In 1630 a fleet of ships landed on the Massachusetts shore, bringing 2,000 men, women, and children to establish a Bible commonwealth in New England. It was the start of the Great Migration of Puritans that eventually brought 20,000 settlers to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Their leader was John Winthrop. Born to a family of rich merchants and landed gentry, he was educated at Cambridge University. He studied the law and then became a justice of the peace, a successful London lawyer, and the squire of Groton Manor in Suffolk. As a staunch Puritan, he was troubled by the English government’s oppression of English Calvinists. And in 1629, persuaded that “God will bring some heavy afflicting upon this land, and that speedily,” he joined in organizing the Massachusetts Bay Company to establish a Christian colony in New England.

Winthrop was elected governor of the colony, and in 1630 he set sail to the New World on the Arbella, with the first contingent of settlers. Shortly after arriving, he established the first court of government at Boston, where he served as Governor or Deputy Governor of the Colony for all but seven of the remaining years of his life—directing land distribution, establishing church and civil government, and meeting the crises caused by Indians, heretical Quakers, and such troubles as Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson.

Winthrop began writing his Journal in 1630, during his voyage to America, and he continued his record of events until his death in 1649. The Journal’s measured and judicial style reflects the ordered mind of its author and his desire to tell the plain truth, even against himself. It reveals Puritan attitudes toward women and the world of commerce. It shows the Puritans’ need to find divine sanction for their actions and shows their craving for evidence of a divine purpose in even the trivial events of their daily lives. The Journal is an unpolished chronicle rather than a finished history, but like Bradford’s Of Plymouth Plantation, it has the virtue of being written by someone at the center of events. Winthrop knew well the sharp disputes between the Puritans in America and the royal authorities in England. And he lived amid intense religious quarrels that threatened to scatter the Bay Colony into jarring sects.

Winthrop’s political creed was based on the Calvinist axiom that all mankind was corrupted by the original sin of Adam. Winthrop had no faith in democracy, believing there was “no such government in Israel.” He was convinced that America was a land where God’s vice-regents on earth were divinely appointed to maintain law. Because of his political views, Winthrop’s enemies saw him as harsh and autocratic—Thomas Morton called him “King Winthrop.” But his supporters saw him as the Moses of his colony, the protector of orthodoxy. And in his Journal, he is revealed as a humane and devoted leader, one wholly committed to the building of a Christian society in the New World.

Like other Puritan leaders, Winthrop found his guiding principles in the Scriptures and in the teachings of Puritanism. But with the decline of the Puritan state, Americans began to find their guiding principles elsewhere: in egalitarianism, in radical individualism, and in capitalism. Yet the Puritan principles of hard work, independence, and moral strength, shown by men like John Winthrop, survived the passing of the New England Way. Such ideals were major forces in shaping the American Revolution and in the growth of the new nation. Today they remain dominant elements in the cultural heritage of the American people.


Text: The History of New England, ed. J. Savage, 2 vols., 1855. Spelling, punctuation, and usage have been changed to conform more nearly to modern practice.

from THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WINTHROP

[June 14, 1631] At this court [session] one Philip Ratcliff, a servant of Mr. Craddock, being convicted, ore tenus, of most foul, scandalous invectives against our churches and government, was censured to be whipped, lose his ears, and be banished [from] the plantation, which was presently executed.

[July 5, 1632] At Watertown there was (in the view of divers witnesses) a great combat between a mouse and a snake; and, after a long fight, the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. The pastor of Boston, Mr. Wilson, a very sincere, holy man, hearing of it, gave this interpretation: That the snake was the devil; the mouse was a poor contemptible people, which God had brought hither, which should overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom.

[November 1633] A great mortality among the Indians. Chickatabot, the sagamore of Naponset, died, and many of his people. The disease was the small pox. Some of them were cured by such means as they had from us; many of their children escaped and were kept by the English.

[December 5, 1633] John Sagamore died of the small pox, and almost all his people (above thirty buried by Mr. Maverick of Winesemett in one day). The towns in the bay took away many of the children; but most of them died soon after.

James Sagamore of Sagus died also, and most of his folks. John Sagamore desired to be brought among the English, (so he was) and promised (if he recovered) to live with the English and serve their God. He left one son, which he disposed to Mr. Wilson, the pastor of Boston, to be brought up by him. He gave to the governor a good quantity of wampum, and to divers others of the English he gave gifts and took order for the payment of his own debts and his men’s. He died in a persuasion that he should go to the Englishmen’s God. Divers of them, in their sickness, confessed that the Englishmen’s God was a good God and that, if they recovered, they would serve him.

It wrought much with them, that when their own people forsook them, yet the English came daily and ministered to them; and yet few, only two

1Sometimes entitled The History of New England, the Journal was largely limited to events in Massachusetts. It was first published in complete form in 1826.
2Latin: orally. Ratcliff had spoken, rather than written, his invectives.
3John Wilson (1588–1667), pastor of the Boston Church.
4Algonquian: sachem, local chief. On the nearby Neponset River, south of Boston.
5Present-day Chelsea, Massachusetts. Present-day Lynn, Massachusetts.
6Wampum. Strands of polished shells, used by the Indians as money. 7Counted, weighed.
families, took any infection by it. Among others, Mr. Maverick of Winesemett is worthy of a perpetual remembrance. Himself, his wife, and servants, went daily to them, ministered to their necessities, and buried their dead, and took home many of their children. So did other of the neighbors.

[January 1636] The governor and assistants met at Boston to consider about Mr. Williams, for that they were credibly informed, that, notwithstanding the injunction laid upon him (upon the liberty granted him to stay till the spring) not to go about to draw others to his opinions, he did use to entertain company in his house, and to preach to them, even of such points as he had been censured for; and it was agreed to send him into England by a ship then ready to depart. The reason was, because he had drawn above twenty persons to his opinion, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narrangansett Bay, from whence the infection would easily spread into these churches (the people being, many of them, much taken with the apprehension of his godliness). Whereupon a warrant was sent to him to come presently to Boston, to be shipped to England, etc. He returned answer (and divers of Salem came with it) that he could not come without hazard of his life, etc. Whereupon a pinnace was sent with commission to Capt. Underhill, etc., to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ship (which then rode at Nantasket) but, when they came at his house, they found he had been gone three days before; but whether he could not learn.

He had so far prevailed at Salem, as many there (especially of devout women) did embrace his opinions, and separated from the churches.

[October 21, 1636] About the middle of this month, John Tilley, master of a bark, coming down [the] Connecticut River, went on shore in a canoe, three miles above the fort, to kill fowl; and having shot off his piece, many Indians arose out of the covert and took him and killed one other who was in the canoe. This Tilley was a very stout man, and of great understanding. They cut off his hands and afterwards cut off his feet. He lived three days after his hands were cut off; and [the Indians] themselves confessed that he was a stout man because he cried not in his torture.

One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church of Boston, a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors: 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2. That no

sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. —From these two errors grew many branches.

[November 1, 1637] There was great hope that the late general assembly would have had some good effect in pacifying the troubles and dissensions about matters of religion; but it fell out otherwise. The court sent for Mrs. Hutchinson, and charged her with divers matters, as her keeping two public lectures every week in her house, where sixty or eighty persons did usually resort, and for reproaching most of the ministers (viz., all except Mr. Cotton) for not preaching a covenant of free grace, and that they had not the seal of the spirit, nor were able ministers of the New Testament; which were clearly proved against her, though she sought to shift it off. And, after many speeches to the bar, at last she was so full as she could not contain, but vented her revelations, amongst which this was one, that she had it revealed to her, that she should come into New England, and should here be persecuted, and that God would ruin us and our posterity, and the whole state, for the same. So the court proceeded and banished her; but, because it was winter, they committed her to a private house, where she was well provided, and her own friends and the elders permitted to go to her, but none else.

[March 1638] While Mrs. Hutchinson continued at Roxbury, divers of the elders and others resorted to her, and finding her to persist in maintaining those gross errors before mentioned, and many others, to the number of thirty or thereabout, some of them wrote to the church at Boston, offering to make proof of the same before the church, etc., whereupon she was called (the magistrates being desired to give her license to come), and the lecture was appointed to begin at ten. When she appeared, the errors were read to her, but yet she held her own; so that the church (all but two of her sons) agreed she should be admonished, and because her sons would not agree to it, they were admonished also.

Mr. Cotton pronounced the sentence of admonition with great solemnity, and with much zeal and detestation of her errors and pride of spirit. The assembly continued until eight at night, and all did acknowledge the special presence of God's spirit therein; and she was appointed to appear again the next lecture day.

[March 22, 1638] Mrs. Hutchinson appeared again (she had been licensed by the court, in regard she had given hope of her repentance, to be at Mr. Cotton's house, that both he and Mr. Davenport might have the
more opportunity to deal with her); and the articles being again read to her, and her answer required, she delivered it in writing, wherein she made a retraction of near all, but with such explanations and circumstances as gave no satisfaction to the church, so as she was required to speak further to them. Then she declared that it was just with God to leave her to herself, as he had done, for her slitting his ordinances both magistry and ministry; and confessed that what she had spoken against the magistrates at the court (by way of revelation) was rash and ungrounded, and desired the church to pray for her. This gave the church good hope of her repentance; but when she was examined about some particulars, as that she had denied inherent righteousness, etc., she affirmed that it was never her judgment; and though it was proved by many testimonies that she had been of that judgment, and so had persisted, and maintained it by argument against divers, yet she impudently persisted in her affirmation, to the astonishment of all the assembly. So that, after much time and many arguments had been spent to bring her to see her sin, but all in vain, the church, with one consent, cast her out. Some moved to have her admonished once more; but, it being for manifest evil in matter of conversation, it was agreed otherwise; and for that reason also the sentence was denounced by the pastor, matter of manners belonging properly to his place.

After she was excommunicated, her spirits, which seemed before to be somewhat dejected, revived again, and she gloried in her sufferings, saying that it was the greatest happiness, next to Christ, that ever befell her. Indeed, it was a happy day to the churches of Christ here, and to many poor souls, who had been seduced by her, who, by what they heard and saw that day, were (through the grace of God) brought off quite from her errors, and settled again in the truth.

[September 1638] Mrs. Hutchinson, being removed to the Isle of Aquidneck, in the Narragansett Bay, after her time was fulfilled, that she expected deliverance of a child, was delivered of a monstrous birth, which, being diversely related in the country, and in the open assembly at Boston, upon a lecture day, [was] declared by Mr. Cotton to be twenty-seven several lumps of man's seed, without any alteration or mixture of anything from the woman, and thereupon gathered that it might signify her error in denying inherent righteousness but [insisting] that all was Christ in us.

36Her teachings were considered a violation of both civil and church laws.
37I.e., she denied that righteousness was inherent in humankind, arguing that righteousness existed only in Christ.
38Proclaimed.
39Because Anne Hutchinson was judged guilty of speaking untruths, a violation of moral behavior ("manners"), her sentence of excommunication was proclaimed not by a civil magistrate but by the pastor of the Boston Church, John Wilson.
40She was first banished from the colony by civil authorities, then excommunicated from the church by ecclesiastical authorities.
41After her banishment, Anne Hutchinson moved to the island of Aquidneck, now Rhode Island. In 1642 she moved to Long Island, New York, where one year later she was killed in an Indian massacre.

[December 13, 1638] At Providence, also, the devil was not idle. For whereas, at their first coming thither, Mr. Williams and the rest did make an order that no man should be molested for his conscience, now men's wives, and children, and servants claimed liberty hereby to go to all religious meetings, though never [before] so often, or though private, upon the week days; and because one Verin refused to let his wife go to Mr. Williams so oft as she was called for, they required to have him censured.

[November 1639] At a general court held at Boston, great complaint was made of the oppression used in the county in sale of foreign commodities; and Mr. Robert Keayne, who kept a shop in Boston, was notoriously above others observed and complained of; and, being convicted, he was charged with many particulars; in some, for taking above six-pence in the shining profit; in some above eight-pence; and in some small things, above two for one; and being thereof convicted, (as appears by the records) he was fined £200. . . . After the court had censured him, the church of Boston called him also in question, where (as before he had done in the court) he did, with tears, acknowledge and bewail his covetous and corrupt heart, yet making some excuse for many of the particulars, which were charged upon him, as partly by pretense of ignorance of the true price of some wares, and chiefly by being misled by some false principles. . . . These things gave occasion to Mr. Cotton, in his public exercise the next lecture day, to lay open the error of such false principles, and to give some rules of direction in the case.

Some false principles were these:

1. That a man might sell as dear as he can, and buy as cheap as he can.
2. If a man lose by casualty of sea, etc., in some of his commodities, he may raise the price of the rest.
3. That he may sell as he bought, though he paid too dear, etc., and though the commodity be fallen [in price], etc.
4. That, as a man may take the advantage of his own skill or ability, so he may of another's ignorance or necessity.
5. Where one gives time for payment, he is to take like recompense of one as of another.

The rules for trading were these:

1. A man may not sell above the current price, i.e., such a price as is usual in the time and place, and as another (who knows the worth of the commodity) would give for it, if he had occasion to use it; as that is called current money, which every man will take, etc.
2. When a man loseth in his commodity for want of skill, etc., he must look at it as his own fault or cross, and therefore must not lay it upon another.

35Summoned before the court. 39Accident.
3. Where a man loseth by casualty of sea, or, etc., it is a loss cast upon himself by providence, and he may not ease himself of it by casting it upon another; for so a man should seem to provide against all provindences, etc., that he should never lose; but where there is a scarcity of the commodity, there men may raise their price; for now it is a hand of God upon the commodity, and not the person.

4. A man may not ask any more for his commodity than his selling price; as Ephron to Abraham, the land is worth thus much.

The cause being debated by the church, some were earnest to have him excommunicated; but the most thought an admonition would be sufficient. In the end, the church consented to an admonition.

[December 15, 1640] About this time there fell out a thing worthy of observation. Mr. Winthrop the younger, one of the magistrates, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek testament, the psalms and the common prayer were bound together. He found the common prayer eaten with mice, every leaf of it, and not any of the other touched, nor any other of his books, though there were above a thousand.

[April 13, 1641] A negro maid, servant to Mr. Stoughton of Dorchester, being well approved by divers years' experience, for sound knowledge and true godliness, was received into the church and baptized.

[June 21, 1641] There arose a question in court about the punishment of single fornication, because, by the law of God, the [guilty] man was only required to marry the maid, or pay a sum of money to her father, but the case falling out between two servants, they were whipped for the wrong offered to the master in abusing his house.

Mrs. Hutchinson and those of Aquidneck Island broached new heresies every year. Divers of them turned professed anabaptists, and would not wear any arms, and denied all magistracy among Christians, and maintained that there were no churches since those founded by the apostles and evangelists.

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34Ephron offered to give Abraham, without cost, a cave for the burial of the dead. Abraham insisted on paying full price. Genesis 23.

35John Winthrop's son.


38Occurring.

39Anabaptists objected to infant baptism, urged separation of church and state, refused to bear arms, and denied the jurisdiction of civil authorities in religious matters.

40Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the two sacraments of the Puritan church.

41Lack.

42I.e., the church.

43Latin, namely.

44Wheat and similar grains.

45In value.
[April 13, 1645] Mr. Hopkins, the governor of Hartford upon Connecticut, came to Boston, and brought his wife with him. (a godly woman, and of special parts) who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her divers years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, was loath to grieve her; but he saw his error when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her.  

[Speech to the General Court]  
I suppose something may be expected from me, upon this charge that is befallen me, which moves me to speak now to you; yet I intend not to intermeddle in the proceedings of the court, or with any of the persons concerned therein. Only I bless God, that I see an issue of this troublesome business. I also acknowledge the justice of the court, and, for mine own part, I am well satisfied, I was publicly charged, and I am publicly and legally acquitted, which is all I did expect or desire. And though this be sufficient for my justification before men, yet not so before the God, who hath seen so much amiss in my dispensations (and even in this affair) as calls me to be humble. For to be publicly and criminally charged in this court, is matter of humiliation, (and I desire to make a right use of it) notwithstanding I be thus acquitted. If her father had spit in her face (saith the Lord concerning Miriam), should she not have been ashamed seven days? Shame had lain upon her, whatever the occasion had been. I am unwilling to stay you from your urgent affairs, yet give me leave (upon this special occasion) to speak a little more to this assembly. It may be of some good use, to inform and rectify the judgments of some of the people, and may prevent such distempers as have arisen amongst us. The great questions that have troubled the country are about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people. It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it, the contempt and violation whereof hath been vindicated with examples of divine vengeance. I entreat you to consider, that when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to like passions as you are. Therefore when you see infirmities in us, you should reflect upon your own, and that would make you bear the more with us, and not be severe censurers of the failings of your magistrates, when you have continual experience of the like infirmities in yourselves and others. We account him a good servant, who breaks not his covenant. The covenant between you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our best skill. When you agree with a workman to build you a ship or house, etc., he undertakes as well for his skill as for his faithfulness, for it is his profession, and you pay him for both. But when you call one to be a magistrate, he doth not profess nor undertake to have sufficient skill for that office, nor can you furnish him with gifts, etc., therefore you must run the hazard of his skill and ability. But if he fail in faithfulness, which by his oath he is bound unto, that he must answer for. If it fall out that the case be clear to common apprehension, and the rule clear also, if he transgress here, the error is not in the skill, but in the evil of the will: it must be required of him. But if the case be doubtful, or the rule doubtful, to men of such understanding and parts as your magistrates are, if your magistrates should err here, yourselves must bear it.

For the other point concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists; it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts: omnes sumus licentia deteriores. This is that great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beast, which all the ordinances of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it. The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal, it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions, amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatevsoever crosses this, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free, but in her subjection to her husband's authority. Such is the liberty of the church under the authority of Christ, her king and husband; his yoke is so easy and sweet to her as a bride's ornaments; and if through forwardness or wantonness, etc., she shake it off, at any time, she is at no rest in her spirit, until she take it up again; and whether

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46Edward Hopkins (1600–1657).
47In 1645, Winthrop was charged with exceeding his authority as a magistrate. Following a trial and exonerated, he addressed the General Court (legislature) on the Puritan ideals of liberty, the duties of magistrates, and the duty of the people to submit to the authority of magistrates (God's lieutenants) and their interpretations of God's ordinances.
48And the Lord said unto Moses, "If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days?" Numbers 12:14.
49Disturbances.

50Latin: "all are weakened by excess liberty," a quotation derived from *Hosius Tropenamenos (The Self-Tormentor)*, line 483, by the Roman poet Terence (c. 190–159 B.C.).
her lord smiles upon her, and embraces her in his arms, or whether he frowns, or rebukes, or smites her, she apprehends the sweetness of his love in all, and is refreshed, supported, and instructed by every such dispensation of his authority over her. On the other side, ye know who they are that complain of this yoke and say, let us break their bands, etc., we will not have this man to rule over us. Even so, brethren, it will be between you and your magistrates. If you stand for your natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmure, and oppose, and be always striving to shake off that yoke; but if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good. Wherein, if we fail at any time, we hope we shall be willing (by God's assistance) to hearken to good advice from any of you, or in any other way of God; so shall your liberties be preserved, in upholding the honor and power of authority amongst you.

[June 4, 1648] At this court one Margaret Jones of Charlestown was indicted and found guilty of witchcraft and hanged for it. The evidence against her was: 1, that she was found to have such a malignant touch, as many persons (men, women, and children) whom she stroked or touched with any affection or displeasure or etc. were taken with deafness, or vomiting, or other violent pains or sickness; 2, she practising physic, and her medicines being such things as (by her own confession) were harmless, [such] as aniseed, liquors, and etc., yet [they] had extraordinary violent effects; 3, she would use to tell such persons as would not make use of her physic that they would never be healed, and accordingly their diseases and hurts continued, with relapses against the ordinary course and beyond the apprehension of all physicians and surgeons; 4, some things which she foretold came to pass accordingly; other things she could tell of (such as secret speeches, etc.), which she had had no ordinary means to come to the knowledge of; 5, she had (upon search) an apparent teat in her secret parts as fresh as if it had been newly suckled, and after it had been scanned, upon a forced search, that [teat] was withered and another began on the opposite side; 6, in the prison, in the clear daylight, there was seen in her arms, she sitting on the floor and her clothes up, etc., a little child, which ran from her into another room, and the officer following it, it was vanished. The like child was seen in two other places, to which she had relation; and one maid that saw it, fell sick upon it, and was cured by the said Margaret, who used means to be employed to that end. Her behaviour at her trial was very impreterate, lying notoriously, and railing upon the jury and witnesses, etc., and in the like distemper she died. The same day and hour she was executed, there was a very great tempest at Connecticut, which blew down many trees, etc.

[August 15, 1648] The synod met at Cambridge. . . Mr. Allen of Dedham preached out of Acts 15, a very godly, learned, and particular handling of near all the doctrines and applications concerning that subject with a clear discovery and refutation of such errors, objections, and scruples as had been raised about it by some young heads in the country. It fell out, about the midst of his sermon, there came a snake into the seat, where many of the elders sat behind the preacher. It came in at the door where people stood thick upon the stairs. Divers of the elders shifted from it, but Mr. Thomson, one of the elders of Braintree (a man of much faith), trod upon the head of it, and so held it with his foot and staff with a small pair of grains until it was killed. This being so remarkable, and nothing falling out but by divine providence, it is out of doubt [that] the Lord discovered somewhat of his mind in it. The serpent is the devil; the synod, the representative of the churches of Christ in New England. The devil had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him and crushed his head.

1630–1649

The Whole Book of Psalms Faithfully Translated into English Meter, commonly known as The Bay Psalm book, was the first book in English to be printed in America. It provided a metrical version of the Psalms that could be sung by all the congregation at Puritan church services. Its creators, a group of worthies drawn from among the "chief divines" of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, were faced with the task of making a translation of the Hebrew Psalms that met the demand for close adherence to the Word and at the same time fit the tunes that New England settlers knew.

In recent years, readers who looked at the words and forgot the tunes described the Bay Psalms as "rhythmic and syntactic wreckage" with "sentences wrenched about, end for end, clauses heaved up and abandoned in chaos," the tankered verse of men.

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51Medicine.
52Unusual, unexpected relapses.
53Visible.
54Such growths were thought to be used to suckle demons; hence they were considered evidence of witchcraft.
55A meeting for discussion of church doctrine.
56Church area, near the pulpit, where dignitaries sat.
57A fish spear with two "grains" (prongs).
58Revealed.
59Genesis 3:15.