Haven for his fourth visit in 1764, when he was invited to preach in the Yale college chapel.⁴⁸ Whitefield's countenance could be judged as ranging in years from his first visit at twenty-nine to his mid-life years in Newburyport. Much of the revival spirit had been defused during that twenty-year period and it is likely that the portrait was painted on the more extensive

trip to Boston, since Whitefield died Newport in 1770 and Badger lived in Charlestown.⁴⁹ The donor of the portrait, Mrs. H. P. Oliver, traced the picture to “a Mrs. Warters who was intimately connected with Whitefield and stated the portrait was an excellent likeness.”⁵⁰

Whitefield was unrivaled in his use of physical effects during the preaching of his sermons. He utilized such extreme physical manifestations that if, it has been stated, he had not been a preacher he would have been an actor since much of his success was due to his use of histrionic tricks.⁵¹ Prints, engravings, and broadsides were drawn encompassing his dynamic movements and demonstrate his active and engaging presence (fig. 4.3). Illustrations depict his hands raised high above his head or outstretched as if emanating his divine power onto all mortal beings (fig. 4.4). While preaching, he was known to burst into tears, bringing to life the despair of Biblical characters while vividly describing the scenes and pretending to see Christ on the cross.⁵² Morgan states that he would also assume the position of Christ at the Last Judgment and hand down sentences on the sinners before him.⁵³ These physical effects are demonstrated in countless paintings and engravings done for and about him and which depict movement, action, and a diversion from the Puritan plain style of opening scripture.⁵⁴ His last sermon took place in the fields, atop a large barrel (fig. 4.5).

Ironically, on first examination, Badger’s portrayal of Whitefield is a conventional depiction of an Anglican minister. The portrait is painted with naïve realism and knife-edged modeling. Yet upon closer study, the painter and patron have adopted a rose colored background to heighten the emotional response of the viewer. Gray tones are discarded and the black and white conventional depiction of ministers is forfeited in lieu of a more colorful expression. Jules David Prown affirms that the color red elicits a passionate response.⁵⁵ Whitefield’s portrait

demonstrates subtle hues of red and the inception of his image engages the viewer in a warm sensory response. The warm rich shade of the scarlet pulpit cushion adds to the portrait's tonality.

The darkened rose background creates a sense of immediacy pushing Whitefield forward toward the viewer. Badger painted Whitefield outside of any familiar sort of room setting with only a pulpit cushion and a Bible as material objects that would be available in a meeting house or church space. This was one way to display Whitefield's itinerancy and his aversion to being connected to any of the institutions he found to be "dead" in spiritual graces. Whitefield never vacillated from this opinion:

The ministers have in large measure lost the old Spirit of Preaching...it is a sad Symptom of Decay of vital Religion when reading Sermons becomes fashionable where extemporary preaching did once almost universally prevail. As for the Universities, I believe it may be said, their Light has become Darkness, Darkness that may be felt, and is complained of by the most godly ministers...The Church of England is at a low ebb and as far as I can find.⁵⁶

It is well known that as an itinerant preacher, Whitefield carried a portable pulpit which unfolded at each open-air gathering.⁵⁷

Whitefield's eyebrows are painted rather low on his forehead compressing his other facial features closer together as if to generate a pensive look on such a youthful visage. There is little to no facial shadowing which, according to Katz, portrays an honest character.⁵⁸ His wig appears be speckled with white dots of paint resembling a tiara with pearl-like translucence. Whitefield's book is upside down displaying a particular text, most likely Scripture depicted by the columnar narrative. Wavy lines make identification impossible, however the psalms and Canticles are typically found midway in the Bible. Charles Hambrick-Stowe states that Anglican and Puritan ministers like Whitefield typically quoted from Canticles, which is a passionate love-story using

the marital covenant as a metaphor for fidelity and unity with God.⁵⁹

There is an irony in Badger's portrayal of Whitefield's pursed lips since Whitefield was known to be the most gifted orator of modern times. He had a voice that in the open air could carry his words without strain to vast audiences.⁶⁰ His vision is distorted physically, but his right eye fully engages the viewer.⁶¹ Whitefield represents himself, therefore, as one who is learned and well-educated by choosing to wear a Geneva gown.⁶² His abhorrence for extravagance in materialistic expression is telling:

The Generality "seem to be too much conformed to the World. There's much of the Pride of Life to be seen in their Assemblies. Jewels, Patches, and gay Apparel are commonly worn by the Female Sex, and even the common People, I observe, dressed up in the Pride of Life."⁶³

Speculation

Whitefield's subtle rose-infused composition lights the outline of his body depicting an illuminated corporeality depicting his election in "light." He cautioned against an unconverted clergy in light and dark metaphoric symbolism, recording his impressions of the men at Harvard and Yale writing, "Many, nay most that preach, I fear do not experimentally know Christ....." "Their Light is become Darkness, Darkness that may be felt."⁶⁴ The hollow in the pulpit cushion collapses at the weight of Whitefield's choice of scripture in the same manner as his audiences experienced the physical manifestations of the passive infusion of grace following an exhaustive redemption process. The luminosity of Whitefield's forehead amplifies his pinched facial features which emit a radiant blush "warming" the portrait. The absence of direct eye contact with the viewer infers that Whitefield "sees" only with the eyes of heart.⁶⁵ The size of the Bible is analogous to Whitefield's small stature and is ironic in view of his reputed commanding presence recounted by an enthusiastic participant, Nathan Cole. Cole

stated in his autobiography, *Spiritual Travels*, that “hearing him preach gave me a heart wound.”⁶⁶ Whitefield’s right thumb is a bookmark pressing down the pages of the Bible, while his three fingers, resembling flames dancing behind the longing narratives of psalmody, are emanating more heat than the passions of Canticles.

The heated passions of itinerant revival preaching are metonymically viewed in the subtle conventions of “warming and blushing” in Whitefield’s portrait. The safety of representing himself as an educated cleric within the approved parameters of orthodoxy is a conscious disclaimer to opponents of his itinerancy and preaching style, and creates the same tension in his portraiture that perhaps followed his journeys throughout New England. Attired in ecclesiastical garments he opens scripture in his portrait declaring his own election through God’s gift of grace and, therefore, has the right to minister to the unregenerate. Coles’ *Spiritual Travels* attests to Whitefield’s “divine-like” presence: “He looked as if he was clothed with authority from the Great God.”⁶⁷ In an apologetic pamphlet Whitefield wrote after his return to England, he described his work in the colonies as being a rather positive experience. He supported his letter defending his preaching against an anonymous prosecutor, with signatures of eminent Boston clergymen and concentrates what is the core of his argument; that he always stays true to scripture: “I would heartily join with him [the anonymous writer] and the other Ministers in New England, was I therein bearing faithful Testimony against any Thing that I might judge to be inconsistent with the precious Rules of the Holy Scriptures.”⁶⁸ Yet Whitefield was aware of the abuse that could and did occur and cautioned the ministers: “At the same time I pray that even the Ministers themselves may act with the same Caution they recommend to their People, and then I doubt not but we shall see a happy End put to what may now be irregular or disorderly.”⁶⁹

An Oxford graduate and not a member of the Spiritual Brethren, Whitefield believed it was the melted heart of human affections and not the intellectual thought processes that determined an assurance of visible sainthood. His left hand placed over the area of his heart at mid-chest demonstrates his personal “heart wound” and testifies to Edwards’ later observations in *Distinguishing Marks*, that the first and essential attribute of God was love, expressed in universal compassion. Whitefield labored on behalf of the communion of saints aligning himself with Edwards and the Spiritual Brethren in millennial hope for mankind’s eternal salvation. As an itinerant minister with no “temple” to call his own, Whitefield’s image is a typological rendering of *imitatio Christi*, a mobile ark of testimony much like the wandering Israelites; his body transcending into the new temple dwelling known in Puritan doctrine as the body of Christ.⁷⁰ The position of his Geneva collar is slightly parted near his throat; symbolic of the rent of the temple veil in Hebrew Scripture. As the predecessor to what would become the New Light Divinity, Whitefield’s image speaks publicly through scriptural typology, testifying to Edwards’ points, that Jesus is the son of God. Whitefield’s portrait demonstrates his detachment from a dead orthodoxy into the position of the visibly elect. The painted tiara, demarcated by the brilliant white dots along his hair line, draw the viewer’s eyes to his illuminated status and is representative of him entering the imminent millennium wearing the “crown of life” given to those who are pronounced elect at judgment day (fig. 4.6).

Jonathan Edwards

Edwards was born in East Windsor, Connecticut, on October 5, 1703. He was the fifth child and only son among ten daughters of the Reverend Timothy Edwards and his wife, the daughter of Solomon Stoddard.⁷¹ Edwards entered Yale before he was thirteen and while the college was still fragmented. He received part of his education in Wethersfield and the other part

in New Haven. According to Sidney Ahlstrom, by the time of his graduation in 1720, Edwards had discovered the new philosophy of John Locke, which would influence many of his writings as an apologist after the Great Awakening.⁷² He stayed in New Haven for two years to pursue theological studies. After he was licensed to preach in 1722, Edwards served at a Presbyterian church in New York for ten months and then returned to Yale as a tutor for two more years.⁷³ In 1727, Edwards was ordained in Northampton as a junior colleague of his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard. Two years later, Stoddard's death left him the full ministerial responsibility in a church to which his grandfather had already brought notoriety and prominence (especially with the lax standards for church membership sanctioned by the Half-way Covenant) and in a town that was becoming the most influential in western Massachusetts.⁷⁴ After dedicating twenty-three years of his life to the Northampton ministry, Edwards endured a painful dismissal over unresolved conflicts between himself and his parishioners. He relocated to the frontier town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (the so-called New England Company) and the Bay Colony's Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, established a missionary front to the Indians.⁷⁵ A pastor for seven years, Edwards was lifted from the humiliation of his expulsion. Interestingly, it was at this time he had both his and his wife's portrait painted as if to affirm their status, class, and dignity. For Edwards, the missionary zeal forged in western frontiers was the optimistic progression of an ensuing millennium when every tribe and nation would dwell in harmony.⁷⁶ Edwards died from the side effects of a small pox inoculation shortly after assuming the position of President of the College of New Jersey in 1758.⁷⁷

Description (c. 1746)

Edwards sits upright in what appears to be a library. Seated at a desk he has a right-left posture. Green billowing drapery folds over his library shelves half-way concealing various colors of untitled books. His body is kept erect by the upward rectangular support of a tall high-backed chair upholstered in red fabric. The chair's claw like arm peeks out from his right side and Edwards rests his left arm on its weighted wooden scroll. A matching red cloth extends the surface of the triangularly oriented table which appears rumpled and stained along its edges. An inkwell probably made from pewter is placed proximal to Edwards' right hand which has a firm slanted grasp on a quill pen placed atop a few loosely arranged note papers.

Edwards is attired in a black jacket. The top two buttons of his coat are stylishly unfastened. Bloused sleeves of his undergarment expand out and under his jacket gathering onto his wrists. The bands of his Geneva collar lie in narrow translucent strips and appear interwoven into his collared stock. The edges of the left band are slightly curved and lifted. Edwards appears to be rifling through the pages of an opened text bookmarking a portion with his left thumb and hand while pages on the right flutter freely in mid-air. His left hand rests on the larger left section of the book (the Hebrew Scriptures), parting it from the section on the right (the beginning of the New Testament). The center spine of the book is diagonally aligned with the center partition of Edwards's fallen bands.

The large rolled gray curls of his wig frame an elongated face without shadow. Light green-colored eyes do not engage the viewer, but look ahead in the direction of the projected angle of the table. The awkward orientation of the table and Edward's body diverts the viewer's gaze toward the bookshelves instead of into a conversation with him.

Deduction

The patron and the artist chose to implement conventional elements of the ministerial profession to represent Edwards' character. Perhaps painted earlier at the moment of the debates of the Great Awakening, Edwards' representation is armed with the tools of a literary and biblical mind. Edwards sits in a rather tall-backed upholstered chair. While the title of his book is obscured, the artist painted the pages with coarse edges reminiscent of a scroll parchment. The extensive library painted in Edwards' portrait suggests that he undertook the serious study of theology. Ahlstrom states that he was involved in the creative process of making his inherited Puritanism conform to the ideas of the Enlightenment.⁷⁸ He affirms that Edwards did not write a spiritual autobiography because he was not the kind of thinker who revealed himself fully in any one work.⁷⁹ Rather, Edwards' life and beliefs – his spiritual journey – can be inferred in his sermons and a cluster of writings on revivals and church. Daniel Shea, however, describes Edwards' *Personal Narrative* as a spiritual autobiography in which Edwards promoted experimental religion and instructed readers on its glories and pitfalls.⁸⁰ Nearly all of his publications between 1737 and 1746 dealt with central issues of the Awakening, and through these carefully qualified writings Edwards emerged as the New England spokesman for a somewhat restrained type of revivalism. He also became one of the most important interpreters of religious experience and experiential religion in post-Reformation history.⁸¹

Edwards' fears about disorder caused him to draw on reason, which is demonstrated by the importance the library is given in his portrait, to argue, and to control the wave of religious enthusiasm. Concerned with the arguments of the Old Lights, Edwards penned his defense in the many occasional works and apologetics on regional affairs reconciling the specific arguments for strict Reformed doctrine and "New Light" experientialism.⁸²

Description (1751)

The three-quarter representation of Edwards was painted by Joseph Badger whose similar painting techniques, such as an elongated neck, sharp edged modeling, wiry white hair and pivotal turn, are also featured in Whitefield's portrait. Yet Edwards' portrait lacks the simplicity of a Geneva gown and the specific emblems other than the fallen bands to define his ministry. He is also without a Bible. He wears a standard eighteenth-century open black jacket with five large cloth covered buttons.⁸³ He engages the viewer frontally with direct eye contact. His posture is pivoted toward the left. His short white wig is parted in the middle, lying flat and snug along both sides of his head. His elongated face depicts pursed lips and a softly modeled nose. The notably long rectilinear fallen bands jut out over his circular neck-collar, known as a stock, which appear to be supporting the weight of his head. The background of the portrait is painted in a verdant green, while the right side of the portrait (Edward's left) is lit in an amber glow matching the light yellow/green paint color of his eyes which are framed with soft lines typically referred to as crow's feet.

Deduction

The second portrait of Edwards was by Joseph Badger in 1751 and was probably painted following the Northampton debacle as a significant statement of his missionary position at Stockbridge. While attribution and date are confirmed, it lacks the active presence of the former copy by Weir. Painted by Badger as a companion piece to Edwards' wife's portrait, the conventional image appears to make a simple statement of his likeness for future generations. Not content with a simple clerical gown, Edwards' artist has him sporting a jacket, more than likely part of a three-piece ensemble typically worn in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.⁸⁴ Edwards (or Badger) chose to add an element of the baroque to fashionably embellish his dress. Instead of draping the entire or half portrait in typical Renaissance conventional

imagery, Edwards chooses to drape his body from his left shoulder to his elbow in additional black fabric which serves to wrap his image in a refined and sophisticated flair, rather than a humble representation of a backwoods missionary.⁸⁵

First humiliated and rejected by his grandfather's parish in Northampton, Edwards attempts a reserved depiction representative of his education and ordination. Framed inside the annals of a college education Edwards' image not only positions him against claims of unbridled enthusiasm, but is, according to his manner of dress and posture, suggestive of the pursuit of refinement and order. A letter written from Glasgow and dated November 8, 1751, from John McLaurin to William Hogg supports the idea of Edwards' portrait for public use and describes the portrait's commission, transport, and its impressive reception:

By Mr. Prince's Letter I find there is a paquet at this time sent by Mr. Edwards tho not yet come up from the seaport. But in a letter from Mr. Abiel [?] Walley.Merchant, who was a Justice of Peace in Governor Belchers time, there is the following passage. "I received the goods both parcels of them; and have sent them to Mr. Edwards, seen both him & Spouse who received the account thereof with most wonderful Thankfullness; Looking up to God & Blessing his name for so remarkable Appearance in his providence in moving the hearts of gentlemen, Stangers and at Such a Distance; And desire me to return all possible Thanks & Gratitude to their Benefactors. According to your Desire I have prevailed with Mr. Edwards & his wife to have their pictures drawn; Letting them know that some friends with you ordered me to get them done at their Charge. And they are done to the Life have a very exact resemblance; they are pact in a box on board. Capt.McCunn marked EML. The cost is five pounds sterling which the Gentlemen may remit to me in a parcel of fine Tartan Stuff. In the Box I have put up a Pacquet from Mr. Williams of Lebanon, another from Mr. Edwards with some of his farewell Sermons" (which I intend to send soon to Edinburgh for your perusal).⁸⁶

Demand for Edwards' image is noted in the request for engravings abroad and in the colonies.

The letter continues:

Where as you had proposed in one of your letters that the drawings might be sent here to be engraven here, it seems to me this is what they have complied with .I take it for granted you have by much the better engravers in your town. If several hundred prints were cast off, some of which perhaps might be sold elsewhere,

chiefly at London, which it might be fit to compliment Several of the Contributors at Edinburgh here gratis, probably several of others, with whom more freedom may be used, will cheerfully give so much for their copies of the prints, as may in some measure lessen the Charges of the drawing & engraving. It seems to me you have the best right to the property of the pictures, as seven prints will serve me by which I would by no means be understood to lessen my share of the charges of the drawing as well as engravings: perhaps several will join us in both. I have upon the matter sent two messages to good Capt. McCunn about sending up the Box & intend to tell you when it comes.....Mr. Prince writes to me he has now sent a copy of his pict[..⁸⁷] {frag missing} carefully to send to you.

Speculation (c. 1746)

In this portrait, the viewer learns that experiential religion is a personal and unaccompanied event. While Edwards was a mixture of reason and passion, a mystic poet and a magnetic exhorter, his image is mysteriously distant, unapproachable, and preoccupied. Despite being supporters, his viewing audience remains much like his Old Light adversaries, on the other side of his table of convictions eagerly waiting to peer into the portrait to see which message is revealed in the fluttering pages of Edwards' Bible; hopeful that the chosen pages will assuage the doubts of eternal damnation. New Lights and Old Lights remain conflicted at the borders of the Edwards' portrait. With Edwards at its head, the table appears ready for movement. Edwards is literally moving alone at an angle tangentially away in his forward movement of thought. His reflections on religion manifest in an outward physical motion. Not ready to take flight, Edwards steadies his left arm upon the wooden claw of the chair "holding himself back," still unsure of what signifying marks distinguish true grace. The quill feather pen becomes one with Edwards, an extension of his leaning body; its tip pressed firmly onto the note paper recording Edwards' marks.

Edwards was conscious that he had come to faith in an unusual way. He recorded having had doubts about his conversion because he could not fit his experience to the standard Puritan maps such as predestination. According to Alan Heimert, his own conversion experience was an

event that was not fundamentally intellectual (understanding the gospel) or even moral (desire to follow Christ), but rather aesthetic in nature.⁸⁸ The Puritan doctrines of God's absolute sovereignty which had appeared repugnant to him suddenly seemed beautiful. Both the defense of Calvinism as an essential part of Christianity and the conceptions of beauty became lasting features of his theology.⁸⁹ From his conversion onward, Edwards remained fascinated with the problem of how to tell whether a Christian's professed faith was truly real and saving. In 1746, he gave the subject his fullest and most influential treatment in his treatise, *Religious Affections*, the same year the original Weir portrait was thought to have been painted.⁹⁰

The pages of the Bible flutter openly in direct alignment with the curved flutter of Edwards' fallen bands creating a dynamic movement. Divine inspiration is imminent and the effusion of grace speaks for him from the area of his vocal cords, lifting the edge of his wispy linen collar as the breath of the Holy Spirit guides Edwards preaching style in "opening scripture" (fig. 4.9).⁹¹ Wearing the ephod of an archetypal High Priest, Edwards has been infused with Spirit and divinely ordained. The feathered wing of his pen has inscribed on the viewer's heart the prophecy of Daniel, typologically represented in his choice of biblical passage, Edwards is portrayed preaching from the axis of Biblical transition between the Book of Daniel and the New Testament, predicting in pre-millennial fashion God's evolutionary plan that Jesus is the son of God; his first and foremost distinguishing mark of grace.

This portrait shows Edwards actively debating, as well as passively receiving, the experience of grace which he believed was a "movement" of the heart and not the endless search through venerable stacks of books in his library. After years of deliberated study, Edwards reached a conclusion: "That the extraordinary influence that has lately appeared causing an uncommon concern and engagedness of mind about the things of religion is undoubtedly in

general from the spirit of God. It cannot be a pretense or a delusion.”⁹² His dialectical writings and the visual language of this portrait as an educated minister gave credulity to his views, shielding him from the commentaries of those made by distinguished theologians like Chauncy who warned his readers “not to be minded in anything he says.”⁹³

Portrait (c. 1751)

Williston Walker states that given that the orthodoxy of Edwards’ day leaned toward the rationalist side, Edwards may have discovered pietism as a way to distinguish himself within that larger religious culture.⁹⁴ The later portrait of Edwards depicts this piety and bears witness to his enlightened mind. It is telling that in the years following the debates over revivalism that Edwards chose to represent only his body as an emblematic convention which glows in the darkness of the green background. His arms and legs are absent and only his upper body is depicted even though Badger was adept at painting hands.⁹⁵ Edwards’ portrait betrays the need for limbs as a way to access the spiritual union he sought over his life. The physical manifestations of the revival had come under severe criticism from those Edwards admired. Edwards’ lack of tactile connection refutes their condemnation, depicting instead a novel method of sensory engagement; a new sense, which he referred to as a “sweetness” of divine knowingness. He described this sense further in his discourse, *A Divine and Supernatural Light*, comparing the new sense to the sense of tasting honey, stating it is the difference between knowing honey exists and tasting it:

He that is spiritually enlightened does not merely rationally believe that God is glorious, but he has a sense of the glory of God in his heart. There is not only rational belief that God is holy, and that holiness is a good thing, but there is a sense of the loveliness of God’s holiness.⁹⁶

The depiction of drapery typically folded over the shelves in his library is absent. Instead it is swathed over Edwards' left shoulder as an opened temple curtain revealing his body (not knowledge acquired from books) as the new temple of revealed knowledge. His head appears to be a disembodied bust, no longer connected to his corporeal form. His head touches the top of his portrait as his spirit seemingly expands out of its frame. The viewer is made aware of Edwards' mystical union with God in "looking right through" the amber glow of his eyes, which pierce into the similar color of the portrait's illuminated background (fig.4.10). Edwards' coat is unbuttoned enabling his soul to escape into divine oneness.

The intimate mystical feeling is not always fundamentally the same and has been debated and described by Reformers in a number of ways including: direct contemplation or vision of God, rapture, ecstasy, deification, living in Christ, the birth of the Word in the soul, radical obedience to the will of God, as well as profound physical sensations such as pricking in the heart, quickening, and melting.⁹⁷ Dennis Trumbello states that redefining mysticism is integral to understanding Reformed pietism and disputes the description that absorption into the divine being is the only way of understanding mystical union. He argues that these are broader definitions in the widest sense of the word and that mysticism is simply "the insistence upon a direct inward and present religious experience."⁹⁸

Edwards' portrait represents him as a mystic, one who had revealed knowledge of God. His image was in demand for copied engravings, indicating that it resonated as a public declaration of visible sainthood. Following Knight's divisions of Spiritual Brethren, Edwards' portrait demonstrates his own marks of certainty as *imitatio Christi* in a post-millennial view in which he labored relentlessly for the mystical union of the community of saints and the imminence of the Kingdom.

Ezra Stiles

Three portraits of Stiles painted at significant intervals in his life depict the progression of Stiles' struggle with the tenets of Congregationalism, Arminianism, Deism, and his penchant for a mystical view of the world. The documentary support and the circumstances surrounding the commission of the portraits give credibility to historical evidence that shows Stiles' spiritual autobiography in pictorial form.

According to Edmund Morgan's monograph, Stiles was born in North Haven, Connecticut, and was the son of the Rev. Isaac Stiles.⁹⁹ He graduated from Yale in 1746, taking on a tutorial position while studying and practicing law in New Haven until 1755. He returned to the ministry for twenty-two years as pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island. While in Newport, Stiles also served as Librarian of the Redwood Library and Athenaeum and he began writing a diary.¹⁰⁰ In 1773, he became friends with Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal during his six month residence in Newport, meeting him twenty-eight times (according to Stiles' records) to discuss a variety of topics ranging from Cabbala to the politics of the Holy Land. In addition, Stiles took the opportunity to improve his rudimentary knowledge of the Hebrew language to the point where he and Carigal corresponded by mail in Hebrew.¹⁰¹ Fluent in several ancient languages, Stiles read Greek and Roman history and philosophy.

With the arrival of British troops in Newport in 1776, Stiles departed and became pastor of the Congregational Church at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, from 1777 until 1778. At this time, he accepted an offer for the presidency at Yale.¹⁰² Morgan states that Stiles was a dedicated supporter of the American Revolution and an avid amateur scientist who corresponded with Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. Stiles ordered portraits of Franklin and the other founders for himself. According to Brandon Fortune, "At least twice during the 1760s, he

requested that Franklin send him his engraved portrait. Several artists made likenesses of Stiles and members of his family, too, and he collected a number of historical and contemporary portraits by Yale College.¹⁰³ In studying astronomy, Stiles became acquainted with Samuel King, whose father, a nautical instrument maker, had made a sextant for the Newport scholar. The younger King, a self-taught painter, is best known for Stiles 1771 portrait. In February 1757, Stiles married Elizabeth Hubbard, daughter of Col. John Hubbard of New Haven.¹⁰⁴

Stiles was twelve years old at the start of the Great Awakening. Raised in an Old Light congregational household, Stiles was expected to subscribe to a confession of faith. He made his confession in North Haven on November 23, 1746, stating he believed in the Trinity, original sin, and justification by faith.¹⁰⁵ According to Morgan, Stiles did not feel the inward movement of grace expected at this confession and instead hoped for it by a conscientious performance of Christian duties, feeling the experience was still ahead of him:

When unable to determine myself of the happy Number elected to Mercy, I came to an instant conclusion, which has abode with me ever since, that if predestined to misery yet that misery would be less, the less I sinned and the more earnestly I sought the divine Favor. From the time I more vigorously resolved to refrain from Sin, if not to obtain heaven of which I saw no prospect, yet to mitigate and lessen the Torments of Damnation.¹⁰⁶

Morgan affirms Stiles' Arminian tendencies, which blossomed at a young age. It seems he was already pushing against the strict Calvinistic doctrine of eternal damnation by regulating his conduct. Writing in his treatise, *Resolutions*, Stiles described the steps needed to live a moral life: "Extirpate all vicious inclinations; cultivate and improve the mind with useful knowledge, and inure it to virtuous habits; think, live, and act, rationally here, that you may be progressively preparing for heaven."¹⁰⁷ As a skeptic, Stiles examined traditional religious beliefs in light of these ideas. He decided that a document, like the Westminster Confession of Faith drawn up by

in the 1640s, had no authority. Though Stiles never doubted the existence of God, he did require more proof that the Scriptures were the word of God.¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, Stiles took the attorney's oath in New Haven in 1753, and, for the next two years, practiced at the bar and worked as a tutor at Yale. He also preached intermittently in various churches and did not neglect his Theological studies. Stiles was licensed by the New Haven Association of Ministers and preached his first sermon at West Haven in June 1749.¹⁰⁹ At the commencement, he received a Master of Arts and gave a valedictory oration. Morgan states that it was during this period that he became familiar with the principles of natural and national law, which laid the foundation for political and legal knowledge. Morgan affirms that Stiles' rejection of the ministry was not rebellion. Two months after graduation he joined his father's church as a member in full communion.¹¹⁰

Description (c. 1756)

This three-quarter length portrait of Stiles (fig. 4.11) features him dressed at leisure in a robe or dressing gown of dark yellow silk brocade known as a banyan.¹¹¹ A dark colored waistcoat (vest) of what was likely a three-piece suit ensemble is partially buttoned at the top to show his white shirt frill. The sleeves of white undershirt peek out from under the right sleeve of Stiles' gown.¹¹² His dark brown eyes are turned toward the viewer, personifying success as a gentleman. A matching dressing cap typically made of velvet completes the outfit and serves to cover his closely shaven wigless head. He has a ruddy, yet smooth face. Stiles' stock and cravat are tucked in as well. His right hand is held sling-like close to his chest clutching a small book with a light red-orange, almost pink, cover with his right index finger marking the page at the top of the book. It has a ridged spine, indicating that it is bound in leather. A brown section, supposedly containing the names of the author and title, is near Stiles' hand. Neither the title nor

the writing is legible. Light illuminates the left side of Stiles' face. He chose a dark shadowing on the right side of his face.

Deduction

Stiles is posed in a banyan and cap, holding a book, as would befit a man of his scholarly inclinations and polite upbringing.¹¹³ This portrait by Nathaniel Smibert was painted when Stiles accepted a position as pastor at the Second Congregational Church in Newport in 1755 and when he was persuaded by his family and friend Charles Chauncy to abort plans for practicing the law and instead accept his new role as minister on "moral grounds."¹¹⁴ According to Morgan, the diversity of Newport appealed to him and he fell in love with the people, parish, and the lightheartedness of the location, where he remained for twenty years. His religious tolerance may have stemmed from the fact that there were ten different churches in Newport ranging from the Anglican faith to the Jewish tradition and Stiles associated with everyone regardless of affiliation.¹¹⁵ At the time of this painting Morgan states, "that he became carried away on his trip to Newport He had never taken delight in mortifying the flesh, but now he let himself go as never before."¹¹⁶ Additionally, "Stiles bought a wig; he bought lace to add to his jacket, he bought gold buttons;," Morgan writes, "and a cobbler in his congregation trimmed his pumps with fur as a gift."¹¹⁷ Smibert came to Newport and Stiles had three sittings for this portrait for which he paid two guineas.¹¹⁸ This portrait depicts his material and world view of life and represents him as an intellectual. Intrigued by the enlightenment ideas of the Deists and appalled by the enthusiasm of the New Divinity, Stiles once described the 1740s as a period in which "multitudes were seriously, soberly and solemnly out of their wits."¹¹⁹

Stiles portrait from 1756 suggests he took a moderate position by appearing as the quintessential scholar of reason and scientific inquiry, unmoved and unshaken by the emotionalism of the day. Morgan reports that when Stiles joined his father's church in 1746, he had been attracted to Christianity more for the rational perfection of Christian morality rather than by its divine origin. It would be much later in life before he finally accepted Christianity not merely as a dictate of reason, but also as a divine command.¹²⁰ The portrait suggests a confident inquiring mind comfortable in his intellectual prowess and occupation. Wendy Katz states that his choice of facial shadow on his right side was consciously used to reflect intelligence as well as mystery, a decision not made by Stiles' Puritan forbearers.¹²¹ It appears Stiles is holding a book other than a Bible, which suggests his inquiry into moral and philosophical study – one he consistently paralleled with divine revelation throughout his life. Stiles' portrait was grounded in the mortal realm with minimal concern for his election or salvation.

Description (c. 1771)

Because it is rare to find complete documentation written by a cleric about the composition of his portrait, Stiles description of his painting is repeated here in its entirety:

Aug.1 This day Mr. King finished my Picture. He began it last year-but went over the face again now, & added Emblems &c. The Piece is made up thus. The Effigies sitting in a Green elbow Chair, in a Teaching Attitude, with the right hand on the breast, and the left holding a preaching Bible. Behind & on his left side is a part of a Library- two Shelves of Books –a Folio shelf with Eusebij Hist. Ecc., Livy, Du Halde's Histry of China, and one inscribed Talmud B., Aben Ezra, rabbi Selomoh Jarchi in Hebrew Letters, and a little below R. Moses Ben Maimon Moreh nevochim.

By these I denote my Taste for History, especially of the Roman Empire, & of the Chh in the 3 first Centuries & at the Reformation-the State of China as containing a systematical View of an ancient pple for 4000years, being one Third or more of the human Race & different from all the rest of the Orientals-the Rabbin. Learning party in the two most eminent Periods of it; the first before & at the Time of Christ containing the Decisions of the house of R. Eleazar at Babylon, and those of the Houses Hillel & Shammi at Jerusalem; the second period was at the

Revival of the Hebrew Learning in Xithe & twelfth Centuries, when arose those Lights of Captivity, Jarchi, Maimonides &c. I prize this Learning only for the scattered Remains of the ancient Doctrine of the Trinity, & a suffering Messiah, preserved in the Opinions of some of the Rabbins before Christ-the very labors of the modern Rabbins to obviate or interpret them into another sense & Application evincing their Genuiness & Reality. The Moreh Nevochim which was originally written in Arabic is curious for many Reasons; it was a capital Work, & became an Occasion of the greatest literary Dispute among the Jews since the days of Hillel- it contains great Concession, which have recommended it to Xtian Divines.

On the other shelf are Newton's principia, Plato, Watts, Doddridge, Cudworths Intellectual System. & also the New England primeval Divines Hooker, Chauncy, Mather, Cotton.

At my right stands a Pillar. on the Shaft is one Circle and one Trajectory around a solar point, as an emblem of the Newtonian or Pythagorean System of the Sun & planets 7 Comets. It is pythag. so far as respects the Sun & revolveg Planets; it is Newtonian so far as respects the Comets moving in parabolic Trajectories, or long Ellipses whose Vertexes are nigh a parable. Curve. At the top of the visible part of the Pillar & on the side of the Wall, is an Emblem of the Universe or intellectual World. It is as it were one sheet of Omniscience. In a central Glory is the name [Tetragammon, my emphasis] surrounded by white Spots on a Field of azure, from each Spot ascend three hair Lines denoting the Tendencies of minds to Deity & Communion with the Trinity in the Divine light; these Spots denote (Innocency, a Spirit, a World, Clusters or Systems of worlds, & their Tendencies to the eternal central yet universal omnipresent Light. this world is represented by a cluster of Minds whose central tendencies are turned off from God to earth, self & created good-and also in a state of Redemption. Intervening is the Crucifixion of Christ between two Thieves-both Tendencies going off, but one turned back to Light. Denotes also a converted & an unconverted man.

At a little Distance on the Left hand is a black Spot----the Receptacle of fallen Angels & the finally wicked. And as we know only of two Worlds (out of infinite Myriads) that have revolted; so this is big eno' to contain all these, if none were saved. And the collection of moral Evil & Misery, in comparison with the moral Perfection & Happiness of the immense Universe, is but a small Spot & as nothing in proportion to the So that under this small minutesimal Exception of the Misery of all the fallen Angels & even most of the Posterity of Adam, when we consider what is held forth in the Description of Coloss. i, 16, of principalities, dominions &c innumerable grand assemblages of Intelligences, we may say ALL HAPPY IN GOD. These Emblems are more descriptive of my Mind, than the Effigies of my Face. I have selected the Books to my Taste. I possess & have read all Newton's Works & his Principia often: and am highly delighted with his Optics & Astronomy. Plato I have & read with pleasure. watts & Doddridge I esteem as good sound Divines, evangelical preachers, & tho' not the most learned,

yet of an excellent Spirit-in them we have a good Idea of evangelical apostolic pastors. Cud worth I esteem for his Collection of the entire Mythology o the fabulous Ages, which I conceive to have originated from primeval Revelation to the Originals of all Nations. President Chauncy I conceive the most truly & extensively learned of all the New Engl'd Fathers, especially in the Sciences, the Schoolmen, the Eccl.Hist.thro'all Ages of the Chh.&the Reformation,& the Corruptions of the Pontificate-add Speculative or Systematic Theology and the Knowledge of the learned Languages, particularly Greek & besides Hebrew. Its several Dialects as Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan; A Amn of Piety, Zeal for pure Religion& exemplary uncorrupted Fortitude in the Redeemers Cause. But I selected Hooker as more eminent. He was of vast Erudition tho' not so extensive & universal as Chauncy; but he had a penetration, Depth of Thot & solidity of Judgment beyond them all. Richard Mather & John Cotton were of a second Class for learning, but greatly useful.¹²²

Deduction

Stiles' second image was painted at mid-life by Samuel King in 1771. It is the most discussed portrait in his diary and the one in which he artfully composed the culmination of his religious beliefs, retaining a breath of view unacceptable to New Lights and dubious to Old Lights and Arminians. According to Morgan, Stiles never fully embraced the freedom of the Deists and he delved into a personal search to determine the accuracy of Scripture. He ultimately went so far as to state that human reason hailed from revelation stating, "Revelation was a most rational and sublime Scheme far exceeding natural Religion."¹²³ Stiles wanted to fully assure himself that Scripture was a "divine original" vehemently stating "the opinions of fallible men in support of infallible truths did ever disgust me."¹²⁴ Once Stiles finished comparing the Scriptures with other historical sources and faith traditions he convinced himself that they contained authentic accounts of historical events. William Sprague denotes the time-frame for Stiles' personal crisis of faith:

It was the years, between the completion of his collegiate course and his settlement in the ministry, in which Stiles embraced the most critical period of his whole inner life. During a great part of this time, his mind was much distressed with doubts respecting the fundamental doctrines of religion.¹²⁵

Stiles reported “I had not indeed disbelief, but I was in a state of skepticism, and ardently sought a clear belief of the being and attributes of God.”¹²⁶ Sprague affirms that it was not until 1750 when Stiles “in a conversation with a young gentleman of his acquaintance excited in his mind serious doubts respecting Revelation itself.”¹²⁷ Stiles’ accounts are painfully honest: “These, cost me many a painful hour. By this time I was so thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures, that I had no doubt whatever of the fundamental doctrines of Revelation; but I had strong doubts whether the whole was not a fable and a delusion.”¹²⁸ Sprague attests that Stiles applied himself with new diligence to the study of the Bible. He endeavored to live in “conscientious obedience” to the Divine requirements. Because of this discipline, Sprague states “his doubts at length entirely left him.” Stiles saw his call to the Newport ministry shortly afterwards as a sign of Divine Providence.¹²⁹

While it appears that Stiles has given the viewer of his portrait more of a history and science lesson than a descriptive account of his image, he did inform the viewer of his own unending search into the arts and sciences. “These Emblems,” Stiles wrote, “are more descriptive of my Mind, than the Effigies of my Face.” For Stiles, such symbolism was essential to capturing his character. In his 1771 diary account about the picture, Stiles described his posture and gesture as “a Teaching Attitude” and wrote in detail about the composition. He listed titles of the books visible on the shelves in the background, which included works on Roman and Chinese history, Christian and Jewish theology, and Newtonian science. Among the emblems in the portrait is a circle and ellipse inscribed on the column in the back-ground, which signifies “the Newtonian or Pythagorean System of the Sun & Planets & Comets.” At the top of the column, a luminous disk filled with religious symbols represents “the Universe or intellectual World” bears the Hebrew

letters for "God" beneath the overarching motto "All Happy in God." King included this unusual symbol at the request of Stiles who had drawn it in his diary the same year (fig. 4.13).¹³⁰

Stiles' portrait demonstrates a position of religious and philosophical equilibrium documented in Morgan's analysis of his diary. Stiles chose minimal shadowing to his face, preferring to be viewed as less deceptive than the shadowed intellectual visage of his younger portrait. Sitting in a provincial weathered Windsor chair, Stiles is wearing a three-piece suit with starched linen fallen bands nearly overlapping one another. With the placement of his right hand over his heart directly above his gold embossed blue preaching Bible, he portrays the humility signifying a Christian minister. Hidden in the emblematic convention of Stiles' clerical duties, the placement of his thumb on the first page of his Bible indicates this is more than a visual memoir. In what he refers to as his "teaching attitude," Stiles did not choose a didactic passage of salvation for the audience. Rather, his thumb "marks" the first page of the Bible, probably *Genesis*, which sets in motion God's evolutionary plan in the first verse: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."¹³¹ In Stiles' portrait, the tension between reason and revelation is telling. He aligns his preaching Bible and himself with his search through the cultural and religious history indicated on the painted bookshelves to find the creator of "heaven and earth" through scholarly investigation rather than faith.

At the time this portrait was painted, Stiles portrayed himself as an enlightened thinker. While he understood that the Calvinist doctrine was conjectural and problematic on issues such as the resurrection, immortality, the Last Judgment, the Trinity, Atonement, predestination and original sin, his portrait demonstrates a dialectic approach of fusing the "myths" of Biblical literature with historical evidence. The luminous disk filled with religious symbols representing "the Universe or intellectual World" is a play on a mirrored wall scone common in middling

homes. Stiles creatively utilizes its purpose as a light fixture to illuminate his viewers by placing the Hebrew letters for God, “Tetragammon” and the black spot as the Fall, with the cross as a symbol of Jesus’ crucifixion; all as three mystical emblems of redemption and salvation. The azure fields and white spots Stiles describes in his diary are oddly related with the Trinity and to the beatific visions Douglas Winarski states were typical of the revival enthusiasts of the New Divinity.¹³² “Enthusiasts of the 1730s revival,” state Winarski, “experienced mystical visions from Chapter 20 in The Book of Revelation. These visions violated one of the most basic tenets of Reformed theology; predestination.” He argues that “access to this information was unscriptural as, Reformed clergymen agreed that the Book had been sealed and would not be opened until the Last Judgment.”¹³³ Stiles’ mystical emblems indicate knowledge of his election. The combination of symbols of Jewish mysticism, Platonic mysticism, and Newtonian physics and sciences, as well as books on universal cultures and Reformed theology, suggest what Morgan affirms: Stiles was clinging to the forms of Christianity, but with his heart dedicated to truth in a way that the philosophers understood. He represented himself as a child of enlightenment, a deistic Christian, with the moral aspect of Christianity always informing his final summation.¹³⁴ Of Divine guidance, he states, “I have no more any dependence,” says he, “on my own prudence, or on the stability of the affections of man, but rely alone on God.”¹³⁵

Nevertheless upon closer reading of his portrait, Stiles’ devotion to spiritual themes, as represented in the obvious cosmic and mystical emblems, depict an ordered “preparatory” curiosity ironically categorizing him as an Intellectual Father. Portrayed in the carefully selected emblems is the summation of an intellectual and philosophical mind. His conversion written in the spiritual autobiography of his diary, cost him many a “painful hour” and his labor intensive approach betrays a passive infusion of grace.¹³⁶ He selected Puritan forefather Thomas Hooker

as a role model and gave him second billing only to Chauncy stating that he was “more eminent... of vast Erudition tho’ not as extensive & universal as Chauncy; but he had a penetration, Depth of Thot & solidity of Judgment beyond them all.” He values the writings of Richard Mather, & John Cotton, (Knight’s Spiritual Brethren) as “second Class for learning, but greatly useful.”¹³⁷

Stiles’ transcends in his portrait into an *imitatio Christi*. His Calvinistic heritage fuses with his philosophical mind mystically synthesizing both schools of thought. While his portrayal of visible sainthood has been an arduous struggle between reason and revelation, his unshadowed representation depicts him as a model of truth. His overlapping fallen bands overlie the area of his voice, simulating the intersection of his religious and scientific inquiries which was his new mode of discourse. Stiles has arrived as one of the elect. In his carefully constructed representation, Stiles depicted the patterns of his mind in a typological Judeo-Christian reference of Jesus; the Alpha and the Omega. Genesis (the beginning) is represented in the Bible he holds, and Revelation (the end) is portrayed in the lighted sconce illuminating his corporeal being. Stiles’ image affirms Edwards’ chief distinguishing marks of true grace. The pillar used to display Newtonian physics in the portrait is transformed into the temple dwelling where Stiles paints a typological framework as the driving force behind his scientific inquiries, testifying to Christ as the son of God, as well the imminence of the millennium.

Description (c. 1794)

In comparing the description he wrote of his earlier portrait in 1774 by King with the later portrait (fig. 4.14) painted by Moulthrop in 1794, Stiles states, “This Aft. I sat for my Picture to Mr. Moulthrop,”¹³⁸ The rather rotund long three-quarter length figure representing Stiles is slightly turned to the right and seated in a red upholstered armchair which supports his

frame directly engaging the viewer. He is attired in a black clerical gown (Geneva gown) with slightly parted fallen bands which extend up and over his stock collar.¹³⁹ The upturned curled edges of his formal white wig encircle his head and appears unyielding to its shape. Jowls are painted along his jaw line and heavy eyebrows and furrows between his eyes suggest his advanced age. Thin lips are pursed. His face lacks color and appears pale. The long fingers of his left hand are pointing downward resting on the arm of the chair. His right arm is bent upward at the elbow and his right wrist is bent and extended with his palm facing downward and his thumb pointing back to himself. A narrow slip of cuff is noted below the black sleeves of his gown. His face is fully illuminated by light. The right side of the portrait is darkened and the scarlet fabric of the chair seems to cast a reddish glow on the left side of the painting.

Deduction

Throughout his life, Stiles has depicted himself as an intellectual gentleman lawyer, a distinguished scholar and leader, and, in his last portrait, in the clerical robes of the ministerial profession he had been unable to dismiss.¹⁴⁰ His gestures changed over the years; first clutching the classics as an informed erudite to clutching his heart in a moment where he felt part of the great chain of being. Now in his later years his simple open-handed gesture connotes a blessing outward to the viewer. He seems no longer concerned with his own salvation and now extends it out to others. Dressed in his priestly robes as president of Yale College, he continues the apostolic succession of Christ remaining an *imitatio Christi* as one who labors “for the communion of saints” as one of the Spiritual Brethren.¹⁴¹

Speculation

Stiles placed his convictions in Scripture and emphasized in typological fashion that Christ himself had treated the Old Testament as inspired.¹⁴² Despite Stiles’ penchant for

mysticism, as well as a scholarly approach to reason, his personal comfort level was in the Congregational tradition dispensing with Plato and admiring earlier Puritan Divines.¹⁴³ Morgan states that the theological position Stiles was taking up in the 1760s and 1770 was much closer to that of the Puritans a hundred back than either the New Divinity or the new rationalism of Chauncy. Yet Morgan affirms that “his Puritanism was in fact a compound of the old piety and the new enlightenment.”¹⁴⁴ Stiles remained connected to a traditional approach and believing Congregationalists were closer to an apostolic model affirming the resurrection:

When we die the curtain is drawn aside which conceals from humans the sensible worlds of higher orders of being. Death unlike sleep does not diminish the activity of the mind but heightens it. We take temporary leave of our present sensible worlds until the resurrection when they are returned to us. In the meantime we live without bodies and perceive through senses as yet unknown to us. When the resurrection comes we will reassume the five senses enjoyed before death without losing those acquired after it. The bodies reassumed will be different from the old.¹⁴⁵

Morgan claims this was the closest Stiles came to a beatific vision. His typological reference to temple imagery (the curtain drawn) is analogous to the depiction of his parted Geneva bands proximal to his throat which proclaimed the revelation of the New Testament in the statement above.

The portrait by Moulthrop represents not only a return to Old Puritanism, but, paradoxically, an evangelical demonstration of piety. Apprehensive to affirm any “enthusiasm” as it would be misconstrued, the outward gesture of his right hand belies Morgan’s claim. His image is depicted actively preaching in “Whitefieldian” manner and dress, extending a blessing to a believer. Wearing a Geneva gown, he classified himself as the elect, an *imitatio Christi*, who sits on a chair-like throne described in Rev. 20, extending his approval to viewers as they muddle

through their own personal faith journey. Morgan affirms that Stiles was never one to administer judgment on his congregants:

Stiles held firm in the belief that the erection of creeds and texts whether of orthodoxy or piety, was an infringement of the divine prerogative. God appointed liberty of thought; it was not for man to establish standards of truth by force or by compulsion.¹⁴⁶

While Morgan affirms that Stiles had no use for Unitarianism or Deism, he tolerated all denominations with catholic approval.¹⁴⁷ Morgan's research fails to find any documentary evidence that Stile underwent sudden conversion of the kind New Lights expounded. But then, as Tamburello states, if divine union is described as "the insistence upon a direct inward and present religious experience" then it is possible that Stiles safely, without words, expressed his conversion visually in his portrait.¹⁴⁸ This image testifies to Edwards' distinguishing marks of conversion. Stiles convictions were grounded in a Judeo-Christian evolutionary plan and an apocalyptic Christ. Morgan affirms that Stiles insisted that Jesus was the son of God after searching for proof even in the mystical jargon of Dionysius the Areopagite, where further affirmation of the divinity of Christ was documented.¹⁴⁹

Stiles views culminated in his belief that God was incomprehensible.¹⁵⁰ Never a true Arminian, Stiles was as early as 1758, Morgan states telling people that virtue was not enough even though obedience to moral principles would bring greater rewards in this world, it would not bring "heavens peculiar care hereafter, unless by the Grace of Christ."¹⁵¹ Morgan states that within two years of arriving in Newport, Stiles' sermons acquired an evangelical tone. Grace was not to be obtained by human merit, but only by the free gift of God.¹⁵² While Stiles' earlier portraits fulfill the category of the Intellectual Fathers, this later painting depicted a shift in Stiles' religious consciousness to the perceptions of the Spiritual Brethren.

The three portraits of Stiles reflect the content of his radically shifting beliefs, as well as the subconscious patterns of his post-millennial mind. He departed from his earlier allegiance with Deism and, as a result of his many years of exploring Hebrew Scripture (and perhaps his close Jewish friend), he insisted on a typological reading and the supremacy of scripture.¹⁵³ The Arminian tendency which had characterized his writing was giving way to an insistence upon human corruption and the atonement of Christ.¹⁵⁴

Charles Chauncy

Born in Boston in 1705, Chauncy was an American Congregational clergyman who graduated from Harvard in 1727 with both his undergraduate degree and a Master's in Theology. He was also the great-grandson and namesake of the second president of the college, Charles Chauncy (1654-1671). He was ordained a minister of the first Church in Boston, where he remained for sixty years.¹⁵⁵ He is considered the forerunner of Universalism having been deeply involved in religious controversies during his lifetime.¹⁵⁶

As an intellectual he distrusted emotionalism and opposed the revivalist preaching of the Great Awakening and the Protestant evangelical movement that swept through the British North American colonies between 1739 and 1745.¹⁵⁷ He became the leader of the "Old Lights" or liberals in theology in the doctrinal disputes following the Great Awakening, and was best known for his five part discourse *The Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (1743).¹⁵⁸ After the Revolutionary war, Chauncy defended the doctrine of Universalism in *The Mystery Hid from Ages and Generations*, written in 1784.¹⁵⁹

Description

Chauncy is an elderly man seated and turned to the left in an armchair of early Georgian design (fig.4.15).¹⁶⁰ His face is rigidly modeled with beige flesh tones and little or no shadowing. Tight curls of a large gray wig roll up onto his shoulder. A double chin, presses into a flaccid unstarched Geneva collar splayed at his neck.¹⁶¹ He wears a black jacket closed and buttoned over black knee breeches.¹⁶² It is difficult to discern whether Chauncy wears a late eighteenth-century three-piece suit or if a clerical gown covers his clothing. Deep into the corner of the painting his left hand is opened with fingers pointed downward, resting on his left knee which is crossed over the top of his right leg. His right elbow is on the chair arm and his right hand is supported by a long book bound in brown calf with thinly embossed gold-lettered words spelling out Universal Salvation. Behind the sitter, voluminous dark red-orange drapery is shown drawn towards the left and the background on the right is a very dark brown.

Deduction

Chauncy published his major theological work, *The Mystery Hid from Ages and Generations*, in 1785, two decades after he had completed it and shortly before his portrait was painted.¹⁶³ According to Edwin Griffin, Chauncy waited to expose the extent of his liberalism and Arminianism, which had been dimly visible in his earlier refutation on revivalism, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion*.¹⁶⁴ This discourse was initially a point-by-point defense of the threat to religious order generated by the practice of itinerancy which finally drew other ministers to Chauncy's side. Itinerancy not only violated the congregational principles of the self-sufficiency and absolute independence of each church and its pastor, but in the last

analysis Chauncy believed it was just an ill-disguised interference in the ordered ministry of the settled clergy.¹⁶⁵

Chauncy's lengthy struggles with the Scriptures convinced him that only his own system accorded with both reason and revelation.¹⁶⁶ While he could not totally deny the affective dimension of religious experience which the evangelicals exalted, he affirmed the affective only if it remained under the control of the rational.¹⁶⁷ Chauncy's tone is somewhat condescending as he avoids mentioning Edwards in a letter he wrote to Stiles: "I have read all Mr. Stoddard's writings, but have never been able to see in them that strength of genius some have attributed to him. Mr., William of Hatfield, his son-in-law, I believe to have been the greater man, and I am ready to think greater than any of his own sons, though they were all men of more than common understanding."¹⁶⁸ For Chauncy, the affections influenced the conduct of one's life, but they did not determine that conduct. At best, the affections had a debased importance placed under the control of reason and order. Michael Mooney states that Chauncy did not deny that affection was a critical part of religious belief, but he insisted that such affection be guided by an enlightened mind.¹⁶⁹

In *The Mystery Hid*, Chauncy pressed forward on deeper issues arguing that he had held back publication because he recognized the radical, but logical, position of his arguments which, according to Mooney, confirmed an innate moral sense in man, a belief in human free will, and an affirmation of universal salvation.¹⁷⁰ These claims undermined the doctrinal traditions of his Calvinist tradition and the social hierarchy he admired from the beginning to the end of his life. For Chauncy, nature and creation were the keys to a correct understanding of God:

The appearances of good, in our world, are such as fairly lead us to conceive of the Supreme Creator as absolutely as perfectly benevolent. . . .tis goodness that

finishes the idea of God, and represents him to us under the lovely character of the best as well as the greatest Being in the universe.¹⁷¹

Mooney argues that Chauncy denied the debilitating effect of original sin. Throughout a second publication titled, *The Benevolence of the Deity*, he appealed to mankind to believe “what our senses (unaided by grace) tell us about God: as creation is good, so God is benevolent.”¹⁷²

Mooney states that Chauncy went out-on-a-limb describing a God not so very different from a reasonably good man. “It appears, then, upon the whole,” he wrote, “that the goodness of God, is the same thing with goodness in all other intelligent moral beings; allowing only a due difference in degree and proportion.”¹⁷³ Compared with Edwards, who saw the effect of grace to be the lifting of man ever closer to union with the Creator, Mooney states that Chauncy asserted that God was not ontologically remote from man; God’s ways instead were understandable, and they were contrived in conformity to a plan any thinking man would find just.¹⁷⁴ According to Griffin, this kind of piety known as “supernatural rationalism” was a hybrid position which was congenial to the Congregational vein as well as to a colonial mind. He writes, “Americans have resolved contradictory tensions by taking a middle position that mixes elements of each concept.”¹⁷⁵ Chauncy’s position known as supernatural rationalism came to argue that the individual naturally had the ability to discern the fundamental truths of religion, but, unlike the Deists, the supernatural rationalists insisted on the necessity of scripture to sharpen these perceptions of divine truth.¹⁷⁶

Apart from the Renaissance tradition of drapery, Chauncy’s portrait displays few emblematic extravagances in textiles and overall composition. This unpretentious composition may have been Chauncy’s choice as related in Sibley’s *Harvard Graduates* that, “he never swept a congregation off its feet, either by oratorical eloquence or by persuading it of the very presence

of the Spirit of God in its midst.” Sibley states, “Like most Arminians, Dr. Chauncy was lacking in pulpit talents ...dull.”¹⁷⁷ Walker’s description is more flattering:

He had none of the intuitive grasp or metaphysical genius of Edwards, but in patient scholarly investigation he had not a superior, and probably not an equal, in eighteenth- century New England. Yet his very simplicity and directness make his sermons easy reading. The directness of public utterance in the pulpit or by the written page was accompanied by a similar bluntness of private address. Chauncy did not flatter. His manners were plain and downright, -- dignified, bold, pleasant, social, and very instructive.¹⁷⁸

While it is known that Chauncy played a role in the major events of his time, he left few personal papers and no spiritual autobiography or diary. Utilizing Prown’s method of inquiry, Chauncy’s portrait comes alive depicting the ardor of his belief, constructing a post-revolutionary spiritual autobiography via its stylistic conventions. Prown affirms that the analysis of style in material culture facilitates the identification or the difference of elements that are specific to a place a time, or a maker. Because form is the great summarizer, the concretion of belief is witnessed in abstract form.¹⁷⁹ Prown’s seminal research compared the stylistic differences in various forms of material culture in the pre- and post-revolutionary mind:

Prior to the revolution, an exuberance and sensual appeal is represented in the objects generated during the rococo period which aroused irrational responses and indulgences in feelings and emotions; they embodied aspects of human nature that could imply social and political instability.¹⁸⁰

On the other hand, Prown affirms, “neoclassical objects of the post-revolutionary period were aesthetically sanitized, art made safe for John Adams and his contemporaries.”¹⁸¹ Chauncy’s portrait painted in the post-revolution period is a telling depiction of an aesthetic sanitation of distance. The position of Chauncy’s hands are displaced from the center area of his body (the area of the heart – a symbol of affection) generating less heat and evoking a formal cool aura, different from an earlier Baroque or Rococo-like convention of hand-to-heart position. Instead,

the arm of his Boston chair juts out as an anthropomorphic unyielding surrogate, separating the viewer from his body. His bent left knee further prevents entrance into his “heart space.” His body appears large and fills the space of the chair despite reports that he was a man of small stature. “A friend of his later years has thus drawn his portrait, “Sibley writes, “He was, like Zaccheus, little of stature. God gave him a slender, feeble body.”¹⁸²

His presence is enlarged in paint by the enormity and implications of his final thesis on Universalism, which is clearly displayed in his portrait. A stern depiction of his character is echoed by the fingers of his right hand which firmly grip the top of the tall compact book that mirrors the mortised hold of the curving finial into the of the lower chair bar. Going out on the wooden limb of his curved Queen Anne chair, Chauncy radically chose to be painted alongside his cautiously and timely publication, *Universal Salvation*, a text other than a Bible used to represent him. The book is closed tightly and no pages are marked. The red section of the title is bordered in a slip of gold paint on both edges which is the thesis of his publication, *The Mystery Hid from Ages and Generations*. Chauncy has nothing further to add in that there is no access painted within the binding. It appears as if “the case is closed.”

Speculation

This analysis is ironically and metonymically depicted in Chauncy’s conventional portrayal. His un-starched fallen bands are metaphors for his surrender to years of doctrinal debate. Pressed into submission from the silence of withholding a publication known as “the pudding,” the splayed collar slackens and breathes a sigh of relief as a symbol of Chauncy’s untoward repression. Its bowed form represents Chauncy’s appeasement of congregational disparity as he placates the demands of his parishioners near his retirement. Chauncy’s relaxed collar is on the verge of being untied from his neck, indicative of his detachment from a public

life in the same way Christ uttered his last words during the crucifixion: “it is finished.”¹⁸³

According to Griffin, after finally making the decision to “boil his pudding,” the term he used to publish his tract, *The Mystery Hid*, Chauncy’s assistant, John Clarke, allowed him more leisure time “to visit his friends, smoke a pipe with his cronies and take a glass of wine with a widow.”¹⁸⁴ He affirms that Chauncy enjoyed clattering across Boston’s cobblestones “in a heavy yellow bodied chaise with long shafts, a black boy perched on the horse’s tail.”¹⁸⁵ Chauncy’s good friend Stiles notes in his diary on May 16, 1785, “they have lately determined to set up an Organ in Dr. Chauncy’s Meetinghouse being the Old Brick or first church in Boston founded 1629.”¹⁸⁶ Chauncy’s indifference is telling as he surrendered the battle:

The doctor was against it, but Mr. Clark, his colleague & the Congregation in general were for it. This spring the Meetinghouse was repaired & Dr. Chauncy preached a Consecrated farewell Sermon on account of his great age. The people eager to get an Organ waited on the Dr. who told them, that it would not be long before he was in his grave---he knew that before his head was cold there, they would have an organ-and they might do as they pleased.¹⁸⁷

Sibley describes “Old Brick’s” resignation: “He will never shew any more zeal, or scold, except at vice and immorality.”¹⁸⁸

Succumbing to his assistant’s taste in ceremonial garb, Chauncy is portrayed in a three-piece every day suit, thus exposing him in a truthful depiction of a gentleman. The lack of facial shadowing confirms an unpretentious decorum. It is only fitting, Chauncy contended, “to expect that those who have received grace will manifest signs of its reception, particularly in reasonable behavior which avoids discord and displays of censorious spiritual pride.” Sprague states that in his later years, “he made a handsome figure in his dignified clerical costume, with three cornered

hat, gold cane and laced wrists, bowing gracefully to citizens as he passed.”¹⁸⁹ He affirms that in early in 1786, “Chauncy rode out in his carriage dressed in his very best, to sit for a portrait.”¹⁹⁰

According to Edward Griffin, Chauncy denied the efficacy of unaided reason and confirmed the primacy of Scripture stressing the divine role of Christ earning the merits of salvation for humankind, insisting that even Calvinism had not stressed Christ’s redemptive sacrifice enough.¹⁹¹ Chauncy’s path to visible sainthood is no less marked than Edwards’ mystical journey as his portrait testified to Edwards’ marks in his publication, *Universal Salvation*, that Christ, as the son of God, atoned for mankind’s sin.

Chauncy’s has a firm grasp on his book which is symbolic of his grasp on the millennium. Described as an a-millennialist by Mooney, Chauncy’s portrait attests to his ideas of a benevolent God. While Chauncy did expect that God would one day rain destruction on this earth, bringing human history to a close, his ideas differed from the pre-millennialists who “separated the chaff from the wheat.” Chauncy did not see a cosmic undoing as the utter destruction of the earth, but rather its rejuvenation. He rationally combined elements of the pessimism of pre-millennialism – which expected a catastrophic end to the world – and the optimism of post-millennialism – which expected the world to steadily improve – in an a-millennialism, which saw the final catastrophe as purgative and restorative.¹⁹² In his manuscript, *The Mystery Hid*, Mooney states that Chauncy affirmed that the desires of rational humanity were identical and would be fulfilled, for all persons would finally receive eternal happiness in heaven. And when all had attained such happiness, Christ would relinquish his salvific role, and all would enter the eschatological kingdom.¹⁹³ In a mystical Edwards-esque manner, Chauncy believed God would be “all in all.”¹⁹⁴

As a supernatural rationalist, Chauncy declared the Bible as the “grand test” of enthusiasm and “one of the best preservatives” against error. The authentic work of the Holy Spirit, he argued, did not “lie in giving men private revelations, but in opening their minds to understand the publick ones contained in the scripture.”¹⁹⁵ Typologically, Chauncy depicted himself as *imitatio Christi*. In displaying his manuscript, *The Mystery Hid*, under a title which represents the thesis of his life’s work, Chauncy’s image represented his personal salvation and perfect union with God in the completion of God’s evolutionary plan in history. His publications, as well as the sanitized composition of his portrait, can be summed up in the methodical discipline of his daily life. Some features of this regimen, to which Chauncy attributed his restored health, were noted by a friend:

The Doctor was remarkably temperate in his diet and exercise. At twelve o’clock he took one pinch of snuff, and only one in twenty-four hours. At one o’clock, he dined on one dish of plain, wholesome food, and after dinner took one glass of wine, and one pipe of tobacco, and only one in twenty-four hours. And he was equally methodical in his exercise, which consisted chiefly or wholly in walking. I said, Doctor, you live by rule. If I did not, I should not live at all.¹⁹⁶

Eight months after his portrait was painted, Chauncy passed away on February 10, 1787, a month after his eighty-second birthday.¹⁹⁷ His optimistic world-view was an “ordered” common sense approach to a loving Divine reality. His portrait, void of Christological emblems, portrayed a factual approach in representing his corporeality, as well as his election positioning him as one of the Intellectual Fathers.

Conclusion

In this period of congregational evangelism, personal mystical experiences of God supplanted a prepared conversion process, challenging the social order and ministerial hegemony of New England.¹⁹⁸ Despite the different roads taken toward the millennium, all four clerics

were essentially “cosmically optimistic” about the outcome of the world. According to Edwin Gausted, it was as early as 1741 when clashes between all of them subsided.¹⁹⁹ The difference between the men was not simply over the conduct of the Revival. Contrasting “pairings” or “dispositions” should not be centered in what was a relatively short-lived yet life altering event.²⁰⁰ The intellectual bifurcation begun as a dispute over the propriety of enthusiasm and soon became a contest over the nature of God and the constitution of man.²⁰¹ Griffin argues that, in time, their views of God grew similar to one another. Even Chauncy thought of a God as a Being of pure spirit without the anthropomorphic elements of the God of Calvin.



Fig. 4.1. Joseph Badger, *Reverend George Whitefield* ca. 1743-1765 (Cambridge: Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (42 in. x 32 ⁷/₈ in.). Photo: Linda Johnson.

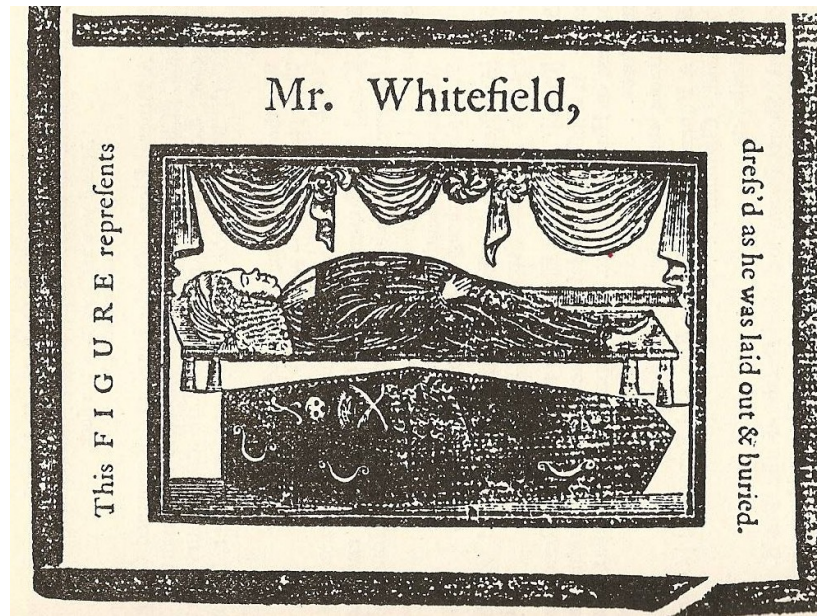


Fig. 4.2. George Whitefield Funeral Broadside (Massachusetts Historical Society, 1922), Collections 75, No. 1157. Photo: Linda Johnson.

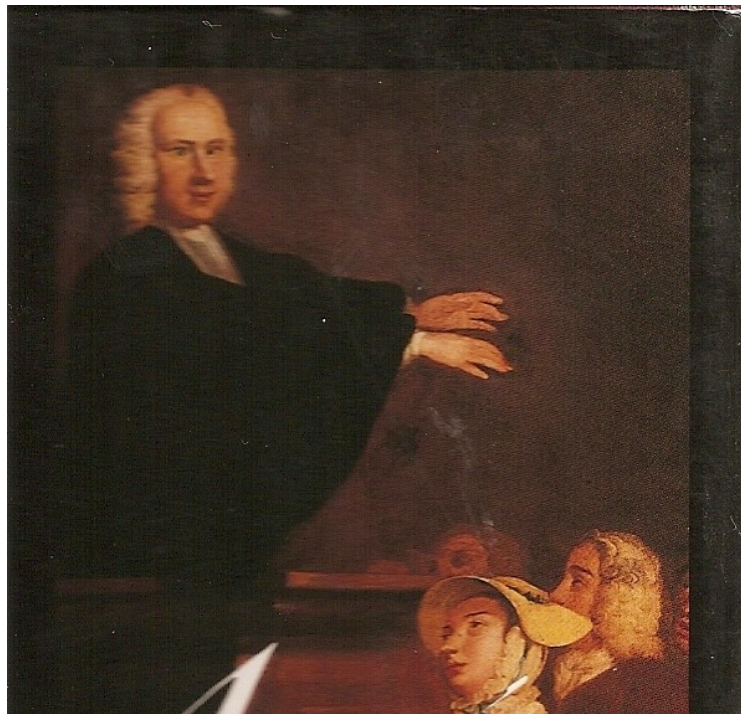


Fig. 4.3. John Wollaston, *George Whitefield* (New York: The Granger Collection), Oil on Canvas, 1742, Photo: Linda Johnson.

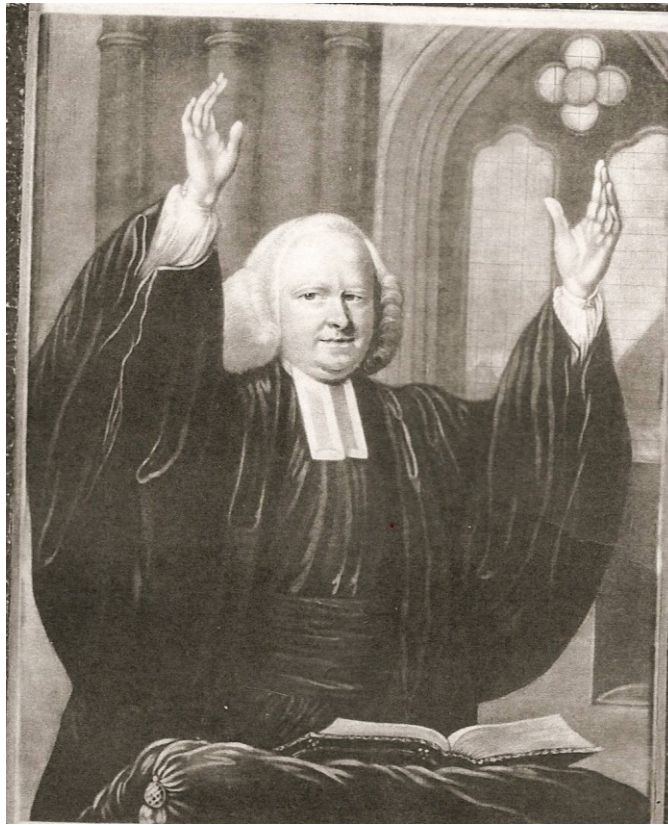


Fig. 4.4. *Reverend George Whitefield: Chaplin to the Countess of Huntingdon* (Winterthur Museum), Engraving. Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 4.5. Samuel G. Goodrich, *George Whitefield Preaching to a Gathering Outdoors* in "Pictorial History of America" (Hartford, 1846). Photo: Linda Johnson.



Figure 4. 6. “Tiara” Crown of Life. Joseph Badger, *Reverend George Whitefield ca. 1743-1765* (Cambridge: Harvard University), Oil on Canvas (42 in. x 32 7/8 in.). Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 4.7. John Ferguson Weir, *Jonathan Edwards* c. 1746 (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas. Photo: Linda Johnson.

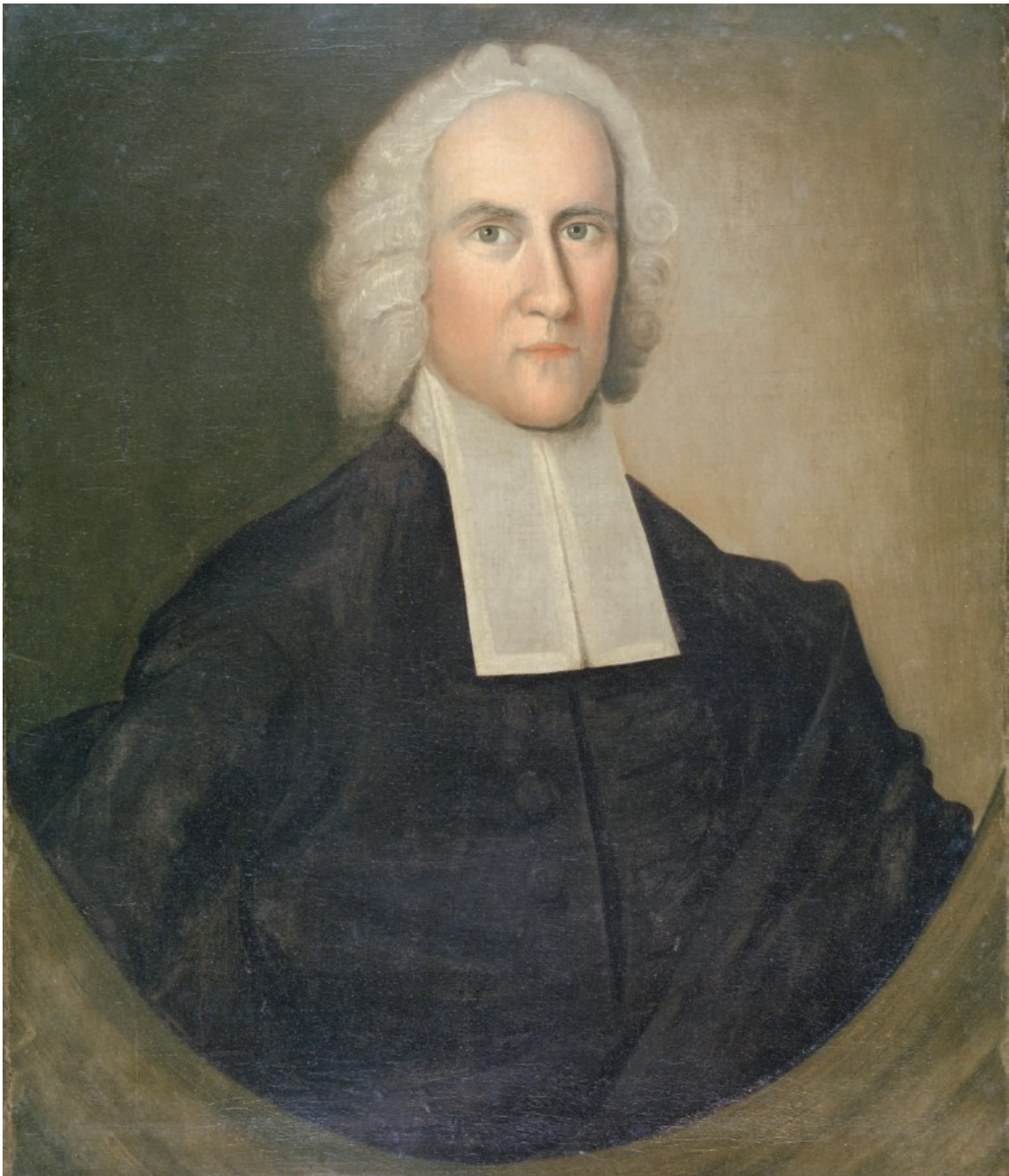


Fig. 4.8. Joseph Badger, *Jonathan Edwards* c. 1751 (Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University), Oil on Canvas. Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 4.9. Collar/Book. John Ferguson Weir, *Jonathan Edwards* c. 1746 (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas. Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 4.10. Joseph Badger, *Jonathan Edwards* c. 1751 (Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University), Oil on Canvas. Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 4.11. Nathaniel Smibert, *Ezra Stiles* (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas, 1756. Photo: Linda Johnson.

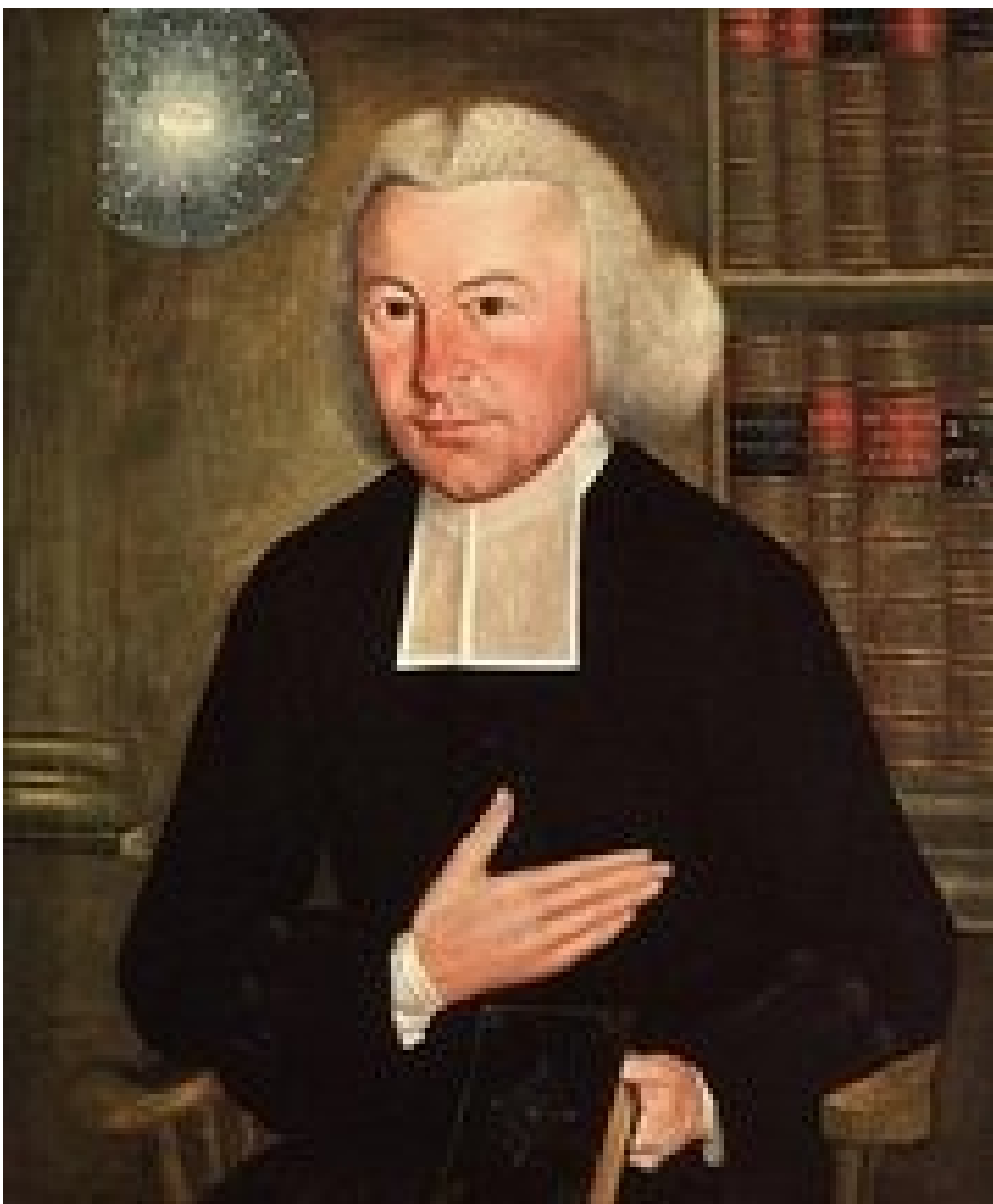


Fig. 4.12. Samuel King, *Ezra Stiles* (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas, 1771. Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 4.13. Close up of Tetragrammaton. Samuel King, *Ezra Stiles* (Yale University Art Gallery), Oil on Canvas, 1771. Photo: Linda Johnson.

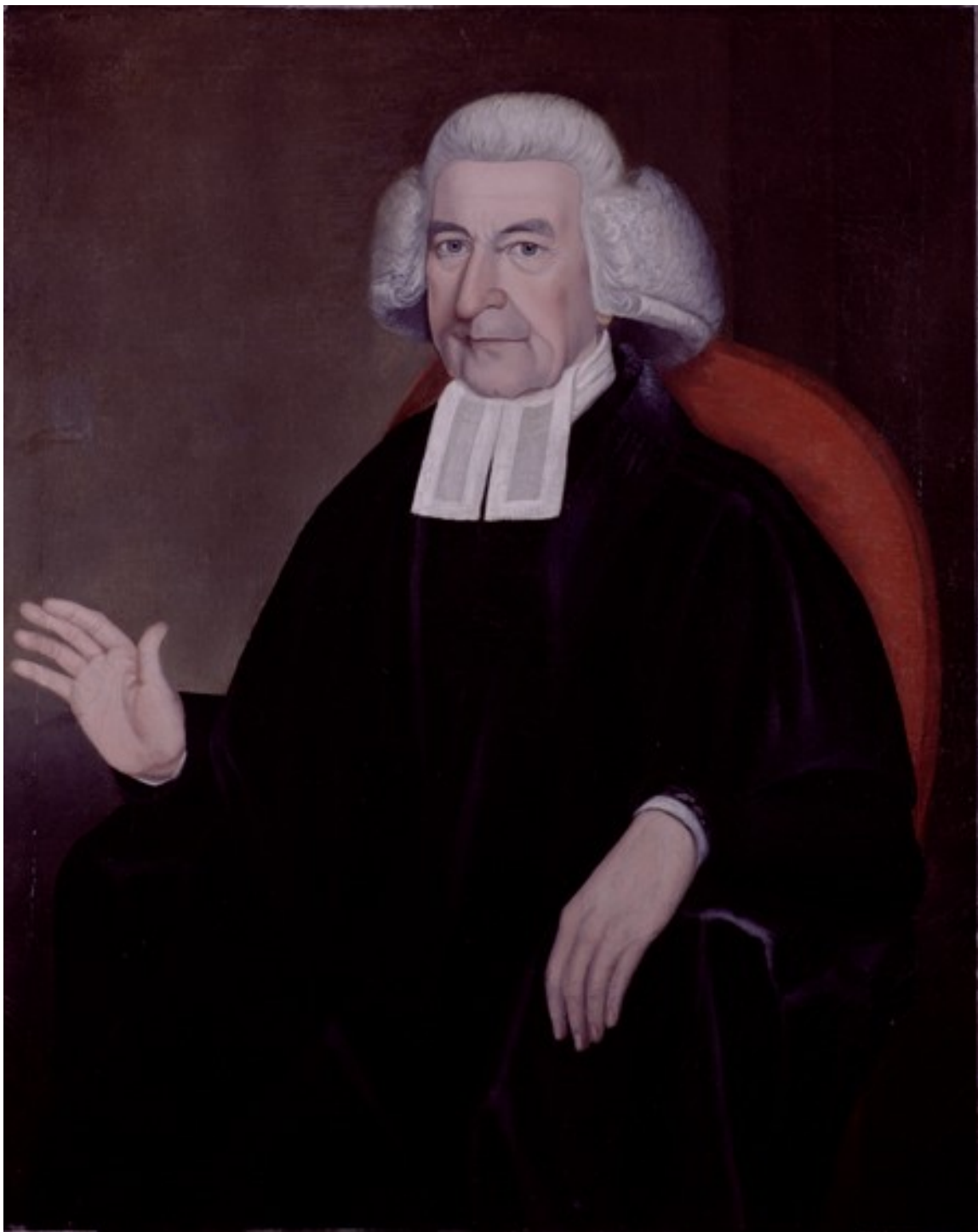


Fig. 4.14. Reuben Moulthrop, *Ezra Stiles* (Rhode Island: Redwood Library), Oil on Canvas, 1794. Photo: Linda Johnson.



Fig. 4.15. Unsigned, *Reverend Charles Chauncy*. c. 1786 (Massachusetts Historical Society), Oil on Canvas (79.4 cm. x 72.2 cm). Photo: Linda Johnson.

¹ Patricia Bonomi. *Under the Cope of Heaven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 131. See also Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 280-283.

² Ibid., 132-134. These events have usually been viewed from the perspective of New England Congregationalism, though the first denomination to be involved in the Awakening was the Presbyterian Church in the Middle Colonies. Churches with a “professional” clergy and organized governing structure – the Presbyterian, Congregational, Dutch Reformed, and eventually the Anglican – were split apart by the revival forming approximately one hundred Separatist congregations in all New England generally divided into two camps known as “New Lights” and “Old Lights. Due to inadequate leadership and strenuous official opposition, however, few of these separations achieved permanent status as Congregational churches.

³ Ibid. See also *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences*, eds. Alan Heimert and Perry Miller (New York; The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967), xv, 11. Heimert states in his introduction that pietism was a response to the “spiritual vacuum left by the defeat of Puritanism and the disarray of Calvinism.”

⁴ Edwin S. Gausted, *The Great Awakening in New England* (New York: Harper & Brothers 1957), 42-44. The Great Awakening created conditions uniquely favorable to social and political, as well as religious, reform by piercing the façade of civility and deference pre-revolutionary politics, church government, fears of an Anglican episcopacy, movement of communities to the frontier, and itinerant missionary efforts that governed provincial life

⁵ Ibid., 42.

⁶ Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee, Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1967), 161-164.

⁷ Edmund Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: The Life of Ezra Stiles, 1725-1795* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1962), 15. The New England Puritans brought with them in the very vocabulary of their theology the suggestion of Arminianism. They thought of God as dealing with man through a covenant or agreement in which God offered eternal life in return for faith. It was a covenant in name only for in fact God fulfilled both parts of the bargain; no man could have faith unless God gave it to him, and God gave it only to his eternally elect. The doctrine of predestination when stated in terms of covenant sounded less rigorous than it was. The preacher emphasized that faith was the free gift of God. Most sermons made mention of the covenant of grace. The word Arminian became a term of abuse for anyone who deviated from the strict dogmas of predestination. Prior to the 1730s, Arminianism had been essentially unknown in New England. Ironically the Awakening encouraged both evangelicalism and, as a reaction, an American return to orthodoxy. See also Edmund Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a*

Puritan Idea (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), 69. See also John Calvin, *Writings on Pastoral Piety*, ed. and trans. Elise Anne McKee (New York: Paulist Press, 2001), 2-6. Essential to Puritan thought was belief in the sinfulness of man. Puritan writers conveyed the worthlessness of human nature. Human ability had no role at all in a person's spiritual growth, which depended entirely on the gift of God's grace. Once saving grace was "felt" by God providing not only the content of belief and instruction for devotional exercise through scripture, but the will to believe itself, one could be reasonably assured of becoming one of the visible saints to reign during the millennium and redeemed at the Day of Judgment.

⁸ Michael Mooney, *Millennialism and the Antichrist in New England, 1630-1760* (Syracuse University: Unpublished Dissertation, May 1982), 276-278. See also Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 79-153. Ahlstrom defines the five points of Calvinist doctrine of belief. Preparation was a recognized feature of the New England Way, not to be confused with "doing works" thinking that God's sovereign will could be persuaded by human effort. The five points therefore function as a summary of the differences between Calvinism and Armenianism, but not as a complete summation of Calvin's writings or of the theology of the Reformed churches in general. Calvin counseled moderation in the application, but was not entirely successful in preventing the rise of extreme legalism in the Reformed tradition (p.79). The central assertion of these canons is that God is sovereign and is able to save every person upon whom he has mercy and that his efforts are not frustrated by the unrighteousness or the inability of humans. The doctrine of total depravity (also called "total inability") asserts that, as a consequence of the fall of man every person born into the world is enslaved to the service of sin. People by their own faculties are morally unable to choose to follow God and be saved because they are unwilling to do so out of the necessity of their own natures. The doctrine of unconditional election asserts that God's choice from eternity of those whom he will bring to himself is not based on foreseen virtue, merit, or faith in those people. Rather, it is unconditionally grounded in God's mercy alone. The doctrine of limited atonement asserts that Jesus' substitutionary atonement was definite and certain in its design and accomplishment. This implies that only the sins of the elect were atoned for by Jesus' death. The doctrine is driven by the Calvinistic concept of the sovereignty of God in salvation and their understanding of the nature of the atonement. The doctrine of irresistible grace (also called "efficacious grace") and the doctrine of assurance asserts that the saving grace of God is effectually applied to those whom he has determined to save (the elect) and, in God's timing, overcomes their resistance to obeying the call of the gospel, bringing them to a saving faith. The doctrine holds that every influence of God's Holy Spirit cannot be resisted, but that the Holy Spirit causes the elect sinner to cooperate, to believe, to repent, to come freely and willingly to Christ. The doctrine of perseverance asserts that since God is sovereign and his will cannot be altered by humans. Those who apparently fall away never had true faith. The word "saints" is used in the Biblical sense to refer to all who are set apart by God, not in the technical sense of one who is exceptionally canonized. See Williston Walker, *Ten New England Leaders* (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1901), 230. Before New England was settled Calvin's doctrines had been challenged by a seventeenth-century Dutch-man named Jacob Arminius, who maintained that mankind was hopelessly deprived and that human efforts might produce saving

grace with an increased emphasis on the habitual practice of prayer, faithful attendance at church, and the reading of God's Word.

⁹ Douglas L. Winiarski, "Souls Filled with Ravishing Transport: Heavenly Visions and the Radical Awakening in New England," in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. LXI, January 2004: 3.

¹⁰ Perry Miller et al., *Major Writers of America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace World, 1962), 1, 83.

¹¹ Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 82-88. According to Gaustad, if the Old Lights took time to read the fourth part of Edwards' treatise they would find most of the wind taken from their sails. Edwards excoriated the spiritual pride of so many New Lights and challenged that belief in immediate revelation contrary to Scripture is right. Most importantly, he was adamant that full time teaching of God's word should be restricted to properly ordained and educated ministry. See Mooney, *Millennialism and the Antichrist in New England*, 346-350.

¹² Ibid., 88-91. Gaustad states that Edwards knew the revival created both ecclesiastical disorders and doctrinal aberrations. Gaustad believes Edwards was further from Davenport than from Chauncy.

¹³ Ibid. See also Mooney, *Millennialism and the Anti-Christ in New England*, 345-347. Mooney compares and contrasts Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion* with Edwards' discourse, *Some Thoughts on the State of Religion*, in the same manner as Gaustad's earlier scholarship. Both find multiple similarities in that both clerics were concerned with the life of the mind. Both combined sensitivity and reason for their arguments of head versus heart religion. Mooney states, "Their argument is more so with the relative existential status of divinity and humanity."

¹⁴ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 282-284. Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 16-21. Gaustad suggests that revival fever was evident earlier than 1740. Jonathan Edwards, who is often credited with creating the first stirrings of revivalism, did not bring it into being. Nor did the Awakening come suddenly. For sixty years, Northampton parishioners heard the solid and powerful preaching of Solomon Stoddard (1643-1729) and they experienced five separate seasons of revival. Gaustad quotes Edwards who stated, "This great surprising work does not seem to have taken its Rise from any sudden and distressing calamity or publick terror....." To grant that the throat distemper was cause would not detract from the revival because the epidemic was from God to.

¹⁵ Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 25. Gaustad regards the work of the Great Awakening in New England as the exclusive to George Whitefield, but cites two additional dramatic figures, Gilbert Tennant and James Davenport. Ahlstrom affirms that

Whitefield was the principal lead in the Awakening. See, *A Religious History of the American People*, 283.

¹⁶ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 285-290.

¹⁷ Gausted, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 27. Quoted in Gaustad's research from Whitefield's Journal, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, From a few Days after his Return to Georgia To his arrival at Falmouth, on the 11th of March 1741. Containing An Account of the Work of God at Georgia, Rhode Island, New England, New York, Pennsylvania and South Carolina. The Seventh Journal* (London 1741).

¹⁸ Gausted, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 32. Quoted in Gaustad's research from a letter written by Whitefield to Governor Belcher upon his departure from New England at the end of October 1740.

¹⁹ Mooney, *Millennialism and the Anti-Christ in New England*, 268-271.

²⁰ Ibid., 268.

²¹ Gausted, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 20.

²² Mooney, *Millennialism and the Anti-Christ in New England*, 269.

²³ *A Jonathan Edwards Reader*, eds., Harry Stout and Kenneth Minkema et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), xxi. As a pastor in Northampton, Edwards was responsible for maintaining church discipline as a means of promoting Christian behavior. He was the community's moral regulator. The disputes with his congregation began with the Bad Book Case which escalated during the 1740s by his grandfather's open admission policies. There were doctrinal and practical exigencies. He sought to impose stiffer church requirements regarding the sacraments etc. Many protests from a local minority resulted in his dismissal.

²⁴ Jonathan Edwards, "The Distinguishing Marks Of The Work Of The Spirit" in *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences*, eds. Alan Heimert and Perry Miller (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc.), 204-227.

²⁵ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 44.

²⁶ Ibid., 15-19, 295. Stiles considered enthusiasm bad, but became an ardent advocate of religious liberty. Connecticut's college was chartered on somewhat broader principles than Harvard had been; it would fit its students for "Employment both in Church and in Civil State." Theologically and doctrinally, however, it was committed to conserving the Puritan heritage. New textbooks in science, logic, and ethics began to reflect the new world of thought created by

Descartes, Newton, and Locke. Morgan states incongruities between the old learning and the new deprived the covenant theology of its power to inspire.

²⁷ Ibid., 60-62.

²⁸ Ibid., 63.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid. Edward M. Griffin, *Old Brick: Charles Chauncy of Boston 1705-1787* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 4.

³¹ Mooney, *Millennialism and the Anti-Christ in New England*, 353-356. Chauncy's principal objection to the Awakening was clear: "God does not promote disorder," he argued and associated the revivalists with the Antinomianism of Anne Hutchinson. In 1742, Chauncy took a direct aim at the revival describing enthusiasm and cautioning against it, denouncing all excesses carried under the cover of divine inspiration.

³² Ibid., 365.

³³ Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 95. Chauncy warned of severe doctrinal errors and specified several types of New Light heresy in Part III. Gaustad states three hundred and thirty-two pages out of four hundred and twenty-four of *Seasonable Thoughts* were devoted to a discussion of "Things of a bad and dangerous tendency" in the awakening. His response to George Whitefield was "The only thing I can say in Excuse for Mr. Whitefield is that was young in Years and Christian experience..."

³⁴ Ibid. Chauncy needed facts to bring down Edwards and so made a circle of 300 miles throughout New England, New York, and New Jersey, which resulted in his discourse, *Seasonable Thoughts*. Gaustad states that three themes emerged in his published sermons and public statements during this period of his life, themes which were both consistent with his opposition to the Awakening and omens of arguments to come: pride in a developing American self-consciousness, the need to maintain church order, and the preservation of Puritan theological categories .

³⁵ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 303.

³⁶ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 114. In radical fashion, he placed this hope universally for mankind and positioned the Puritan community as part of (not only the chosen ones) partaking in the divine plan. His ideas were radical at the time of the Great Awakening and his conservative personality held his thoughts at bay – which were known in published form as the "pudding."

Despite his refutations of the revival, his revolutionary and extremist perception of God's evolutionary plan (the Pudding) titled, *The Mystery Hid from the Ages* or *The Salvation of all Men*, was not boiled as it was termed well into the 1785, which incidentally paralleled the decision to fashion his portrait. It awaited a calmer "season" of his life where they could both be perhaps rationally perceived.

³⁷ Mooney, *Millennialism and the Anti-Christ in New England*, 375.

³⁸ Ibid, 374.

³⁹ Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1713-1721*, Vol. VI (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1942), 458.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Mooney, *Millennialism and the Anti-Christ in New England*, 384.

⁴³ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 83.

⁴⁴ Miller and Heimert, *Whitefield: The Great Awakening Documents Illustrating the Crisis and its Consequences*, 41.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 26.

⁴⁷ George Whitefield, "Some Remarks on the Pamphlet Intitled The State of Religion in New England, since the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield's Arrival there" (Edinburgh and Glasgow: William Duncan, 1742), in [Early English Books Online](#) (East Lansing: Michigan State University).

⁴⁸ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 290. So moved were the students that they urged President Clap to call Whitefield from the coach in which he was departing and persuade him to give them more time.

⁴⁹ L. Park, "Joseph Badger, "1708-1765 A Descriptive List of His Works," in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 51, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1918), 158-201. Badger had a conversion experience and was admitted into full communion in

the First Church on Jan.21, 1728. His professional life was passed in Boston. He began his career as a house painter and glazier and continued throughout his life to paint signs, hatchments, and other heraldic devices to provide for a wife and four children. Two records show he charged up to six pounds apiece for half-length portraits. No portraits of his have been found before 1740. Park states he was content to follow in the schools of Kneller, posing his clients accordingly with personal objects and trying to produce a likeness with no deception in the method.

⁵⁰ Daniel Robbins, *American Art at Harvard* (Boston: Meriden Gravure Co., 1972), 4. Harvard Portraits Exhibition Catalog/Fogg Museum.

⁵¹ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 25.

⁵² Henry Bamford Parkes, *Jonathan Edwards The Fiery Puritan* (New York: 1930).

⁵³ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 25.

⁵⁴ Lisa M. Gordis, *Opening Scripture Bible Reading and Interpretive Authority in Puritan New England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2003), 2, 31-85. Gordis explores the uneasy debates ministers strove to overcome to maintain this interpretation of the Bible. Many manuals were developed to teach clerics how to open scripture. The *Art of Prophesying* by William Perkins and written in 1592, became a sort of bible to New England orthodoxy. Prophetic authority is identified with ministerial authority. Puritan interpretive practices privileged techniques that theoretically allowed the Bible to interpret itself. According to Gordis, paradoxically the minister must be a master craftsman, if self-effacement is to be successful. Variations in the minister's approach challenged scholarly views of Puritan preaching as monolithic and formulaic and testify to the diversity of the minister's biblical appropriations and preaching styles, which contributed to their aesthetic appeal. See William Perkins, *The Arte of Prophesying or a Treatise Concerning the Sacred and Onely True Manner and Method of Preaching*, 1607; *The Work of William Perkins*, ed. Ian Breward (Berkshire, England; Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 325-349. Perkin's manual develops the meditative practices for the ministers to become "vessels" for the Holy Spirit in order to "open" the Word of God properly.

⁵⁵ Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New London: Yale University Press, 2000), 63. Prown states certain colors evoke emotion, black and white has a more sober appeal to the mind.

⁵⁶ Gausted, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 30.

⁵⁷ Jane C. Nylander, "Comfort and Uniformity 1750-1850," in *New England Meeting House and Church 1630-1850*, ed., Peter Benes (Boston: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folk Life Annual Proceedings, 1979), 96-97. As early as 1650, several eighteenth-century minister portraits depicted loose pulpit cushions in scarlet or green material as being large and trimmed with elaborate tassels on each of the front corners. The notes for the sermon are inside

the open leaves of the bible. Whitefield's itinerancy is further denoted by the absence of Renaissance drapery which served to represent the curtains that were beginning to be hung in several meeting houses by the turn of the century.

⁵⁸ Wendy Katz, "Portraits and the Production of the Civil Self in Seventeenth Century Boston," in *Winterthur Portfolio* Volume 39, No. 2/3 Summer/Autumn (2004):124-160. Katz convincingly argues in revisionist fashion that the style chosen in portraits not only determined "integrity and character" but was chosen based on personality, ethics, and moral behavior. She expands on this idea by stating two styles of portraiture existed in seventeenth-century New England. One is termed a naturalistic renaissance style and offered a degree of three-dimensional illusion with purposeful facial shadowing; and the other, a Neo-Medieval type, was a flatter and more linear form with little or no shadow. It has been assumed that the latter was excused as the result of a lack of academic training. However, Katz states that the Neo-Medieval form of portrait painting depicted that character was dependent on a Gentlemanly Ideal," which focused upon heritage, aristocratic leanings and was adjusted to time, company, and the setting. In contrast, the Renaissance style threatened order, and privilege, by replacing a given "blood-line" connection with a world of competitive "mechanistic" individuals. Katz uses the stylistic techniques of portrait painting in arguing that patrons of the new merchant class as well as the middling sort had a democratic or assertive choice in the particular style that best represented their character and cultural beliefs.

⁵⁹ Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Puritan Piety* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 28-29. What Stowe has discerned is a powerful spiritual discipline among the clergy that unwittingly enjoyed excerpts and phrases from medieval classics and early Church Fathers that worked their way silently into Protestant devotional manuals, copying well established catholic forms that encouraged Puritan imagination. Puritans found ways within their dogma to experience the richness of sacred images through the sensual imagery of narratives like the Canticles and metaphors of Eden.

⁶⁰ Gausted, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 29. Benjamin Franklin gives Whitefield high praise for his oratory skills.

⁶¹ Whitefield's crossed eyes (strabismus) are well-known and he is quoted in requesting a truthful depiction.

⁶² George S. Tyack, *The Historic Dress of the Clergy* (London; William Andrews & Co., 1897), 37-38. The gown was originally an adaptation of the monastic habit which the preaching friars sometimes wore instead of an alb. It was an ample width and had wide sleeves after the more flowing types of gown still worn at English universities known as scholars' gown (p. 35). At the time of the reform it became the accepted dress of the clergy although the more extreme Puritans protested against it. In 1571, Archbishops approved the clergy apparel of long gown, a square cap, and a kind of tippet over the neck, hanging from either shoulder and falling down almost to their heels. Presbyterians and Congregationalists wore it with the hood of their degree while conducting service (p. 24). This gown was analogous to the Eastern doctoral robe and

similar to American judicial attire and was constructed from heavy black material, mostly of a black color; usually featuring double-bell sleeves with a cuff mimicking the cassock once wore under it. For historical and theological reasons the gown is most typical of Congregational, Presbyterian and Reformed Churches influenced by the Calvinistic traditions and church doctrine Church in England. See also Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (B.T. Batsford: London, 1984), 77. After the Restoration of the Monarchy in Great Britain in 1660 and for the whole of the eighteenth century, the clergy and ministers of all denominations adopted to a greater or lesser degree contemporary fashionable dress. Various nonconformist sects who had descended from the most extreme Puritans of the Commonwealth eschewed clerical dress and wore a sober and conservative version of contemporary professional fashions adopting and adapting garments as they considered suitable. As religion came to view not only the design or lack of certain garments were examined, the materials used were also in brought into question.

⁶³ George Whitefield, "Some Remarks on the Pamphlet Intituled The State of Religion in New England," 21.

⁶⁴ Gausted, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 30.

⁶⁵ John Shea, *The Art of Theological Reflection*, (ACTA Publications: Chicago, 1997), Tradition and Experience in Dialogue. See also Sally Promey, "'Seeing the Self in Frame:' New England Material Practice and Puritan Piety," in *Material Religion* Vol. 1, Issue1 2006: 10-47. Promey refers to the heart in Puritan theology as the locus of the soul. In the ancient world the word "quicken" conveyed a way of spiritual seeing, commonly known in mystical traditions as seeing with the "third eye" or "eyes of the heart," both of which were viewed as the locus of the soul.

⁶⁶ Nathan Cole, *The Spiritual Travels of Nathan Cole* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society 1741-1765), 2-70. Cole's diary presented a classic awakening and conversion experience in an illuminating vision which revealed to Cole his own salvation. Cole focuses not on intellectual experiences but on emotional ones. He took away an egalitarian message after hearing George Whitefield preach about the spiritual equality of all before God.

⁶⁷ Cole, "Spiritual Travels," 4.

⁶⁸ George Whitefield, "Some Remarks on the Pamphlet Intituled The State of Religion in New England," 23.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ David H. Watters, "A Priest to the Temple" in *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, ed., Peter Benes (Boston: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folk Life Annual Proceedings, 1978), 25-36. According to Watters, all believers repeatedly heard in sermons that he or she was a High Priest elected to enter Heaven, a living stone or pillar in the church militant elected to be part of

the New Jerusalem Temple. See also Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 60-62. The adaptation of typology was important to Puritan belief allowing the Christian to preserve the Old Testament. Typological interpretation insisted that all the events in scripture had occurred but they had been symbolic as well as historical true prophecies. Puritans favored typological schemes according to an archetype derived from a combination of Old Testament history and prophesy and the mythology of Christ in the New Testament.

⁷¹ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 298.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ William B. Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations* Vol. 1. (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857), 329-337. Jonathan Edwards was born at East Windsor, Connecticut, on October 5, 1703. His father was the Rev. Timothy Edwards, who, for more than sixty years, was pastor of the Congregational church in that place. His mother was a daughter of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, and according to Sprague, “was distinguished by uncommon powers of mind, by great intellectual acquirements, and by a deep and fervent piety.”

⁷⁴ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 300.

⁷⁵ Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 333.

⁷⁶ George Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 5. He remained in Stockbridge from 1751-1758 with a wife and seven children forging friendships with other like-minded missionaries such as Stephen West and David Brainerd.

⁷⁷ Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 333.

⁷⁸ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 303.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 312.

⁸⁰ Daniel B Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America* (Princeton: Princeton, New Jersey, 1968), 188. Shea’s definitions of different genres of spiritual autobiography informs my work with Puritan portraits. He utilizes different biographies to contrast and compare genres, and distinguishes between morality and mysticism.

⁸¹ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 301-313. The lifelong development of his thought on scriptural exegesis, eschatology, and history was largely ignored until the critical edition undertaken in 1970.

⁸² Ibid., 313. Ahlstrom states that Edwards became fully public only after his death.

⁸³ Nora Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes 1600-1900* (London: Faber Press, 1964), 53-59.

⁸⁴ Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (B.T. Batsford: London, 1984), 77. See also Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 160. Many nonconformist ministers regarded vestments as superstitious and popish and deliberately wore secular clothing, albeit of a sober and conservative kind. Most chose to wear the sober black cloth suit of the professional man, clerical bands, and sometimes the black Geneva gown. The clerical bands known as the Geneva bands were two pieces of white linen fastened around the neck. They indicated that the minister was attached to a particular congregation. They were also called falling bands when worn by academics and lawyers. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century were they largely replaced by the round collar popularly known as the dog collar.

⁸⁵ Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006). Winkel's research helps makes sense of the ubiquitousness of dress produced by an early modern society fixated on textiles and the crafts that fashioned them. She uses an interdisciplinary art historical, social, and cultural approach that may prove most fruitful in understanding the contextual analysis of dress as well deciphering the "fictive objects" and the many conventions that appear in paintings. She states that people express themselves and their status and their aspirations, as well as their appearance through clothing, real or imagined. See also Wayne Craven, *American Art: History and Culture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1994), 42. Craven delves into the class consciousness of Puritan clergy and that worldly effort as a way to please God. According to Wayne Craven, colonial portraits seem devoted to an elaboration of the subject's biography through a visual language. An individual's personal distinctive appearance such as the face occupied a very small portion of any early colonial portrait. Moreover Craven asserts that numerous objects were typically placed with the sitter describing their occupation, beliefs, and family lineage.

⁸⁶ Mr. John McLaurin to Mr. William Hogg, November 8, 1751, *Selected Letters of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Kenneth Minkema (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2009.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Jonathan Edwards, "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion," in *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences*, eds. Alan Heimert and Perry Miller (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc.), 263-304. Heimert, *The Great Awakening Documents Illustrating the Crisis and its Consequences*, 263. Heimert states this document is the major writing of the Awakening as Edwards prophesies the New World's spiritual destiny. Edwards' thesis, directly stated, is that "true religion, in great part, consists in holy affections."

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 335.

⁹¹ Lisa M. Gordis, *Opening Scripture Bible Reading and Interpretive Authority in Puritan New England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2003), 2, 31-85.

⁹² Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 22-28.

⁹³ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1713-1721*, 444. However, Chauncy regarded the Northampton minister as "a visionary enthusiast."

⁹⁴ Williston Walker, *Ten New England Leaders*, 287.

⁹⁵ L. Park, "Joseph Badger, 1708-1765." Park states that he was content to follow in the schools of Kneller adept at hands and faces despite no academic training. He worked from engravings and prints brought over to the colonies.

⁹⁶ Jonathan Edwards, "A Divine and Supernatural Light Imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God, Shown to be Both Scriptural and Rational Doctrine" (1734), in *A Jonathan Edwards Reader*, 112.

⁹⁷ Dennis E. Tamburello, *Union with Christ: John Calvin and the Mysticism of St. Bernard* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1994), 21-22. The denial of a mystical element in Calvin's theology is rooted in an inaccurate definition of mysticism which leads to an exclusion of a mystical strand in Puritanism. The nature of Puritan spiritual biography hails from a strain of Augustine piety which vividly dramatizes the habit of addressing God directly and almost continuously, so that the dramatic monologue representing unspoken reflections takes on the effect of dialogue. In opposition to reason, the dialogue unfolded an experiential conversion that defied rational explanation and, sometimes deepened into transcendent union with God.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: The Life of Ezra Stiles* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1962), 1-19.

¹⁰⁰ Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 470-475.

¹⁰¹ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 144. Stiles kept up correspondence with his rabbi friend Carigal with whom he investigated the discrepancy in chronology between the Hebrew Pentateuch and the Septuagint. More importantly, Morgan affirms that it was the prophetic revelation of the Messiah that he found in the Talmud and in the Cabalistic writings that satisfied his questions regarding the Bible's veracity as divinely inspired. He was ready to believe there was a divine revelation in the oral traditions that were collected in the Talmud and the Zohar, as well as hidden allegorical meanings in the Old Testament.

¹⁰² Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 473.

¹⁰³ Brandon Brane Fortune, *Franklin & His Friends: Portraying the Man of Science in Eighteenth Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 33.

¹⁰⁴ Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 472.

¹⁰⁵ Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, D.D. Vol. II, March 14, 1776 to December 31, 1781. ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 2, 408-409.

¹⁰⁶ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 62.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 62-63. Resolution #5.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 67. Morgan states that Stiles' father Isaac and many of the Old Lights were responsible for an Arminian viewpoint mostly occurring in response to New Lights hatred of Arminianism. Reason becoming rival to revelation.

¹⁰⁹ Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 471.

¹¹⁰ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 60. Fifty years before meant such an act would probably have meant that he had undergone a profound religious experience. There is no evidence that Stiles had any such experience. Isaac Stile seems to have run his church according to the principles of Solomon Stoddard; anyone who wished to live a blameless moral life and professed belief in the orthodox doctrines of Christianity was entitled to full membership including the sacraments. See *Sprague's Annals*, 470.

¹¹¹ De Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, 27-50.

¹¹² *Ibid.* De Winkel refers to the iconography of the banyan in Dutch seventeenth-century portraiture. She states that originally it was an old-fashioned garment that was associated with antiquity and various forms of male learned professions. The banyan or dressing gown was

an outer garment for men typically possessing luxurious materials like “cloths of gold, brocades, and expensive furs. “It had a cape-like structure with various sizes of lavish collars. De Winkel affirms that it did cease to be everyday fashionable dress, but was retained by elderly men as a comfortable house type robe. It did however have a formal function in the home in receiving guests.

¹¹³ Fortune, *Franklin & His Friends*, 51. A banyan was a loose gown worn before one was formally dressed. Made from unshaped lengths of fabric with kimono-like sleeves it may have hailed from Englishmen returning from India. Supposedly, unlike the gentlemen’s suit which was cut to fit the posture and gestures a man was expected to maintain in public, the banyan permitted the wearer’s upper body to move freely while he concentrated on the mind-engaging task at hand. For comfort a man might wear a banyan over his shirt, breeches and usually his waistcoat. Such robes could be very expensive given the amount of fabric required for a full length garment. They were normally worn indoors and the cap was meant to keep the shaved head warm. One could however receive guests in a banyan. It indicates a body at ease, increasing one’s status by the type of material (damask, or silk) represented into the portrait. They are important conventions portraying an intellectual mind.

¹¹⁴ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 113.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 121. Josephine Setze “Portraits of Ezra Stiles,” in *Bulletin of the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale University* no 23, 1957: 3-10.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹²¹ Katz, “Portraits and the Production of the Civil Self in Seventeenth Century Boston,” 124-160. Katz uses the stylistic techniques of portrait painting in arguing that patrons of the new merchant class as well as the middling sort had a democratic or assertive choice in the particular style that best represented their character and cultural beliefs. The use of shadow depicted an intellectual contemplative mind.

¹²² Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, D.D. Vol. II, 131-132, August, 1, 1771.

¹²³ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 68.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 72.

¹²⁵ Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 472.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ These Hebrew characters, known as the "Tetragrammaton," are typically transliterated as "YHWH" or "JHVH," Yahweh or Jehovah, the biblical name for God. In 1763, the artist Samuel King made a watercolor drawing titled, *A Free Mason Form'd out of the Materials of his Lodge*, in which Masonic symbols are combined to form a human figure. King's mystic portrait of Stiles, an exceptional example of emblematic portraiture, functions similarly by declaring the "secrets" of the clergyman's intellect "for all to read and see." King was already familiar with the idea that a man could be portrayed through a composite of emblems.

¹³¹ *Geneva Bible*, Genesis (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), a facsimile of the 1560 edition

¹³² Ibid., Rev. 20.

¹³³ Winarski, "Souls Filled with Ravishing Transport," 3-7. Of great concern to New England ministers was the challenge they presented to the orthodox doctrine of Calvin's predestination. The standard preparatory steps required for conversion and confession were discarded because radical evangelicals inspired by visions of the Book of Life, moved away from tradition and claimed infallible knowledge of their divine election, creating an anxious response reminiscent of the Antinomian Controversy of the 1630s. Winarski states that tales of heavenly journeys were familiar to readers of popular devotional literature such as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* who were already grounded in ancient Judeo-Christian narratives that encompassed dreams and other supernatural wonders heavily mediated by biblical texts.

¹³⁴ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 166.

¹³⁵ Sprague D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 473.

¹³⁶ Sprague D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 473.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, D.D. Vol. II, 354. He does not state how many times he sat for Moulthrop. Only one entry is noted dated on September 25, 1794.

¹³⁹ Doriece Colle, *Collars, Stocks, Cravats A History and Costume Dating Guide to Civilian Men's neckpieces 1655-1900* (Emmaus, Pa., Rodale Press.1972), 77-119.

¹⁴⁰ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 337. In 1777, Stiles was elected to the Yale presidency at the age of fifty. Small in stature at only 5 feet 4 inches, Morgan states he always was seen wearing his wigs and academic robes before the undergraduates. At the same time he was Professor of Ecclesiastical history adding to the Yale curriculum, the Hebrew language and natural philosophy helping raised Yale to the status of a University.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 180. Stiles believed in apostolic succession not lay ordination. Congregationalists acknowledged more common ground with Presbyterians.

¹⁴² Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, D.D. Vol. III, 513, January, 16, 1794. "Read the 4 Gospels and selected 50 Passages wherein Christ approved & declared the Inspiration of Moses & the prophets & Scriptures of O.T."

¹⁴³ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 174. He admired the preparationist William Perkins and Morgan states that he resembled Solomon Stoddard in his conception of church membership.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 176.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 177.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. When he moved from a religion of morality toward a more evangelical Christianity this conviction deepened for the more he magnified the omnipotence of God and the corruption of man the more presumptuous it seemed to him for human beings to judge the hearts and minds of their fellows or to claim positive knowledge of the mind of God.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 178.

¹⁴⁸ Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 21.

¹⁴⁹ Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, D.D. Volume III, 512.

¹⁵⁰ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 446.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 475. According to Sprague, Stiles had a beatific vision before his death. "On Friday, May 8, 1795, Presidential Stiles was seized with a violent bilious fever, which he was soon convinced would terminate in death. But for this event he was not unprepared. 'I do not doubt,' said he, 'the sufficiency of the Redeemer, or the mercy of God; but the want of purity makes me afraid to appear before a God of infinite purity.' This fear, however, did not long distress him. He continued indeed to pant after more of the holiness of Heaven; but his views of the upper world grew brighter, the nearer he approached it."

¹⁵⁴ Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, 169.

¹⁵⁵ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 170.

¹⁵⁶ Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 443.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 446.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 80-88. As a rule, Chauncy throughout his life supported clergy that observed the traditional decorum of the New England way. He was a staunch and loyal supporter of the political, social, religious, and economic merchant class. He played a role in the major events of his time: not only the Great Awakening, but also the French and Indian wars, the controversy over the proposed establishment of the Anglican episcopacy in America, political events from the Stamp Act through the Revolution, the rise of the Enlightenment, the growth of "liberal Protestantism", social changes in Boston and the development of Unitarianism.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹⁶⁰ Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 460. Harvard and the MHS own identical portraits of Chauncy which represent him shortly before his death. The University also has a portrait supposed to represent President Chauncy but showing an eighteenth-century costume and a close facial resemblance to the subject of this sketch. The natural assumption that this picture represents the younger Chauncy is shaken by the fact that as early as 1816 the family presumed it to be the President. Both are reproduced in Charles K. Bolton, *Portraits of the Founders* (Boston 1919), II 551, and in *Harvard Portraits* (Cambridge, 1936). According to the literature furnished by the Massachusetts Historical Society, both resemble the work of the

painter Hannah Bush (1767-1807), whose portrait is owned by The American Antiquarian Society, and is signed twice: once as Mackay and once as M'kay, 1791.

¹⁶¹ Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 161. Ribeiro details the materials, and production of the linen fallen bands. The best were from Holland, the most translucent and the more heavily starched the better. She cites the properties and amount of starch in band and ruff collars.

¹⁶² Byrde Penelope, *The Male Image: Men's Fashion in Britain 1300-1970* (London: B.T. Batsford 1979), 114-118.

¹⁶³ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 170. Chauncy's ideas about universal salvation published in 1784 was known as the "pudding." Most of Chauncy's doctrinal writings were completed before 1768, though the more important were not published till after the Revolutionary War. His objections were to hysteria and disorganization of the parishes by the itinerant preachers. Chauncy was very sensitive to criticism of the "standing order." He resisted the claims that ministers who opposed the Awakening were opposing the work of the Spirit. The ordinary means of grace was the preaching and ministry of the settled clergyman, and he maintained it was "contrary to all reason, as well as unscriptural" to usurp this authority through lay exhorting and itinerant preaching.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. In *Seasonable Thoughts*, Chauncy argued that the great evil of the Awakening was its unreasonableness. It was not simply that the Revival spoke to the "animal passions" and not to the mind – though that characteristic was ample cause for disapproval. The Awakening for Chauncy represented a discarding of the rational fabric of salvation and as such, was more of "darkness" than of "light." Chauncy contended that God did not encourage extreme behavior nor did he undermine the church's authority in, for example, raising up of lay, itinerant preachers

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 134 -135.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 171

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 120.

¹⁶⁸ Sprague D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 208.

¹⁶⁹ Mooney, *Millennialism and the Anti-Christ in New England*, 369.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 369.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. 368.

¹⁷² Mooney, *Millennialism and the Anti-Christ in New England*, 369.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 364 -368.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 357.

¹⁷⁵ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 8.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁷⁷ *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, Vol., 443. Chauncy's early ministry attracted little notice. Sibley notes "Dr. Chauncy was a ready-made Old Light."

¹⁷⁸ Walker, *Ten New England Leaders*, 272.

¹⁷⁹ Prown, *Art as Evidence*, 223-227. Prown's seminal research uses his methodology of description, deduction and speculation to yield a study of artifacts and their meanings in using the teapot as a signifier. Fully conceptualized in meaning it could become a symbol of the act of charity and nurturing, Located between signal, a simple perception, and symbol, a fully realized conception, the teapot by itself stands as a sign, a metaphor both structural and textual. It embodies deeply felt but unconceptualized meanings relating to giving and receiving, to such things as maternal love and care, oral gratification, satisfaction of hunger and thirst, comforting internal warmth when cold or ill and conviviality.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁸¹ Prown, *Art as Evidence*, 64.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 179.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 177. See also *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, Vol. VI, 460.

¹⁸⁵ "Dr. Chauncy of Boston," in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, Vol.1 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1859), 479-80.

¹⁸⁶ Stiles, *Literary Diary*, Vol. III, 162. Stiles wrote: "Dr. Chauncy hath an organ fixed up in his meetinghouse; and has consented that Clarke shall have a gown." See also *Sibley's*

Harvard Graduates, 459. Sibley states Chauncy's published work last appeared in 1785 and showed no sign of mental decline.

¹⁸⁷ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 177. See also Sibley, 459.

¹⁸⁸ *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, Volume VI, 460.

¹⁸⁹ "Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Dr. Chauncy, of Boston," in *The American Museum or Universal Magazine*, 7, 1790: 77.

¹⁹⁰ Sprague D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 179. The artist is unknown, but Joseph Woodward donated the painting to the Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS) (p. 179). Chauncy was a charter member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and was recognized by the MHS, which may be one reason why he had his portrait painted later in life to be hung there as "eminent for his talents, learning, and lover of liberty, civil and religious."

¹⁹¹ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 4.

¹⁹² Mooney, *Millennialism and the Anti-Christ in New England*, 374. According to Mooney, Chauncy was an a-millennialist for whom the common expectations of the defeat of Antichrist and a future kingdom of saints held little in any importance.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 350.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 4

¹⁹⁶ Walker, *Ten New England Leaders*, 287.

¹⁹⁷ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 9.

¹⁹⁸ Daniel B. Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), xi.

¹⁹⁹ Gausted, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 87.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ Griffin, *Old Brick*, 9.

Conclusion

Using an interdisciplinary approach that combines formal art criticism, material cultural studies, biblical typology, and religious historiography, the portraits in this study were analyzed for their visual language to show a correlation between documented written spiritual autobiographies among a select group of Puritan clerics who viewed themselves as visible saints and their portraits. Each man's autobiography, whether through sermons, diaries, journals or printed discourses, were expanded upon through the visual composition of their portraits and transcended into mystical expressions of elected High Priesthood.

The human consciousness is affected by underlying motivations that may be represented in painting as repressed thoughts. The variety of iconography such as narrative biblical tiles, engraved silver, patterned textiles, picture Bibles, and the sophisticated imagery carved into gravestones, belies the charge that Puritans were iconophobic and of mindless uniformity. The selections of Puritan clerical portraits for this study are steeped in irony, heavily laden with classical and mythological motifs, as well as scriptural text, and are rich in dress choices and theological associations. Since portraits are images of contemplation, subliminal beliefs regarding visible sainthood are portrayed on the men's facades which are hidden metonymically in the style of dress, objects, emblematic conventions, posture, and gestures, embodying the different inner workings of their minds.

Ezra Stiles' documented participation in the composition of his mid-life portrait is most telling. His sensitivity to orthodoxy and his ancestral and nostalgic connection to the Puritan founders make him particularly representative of how the other Spiritual Brethren may have ranked their effigies below the power of emblems to testify as visible saints in their portraits. Stiles wrote a lengthy commentary in his diary on the decision making process of the 1771

portrait. According to Robert St. George, his reflection is “the most detailed contemporary reading of any surviving portrait.”¹ He states that Stiles was more concerned that the portrait be constructed to convey the nature of his mind as well as his face, and was demanding that the painter rework parts of the portrait that either displeased him or failed to convey through iconographic detail a didactic meaning. Stiles described his posture and the gestures he wanted to represent his mind, but it seems that most of his documentation was regarding the wide-ranging titles of the books he wanted painted in the fictive library behind his head.

The importance of portraiture imparting the essence of an individual is further substantiated as Stiles described at great length in his diary how he wished each member of his family to be portrayed in portraiture. Consider that the passionate oration of George Whitefield, the tension between revelation and reason of Jonathan Edwards, the ecclesiastical diplomacy of Ezra Stiles, and the supernatural rationalism of Charles Chauncy as a few examples of different perspectives in “thought” and personal character traits the Puritan community would naturally have desired to be portrayed uniquely.

As public figures the clerics in this study surely longed for an honest depiction of their individual qualities. The fact that hundreds of known engravings were made from Increase Mather’s and Jonathan Edwards’ images supports the idea that portraits were considered at the very least, as indispensable familiar objects to ease the loss of a distant relative or loved one, and perhaps to fulfill an innate need for generativity. Mather requested on three occasions that his brother, Nathaniel, have his portrait completed to be sent home from London and offered to pay for it. Edwards’ admiration for his wife, Sarah, is revealed by the fact that his portrait was a companion piece painted in a left-to-right direction in order to face hers.

Professionally, textual evidence describes the public engravings made from Mather's and Edwards' portraits for an international audience. Increase chose specific emblems in his portrait to depict his mission regarding the Massachusetts Charter and had at least four engravings produced from the image which resulted in hundreds of copies. Moreover, there are at least five known portraits of Mather painted at different intervals throughout his life. There are two painted of Edwards at pivotal turning points of his professional and spiritual journey.

The overpainting process of the portrait believed to be John Cotton into a later portrait of his son-in-law, Increase (or another veritable Puritan clergyman), suggests the determination, particularity, and distinctive needs of the patron, and the significance of the image as an "affective presence." Curiously painted at the time of the Antinomian controversy, Cotton's overpainting suggests a need for a clergyman to be represented in full clerical dress and to be coiffed in style and armed with the verses of Revelation's prophecies in the company of angelic messengers which symbolically protect him from multiple attacks. The significance of portraiture is clearly affirmed by Cotton who was known to have an image of Richard Sibbes "where he could gaze upon it." Sibbes' portrait became a sacramental icon of sorts affirming Cotton's legitimacy as a Spiritual Brethren. Known for their private and methodical natures William Stoughton and Charles Chauncy composed their portraits with minimal embellishment, along with their lifetime contributions that were finally made public. The need to remind the viewer of their heritage in wake of Puritan declension is publicly declared and commissioned by Thomas Smith, who was commissioned by the governing board of Massachusetts in 1680 "for a drawing of Dr. Ames effigies per Order of Corporation." John Lowell chose an artist who was adept at producing portraits in colored oils, as well as in a new and innovative *trompe l'oeille* process called "grisaille." He chose the latter to depict humility for his individual portrait as well

as the group portrait twenty years later. The importance of having one's likeness resonate one's essence is perfectly articulated in the letter regarding Edwards' portrait that states he was so pleased with his appearance "He gave thanks to God."² As presidents, governors, clerics, and male authoritarians in their homes, their portraits represent the experience of visible sainthood – Christocentrically addressing an audience able to discern the encoded messages of eternal salvation. Perhaps through the spiritual autobiographies of their portraits, the visible saints were covert sacramentals, icons of prayer and meditation, and became the saintly images that had been previously destroyed in the Reformation.

This study challenged ideas about Puritan iconophobia and posited new questions regarding how a community of Puritan clerics expressed their religious beliefs over time. This expression of visible sainthood and election had to be tempered somewhat in conversion narratives and spiritual autobiographies because of pre-destination anxiety. Conversely, the study suggested that in the silence of a visual language, a portrait was a safe haven with which to express the joy of personal salvation particularly in the wake of an impending millennium and contradictory alterations in Puritan hegemony.

This study also explored how the portraits were modified over time as ideas of election progressed. Any changes or decisions in the representations of dress, emblem, gesture, and posture in portraiture was affected by the subject matter and depicted a paradigm shift in religious and cultural values – all of which were reflected in the transition of Puritan orthodoxy to a Congregational evangelicism. The evolutionary changes in the individual portraits depicted the adaptability of the men's self-image to changing religious and scientific ideas, restructuring beliefs of strict Reformed doctrine and "New Light" experientialism in a period that was making enlightened reasonableness the criterion of faith. The images depicted a colorful palette of

doctrinal alteration in wake of revivalist challenges to Puritan doctrine. Experiential religion advocated by revivalist preachers like Whitefield diminished ecclesiastical authority in traditional institutions and the investiture of authority into an inward individual experience.

Nevertheless the portraits depicted a renewed emphasis on Christian experience, as well as an inclination to regard conversion and personal accounts of regeneration as authentic. These portraits can be explored as indirect historical verification of the bonds of fellowship which existed between the men and their ideas that transcended disagreements on fine points of doctrine and polity. They are statements of philosophy or religious expectation, and iconographical expressions of the concepts of grace, resurrection, and salvation, which lay at the heart of Puritan belief.

The gap of truly understanding Puritan mysticism in a pictorial spiritual biography is not significant and does not deter from the fact that many in the Puritan community did undergo an experience of union with God. Language itself has been unable to describe the mystical event. Despite the combination of text and image it is still unclear, though the mystery should not dissuade scholarly research into assembling evidence. Perhaps through the engagement of a sensory affective mode of inquiry of portraiture and knowledge of the objects contained therein, we can glean Puritan experiences as first hand as possible. As examples of Early American objects they offer additional historical evidence to support the cultural patterns of religious belief in the Anglo-American colonies, becoming invaluable indirect, as well as direct, tools in American Studies scholarship.

¹ St. George, Robert Blair, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 368.

² Letter from Mr. John Mclaurin to Mr. William Hogg, 8 November 1751 (New Haven: Kenneth Minkema, Yale Divinity School, Yale University).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Bunyan, John. "Divine emblems; or Temporal things spiritualized, &c. Fitted for the use of boys and girls," in *Divine Emblems*. 1867. The tenth edition revised and corrected: with a commendatory preface; and adorn'd with a new sett of cuts. London, 1757. [Eighteenth Century Collections Online](#). Gale. Michigan State University Libraries, Feb. 2011, 81-82.
- Edwards, Jonathan. *Distinguishing Marks of the Work of the Spirit, 1741*. [Early English Books Online](#). East Lansing: Michigan State University, 548-551, 554-555.
- Foxcroft, Thomas. "A Sermon Preached At the ordination of The Rev. Mr. John Lowell, January 19, 1726." (Boston in N.E.:B. Green for Samuel Gerrish in Cornhill, 1726), 24-25. [Early English Books Online](#). East Lansing: Michigan State University, 19 April 2010.
- Lowell, John. Personal Letters & Papers, Boston: The Massachusetts Archives, November 4, 1743, Folio, no. 689.
- Lowell, Rev. John. "Mr. Lowell's Sermon At the Ordination of Mr. Barnard to The Pastoral Office of a Church in Newbury." Boston: Draper for Kneeland & Green, 1739, 22-23. [Early English Books Online](#). East Lansing: Michigan State University, 19 April 2010.
- Diary of Increase Mather. Tuttle Collection American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.
- "A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmond Andros (Boston, 1691)." [Early English Books Online](#). East Lansing: Michigan State University, 19 April 2010.
- Whitefield, George. The two first parts of his life, with his journals, revised, corrected, and abridged, by George Whitefield, A. B. Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon. London, MDCCLVI [1756]. [Eighteenth Century Collections Online](#). 401. Gale. East Lansing: Michigan State University Libraries, 25 Jan. 2011.
- "Some Remarks on the Pamphlet Intitled The State of Religion in New England, since the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield's Arrival there" (Edinburgh and Glasgow: William Duncan, 1742), in [Early English Books Online](#). East Lansing: Michigan State University, 19 April 2010.

Secondary Sources

- Adams, Laurie Schneider. *Art Across Time*. McGraw Hill: New York, 2002.
- Adams, A.K., ed. *Pilgrim's Progress*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company Inc., 1968.

- Ahlstrom, Sidney. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.
- Ames, William. "The Marrow of Theology," in Kelly M. Kapic and Randall C. Gleason, eds. *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics*. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004.
- Atkinson, Minnie. *History of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, Massachusetts*. 1933.
- Baigell, Mathew. *A Concise History of American Painting and Sculpture*. New York: Icon Editions. 1984.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Bellion, Wendy. "The Return of the Eighteenth Century," in *American Art*. Vol. 19, No. 2, 2005.
- Benedict, Philip. "Calvinism as a Culture," in Paul Corby Finney, ed. *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts in the Calvinist Tradition*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Erdmann Publishing Company, 1999.
- Benes, Peter. *New England Meeting House and Church; 1630-1850*. Boston: Boston University for the Dublin Seminar for New England Folk life, 1979.
- *Painting and Portrait Making in the American Northeast*. Boston University, Dublin Seminar for New England Folk Life. 1994.
- Benesch, Otto. *The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe: Its Relation to the Contemporary Spiritual and Intellectual Movements*. London: Phaidon Press, 1965.
- Bjelajac, David. *American Art: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 2005.
- Bercovitch, Sacvan. *The American Jeremiad*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
- *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.
- Bercovitch, Sacvan, ed. *Typology and Early American Literature*. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1972.
- Bolton, Charles. *Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America Before the Year 1701*. Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1926.
- Bonomi, Patricia. *Under the Cope of Heaven*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

- Breen, Timothy H. "The Meaning of Likeness: Portrait Painting in an Eighteenth Century Consumer Society," in Ellen G. Miles, ed. *The Portrait in Eighteenth Century America*. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1993.
- Bryson, Norman. "Semiotics and Art History: A Discussion of Context and Senders," in *Art Bulletin*. 1991.
- *The Pilgrim's Progress*. A Facsimile Reproduction of the First Edition London: Elliot Stock, 1875.
- Bradstreet, Anne. "Selections from Bradstreet, Taylor, Dwight, Freneau & Bryant," in Jane Donohue Eberwein, ed. *Early American Poetry*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
- Byrde Penelope. *The Male Image: Men's Fashion in Britain 1300-1970*. London: B.T. Batsford 1979.
- Bushman, Richard. *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Burroughs, Alan. "An Early Overmantle," in *Art in America*, 29, 1941.
- Caldwell, Patricia. *The Puritan Conversion Narrative: The Beginnings of American Expression*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Cole, Nathan. *The Spiritual Travels of Nathan Cole*. Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1741-1765.
- Colle Doriece. *Collars, Stocks, Cravats: A History and Costume Dating Guide to Civilian Men's Neckpieces 1655-1900*. Emmaus, Pa., Rodale Press. 1972.
- Collins, Joseph B. *Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age Background*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1940.
- Corn, Wanda M. "Coming of Age: Historical Scholarship in American Art," in *Art Bulletin* 70, June 1980: 188-207.
- Cort, John. "Art, Religion and Material Culture: Some Reflections on Method," in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, n.3, 1996: 613-32.
- Cotton, John. "Christ the Fountain of Life," In Kelly M. Kapic and Randall C. Gleason, eds. *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics*. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004.
- Craven, Wayne. *American Art: History and Culture*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1994.

- "Colonial American Portraiture: Iconography and Methodology," in Ellen G. Miles, ed. *The Portrait in Eighteenth-Century America*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993.
- Cummings, Abbott Lowell. "Seventeenth Century Boston Portraiture: Profile of an Establishment in Painting and Portrait Making." Peter Benes, ed. Boston: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folk Life Annual Proceedings, 1994.
- Cunnington, C. Willett. *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century*. Faber & Faber: London, 1955.
- Currier, J.J. *Ould Newbury*. Boston, 1896.
- Daly, Peter M. *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*. New York: AMS Press, 1988.
- Davis, John. *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth Century American Art and Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- D'Alleva, Anne. *The Fundamentals of Art History*. Saddle River: Prentice Hall Inc. 2006.
- *Look Again Art History and Critical Art Theory*. Saddle River: Prentice Hall Inc. 2005.
- Deetz, James. *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1977.
- Delbanco, Andrew and Heimert Alan. ed. *The Puritans in America: A Narrative Anthology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Demos, John, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- De Winkel Marieke. *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.
- Dresser, Louisa. "Seventeenth Century Painting in New England." Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum Exhibition Catalog, 1935.
- Dillenberger, John. *The Visual Arts and Christianity in America: From the Colonial Period to the Present*. New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1989.
- *The Hand and the Spirit: Religious Art in America, 1700-1900*. Berkeley: University Art museum, 1972.

- *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual images in Sixteenth Century Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- *A Theology of Artistic Sensibilities: The Visual Arts and the Church*. New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1986.
- Earle, Alice Morse. *Two Centuries of Costume in America 1620-1820*. 1901 Reprint, Rutland, Vermont: C. E. Tuttle Co. 1971.
- *A Jonathan Edwards Reader*. John E. Smith and Harry S. Stout, eds. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion," in Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, eds. *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences*. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1967.
- Ehrman, Bart D. *A Brief Introduction to the New Testament*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Emery, Sara Anna. *Reminiscences of Newburyport: A Nonagenarian*. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1978.
- Finch, Martha L. *Dissenting Bodies Corporealities in Early New England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Finney, Paul Corby, ed. *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts in the Calvinist Tradition*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Erdmann Publishing Company, 1999.
- Foote, Henry Wilder. *False Faces. A Study of the Use and misuse of Portraits as Historical Documents*. Boston: Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society: Vol. 67, 1945.
- Fortune, Brandon Brane. *Franklin & His Friends: Portraying the Man of Science in Eighteenth Century America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Fowble, E. Mc Sherry. *Two Centuries of Prints in America, 1680-1880: A Selective Catalogue of the Winterthur Museum Collection*. Charlottesville: University Press Virginia, 1987.
- Fleischer Roland. *Emblems and Colonial American Painting*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1978.
- Fletcher-Little, Nina. *American Decorative Wall Painting: 1700-1850*. New York: Sturbridge, 1952.
- Flexner, James Thomas. *America's Old Masters*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1980.

- Freedburg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Freeman, Rosemary. *English Emblem Books*. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.
- Freud, Sigmund. *Writings on Art and Literature*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Gausted, Edwin S. *The Great Awakening in New England*. New York: Harper & Brothers 1957.
- Geneva Bible*. A facsimile of the 1560 edition Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Gordis, Lisa. *Opening Scripture: Bible Reading and Interpretive Authority in Puritan New England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences*, Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, eds. New York; The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967.
- Greven, Philip J. *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America*. New York: Knopf, 1977.
- Griffin, Edward M. *Jonathan Edwards*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.
- *Old Brick: Charles Chauncy of Boston 1705-1787*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980.
- Hall, David D. *Worlds of Wonder*. New York: Knopf, 1989
- Hall, Michael. *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather 1639-1723*. Boston: Wesleyan University Press, 1988.
- Hambrick-Stowe, Charles. *The Practice of Puritan Piety*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1982.
- ed. *Early New England Meditative Poetry. Anne Bradstreet and Edward Taylor*. New York: Paulist Press, 1988.
- Harris, Neil. *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years: 1790-1860*. New York; George Brazillier, 1966.
- Holmes Stephen R. "Religious Affectations By Jonathan Edwards," in Kelly M. Kopic and Randall C. Gleason, ed. *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics*. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004.

- Husch, Gail E. *Something's Coming: Apocalyptic Expectation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Painting*. Hanover; University Press: New Hampshire 2000.
- Iversen, Margaret. *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993.
- Karr, Louise. "A Council of Ministers," in *The Magazine Antiques* 11, 1927: 45-46.
- Katz, Wendy. "Portraits and the Production of the Civil Self in Seventeenth-Century Boston," in *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 39 No. 2/3, Summer/Autumn 2004: 124-160.
- Knight, Janice. *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts: Rereading American Puritanism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Kornhauser, Elizabeth Mankin. *Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic*. Hartford: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Krill, Rosemary Troy. *Early American Decorative Arts 1620-1860*. Walnut Creek, California: Altamira Press, 2001.
- Kris, Ernst. *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art*. New York: International Universities Press, 1991.
- Larsen, Erik. Calvinistic. *Economy and 17th Century Dutch Art*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1979.
- Lovell, Margaretta M. *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans and Patrons in Early America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.
- "Painters and Their Customers: Aspects of Art and Money in Eighteenth-Century America," in Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.
- "Reading Eighteenth Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self Images," in *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 33 Number 1, Spring 1987.
- Lowance, Mason I. *Increase Mather*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974.
- "The Language of Canaan: Metaphor and Symbol," in *New England from the Puritans to the Transcendentalists*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Lowell, James Russell. *The Letters of James Russell Lowell*. Charles Eliot Norton, ed. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894.
- Mason I. Lowance. *Increase Mather*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974.

- Mather, Cotton. *Magnalia Christi Americana*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1852.
- Mather, Increase. *The Autobiography For My Children*, in Michael G. Hall, ed. *The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 71, 1961.
- "A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England (Boston, 1676)," in Richard Slotkin & James K. Folson, eds. *So Dreadful a Judgment Puritan Responses to King Philip's War 1676-1677*. Middletown: Wesleyan Press, 1978.
- "Burnings Bewailed" Boston 1711, 23, in Lee Schweninger, ed. *Departing Glory: Eight Jeremiads*. New York: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1986.
- *Diary of Increase Mather March 1675 to December 1676*. Together with extracts from another *Diary by Him 1674-1687*. Intro. Dr. Samuel A. Green (Cambridge: Wilson and Son, December, 1899). Property of the State of Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. Retrieved from microfiche MSU Library.
- Mather, Samuel. *Figures and Types of The Old Testament*. Mason Lowance, ed. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969.
- "The Gospel of the Priest's Holy Garments," in Mason Lowance, ed. *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament*. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969.
- Mayo, Janet. *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress*. B.T. Batsford: London, 1984.
- Middlekauff, Robert. *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals 1596-1728*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Miles Ellen G. ed. *The Portrait in Eighteenth Century America*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993.
- "Looking Back a Personal Perspective on Portraiture," in *American Art*, Vol. 19 No. 2, 2005. Smithsonian Institution, 19-24.
- Miller, Lillian B. "The Puritan Portrait: Its Function in Old and New England in Seventeenth-Century New England." Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publication, Vol. 63, 1984:153-84.
- Miller, Perry. *The New England Mind*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- *Errand into the Wilderness*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984.
- "Errand to the Wilderness," in *William & Mary Quarterly* 10, no.1, 1953: 3-32.

- Minkema, Kenneth, ed. "Selected Letters of Jonathan Edwards," in *Mr. John Mclaurin to Mr. William Hogg*, November 8, 1751, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Mooney, Michael. *Millennialism and the Antichrist in New England, 1630-1760*. Syracuse University: Unpublished Dissertation, May 1982.
- Morgan, Edmund, S. *The Gentle Puritan: The Life of Ezra Stiles*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1962.
- *The Puritan Family: Religious & Domestic Relations in Seventeenth Century New England*. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.
- *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.
- Murdock, Kenneth. *Increase Mather: The Foremost American Puritan*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1966.
- *The Portraits of Increase Mather*. Cleveland: Gwinn Mather, 1924.
- Nylander, Jane C. "Comfort and Uniformity 1750-1850," in Peter Benes, ed. *New England Meeting House and Church; 1630-1850*. Dublin Seminar for New England Folk life, 1979. Boston: Boston University, 1979.
- Packer J.I. "Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan (1628-1688)," in Kelly M. Kapic and Randall C. Gleason, ed. *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics*. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004.
- Park, L. "Joseph Badger, 1708-1765 A Descriptive Lists of His Works," in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 51. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1918.
- Perkins, William. *The Arte of Propheying or a Treatise Concerning the Sacred and Onely True Manner and Method of Preaching 1607*. Ian Breward, ed. Berkshire: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970.
- Peterson, Mark. "Puritanism and Refinement in Early New England: Reflections on Communion Silver," in *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no.2, December 2001.
- Pointon Marcia. *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Promey, Sally. *Painting Religion in Public*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

- "The Public Display of Religion," in *The Visual Culture of American Religions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- "Seeing the Self in Frame," in *New England Material Practice and Puritan Piety: Material Religion*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, 2006:13-42.
- Prown, Jules David and Kenneth Haltman. *American Artifacts: Essays in Material Culture*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000.
- Prown, Jules David. *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- "Art History vs. the History of Art," in *Art Journal*, No. 1, 1984.
- "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," in *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no.1, Spring 1982: 1-19.
- Ribeiro, Aileen. *Dress and Morality*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986.
- *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe 1715-1789*. London: Batsford, 1989.
- *Fashion and Fiction*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Robbins, Daniel. *American Art at Harvard*. Fogg Museum, Boston: Meriden Gravure Co. 1972. Harvard Portraits Exhibition Catalog.
- Rodley, Lyn. *Byzantine Art and Architecture*. New York; Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Severa, Joan. "Costume as Material Culture," in *Dress*, Vol. 15, 1989.
- Shea, Daniel B. *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- Shipton, Clifford K. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1713-1721*. Vol. VI. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1942.
- Sibbes, Richard. "The Bruised Reed," in Kelly M. Kapic and Randall C. Gleason, ed. *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to Puritan Classics*. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004.
- Sibley, John Langdon. *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts* Cambridge, MA, 1873: 194-208.

- Smith, Margaret "The Nature and Meaning of Mysticism," in Richard Woods, ed. *Understanding Mysticism*. New York: Image Books, 1980.
- Snyder James. "Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture," in *The Graphic Arts from 1350-1575*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall Inc., 2005.
- Sprague, William B. D.D. *Annals of the American Pulpit or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations*. Vol. 1. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857.
- Stein Roger B. "Thomas Smith's Self-Portrait Image/ Text as Artifact," in *Winterthur Portfolio*, Winter, 1984.
- St. George, Robert Blair. *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Stiles Ezra. "The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles (1 August 1771) Vol. 3. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982.
- Stoughton, William. "New England's True Interest Not to Lie," in *The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 156, 1961.
- Strong, Roy. *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry*. Great Britain: BAS Printers, 1977.
- Tamburello, Dennis. *Union with Christ*. Louisville: John Knox Press, 1994.
- Tyack, George S. *Historic Dress of the Clergy*. London: Andrews Co., 1897.
- Veldman, Ilja M. "Protestantism and the Arts," in Paul Corby Finney, ed. *Seeing Beyond the Word, Visual Arts in the Calvinist Tradition*. Grand Rapids: William B. Erdmann Publishing Company, 1999.
- Watters, David H. "A Priest to the Temple: Eschatological Themes in Puritan Literature and Gravestone Art," in Peter Benes, ed. *The Dublin Seminar for New England Folk life Annual Proceedings*. Boston, 1978.
- Waugh, Nora. *The Cut of Men's Clothes 1600-1900*. London: Faber Press, 1964.
- Wilcox, R. Turner. *The Mode in Hats and Headdress*. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1945.
- Williston Walker. *Ten New England Leaders*. New York: Silver Burdett and Company, 1901.

Winiarski, Douglas L. "Soul Filled with Ravishing Transport: Heavenly Visions and the Radical Awakening in New England," in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. LXI, no.1, 1996: 4-44.

Winkler, Mary G. "Calvin's Portrait: Representation, Image, or Icon?," in Paul Corby Finney, ed. *Seeing Beyond the Word, Visual Arts in the Calvinist Tradition*. Grand Rapids: William B. Erdmann Publishing Company, 1999.