Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Atlantic Studies
Global Currents

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rjas20

Reformation, colonisation, and the conversion of the "heathen": theology, history, and nature in the writings of John Oxenbridge (1608–1674)

Patrick Seamus McGhee

To cite this article: Patrick Seamus McGhee (04 Sep 2024): Reformation, colonisation, and the conversion of the "heathen": theology, history, and nature in the writings of John Oxenbridge (1608–1674), Atlantic Studies, DOI: 10.1080/14788810.2024.2393037

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/14788810.2024.2393037

Published online: 04 Sep 2024.

ATLANTIC STUDIES
https://doi.org/10.1080/14788810.2024.2393037

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Reformation, colonisation, and the conversion of the "heathen": theology, history, and nature in the writings of John Oxenbridge (1608–1674)

Patrick Seamus McGhee

Department of Theology and Religion, University of Durham, Durham, UK

ABSTRACT

This article examines the idea of the "heathen" in the writing of the English congregationalist minister John Oxenbridge (1608–1674), who travelled in Bermuda, Surinam, and Barbados, before settling in Massachusetts. Etymologically derived from the uncultivated "heath", the term "heathen" reminded English Protestants of their duty to plant and cultivate. This resonated with Reformed doctrine, according to which Adam had been consigned to agrarian labour after the Fall. The concept of the "heathen" expressed the theological and historical components of the natural world, while also allowing proponents of evangelism to adapt their ambitious strategies of expansion to shifting religious and political circumstances in the context of division and instability amidst the Restoration and colonisation. Rather than a straightforward expression of English fears about the nebulous "Other," the "heathen" thus articulated profound anxieties about religious politics, multifarious heterodoxies, Christian cohesion, and the possibility of salvation in an unfamiliar and changing world.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 9 October 2023
Accepted 13 August 2024

KEYWORDS
Reformation; colonisation; evangelism; empire; Restoration; Christianity; John Oxenbridge

Introduction

Traversing a divided world, the English congregationalist minister John Oxenbridge (1608–1674) harnessed the idea of the "heathen," the figure of the uncultivated, idolatrous, nature-worshipping indigenous non-Christian, to advocate physical and spiritual expansion in the seventeenth-century Atlantic world.[1] This article traces the use of the term "heathen" in Oxenbridge's work to argue that the concept expressed an English Protestant approach to the theological, historical, and natural dimensions of reformation, colonisation, and evangelism in the Americas amidst shifting religious and political circumstances. For Oxenbridge, the idea of the "heathen" connected early Christianity to the ongoing struggle for reformation following the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. He sought to strengthen the relationship between Protestantism and colonisation by countering religious fragmentation within Christianity and facilitating the conversion

CONTACT Patrick Seamus McGhee patrick.s.mcghee@durham.ac.uk

of the "heathen", thereby fulfilling the prophetic and apocalyptic promises of scripture and promoting religious renewal in Britain and the Americas.

Rather than straightforwardly expressing English fears about the "Other", the "heathen" label articulated anxieties about divisive religious politics, multifarious heterodoxies, and salvation in the Atlantic world. The concept linked the physical transformation of land, the spiritual conversion of indigenous peoples, and the introspective efforts of each believer to confront sin and salvation. Accordingly, English Protestants had to spread Christianity and civilisation to so-called "heathen" populations through propagation and cultivation, while confronting their own shortcomings and vulnerabilities, as they strove to realise the ideals of the true religion in accordance with scripture.

The English word "heathen," from Germanic and Old English, was inherently more relevant to English-speaking Protestants than it was to Spanish Catholics, who were more likely to associate indigenous peoples in the Americas with the Latin-derived concepts of "gentile" or "bárbaros".[2] When used in modern English translations of Spanish Catholic texts, the word "heathen" thus risks conflating English and Spanish conceptions of non-Christianity. A twentieth-century Anglophone version of Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón's *Treatise on the Heathen Superstitions that Today Live Among the Indians Native to this New Spain* (1629), translates the term "gentilicas" from the original Spanish manuscript and an accompanying prefatory letter as "heathen". However, this imposes English Protestant terminology on Spanish Catholicism that neither the original author, nor his primary audiences, would necessarily have embraced.[3] Notably, the "pagan," another Latin derivative, is absent from the English Bibles of the Reformation era, with the revealing exception of the Catholic Rheims Douai version (1582–1610).[4]

Once it had entered the Bible as part of the wider project among English reformers to produce vernacular scripture, the "heathen" concept connected theology, history, and nature, linking postlapsarian and predestinarian doctrine to the natural world in the English Protestant historical imagination.[5] Since Adam had been consigned to agrarian labour after the Fall, taming and tilling the land were sacred endeavours that reflected natural corruption following original sin.[6] Likely possessing an etymological connection to the uncultivated "heath," the "heathen" appeared throughout scripture either as enemies of God or prospective converts to the true religion.[7] The Old Testament associated the "heathen" with idolatry, wilderness, and the veneration of nature.[8] Contravening divine will, the "heathen" worshipped "altars" and "groves" in the "hills" and among "trees".[9] People who grew distant from God were "like the heath".[10] The New Testament depicted "heathen" people as potential beneficiaries of apostolic evangelism or enemies to be vanquished at the Final Judgement.[11] The "heathen" reappeared in Elizabethan and early Stuart accounts of post-scriptural history. In the 1576 version of his martyrology, *The Acts and Monuments*, the historical writer John Foxe described the "heathen Emperours of Rome" who had persecuted Christians.[12] Meanwhile, in his 1577 translation of Eusebius, the minister Meredith Hanmer related that, in the early fourth century, some "incredulous heathen" had embraced Christianity under the polytheistic Maximinus, while "temples of the heathen" became targets of Christian suppression under Constantine.[13] Others located the "heathen" in the British past. In *The history of Great Britaine* (1611), John Speed recounted that the fabled second-century King Lucius had facilitated conversion from "heathenish" practices to Christianity.[14] As Ralph Holinshed had related in 1577, a later phase in the conversion of Britain had involved the English Saxons, who, "renouncing

their heathenish beleefe, became Christians" following the late sixth-century mission of Augustine.[15]

The "heathen" also furnished Elizabethan and early Stuart Protestants with a polemical tool that they used to condemn what they perceived as the corruption of Christianity under the authority of the Roman Church. One work of anti-popery published in 1592 described the "heathenish Idol" of the Mass, while another published in 1596 argued that "purgatorie" was derived "from the old heathen Romanes".[16] One minister argued in 1625 that the doctrine of transubstantiation was "causing our Christian faith to be scorned and abhorred of the Heathen".[17] Some ministers also wielded the "heathen" as a rhetorical stick with which to chastise wayward parishioners and readers. Unable to claim ignorance, backsliding Protestants seemed to act more heinously than "heathen" people who appeared religious despite having not yet encountered Christianity.[18] Despite possessing civility, nascent virtues, and embryonic spiritual knowledge, "heathen" people remained subject to the consequences of original sin and divine judgement.[19] Yet, they remained potential converts, some of whom might be saved in accordance with "double predestination," whereby God had already determined whether each individual was elect and bound for Heaven or reprobate and condemned to Hell.[20]

Etched in Protestant theology and history, the "heathen" became an apt descriptor of uncultivated non-Christian peoples in the Americas who seemed steeped in postlapsarian corruption.[21] In 1624, Edward Winslow advocated "planting" religious settlements in New England, thus "convincing the Heathen of their evil wayes and converting them," so that they might discern "salvation […] by the merits of Jesus Christ".[22] As one publication argued in 1643, propagating the Gospel in New England required Protestants "to pitty those poor Heathen […] and to reach forth a hand of soule-mercy, to save some of them from the fire of hell".[23] Prefacing his Algonquian translation of the New Testament published 1661, the Massachusetts minister John Eliot (1604–1690) hoped to bring Christianity "to the poor barbarous Heathen". He described "many of the wilde Indians being taught, and understanding the Doctrine of the Christian Religion".[24] These attitudes indicate that the relationship between Protestantism and colonisation might have drawn upon a collective cultural memory of invasion as a providential harbinger of civilisation and Christianisation.[25] At the same time, individuals could work within or outside the imperial apparatus to facilitate conversion.[26]

Envisioning physical and spiritual interventions in the Americas consonant with theology and history, Protestant settlers and colonial promoters worked to facilitate evangelism, mould the land into a viable resource, demarcate ordered gardens, and identify the bodily benefits of local climates and plants.[27] They argued that indigenous agriculture reflected natural ignorance born of the unconverted and unreformed postlapsarian condition, reminiscent of ancient pre-Christian Britons.[28] Evoking scriptural Canaan, godly ministers in New England sought to transform "wilderness" into "plantations" and "gardens".[29] In "Praying Towns" that Eliot organised from 1651, indigenous converts pursued church membership in accordance with congregationalism.[30] The towns reflected the conviction that civilizing and Christianizing indigenous people depended upon ordering creation.[31] In doing so, Protestants could advance reformation alongside colonisation while discerning divine will and salvation.[32] Accordingly, the term "heathen" referred to unfixed non-Christianity that Protestants could transform through planting and cultivating.[33]

Historians have often assessed pre-modern Protestant evangelism in terms of success and failure, stressing limitations relative to Catholic mission.[34] Alternatively, studying the

idea of "heathen" contributes towards renewed scholarly emphasis on lived religion.[35] The concept further demonstrates that movement, connection, circulation, and translation, rather than rigid geographical or cultural boundaries, have shaped Protestantism.[36] It helps to reveal global dimensions of Protestantism and religious dimensions of colonisation.[37] Resisting stable geographical placement, Oxenbridge continually adapted to religious and political change.[38] In a sermon published in London in 1661, as well as in an undated tract and an extant manuscript he wrote while in Surinam between 1662 and 1667, Oxenbridge used the "heathen" to argue that reciprocity between Reformed theology, sacred history, and nature could galvanise widespread reformation, colonisation, and evangelism.[39] These activities reflected shifts in the Protestant perception of the "heathen". Having emerged as a scriptural manifestation of uncultivated nature, idolatry, and non-belief that awaited conversion or destruction, the "heathen" label became a useful way of describing non-Christian peoples in the Americas, either advertising their readiness to embrace Christianity or denigrating them for resisting it. During the Restoration, the concept acquired new religious and political meaning. Specifically, Oxenbridge related the "heathen" to concerns about the impediments that religious fragmentation posed to the fulfilment of divine will.

Investigating these uses of "heathen" reappraises the historical significance of the concept, which is often confined to medieval and modern contexts, or used as a byword for "gentile," "pagan," "savage," and other terms used for non-Abrahamic peoples, without fully addressing its precise etymological and cultural meaning.[40] Two major works have recently examined the "heathen" as a marker of religious and racial difference in the Protestant Atlantic world. Firstly, Rebecca Anne Goetz's *The Baptism of Early Virginia* (2012) suggests that English Protestants associated the indigenous non-Christian inhabitants of the Chesapeake region with "hereditary heathenism" that appeared increasingly indelible and impervious to evangelism. Amidst deteriorating relations between indigenous peoples and settlers, this perception of an inherited and ineradicable "heathen" quality encouraged support for conquest and subjugation rather than co-existence and conversion.[41] Secondly, Kathryn Gin Lum's *Heathen: Religion and Race in Early America* (2022) argues that the "heathen" label accentuated the non-Christian, non-White characteristics of indigenous peoples to characterise them as the "Other". Indicting the discipline of History itself as subtly complicit in the religious-imperial strategies of which the "heathen" is emblematic, Gin Lum argues that White Protestant Americans measured change and movement as features of their linear, triumphal progress towards modernity, while relegating "heathen" peoples to a condition of physical and spiritual difference and ahistorical stagnation.[42] While Goetz isolates seventeenth-century Virginia as the focus of her study, Gin Lum largely emphasises the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century United States.

These works interpret the term "heathen" as a Protestant descriptor of static, monolithic religious-racial identity impervious to theological and cultural conversion. However, situating the "heathen" concept in relation to the more fluid, divergent, and unstable aspects of the seventeenth-century Atlantic world reveals that it was not one half of a binary distinction between White European Christianity and its external opposites. Nor was it merely shorthand for the "Other". Rather, it expressed Protestant efforts to transform the land and its non-Christian inhabitants, as well as to counter division within. As Protestants confronted non-Christian ideas, religion and belief became

more vulnerable to scrutiny and destabilisation.[43] Thus, the term "heathen" could articulate animosity, ambition, and ambivalence towards non-Christianity. This article investigates the "heathen" in the work of John Oxenbridge to understand the strategies that English Protestants used to engage multifarious non-Christianities and navigate Atlantic religious politics.

I

Born in Daventry, England, John Oxenbridge matriculated at Cambridge in 1626, but graduated from Oxford, where he received a BA in 1628 and an MA in 1631. As a tutor there, his imposition of an oath upon his students represented a more stringent measure than the university policy, leading the Laudian authorities to deprive him of his position in 1634. He married the following year and moved to Bermuda.[44] His involvement in Bermuda intersected with the activities of the Scottish minister, Patrick Copland (c. 1572 – c. 1651), a supporter of Protestant education, catechising, and evangelism. As well as accompanying voyages of the East India Company in 1612 and 1621, Copland had promoted the colonisation of Virginia and eventually migrated from England to Bermuda in 1626. Both Oxenbridge and Copland preached congregationalist ideas in Bermuda as part of a vocal and effective minority that departed from the colony's established parish-based structure. During his ministry from 1635 to 1641, Oxenbridge garnered a reputation for intense catechising. From 1643, Copland was involved in the formation and leadership of a separate congregationalist church.[45]

Drawing upon Reformed ideas circulating in France, the Netherlands, and Geneva, Oxenbridge and Copland helped to oxygenate a religious atmosphere in Bermuda that envisioned Protestant colonisation and evangelism across Europe, the Americas, and Asia.[46] Espousing a nonconformist ecclesiology, specifically the independent structural governance and membership of the church, Oxenbridge and Copland were in tension with the Church of England. However, their approach remained compatible with widespread evangelism based upon Reformed principles and Christian unity. As Copland had previously emphasised, the conversion of "heathen" peoples necessitated cohesive and universalist Protestant expansion.[47] In a letter printed February 1622 relating his experiences with the East India Company, Copland had worried that "the hatred and dissension among Christians" risked "estranging the hearts of Heathens, from the worship of the true God".[48] Linking colonisation and evangelism, a sermon that Copland had delivered to the Virginia Company in April 1622 remarked on "the hopeful and good successe, wherewith Almightie God hath crowned your Colony in that Heathen-now Christian Kingdome".[49] He also lamented those colonists in Virginia who "neglected Gods worship […] and caried themselves dissolutely amongst the heathens".[50] Connecting Virginia to wider Protestant evangelism, Copland observed "the willingnesse of the Heathens in generall in all the Easterne parts of the world, where I have travailed […] to receive the Gospel, if there were but Preachers amongst them" to "instruct them by their Doctrine and Life".[51] These remarks anticipated themes that Oxenbridge would develop as he sought to integrate Reformed theology, Christian unity, colonisation, and evangelism.

In the aftermath of the English Civil War, following the execution of Charles I, Oxenbridge's prospects appear to have improved during the period between monarchical reigns, the Interregnum from 1649 to 1660, under a republican government that

pursued godly reformation. Having returned to England in 1641, he became a fellow of Eton College in 1652 and, in 1653, he was granted membership of a newly created company governing the colony in Bermuda.[52] Following the Restoration of the monarchy with the accession of Charles II in 1660, puritan hegemony collapsed. Efforts to roll back puritanism in religious institutions, along with the passage of the Act of Uniformity and the imposition of the new Book of Common Prayer in 1662, led to the removal or departure of hundreds of puritan clergymen. On "Black Bartholomew's Day," 24 August 1662, almost 1,000 dissenting ministers who would not swear oaths imposed by the Act were reportedly cast out of the Church in what became known as the "Great Ejectment".[53] Dissent involved Protestants in ecclesiological debates that impinged upon the trajectories of evangelism amidst growing diversity in post-Restoration religious politics and culture.[54]

Oxenbridge's career suffered at the hands of the new regime. Edmund Calamy's *Account* (1713), a record of those individuals "ejected or silenced" from 1660 onwards, noted that, "Upon his being Ejected" from his fellowship at Eton College, Oxenbridge "retir'd to Berwick upon Tweed, where he held on his Ministry, till he was Silenc'd by the Fatal Bartholomew Act".[55] Soon after this, Oxenbridge migrated to Surinam in the Guianas in 1662, leaving in 1667 to preach in Barbados. In 1669, Oxenbridge moved to Massachusetts where he became a minister in the First Church of Boston.[56] As Calamy reported, Oxenbridge "went to the West-Indies, and settled first at Syrenham, and afterwards in New-England, where he dy'd at Boston, in 1674".[57] He was among a small minority of expelled ministers who moved overseas.[58] His travels in the Americas, as well as his personal ties to colonists there, testify to the entanglement of Protestantism with colonisation. His son-in-law, Major Robert Scott, owned plantations in Surinam and Barbados, while his brother-in-law, Thomas Parris, resided in Barbados.[59]

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Atlantic world had provided English Protestants with an open environment in which to pursue divergent doctrinal and ecclesiological trajectories. The Civil Wars and Interregnum amplified this diversity. Following the Restoration, the English government worked to reaffirm monarchical authority and the established church, but confronted nonconformity in England and disparate, hitherto unfettered religious communities in the Americas.[60] This divided landscape seemed to jeopardise godly endeavours in England and overseas. Lesser known, yet emblematic of dynamic nonconformism, the printed and manuscript works that Oxenbridge produced in response to these circumstances entreated Christians to rally around Reformed principles and reaffirmed the Atlantic world as an essential location for the entwined projects of reformation, colonisation, and evangelism.[61]

The embryonic development of Oxenbridge's ambition is evident throughout a volume of three sermons published in 1661, in which he interpreted religious division through a prophetic and apocalyptic lens. While lamenting efforts to impose the authority of the established Church and remove those who refused to comply with its strictures, Oxenbridge condemned radical non-conformity that appeared to threaten the new regime through unrest.[62] A failed uprising of Fifth Monarchists in London led by Thomas Venner in early 1661 had intensified official efforts to suppress heterodoxy.[63] In his preface, Oxenbridge described the event as "that horrid and unchristian insurrection of that mad handfull in the City".[64] This condemnation linked rebellious Protestants in the present to idolaters who had persecuted Christians or contaminated religious purity in the

past. Drawing upon Revelation, the first sermon identified forces of the Antichrist that had assailed true religion from "Heathen Rome" under "the Pagan Emperour" of classical antiquity to "popish Rome" under the papacy.[65] The second sermon anticipated the demise of the Roman Church, interpreting Psalm 9 as a portent of "[t]he destruction of Antichrist," whereby "The Heathen for so Apostate Idolatrous Professours are called, are sunck down in the pit that they made".[66]

The final sermon examined spiritual union in the context of Jeremiah 50:4: "The Children of Israel shall come, they and the Children of Judah together".[67] The "Children of Israel" referred to "the Ten Tribes" who "had broke off from Judah, and greatly corrupted the Worship of God".[68] Alluding to eventual eschatological triumph over the Roman Church and the Pope, the destruction of "spiritual Babylon or Antichrist" would coincide with the coming together of God's people.[69] Eschewing envy, rivalry, "vexing" and provocation, they would embrace one another with "dearenesse of affection, much sympathy and tendernesse".[70] As "one Interest in the World," they would engage in "Communion in and for the Lord," thereby attaining "Godlinesse and Worship".[71] With God's people united, Babylon's fall would liberate Antichrist's remaining captives, drawing them from idolatry to Christianity.[72] This would involve "the agreement of Gods people […] whether the remnant of Christs brethren [b]e *Judah*, who is kindred in the flesh, or the Christian *Gentiles*, who are his kindred in the Spirit".[73] Signalling themes to which Oxenbridge would return, this language suggested that Jewish conversion and reconciliation with non-Jewish Christians would herald a cohesive spiritual community that reflected divine will and anticipated Final Judgement.

This expectation of Christian expansion echoed ideas the congregationalist minister John Cotton (1585–1652) had developed in Boston during the 1630s and 1640s. Extrapolated from Revelation, this entailed the eradication of Satan and Catholicism, then the conversion of the Jewish people, and, eventually, the universal expansion of Christianity among the Gentiles, although some among the latter group might convert irrespective of the anticipated sequence.[74] Focusing on the first of these stages, Oxenbridge emphasised that the destruction of Babylon depended upon widespread and concerted "effectual prayer".[75] Unity would strengthen Christians in their confrontations with God's enemies. While divided, they would continue to deviate from religious truth, thus harming one another by perpetuating the spiritual corruption that Babylon itself inculcated.[76]

Glancing bitterly towards the Church of England, Oxenbridge criticised "the stronger party of divided Christians," who risked subjugating the individual to "their degree of Religion and Reformation". Such a rigid imposition mimicked Babylon.[77] Drawing parallels between Catholic tyranny and ecclesiastical uniformity, he argued that, "Divided Protestants […] act like Babylon" and "for Babylon" through "the oppression and persecution" of people who not only rejected the Roman Church, but also refused to perpetuate what they perceived as a continuation of the same errors and falsehoods in the Church of England.[78] Meanwhile, "the weaker party" of Protestants "is apt to brand the stronger party with the name of Babylon or Antichrist," yet, whether warranted or not, such "a heavy censure" itself signalled conflict among God's people.[79]

Doctrinal squabbles arising from the imposition of conformity were self-destructive, precluding the spiritual unity that would diminish Antichrist and promote religious expansion.[80] As Oxenbridge explained, "Christ's Kingdom must rise and spread, as

Antichrist declines and narrowes," which would involve the reciprocal processes of conversion among the Gentiles and the decline of Babylon.[81] The "righteous vengeance" of God upon Babylon would contribute to the conversion of the Gentiles throughout the world, Oxenbridge explained, emphasising that "the Angel that preacheth the Gospel to every Nation, and Kindred, and Tongue, and People, perswades them to fear God, and give glory to him". Divine judgement upon Babylon would convince the Gentiles to abandon idolatry and worship God.[82] The universal expansion of Christianity awaited the unity of God's people.[83] This resonated with the global dimensions of Reformed theology and sacred history. Unity among Christians was "one means to bring the world to" Christianity.

While Christ had emphasised "brotherly love" to convince the Gentiles "that he was sent and annointed of God," the spread of the Gospel had slowed as "Brotherly love did decay" and Christians became more divided. This, Oxenbridge postulated, had played a role in the protracted pace at which early Christianity had gained a foothold and spread in England. The continued expansion of Christianity depended, then, on "a reviving of Brotherly love, a blowing up and flaming forth of the first ardor among true Christians," which would ensure that "the world will believe that Jesus is the Christ, is sent of God as the Saviour of the world". For Oxenbridge, "The world will […] fall in love with Christ and his people, when they see his people dwell together in unity".[84]

Historical examples of Christ's brotherhood, apostolic evangelism, and the conversion of England confirmed this expectation, prefiguring colonial expansion and foretelling the propagation of the Gospel to the "heathen":

> Christians should all agree in this, that Christ should have his Kingdom, and be believed in the world, and *have the Heathen for his inheritance, and have the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession*; And if ye will agree that he should thus reign, ye must agree and be of one accord, one heart and soul, that he may thus reign. Cease then your unchristian emulations, and have a holy emulation for Christ, and against Antichrist.[85]

This reiterated Psalm 2, which advocated expansionist hegemony over "heathen" peoples either through conversion or conquest. Echoing scripture, the liturgy, and sermons delivered in English parishes that endorsed evangelism, Oxenbridge recognised that this psalmodic language would likely resonate with congregants.[86] The fall of Babylon would lift Christians from "Gross ignorance" towards Christianity.[87] The hostility they directed at one another was both "a sign and effect of Gods anger against them all". [88] Upon reconciliation between God and his people, divine wrath would divert to "their common enemies for their destruction".[89] Consequently, Oxenbridge implored Christians to "enforce the necessity of your Conversion".[90]

II

Navigating English imperial geopolitics, Oxenbridge invoked the "heathen" to advocate colonisation and evangelism in the north-eastern coastal region of Guiana in South America. Several English colonial projectors had lobbied for evangelism in Guiana, including the Catholic-turned-conformist tobacco trader Robert Harcourt, who secured a patent to establish a colony there in 1613, and Thomas Howard, the Earl of Berkshire, who produced a pamphlet on the subject in 1632. Both had identified the indigenous inhabitants of Guiana as "heathen" to identify them as prospective converts. Their writings had

evoked Protestantism as the basis for physical and spiritual renewal and expansion through cultivation. Like those who touted the sacred significance of migrating to Virginia or New England, they invoked scriptural themes of nature and horticulture such as the wilderness, the vineyard, and planting, to portray potential Guiana as a site for civilisation and Christianity that could nurture communities of English and indigenous believers.[91]

For Oxenbridge, the "heathen" idea amplified Protestant connections between theology, history, and nature, which together offered a foundation upon which to establish a new bastion of reformation and a haven for post-Restoration non-conformity in South America. From the early 1650s, Francis Willoughby (bap. 1614, d. 1666), the governor of Barbados, had supported planting an English colony at Surinam in the Guianas. After colonists from Barbados began to establish a foothold in Surinam in 1650–1651, Willoughby secured a patent for the settlement in 1657. While Surinam was seemingly less accepting of religious pluralism than Barbados under the appointed governor William Byam, he recognised the practical benefits of drawing Independent ministers to Surinam and instructed the colonial assembly to adopt a policy of religious toleration in 1662. This was the same year that Oxenbridge arrived in Surinam. The ejection of hundreds of nonconformist ministers from the Church of England following the Restoration in 1660 had created a constituency of displaced clergy alert to what they perceived as an intensification of ecclesiological factionalism. The situation prompted dozens of these dissenters to seek alternative livings in Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Following his ejection, Oxenbridge identified Surinam as a promising region for Protestant expansion that could bring Christianity to indigenous peoples and afford ministers the opportunity to preach without interference. However, the Crown relinquished the region to the Dutch as part of the Treaty of Breda in 1667 and shifted its interests towards Jamaica. While English colonists ousted Dutch forces that had seized the area earlier that year, and controlled it until April 1668, Oxenbridge left Surinam for Barbados in 1667, staying there for two years before settling in Boston, Massachusetts in 1669.[92]

Apparently written while the English maintained a presence in Surinam, an undated printed work that Oxenbridge produced set out a "Seasonable Proposition," which advocated "Propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guaiana". Presenting "some gleanings of a larger Discourse drawn, but not published," the text solicited support for a collaborative effort to propagate the Gospel among the "heathen".[93] While this tract would have pertained to the Arawak (Lokono) and Carib (Kali'na) peoples of Surinam, it also encompassed prospective converts across "Guaiana," which referred to the northern region of South America, as part of a wider ambition for universal evangelism.[94]

Calling upon Christians to propagate the Gospel through preaching, Oxenbridge emphasised that "Any person through whom Christ could work, (whatsoever their condition or sex be) may be helpers of Gospel-work among the Heathen".[95] Alongside preachers, Oxenbridge hoped that laymen "under some generous and Christian instinct" would also lend support, providing they understood "not to propagate among the heathen that scandall of Christian Religion which hath been given in some parts of that New world which I would call Columba, rather then America".[96] Emphasising that only the Reformed religion, rather than Catholicism or lukewarm Protestantism, should be preached, Oxenbridge explained that "Seed-corn should not be the refuse, but

choicest of corn".[97] Suitable "ranks" fit to pursue evangelism included, "Such reall preachers as are taken off their work," alluding to those ministers deprived at the Restoration, as well as "good people" who could travel overseas "to […] assist such Ministers, and with them to avoid such worship as they have not faith for". Perhaps casting an admiring eye towards the praying towns of New England, Oxenbridge suggested that "Such among the heathen may be used as soon and much as Ministers".[98]

Evangelism overseas could offer guidance in matters of conscience at a time when England appeared to draw the ire of God, as "former differences" and "present streights of Conscience" had created a climate in which peoples' "lives, liberties, estates, and spirituall enjoyments" were "hanging in continuall doubt".[99] Leaving England, a country beset by "National wrath," was the best spiritual choice, Oxenbridge argued, suggesting that providence could guide people to a godly duty in the Americas.[100] This critique echoed Oxenbridge's argument that post-Restoration division jeopardised cohesive and vigorous reformation and evangelism. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 had not only driven nonconformist ministers out of the established church in England, but also risked alienating English Protestant communities that had developed distinctive puritan styles in the Atlantic world, particularly in New England.[101] Framing England's woes in providential terms reflected Oxenbridge's attempt to encourage likeminded ministers and laypeople to propagate the Gospel in Surinam.

Establishing a godly colony predicated upon the advancement of Christianity among indigenous peoples also reaffirmed the Atlantic trajectories of Reformed theology and sacred history.[102] As Oxenbridge explained, numerous nations, including England, had not received "the Gospel till some centuries after the Apostles," while others had succumbed to corruption under the Antichrist, long remaining enthralled to "heathen Idolatry," before embracing the true religion. The history of conversion thus foregrounded Atlantic evangelism as the next stage in the fulfilment of divinely appointed time. While the conversion of Jewish peoples would encourage indigenous peoples in the Americas to embrace Christianity, some indigenous peoples might convert beforehand. As Oxenbridge wrote: "the acknowledgement of God in Christ by all nations in some degree will forego, help, and carry on the conversion of the Jewes and their brethren". Meanwhile, this worldwide evangelism was "furthered by the separation from, and followed by the destruction of Babylon".[103] This process would unfold alongside "the deliverance of Gods people". Signalling a theory that his longer manuscript critiqued in more detail, Oxenbridge also suggested that the settling of Christian colonies might encourage the descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel who dwelt in America to convert. While he advocated universal evangelism, Oxenbridge nonetheless identified Europe and North America as regions in which the endeavour was unlikely to prove fruitful, since the inhabitants of these places had already encountered the Gospel. Instead, he prioritised uncultivated "heathen" peoples who awaited planting and cultivation in the Americas:

> We cannot expect the nations should be brought in by Angels from heaven, but by the servants of Christ on earth, exciting and provoking these nations […] And how shall we be in a condition of doing this, but by a Christian Colony, so going out to the heathen for Christs names sake. Wherefore the planting in Europe, or in any Islands of Columba destitute of, and remote from the Indians (as Barbados, Antigua, Jamaica) hath no immediate tendency to this service. Yet if in all our West-Indian Plantations, and in Virginia, some faithfull reall

> Preachers protected and strengthened by sober Magistrates, did heartily give themselves up to the work of the Lord, they might finde a better harvest then at home where they are refused.[104]

Preaching had to focus on peoples ignorant of Christianity, wherever they may be, rather than on unreformed people in England and continental Europe who appeared to have overtly rejected it.[105] Consequently, Christians "must […] move forward toward the West, and not back to the East (and so not to Europe or Asia)".[106] Ministers had to target "that part of man-kind, which never yet heard the sound of Christ in the Gospel".[107] This would facilitate "a quicker trade and negotiation for the Gospel then among those people in Europe or Asia, who have […] forfeited the presence and power of the Gospel which they now count but an old and weary song".[108]

As if confirming that divine will underpinned this endeavour, Guiana had yet to be captured by the Spanish and could accommodate new Christian settlers alongside indigenous people, who had themselves invited "Lord Willoughby and the English, to their Countrey".[109] This had allowed Willoughby to settle at Surinam following payment to indigenous people upon his arrival.[110] These native inhabitants themselves seemed amenable to Christianity. They had a "hopeful disposition," whereas those in Florida were "more fierce, warlike, and intractable […] more given to idlenesse, and lesse to civility". Indigenous peoples in the Guianas were "very industrious, ingenious, and humane," possessing "peaceablenesse" and an "interest in the settlement and safety of the English".[111] Emphasising the advantageous physical features of the Guianas, Oxenbridge favourably compared the land and its natural resources to elsewhere in the West Indies, as well as New England and Europe.[112] He argued that English people who had migrated to Holland could be persuaded to move to Guiana alongside their countrymen.[113] Patrons in England were prepared to organise the transportation of "poor Families and persons" to Surinam, avoiding "small and ill provided" Dutch settlements.[114] Reaffirming that nature itself invited colonisation and evangelism, Oxenbridge postulated that providence would reveal "the best seat for a Colony" in the region to be "planted with men of the most exemplary lives, as most conducing to the good of the Natives as well as that of the Colony it selfe."[115] This vision of "seasonable" colonisation combined the physical benefits of the natural world with the timely pursuit of a divine purpose that would enrich the spiritual lives of English settlers and indigenous peoples. Within this framework, the "heathen" concept articulated Oxenbridge's hope that Christian collaboration would expand religion through planting and cultivation.

III

Between around 1662, the year of his arrival in Surinam, and 1667, when he departed to Barbados, Oxenbridge produced a manuscript in which he envisioned the "conversion of the heathen or nations" as an expansionist process of physical and spiritual planting and cultivation.[116] While a recent analysis of the manuscript examines the critical importance of Oxenbridge's interest in determining the genealogy of non-Christians who inhabited the Americas, it was the essential theological, historical, and natural condition of the "heathen" that ultimately invited reformation, colonisation, and evangelism.[117] These entwined processes were simultaneously universal and exclusive, encompassing the

world within a Protestant empire, while also distinguishing the elect from the reprobate. For Oxenbridge, "the effectuall preaching to or conversion of all nations" meant a "part of each nation, not of every member thereof".[118] He explained:

> In this the learned Augustine speaks my mind, thus In what nations there is not a church, there must be one. Not that all that are there shall believe, for all nations are under the promise not all men of all nations for all have not faith, Every nation therfore doth believe in all which are elect.[119]

Scripture confirmed that Christ had "Not redeemed every kindred but some out of every kindred," meaning "that every kindred, tongue, people and nation […] must be under the outward […] call of […] redemption."[120] Rather than indicating a binary division between the European "self" and the non-European "Other," original sin and predestination applied to all people, whether English Protestants or prospective indigenous converts to Christianity in the Americas. However, not all could expect the same outcome. Grace was reserved for a minority of believers. Only a limited number of non-Christians would discern saving faith within themselves.

Biblical prophecies, history, contemporary events, and providence indicated the chronology of evangelism. Concerning the "former crop of heathen spoken to," Oxenbridge explained that "this gospelling the heathen […] was begun by the Jews," yet remained unfinished and would "proceed till that measure of the Heathen be made up." While apostolic evangelism had continued the process, the "Apostle Paul could not designe in his time that last and highest conversion of the Heathen." While "this first gospelling or sprinckling of the Heathen [w]as in part fullfilled in the Apostles time and so alleaged by them," scripture signalled "a more glorious, universall and peaceable degree of their conversion as a 2nd crop." This would herald the return of Christ and the triumph of heaven. "And this I intimate," Oxenbridge explained, "to prevent or answer any that think no conversion at all of the Heathen to be now expected or endeavored." He argued that "many promises and prophecies of the effusion of the spirit and great changes in the world were in the primitive times fulfilled in part" and might continue to unfold. Linking the sacred past to the present, he emphasised that "the scriptures do firstly speak of the conversion of the heathen which is now in hand, and began in the Apostles times."[121]

These allusions to nature signalled a deeper sense in which the conversion of the "heathen" involved planting and cultivation. Examining "psalms which speak to the Call of the Heathen, Indians as well as others," Oxenbridge discussed Psalm 72, which pertained to "the wilder people, lesse civillised […] and this description may be more pertinent to the Indians then the Ethiopians."[122] For Oxenbridge, the Song of Solomon pointed towards natural environments in which "the Gospelling of the Heathen, Indians as well as others" might occur.[123] "This Text hath an eye to the conversion of the heathen," wrote Oxenbridge, before suggesting "that the Church needs a double call to perswade her to look abroad to the Heathen."[124] Just as "Noah looked about him to make a new plantation of the world" after the Flood, "so now was the Christian Church to do […] in a spirituall sense." Acknowledging "faithfullness (that is of Gods promises) and faith (in the heathen)," Oxenbridge suggested that the church was to be "a nurse […] to the Heathen" in their uncultivated condition. He argued that "the wildest heathen might as well be adventured on" and that, in the Americas, "servants of Christ may haply finde

some of the wild Indians more humane to them then those that [are] neerer to them in Country, kindred and profession."[125] Notably, these non-Christian peoples inhabited the uncultivated "wilderness," where they awaited the planting of Christianity. Noting scriptural allusions to "a new Church, neither known nor thought of before, and beyond expectation springing from the wildernesse," Oxenbridge argued "that even that Indian wildernesse though ever so unlikely may afford a faithfull people to Jesus Christ."[126] Harnessing theology and history to confront nature, physical and spiritual expansion into this "wilderness" would facilitate the conversion of "heathen" peoples.[127]

In accordance with scriptural prophecy and providence, godly ministers would continue to plant and nurture communities of indigenous converts as Protestantism expanded throughout the world. Emphasising that the Book of Isaiah pointed towards "some portion of that salvation of God for the Heathen," Oxenbridge argued that evangelism was necessarily global, since God was "the great housekeeper of the whole world," meaning that "certainly the poor Indians that have not yet had a crumb or sipp from this table shall also taste of his liberality."[128] In Isaiah, divine pronouncements portended "the Gospelling of the heathen."[129] Justifying the "hopes of the heathens answering the call of Christ," Oxenbridge emphasised that God had promised "their conversion both to the heathen and to Christ himselfe."[130] This suggested the continued unfolding of Reformed theology and scriptural history in the Americas, where "this ready accesse of the heathen (formerly ignorant of Christ as promised or exhibited)" indicated the fulfilment of divine will.[131] Indeed, Isaiah offered "assurance that God will himselfe appear in adding other converts of the heathen already converted."[132] The conversion of the "heathen" had ramifications for the descendants of Israel, a topic to which Oxenbridge would return later in the manuscript. Scripture indicated that "the last tide or income of the heathen" would occur "upon the last gathering or conversion of Israel's outcasts," while also admitting the possibility "that last gathering of them outcasts may be assured by a fresh spring of heathens conversion."[133] Citing Augustine, Oxenbridge emphasised that this framework of theology, history, and nature should extend to "all the Isles of the heathen" until "no part of all the earth is left where there is not a Church." Noting "that some of them haue now recieved the Gospel," he stressed that Christ "shall reign from sea to sea (with[in] which every Island is enclosed)." Within this expansive vision, Oxenbridge located America, "to whose shoars in the Western parts we now know the Church is come, and must come by fructifying and increasing to whatsoever coast it is not yet come." Consequently, Oxenbridge asked, "who can doubt that our Indians shall come to the acknowledgement of the true God, since all the Isles of the heathen shall worship him every one from his place?"[134] This interpretation of Augustine reflected Oxenbridge's effort to reconcile ancient patristic teachings with new knowledge. Seeking to understand unfamiliar places, Europeans routinely invoked classical interpretations of nature and early Christian teachings alongside innovative theories and methods.[135] Redeploying the sacred past to interpret the present in this way, the "heathen" idea reaffirmed that uncultivated peoples awaited conversion through physical and spiritual cultivation.

The symmetries and synchronicities that attended past and present were themselves providential phenomena that Oxenbridge identified throughout sacred history. Having "heard the voice of the old Testament declaring the conversion of the heathen," Oxenbridge turned to the New Testament, in which apostolic evangelism appeared to

anticipate the propagation of Christianity in the Americas and beyond.[136] Some indigenous converts would be among the few in the world who would ultimately discern salvation.[137] Refracted through Revelation, reformation and colonisation became synchronized as providential harbingers of evangelism. The Reformation had repudiated Catholicism, reaffirming that "the gospel […] could not be extingueshed by […] Antichrist."[138] Although preachers had confronted Catholics and "those carelesse and carnall protestants […] the gospel" had produced "litle fruit" and now needed to reach "other nations (such as the Indians)."[139] The "free publishing of the gospel … was even coincident with the discovery of Columba or the West-Indies" during the late fifteenth century.[140] These European voyages had coincided with the efforts of "wicked popes" and "papists" to ostracise or eradicate "protestants" in Prague, "the brethren of Moravia," and the "Waldenses" of France.[141] Moreover, Oxenbridge described "a brighter shine of light in which Luther was very instrumental in Germany beginning in 1517 as Zwinglius in Switzerland two yeers after," before noting that "1517 was the 14 yeer of Montezuma emperor of Mexico, and then the Spanish ships appeared first on that coast and next yeer 1518 [H]ern cortes came with his companions to conquer them parts."[142] This preoccupation with sacred convergences in the past and revelations embedded within creation reflected the entanglement of theology, history, and nature in Protestantism. Interpreted providentially, the Reformation and the discovery of the Americas testified to God's role in shaping events in the physical world, thereby revealing his will.[143] Echoing arguments that English advocates of colonisation had made since the late Elizabethan period, emphasising the pre-eminence of Spanish Catholics in leading sixteenth-century European forays into the Americas reaffirmed that Protestants had a divinely appointed obligation to reassert the true religion against popery.[144]

This providential interpretation of history and nature was predicated on God's eternal and global omnipotence. It also necessitated human interventions. Original sin had consigned Adam to agrarian labour. Consequently, planting and cultivating were simultaneously physical and spiritual processes that would reshape the landscape and its inhabitants. Adapting this theological and historical reading of nature to the demands of facilitating the conversion of the "heathen" was integral to Oxenbridge's strategy of Atlantic colonisation and evangelism. Enquiring "whether the gospelling of the heathen promised in scripture were fulfilled" in the apostolic era, Oxenbridge maintained "that the heathen must haue their Gospel day."[145] The Apostles had initiated, though not completed, "the heathens conversion." Indeed, "the crop of the Gentiles then gathered was to [afford] seed for other ground."[146] Indigenous peoples awaited physical and spiritual cultivation that would finally realise their potential as converts. The Apostles had set a precedent for this labour, but it now fell to godly ministers.

The agricultural and horticultural remoulding of the Americas through colonisation, alongside the transformation of indigenous peoples through evangelism, would fulfil a theological and historical mandate. As Oxenbridge explained, the propagation of the Gospel "did after that beare and will yet beare many a crop as severall of the West-Indian plants when once they fructify they make us […] really see at once ripe fruit, yo [u]ng fruit and blossoms."[147] The language of nature suffused Oxenbridge's reading of the past and expectations for the future, reflecting his effort to adapt Reformed theology and sacred history to the contingencies of Atlantic colonisation and evangelism. The "heathen" embodied the idea that planting and cultivating yielded physical and spiritual

fruit. Far from foreclosing their conversion, the uncultivated condition of indigenous peoples identified them as prospective Christians. Rejecting the notion that "no such savage people as the Indians are designed" for Christianity, Oxenbridge wrote that "The same blood runs in the veins of an Indian as in thine," adding that God had not made "the Indians of one blood and the English of another."[148] He repudiated the idea that "Indians and such wild people" were "for ever cutt off from the blessing of the gospel."[149] The characteristics of indigenous peoples suggested that they were as eligible for civilisation and conversion as Europeans.

The origins of indigenous peoples also indicated that they awaited colonisation and evangelism. In designating them "Tartars" of "Scythian" ancestry, Oxenbridge echoed other English Protestants. These origins indicated that the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas were Gentiles, as in non-Jewish people, awaiting ministers who would propagate the Gospel in continuity with apostolic evangelism.[150] He theorized that this genealogy could be detected throughout the Americas: "And what is the Indian but the barbarian or Scythian," he reasoned, "for the Scythians are probably thought the ancestors of the Tartars, and from the Tartars it is not without reason judged that the West-Indies were first peopled." He noted that "the most Western part of the Mexican or Northern tract is most replenished with people and they resembling the Tartars in barbarisme and living on Cattle." Likewise, "In the Carib Indians […] I observe some resemblance of the Tartars."[151] Postulating the migration of these people, Oxenbridge wrote that "for their repair to Columba it is thus probable," before outlining the route he imagined they had taken from Asia to the Americas.[152]

Further migration had anticipated colonisation. Although the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas were the descendants of Scythians, this was "not the only way of peopling the West-Indies," since "some […] from Wales, some from Spain might by design or storme" have reached the region in the past. This was "most agreeable to the goodnesse and wisdom of God that he making the whole earth to be inhabited should also make some convenient way and means to that purpose."[153] Setting a precedent for the divine authority that underpinned English expansion, the Welsh migrants to which Oxenbridge referred had supposedly arrived in the Americas in the twelfth century before perishing there.[154]

These examples constructed an historical narrative in which non-Christian Gentiles had arrived in the Americas, where they awaited English Protestants, whose claim to physical and spiritual dominance was divinely ordained, foretold in scripture, and etched into history. However, an alternative theory of indigenous origins introduced the possibility that some inhabitants of the Americas were not Gentiles, but rather the descendants of ancient Israelites. Identifying "another doubt […] about the Indians," as to "whether they be of the heathen," Oxenbridge noted the idea "that Columba is peopled by the Jews."[155] Most Protestants determined that indigenous peoples were descendants of ancient Gentiles, the majority of whom would embrace Christianity after the defeat of popery and the conversion of the Jewish people.[156] However, the theory that indigenous peoples were descended from lost tribes of ancient Israelites also appealed to European audiences from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Originally popularised in a work published in 1644 by Antonio de Montezinos, a Portuguese marrano who claimed to have encountered such descendants in Ecuador, and subsequently embraced by the Dutch rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel, the idea gained traction among some English

Protestants, particularly the puritan minister Thomas Thorowgood, who published studies on the subject in 1650 and 1660. The prospect that indigenous peoples possessed Israelite ancestry would intensify the eschatological urgency of Protestant evangelism in the Americas because the conversion of the Israelites and, in turn, the European Jewish population, could herald the conversion of non-Christian Gentiles.[157]

Complicating this theory, Oxenbridge suggested that those dispersed Israelites who had reached the Americas had remained a separate group whose descendants still inhabited the northern Andes Mountains, Surinam, and Mexico City.[158] Taking the "enq[u]iries of Mr Thorowgood […] not as certainties but probabilities," Oxenbridge examined the historical development of ancient Israelites in the Americas. Distinguishing the genealogy of the Israelites from the broader religious category of Jewish people, Oxenbridge observed, "Only I could wish that instead of Jews he [Thorowgood] had said Hebrews, or Israelites, meaning ten tribes, for so he doth for the most part pursue it."[159] In the Old Testament, the "Israelites" were originally the twelve tribes of Jacob. When the monarchy split in the tenth century BCE, the Ten Tribes that established the kingdom of Israel were called the Israelites. They were displaced following the Assyrian conquest during the eighth century BCE. Meanwhile, the term "Jews" emerged to describe those who descended from inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah.[160]

While the ten tribes had not "peopled all these countries of Columba," they had reached some regions of the Americas "and by them the Indians have a tincture of Israels customs."[161] While Oxenbridge detected residual Israelite practices among "Indians," he distinguished between these categories.[162] Descendants of the Israelites likely resided "in the midland retreats," specifically in "the Andes" and "to the West of Guiana." Moreover, "many relations from that side of Peru, Brasil and Venezuela, and from [Orenoq] and Amazons the 2 rivers" surrounding Guiana suggested "that some Israelites are planted" there. These regions awaited the moment "when Christian colonies […] are planted upon that Continent."[163] Some "Indians" in Guiana appeared to mirror the political and religious conditions of the Israelites. Like indigenous peoples, ancient Israelites had endured "many days without" monarchical and ecclesiastical structures.[164] While this indicated "that Israelites are among our Guiana Indians," Oxenbridge insisted that "heathen" identity marked out non-Christian peoples for conversion irrespective of ancestry. "And if any of those Indians which we know should be of Jacob's root," he wrote, "they are as arrant heathen as any, and in that respect need as much as any the grace of Christ." Moreover, "for our desire and endeavour of their attaining that grace, we are under as great (if not greater) engagement and debt as to any nation."[165] The "heathen" concept articulated Oxenbridge's ambition for colonisation and evangelism that encompassed all non-Christian inhabitants of the Americas.

The premise that Protestants had to furnish as many non-Christians as possible with the means to discern divine grace through evangelism underpinned Oxenbridge's interpretation of Reformed theology and post-scriptural history. Affirming "further conversion of the heathen […] before Babylon's fall," or "the fall of Antichrist," Oxenbridge consulted "the historicall account … of the gospels' proceeding in the world."[166] Evangelism had continued after the apostolic era, which demonstrated that "holy men […] did not think that the Apostles had carried the Gospel to its […] utmost bound among the heathen, neither did they on this or that expectation of Babel's fall suspend their labour."[167] To demonstrate this, Oxenbridge surveyed "the proceeding of the Gospel among the Gentiles in several

Centuries after the Apostles days."[168] Citing James Ussher (1581–1656), late Archbishop of Armagh in the Church of Ireland, whose scholarship had interpreted Irish church history through a Protestant lens, Oxenbridge noted that "Ireland had severall laborors in the Gospel." He described Palladius as "dealing with the heathen sects."[169] Subsequently, "this good work with the heathen in Ireland […] falls into the hand of Patrick."[170] Having secured his release from captivity under a "pagan king," Patrick had recruited "disciples" and "helpers" that carried out this work in Ireland during the 430s, and had later had gathered "more laborers into the Irish harvest" in 447.[171]

Turning to Britain, under the heading, "English heathens arrive in Brittain," Oxenbridge wrote that "The English were at their arrivall heathens […] untill [the] sixt century" who "came into Brittain about the middle of the fift Century […] 450." Having invaded, the Saxons in England "were now heathens and to the christians very cruell."[172] The "Anglo-Saxon Kings" were "horrible ~~heathen~~ pagans" seeking "to destroy christian religion, and if any Churches were left standing they made them temples of their idols, and polluted them holy altars with their profane sacrifices."[173] They went on to "extend their pagan worship to the utmost borders of the land, except Cornwall, Cumberland and Wales where Christianity was received in Lucius his time." In this way "the English for 147 yeers in Brittain continued their paganisme and filld the land therewith" until Pope Gregory the Great "sent Austin called the lesser or younger."[174] Consequently, "The English embracing christian profession is placed in the later end of the sixt century. A. D. 597," even as some "other Kingdoms of the English […] continued longer in their heathen profession."[175]

The conversion of the "heathen" in Britain and Ireland prefigured the propagation of the Gospel to the "heathen" in the Americas, whether they were descended from Gentiles or Israelites. According to Oxenbridge, the Israelites and the people of Judah would together embrace Christianity in a moment of providential fulfilment that accorded with scripture before reuniting in the Promised Land. This included Israelites in the Americas. However, the conversion of Gentiles would help to bring about the conversion of the Israelites who lived alongside them. The conversion of the Israelites would in turn encourage the further conversion of indigenous non-Israelites.[176] While the conversion of the Israelites was not a prerequisite for the conversion of the Gentiles, these processes could be reciprocally linked.[177] Noting that some Gentiles had already converted and others would soon do so in anticipation of Israel's conversion, Oxenbridge envisaged "the generality or a considerable part of each tribe of Israel coming to the acknowledgement of God in Christ," as well as the propagation of the Gospel to Gentiles "in euery nation in a considerable part thereof."[178] Scripture affirmed that conversion would rid Gentiles of idolatry, "which was the former condition of the heathen," after which "naturall Israel" would embrace God.[179] Echoing his earlier works, Oxenbridge emphasised that this would unite dispersed peoples: "Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together and appoint themselves one head."[180]

Reiterating the apocalyptic ramifications of this unity, Oxenbridge explained that God would vanquish "Antichrist" and "the remainder of heathenisme in parts remot[e] by sea." Ultimately encompassing "all the ends of the earth," the conversion or conquest of the "heathen" was a unifying process, as "people of all languages shall yield and swear alleagance to the true God, and shall expect their righteousness […] in the Lord and his grace and not by works." Then "all the seed of Israel" would also "be justified and shall glory,"

including the people of Judah and the people of Israel.[181] Evangelism would afford more Christian prayers for "the recovery of Israel," a premise unintelligible to "the heathen sitting still in their darknesse."[182] Consequently, the conversion of the Gentiles would aid "Israel's returne."[183] On the final page of the manuscript, Oxenbridge elaborated that even if divine intervention facilitated the conversion of the Israelites, "this will not supersede all helps in carrying on their conversion."[184] To explain that "the Gentiles conversion may promote that of Israel," Oxenbridge drew upon a prefatory address that the eminent congregationalist minister Richard Mather (1596–1669), "a worthy of N.E," had contributed to Eliot's *Tears of Repentance* (1653).[185] Reciting Mather, Oxenbridge suggested that the conversion of the Gentiles would encouraged the Jewish people to seek "mercy again that once they refused," adding that "it may much provoke and help their faith to consider that those which were not Gods people are now become so," encouraging them to "recover that state which were once in it."[186] Reflecting the interplay of theology, history, and nature, this manuscript reveals the multifarious ways in which Oxenbridge deployed the "heathen" to argue that non-Christians inhabiting the uncultivated natural world were prospective beneficiaries of Christianity wherever they might be found receptive to the Gospel. While genealogy informed the pace and scale of their conversion, their underlying "heathen" condition invited simultaneous and intertwined reformation, colonisation, and evangelism.

Conclusion

Upon his arrival in Massachusetts, where he became a teacher and then freeman at the First Church of Boston from 1670, Oxenbridge once again became embroiled in debates over Protestant identity and cohesion. He turned his attention to opposing the "Half-Way Covenant," leading him to endorse dissenters in Salem and advocate toleration for Baptists, even while chastising those who left the First Church to establish their own.[187] His vision of a Christian community working for the conversion of indigenous peoples in the Guianas and beyond never materialised, perhaps reinforcing the recurring historiographical perception that pre-modern Protestant evangelism remained a largely rhetorical, aspirational, or strategic exercise, secondary to material and political motivations for colonisation, and held back by theological, cultural, and practical obstacles, notwithstanding the endeavours of a few aberrant individuals.[188] However, these figures, "successful" or otherwise, were logical products of their religious culture. They sought to realise the promises of sacred history that had been deeply embedded within English Protestantism for generations. The expansionist vision that Oxenbridge set out was predicated upon Reformed theology, sacred history, and nature, which together underpinned the notion that reformation, colonisation, and evangelism were symbiotic processes that required physical and spiritual planting and cultivation directed towards the "heathen". Reflecting postlapsarian and predestinarian doctrine, he believed that Protestants had an obligation to pursue these endeavours wherever prospective converts might be found, even if only a small number among them would ultimately embrace Christianity and discern divine grace within themselves. This framework applied to all people, whether European or non-European, yet Protestants continually adapted it to new environments and circumstances in the early modern Atlantic world.

This sits uneasily with the notion that puritan discourses perpetuated a homogenising view of the Americas by replicating elements of Spanish Catholicism, which had also envisioned the planting of spiritual gardens that could facilitate the conversion of indigenous peoples who seemed enthralled to Satan.[189] On the contrary, the "heathen" concept underscores that English Protestants neither conceived nor carried out evangelism as a linear process of monolithic western expansion directed towards the static, homogenous, external "Other."[190] Rather, they adapted theology and history to the natural world as a way of navigating religious and political instability, non-linear migrations, indigenous diversity, and changing governmental and ecclesiastical priorities, amidst shifts in English imperial, commercial, diplomatic, military, and geopolitical interests. In doing so, they confronted multifarious non-Christianities, heterodoxies, and divergences from divine will, including non-believers in far-flung places, but also the perceived instigators of spiritual divisions within, and between, Christian communities. Observing indigenous people in Surinam and the environs, Oxenbridge was mindful not only of the similarities and differences between these potential converts and the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, whose ancestors had awaited the Gospel, but also of the sacred significance attached to the conversion of the Jewish people. Surveying this uneven and contested, yet promising terrain, Protestants used the concept of the "heathen" as a robust, adaptable, and distinctive religious lens through which to reinterpret and reshape their world.

Notes

1. Winship, "Oxenbridge, John (1608–1674)," *ODNB*.
2. For example, see de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 134. See also, "barbarous" and "gentile," *OED*.
3. This modern Anglophone edition gives the original Spanish title as "Tratado de las supersticiones y costumbres gentilicas que oy viuen entre los indios naturales desta Nueva España." The word "heathen" appears throughout the English version. See de Alarcón, *Treatise*, trans. ed. Andrews and Hassig, 41, 67, 70, 139, 163, and 38–40 for the letter; de Alarcón, *Tratado*; Tavarez, *The Invisible War*, 76–77; Tavárez, "Indigenous Intellectuals." See also, de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History*, trans. López-Morillas, ed. Mangan, 318. This modern English translation of José de Acosta's account of indigenous people in the Americas describes "superstitions that the Indians had in the time of their heathenness." However, the original Spanish text (1590) reads: "supersticiones que tuvieron en el tiempo de su gentilidad los indios." See de Acosta, *Historia Natural*, 194. The Spanish text was republished in 1608. See de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, 381.
4. See "The Bible in English."
5. The term "postlapsarian" refers to events occurring after the fall of humankind through the sin of Adam and Eve. Meanwhile, "predestination" refers to the idea that God had predetermined the salvation of elect individuals.
6. Glacken, *Traces*, 153–154; Sacks, "Discourses," 444–446; Walsham, *The Reformation*, 379–381.
7. Etymologically, while "pagan" denotes rusticity, "heathen" suggests the "dweller on the heath." The "heath" describes "Open uncultivated ground; an extensive tract of waste land; a wilderness." Successive English Bibles referred to the "heathen" as well as "gentiles" or "nations." The "heathen" had Germanic and Old English roots, while "gentile" and "pagan" were Latin derivatives. There is definitional overlap between "heathen" and "barbarous," which implied the absence of written culture or civilisation. See "heathen," "heath," "gentile," "pagan," and "barbarous," *OED*; See also, "Heathen." in Das, et al. eds., *Keywords of Identity*, 131–136; Mohr, "Heathen," in Stuckrad, ed., *The Brill Dictionary of Religion*, 2:837;

Rogers, "Paganism/Neopaganism," in Stuckrad, ed., *The Brill Dictionary of Religion*, 3:1393–1396. For "pagan" as an early modern descriptor of past and present non-Christianities, see Ryan, "Assimilating New Worlds," esp. 525–527; Miller, "Taking Paganism Seriously."

8. Although barren, the "wilderness" remained a site of potential physical and spiritual renewal as well as a religious sanctuary. See Nash, *Wilderness*, 14–20; Feldt, ed., *Wilderness*. Linked to the Old French "sauvage" and Old English "savage," "salvage" was partly derived from the Latin "silvāticus" and referred to the uncultivated inhabitants of the forest. See "savage," "sylvatic" in *OED*; Lawson, *The Sea Mark*, 11.
9. Leviticus 26:32–33, 38, KJV; 2 Kings 16:2–4, KJV; 2 Kings 17:1–17, KJV; 2 Kings 21:2–9; 2 Chronicles 28:3–4, KJV.
10. "For hee shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good commeth, but shall inhabite the parched places in the wildernesse, in a salt land and not inhabited," Jeremiah 17:5–6, KJV; "Flee, saue your liues, and be like the heath in the wildernesse," Jeremiah 48:6, KJV.
11. Galatians 2:9, KJV; Revelation 19:15, Bishops' Bible, 1568 and Geneva Bible, 1587. Psalm 2 anticipated the expansion of Christ's kingdom, declaring, "I shall giue thee the heathen for thine inheritance," and suggesting that non-believers would accept true religion or be destroyed. See Psalm 2:8 (KJV).
12. Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments Online* (1576), 3. See also, Foxe, *A table of the X. first persecutions of the primitiue church*.
13. Hanmer, *The auncient ecclesiasticall*, 174, 216.
14. Speed, *The history of Great Britaine*, 167–168, 202, 205, 222–223.
15. Holinshed, *The firste [laste] volume*, 148. See also, Camden, *Britain*, 127–136.
16. Willet, *Synopsis papismi*, 375; Bell, *The suruey of popery*, 296, 492–493.
17. John Terry, *Theologicall logicke*, 168.
18. Anon, *Certayne sermons*, sig. Z4r; Rogers, *Seuen treatises*, 330. This trope emerged from Renaissance engagement with classical philosophy and the notion of "pagan" virtue. See Hankins, "Socrates"; Palmer, "Humanist Lives."
19. Perkins, *The whole treatise*, 8, 16. For early modern debates over the salvific status of pre-Christian "pagans," see Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers*, 285–294.
20. Muller, *After Calvin*, 10–13, 96, 98–99; Hughes, "The Problem of 'Calvinism'," 229–249. Hearing the Word preached, recognising divine authority, and acknowledging sin offered the elect an "effectual calling" to faith, which encouraged "practical syllogism" to detect the working of God in the soul and conscience, thus offering assurance of salvation. See Morgan, *Visible Saints*; Caldwell, *The Puritan Conversion Narrative*; Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*.
21. Parker, "Conversion," 78–98, 85–86.
22. Winslow, *Good nevves*, sig. A2r.
23. Anon., *Nevv Englands first fruits*, 19.
24. Eliot, *The New Testament*, sig. A3v.
25. Ostler and Shoemaker, "Settler Colonialism"; Shoemaker, "Settler Colonialism."
26. For the uses and limitations of the "settler colonialism" theory, see Ostler, "Locating Settler Colonialism"; For alternatives, including "missionary colonialism," see Shoemaker, "A Typology of Colonialism."
27. Grove, *Green Imperialism*; Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*; Ax et al., eds., *Cultivating the Colonies*; Parrish, *American Curiosity*, 85–89.
28. Mancall, *Nature and Culture*, 89–109; Pennington, "The Amerindian."
29. Hill, *The English Bible*, 126–128, 135–136, 147–149; Nash, *Wilderness*, 33–38; Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, 205–214; Carroll, *Puritanism and the Wilderness*. The definitions and etymologies of "culture" and "cultivation" are also entangled, while "propagation" has roots in words for procreation as well as the reproduction of plants. Additionally, "colony" draws upon the Latin "colōnia," which described agricultural land, and "colōnus," as in a "farmer, cultivator, planter, settler in a new country." See "culture"; "cultivation"; "propagation"; "colony" in *OED*.

30. Cogley, "John Eliot in Recent Scholarship," 81–82, 86–87; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, esp. ch. 1; Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*; Gray, *John Eliot*.
31. Stanley, "The Praying Indian Towns."
32. Drayton, *Nature's Government*, xvii, 3–4, 20–21. See also, Walsham, *The Reformation*, 328–331.
33. For unfixed Christian and non-Christian identities in relation to race and biological difference, see Buell, "Early Christian Universalism,". Cf. "hereditary heathenism" in Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia*. See also, Kopelson, *Faithful Bodies*; Gerbner, *Christian Slavery*.
34. Vaughan, *New England Frontier*; Jennings, *The Invasion of America*; Bowden, *American Indians*; Axtell, *The Invasion Within*; Morrison, *A Praying People*. See also, the historiographical discussion in Ryrie, "Mission and Empire."
35. Cohen, "Conversion"; Fisher, "Native Americans," 104.
36. Parker, "Converting Souls"; Rivett, "Conversion"; Ballériaux, *Missionary Strategies*; Maghenzani and Villani, eds., *British Protestant Missions*.
37. Pestana, *Protestant Empire*; Parker, "The Reformation in Global Perspective"; Ballériaux, *Missionary Strategies*; Wiesner-Hanks, "Comparisons and Consequences"; Parker, "Languages of Salvation"; Terpstra, ed., *Global Reformations*; Rublack, ed., *Protestant Empires*; Parker, *Global Calvinism*.
38. For non-linear movement as a catalyst of religious change, see Games, "Atlantic History," 754–756; Moore, *Pilgrims*; Field, *Errands into the Metropolis*. For global aspects of Atlantic history, see Games, "Beyond the Atlantic." For global histories of division, disruption, and disorder, see Nappi, "Following Ghosts," 371.
39. I follow Cogley in suggesting that Oxenbridge completed the undated *A Seasonable Proposition* before producing the longer extant manuscript work. See Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 326, 331.
40. See North, *Heathen Gods*; Stephens, "Bullinger and Zwingli"; Twells, *The Civilising Mission*; Raman, "Learning from De Bry"; Paddison, *American Heathens*; Monika Kirner-Ludwig, *Heathens, Pagans, Misbelievers*.
41. Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia*.
42. Gin Lum, *Heathen*.
43. For changing perceptions of "belief" and "unbelief" in Reformed culture, see Shagan, *The Birth of Modern Belief*. See also, Gommans and Loots, "Arguing with the Heathens."
44. *ODNB*. Conformists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists migrated to Bermuda during the seventeenth century. Established in 1615, the Somers Island Company was responsible for governing Bermuda and developed a highly Puritan membership. See Levy, *Early Puritanism*, 82–91, 165–168.
45. Levy, *Early Puritanism*, 175–178, 180–181; Haefeli, *Accidental Pluralism*, 231; Ha, "Religious Toleration," 812; Copland, "Letters of Patrick Copland"; Games, *Migration*, 158–159; *ODNB*. Oxenbridge's experiences in Bermuda are also discussed in the context of his connection to the poet Andrew Marvell. See Yoshinaka, *Marvell's Ambivalence*, esp. 264–267; Sawday, "Marvell's 'Bermudas'."
46. Ha, "Godly Globalisation," and esp. 556–558 for Copland's discussion of Japan and India.
47. Ibid., 558–561.
48. Copland and Knowles, *A second courante of newes*, sig. A3r.
49. Copland, *Virginia's God be thanked*, 1–2.
50. Ibid., 24.
51. Ibid., 29.
52. Levy, *Early Puritanism*, 166, 177–179; *ODNB*.
53. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism*, 11–14; Davies, "The Silencing," 85; Keeble, "The Nonconformist Narrative"; Sell, ed., *The Great Ejectment*.
54. Glickman, "The Politics of Protestant Missions"; Glickman, "Protestantism"; Winship, "Defining Puritanism," 690, 709, 713; Keeble, "Introduction," 28; Southcombe, *The Culture of Dissent*, 3, 24.
55. Calamy, *An account*, 110; *ODNB*.
56. Levy, *Early Puritanism*, 177, 298; Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style,", 203, 205–206, 228.

57. Calamy, *An account*, 110.
58. Sell, *The Great Ejectment*, 82–83.
59. Levy, *Early Puritanism*, 298, 310. For additional biography, see Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 326–327.
60. Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, 151–153.
61. Southcombe, *The Culture of Dissent*, 3–5, 14, 20–23; Wallace, *Shapers of English Calvinism*, 8; See also, Davies, Dunan-Page, and Halcomb, eds., *Church Life*.
62. Haigh, "The Church of England," 536; see also Yoshinaka, *Marvell's Ambivalence*, 265.
63. Southcombe, *The Culture of Dissent*, 5.
64. Oxenbridge, *A double watch-word*, sig. A1r.
65. Ibid., 3.
66. Ibid., 85. See Psalm 9:15, KJV.
67. Ibid., 92; See Jeremiah 50:4.
68. Oxenbridge, *A double watch-word*, 92.
69. Ibid., 93. For the association of Catholicism with Babylon and Antichrist in Protestant interpretations of Revelation, see Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom*, 26–28, 43.
70. Oxenbridge, *A double watch-word*, 94.
71. Ibid., 95–97.
72. Ibid., 97–99.
73. Ibid., 99.
74. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 9–16, 21–22; Ryrie, "Mission and Empire," 199–200; Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom*, 43–45; *ODNB*.
75. Oxenbridge, *A double watch-word*, 100–106.
76. Ibid., 108–109.
77. Ibid., 109.
78. Ibid., 109–110.
79. Ibid., 110–111.
80. Ibid., 112–115.
81. Ibid., 115.
82. Ibid., 116.
83. Ibid., 116–117.
84. Ibid., 117–118.
85. Ibid., 118. Emphasis in original.
86. See McGhee, "'I Shall Give Thee the Heathen for Thine Inheritance'."
87. Oxenbridge, *A double watch-word*, 123–124.
88. Ibid., 124.
89. Ibid., 125.
90. Ibid., 126.
91. Haefeli, *Accidental Pluralism*, 23–27.
92. Haefeli, *Accidental Pluralism*, 284–286, 292–293; Games, *The Web of Empire*, 229–230; Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," esp. 226–229, 244–245. Limited support for reclaiming Surinam as an English colony persisted during the 1670s and some English settlers co-existed with the Dutch in Surinam into the 1680s. See Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 255–256; Games, "Cohabitation," 236–237.
93. Oxenbridge, *A seasonable proposition*. The text noted "the Netherlanders, who have three small Colonies upon the Coast," and "Suranam, an English Colony first setled by the Lord Willoughby of Parham," suggesting that these settlements could draw people "to plant upon Guaiana." See ibid., 11.
94. Johnson and Arena, "Building Dutch Suriname," 53; Roitman, "Portuguese Jews," 20–21; Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 326; Hill and Santos-Granero (eds), *Comparative Arawakan Histories*; Whitehead, "Ethnogenesis and Ethnocide"; Edwards and Gibson, "An Ethnohistory"; Handler, "The Amerindian Slave Population"; Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," n. 19.
95. Oxenbridge, *A seasonable proposition*, 1.
96. Ibid., 1–2.

97. Ibid., 2.
98. Ibid. See Andrews, *Native Apostles*.
99. Oxenbridge, *A seasonable proposition*, 2–3.
100. Ibid., 3.
101. Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, 153.
102. Oxenbridge, *A seasonable proposition*, 4–5.
103. Ibid., 5.
104. Ibid., 6.
105. This not only gestured towards Catholicism, but also reflected the puritan view that the Church of England had not fully implemented reformation. Some godly ministers did advocate the propagation of the Gospel among seemingly ignorant or unreformed people in remote, rural regions of seventeenth-century Britain. See Hill, "Puritans".
106. Oxenbridge, *A seasonable proposition*, 6.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid., 6–7.
109. Ibid., 7.
110. Ibid. See Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 233.
111. Oxenbridge, *A seasonable proposition*, 7.
112. Ibid., 8–11.
113. Ibid., 11.
114. Ibid., 11–12.
115. Ibid., 12.
116. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 11. The manuscript is in quarto leaves paginated from 11 to 114. Several sources corroborate the date, title, and authorship. In a work published in 1697, the judge and diarist Samuel Sewall (1652–1730) wrote that "Mr. John Oxenbridge, the late worthy Pastor of the first Church of Christ in Boston; while he dwelld at Suranam, was by the Father of Spirits strongly pressed in his own Spirit, to open his mouth for the Dumb, which cannot speak for themselves, tho they greatly need it. Whereupon, with very pious Affection, and much diligent Reading He compiled a notable Treatise of 254. Pages in Quarto, entituled [sic], A Plea for the Dumb Indian." He noted that "Mr. Oxenbridge thinks that the Ten Tribes may be in America," adding that the manuscript "contains Motives to Gospellize the Heathen, such as the Indians are." See Sewall, *Phaenomena*, 54–58, quotes at 54–55. In his will, Oxenbridge wrote: "I leave my Manuscripts to be disposed of by my executrix with the advise of my overseers, and in particular the Plea for the Dumb Indian, and Colonies to mr Eliot or any other they shall see meet." See Waters, "Genealogical Gleanings," 83–88, 87.
117. Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 328–332.
118. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667], 11. Discussing geographical terminology, Oxenbridge explained that, "this part of the world which is their [the Indians'] country I call it not America (as many do) but I delig[ht] rather to call it the West-Indies (including the Northern as well as the Southern parts) or else (if the name must be from that discoverer) Columba."
119. Ibid., 11.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid., 12.
122. Ibid., 26, 28. See Psalm 72:9 (KJV).
123. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 33, 34. See the Song of Solomon, 4 (KJV).
124. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 34.
125. Ibid., 35.
126. Ibid., 36.
127. This interpretation echoed John Cotton, for whom the Song of Solomon charted a millennial narrative of purification and redemption, incorporating the Israelites, the early Church, the spread of popery, and the Reformation, as well as anticipating the conversion of the

Jewish people and non-believers. See Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, 211; Hammond, "The Bridge in Redemptive Time," 88–91.
128. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 36, 38.
129. Ibid., 40.
130. Ibid., 44.
131. Ibid., 45.
132. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 46. See Isaiah 56:4–8.
133. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 46.
134. Ibid., 47.
135. Mancall, *Nature and Culture*, 14–25; Grafton, *New Worlds*, 3–7.
136. Ibid., 48–56.
137. Ibid., 56. See Revelation 5:8–9.
138. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 57.
139. Ibid., 57–58. See Revelation 14:6.
140. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 58.
141. Ibid., 58–59.
142. Ibid., 59.
143. Walsham, *The Reformation*, 331–340.
144. Pestana, *Protestant Empire*, 63–64.
145. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 61.
146. Ibid., 62, 66.
147. Ibid., 67. Citing Augustine, Oxenbridge noted that "there is an unknown number of nations where the gospel is not yet preached." See *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 68.
148. Ibid., 70–71.
149. Ibid., 71.
150. Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 328–329.
151. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 78.
152. Ibid., 78–79.
153. Ibid., 79.
154. Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 329.
155. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 79.
156. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 12-18; Ballériaux, *Missionary Strategies*, 92–93; Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 131–136, 218; Ryrie, "Mission and Empire," 200.
157. Katz, "Israel in America," 107–110. A correspondent of Thorowgood, John Eliot believed that indigenous peoples in New England were descended from Gentiles, but countenanced that some were Israelite and contributed to Thorowgood's second publication. See Cogley, "The Ancestry," 313, 323–324, and note 17; Cogley, "'Some Other Kinde of Being and Condition'," 55; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 15, note 26, and 83–90; Ryrie, "Mission and Empire," 200. See also, the entry for Eliot in *ODNB*. For interactions between indigenous peoples and Jewish settlers during the period of Dutch colonisation in seventeenth-century Suriname, see Roitman, "Portuguese Jews," and n. 2 for the "lost tribes" theory.
158. Thorowgood equated indigenous peoples in the Americas with the lost tribes of Israel. Oxenbridge echoed Eliot in differentiating between indigenous groups and a small number of Israelites in the Americas who had influenced indigenous peoples. See Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 329–330, 332.
159. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 79.
160. See Cogley, "The Ancestry," 311-312; Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 329–330, and note 15.
161. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 80.
162. Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 330.
163. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 81.
164. Ibid., 83. See Hosea 3:4.
165. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 83.

166. Ibid., 84, 85.
167. Ibid., 85.
168. Ibid., 86–103, 86.
169. Ibid., 89. For Ussher, see Ford, "Shaping History"; Ford, *James Ussher*, esp. chs 6 and 9; *ODNB*.
170. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 89.
171. Ibid., 89–90.
172. Ibid., 91.
173. Ibid., 92. Strikethrough in original.
174. Ibid., 92.
175. Ibid., 93.
176. Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 331–332.
177. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 108.
178. Ibid., 109. See Jeremiah 31:7 and Romans 11:26.
179. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 111.
180. Ibid. See Hosea 1:11.
181. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 111. See Isaiah 27:1.
182. Ibid., 112–113.
183. Ibid., 113–114.
184. Ibid., 114.
185. Ibid. See Richard Mather, "To the Christian Reader," in Eliot, *Tears of repentance*, sig. C4r.
186. *MHS*, Ms. SBd–56, (John Oxenbridge, [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667]), 114.
187. See Hall, "New England, 1660–1730," 145–146; Morgan,*Visible Saints*, 115–116, 125–136; Morgan, "The Half-Way Covenant Reconsidered"; Pestana, *Protestant Empire*, 133–134; Foster, *The Long Argument*, 180–189. See also, Cogley, "Missionary Theology," 326–327; ODNB.
188. For discussion of this assessment, see Ryrie, "Mission and Empire."
189. See Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, 9–18, 68–71, 84–87.
190. For the limitations of "binary," "oppositional," or "self/other" models, see Games, "Beyond the Atlantic," 681–682; Knights, "Towards A Social and Cultural History of Keywords and Concepts," 445.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Alexandra Walsham, Alec Ryrie, Gabriel Glickman, David Harris Sacks, David Onnekink, and the Mission History Network for providing invaluable guidance on this article, which has developed as part of an AHRC-funded doctoral project.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

Notes on Contributor

Patrick Seamus McGhee is an Honorary Fellow in the Department of Theology and Religion at the University of Durham, where he is developing his postdoctoral project, "The Anatomy of Atheism in the Atlantic World, c. 1600–1800," with the support of a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship, 2020–2023. He completed his AHRC-funded PhD on "'Heathenism' in the Protestant Atlantic World,

c. 1558 – c. 1700" at the University of Cambridge in 2019. A monographed based on this project is currently in preparation. He has published in *Studies in Church History* and *Exchange*, and has co-edited, with Katherine Hill, a Special Issue of the *Journal of Early Modern History* entitled "Global Protestantisms" (2024).

ORCID

Patrick Seamus McGhee http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5681-309X

References

Acosta, José de. *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias, en qve se Tratan las Cosas Notables del Cielo, y Elementos, Metales, Plantas, y Animales Dellas: Y los Ritos, y Ceremonias, Leyes, y Gouierno, y Guerras de los Indios*, Madrid: en casa de Alonso Martin, 1608.

Acosta, José de. *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Translated by Frances M. López-Morillas. Edited by Jane E. Mangan. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Acosta, José de. *Historia Natural y Moral de Las Indias: Edición Crítica*. Edited by Fermín del Pino-Díaz. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008.

Alarcón, Hernando Ruiz de. *Tratado de las Supersticiones y Costumbres Gentílicas que oy Viuen Entre los Indios Naturales Desta Nueva España*. México: Impr. del Museo Nacional, 1892.

Alarcón, Hernando Ruiz de. *Treatise on the Heathen Superstitions That Today Live Among the Indians Native to This New Spain*. Translated and edited by J. Richard Andrews and Ross Hassig. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.

Andrews, Edward E. *Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Anon. *Nevv Englands First Fruits*. London: STC Wing E519, 1643.

Anon. *Certayne Sermons Appoynted by the Quenes Maiestie*. London: 1559, STC 13648.5.

Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Axtell, James. *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Ballériaux, Catherine. *Missionary Strategies in the New World, 1610–1690: An Intellectual History*. London: Taylor & Francis, 2016.

Beinart, William, and Lotte Hughes. *Environment and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Bell, Thomas. *The Suruey of Popery*. London: 1596, STC 1829.

"Bible in English (990–1970)." Chadwyck-Healey Literature Collections (ProQuest Information and Learning Co., 1997–2019). Accessed 12 August 2024. http://collections.chadwyck.co.uk/bie/htxview?template = basic.htx&content = frameset.htx.

Bishops' Bible, 1568. *The Holie Bible Conteynyng the Olde Testament and the Newe*. London, STC 2099.

Bowden, Henry Wayne. *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Bozeman, Theodore Dwight. *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Bross, Kristina. *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Buell, Denise Kimber. "Early Christian Universalism and Modern Forms of Racism." In *The Origins of Racism in the West*, edited by Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler, 109–131. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Calamy, Edmund. *An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters, and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters: Who Were Ejected or Silenced After the Restoration in 1660, by or Before, the Act of Uniformity*. London: 1713.

Caldwell, Patricia. *The Puritan Conversion Narrative: The Beginnings of American Expression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Camden, William. *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland*. London, 1610, STC 4509.
Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.
Carroll, Peter N. *Puritanism and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier* 1629–1700. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.
Carter, Oliver. *An Ansvvere Made by Oliuer Carter, Bacheler of Diuinitie: Unto Certaine Popish Questions and Demaundes*. London: 1579, STC 4697.
Casas, Bartolomé de las. *Historia de las Indias*, vol. 1, 1875, eds Feliciano Ramírez de Arellano and José León Sancho Rayón, 5 vols. Madrid, 1875–1876.
Cogley, Richard W. "John Eliot in Recent Scholarship." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 14, no. 2 (1990): 77–92.
Cogley, Richard W. *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians Before King Philip's War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
Cogley, Richard W. "The Ancestry of the American Indians: Thomas Thorowgood's 'Iewes in America' (1650) and 'Jews in America' (1660)." *English Literary Renaissance* 35, no. 2 (2005): 304–330.
Cogley, Richard W. "'Some Other Kinde of Being and Condition': The Controversy in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England Over the Peopling of Ancient America." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68, no. 1 (2007): 35–56.
Cogley, Richard W. "Missionary Theology and the Peopling of Pre-Columbian America: John Oxenbridge's 'A Plea for the Dumb Indian' (ca. 1666)." *Missiology* 50, no. 4 (2022): 324–336.
Cohen, Charles L. "Conversion Among Puritans and Amerindians: A Theological and Cultural Perspective." In *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, edited by Francis J. Bremer, 233–256. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993.
Copland, Patrick. "Letters of Patrick Copland." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (1929): 300–302.
Copland, Patrick, and Thomas Knowles. *A Second Courante of Newes from the East India in two Letters*. London 1622, STC 7458.
Copland, Patrick. *Virginia's God be Thanked, or A Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happie Successe of the Affayres in Virginia This Last Yeare*. London; 1622, STC 5727.
Cressy, David. *Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
Cummings, Brian, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and* 1662. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
Das, Nandini, João Vicente Melo, Haig Z. Smith, et al. *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England*. Amsterdam: Arc Humanities Press, 2021.
Davies, Michael. "The Silencing of God's Dear Ministers: John Bunyan and His Church in 1662." In *'Settling the Peace of the Church': 1662 Revisited*, edited by N. H. Keeble, 85–113. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Davies, Michael, Anne Dunan-Page, and Joel Halcomb, eds. *Church Life: Pastors, Congregations, and the Experience of Dissent in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
Drayton, Richard. *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
Edwards, W., and K. Gibson. "An Ethnohistory of Amerindians in Guyana." *Ethnohistory (Columbus, Ohio)* 26, no. 2 (1979): 161–175.
Eliot, John. *Tears of Repentance: Or, A Further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New-England*. London: STC Wing E524, 1653.
Eliot, John. *The New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*. Cambridge, MA: STC Wing B2757, 1661.
Feldt, Laura, ed. *Wilderness in Mythology and Religion: Approaching Religious Spatialities, Cosmologies, and Ideas of Wild Nature*. Boston: De Gruyter, 2012.
Field, Jonathan Beecher. *Errands Into the Metropolis: New England Dissidents in Revolutionary London*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2009.

Fisher, Linford D. "Native Americans, Conversion, and Christian Practice in Colonial New England, 1640—1730" *Harvard Theological Review* 102, no. 1 (2009): 101–124. doi:10.1017/S0017816009000054.
Folke, Christina Ax, Niels Brimnes, Niklas Thode Jensen, and Karen Oslund. *Cultivating the Colonies: Colonial States and Their Environmental Legacies*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011.
Ford, Alan. *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early-Modern Ireland and England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Ford, Alan. "Shaping History: James Ussher and the Church of Ireland." In *The Church of Ireland and Its Past*, edited by Mark Empey, Alan Ford, and Miriam Moffitt, 19–35. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017.
Foster, Stephen. *The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570–1700*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
Foxe, John. *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Sheffield: The Digital Humanities Institute, 2011. Accessed 12 August 2024. http://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe.
Foxe, John. *A Table of the X. First Persecutions of the Primitiue Church Vnder the Heathen Tyrannes of Rome*. London, 1610, STC 11227.3.
Games, Alison. *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
Games, Alison. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 741–757.
Games, Alison. "Beyond the Atlantic: English Globetrotters and Transoceanic Connections." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2006): 675–692. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4491575.
Games, Alison. *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
Games, Alison. "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style: English Inhabitants in Dutch Suriname After 1667." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (2015): 195–242.
Geneva Bible, 1587: *The Bible That is, the Holy Scriptures Contained in the Olde and Newe Testament*, London, 1587, STC 2146.
Gerbner, Katharine. *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.
Gin Lum, Kathryn. *Heathen: Religion and Race in American History*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2022.
Glacken, Clarence J. *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, 153–154.
Glickman, Gabriel. "Protestantism, Colonization, and the New England Company in Restoration Politics." *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 2 (2016): 365–391. doi:10.1017/s0018246 × 15000254.
Glickman, Gabriel. Making the Imperial Nation: Colonization, Politics, and English Identity, 1660–1700. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2023.
Glickman, Gabriel. "The Politics of Protestant Missions in the English Overseas Territories, 1660–1700." *Journal of Early Modern History* 28, no. 1–2 (2024): 92–117.
Goetz, Rebecca Anne. *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.
Gommans, Jos, and Ineke Loots. "Arguing with the Heathens: The Further Reformation and the Ethnohistory of Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617–1666)." *Itinerario (Leiden, Netherlands)* 39, no. 1 (2015): 45–68.
Grafton, Anthony. *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.
Gray, Kathryn. *John Eliot and the Praying Indians of Massachusetts Bay: Communities and Connections in Puritan New England*. Lanham, MD: Bucknell University Press, 2013.
Grove, Richard. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origin of Environmentalism, 1600–1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
Ha, Polly. "Godly Globalisation: Calvinism in Bermuda." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 66, no. 3 (2015): 543–561..

Ha, Polly. "Religious Toleration and Ecclesiastical Independence in Revolutionary Britain, Bermuda and the Bahamas." *Church History* 84, no. 4 (2015): 807–827.
Haefeli, Evan. *Accidental Pluralism: America and the Religious Politics of English Expansion, 1497–1662*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2021.
Haigh, Christopher. "The Church of England, the Nonconformists and Reason: Another Restoration Controversy." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 69, no. 3 (2018): 531–556.
Hall, David. "New England, 1660–1730." In *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, edited by John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim, 143–158. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
Hammond, Jeffrey A. "The Bride in Redemptive Time: John Cotton and the Canticles Controversy" *The New England Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (1983): 78–102.
Handler, Jerome S. "The Amerindian Slave Population of Barbados in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." *Caribbean Studies* 8, no. 4 (1969): 38–64. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25612085.
Hankins, James. "Socrates in the Italian Renaissance." In *A Companion to Socrates*, edited by Sara Ahbel-Rappe and Rachana Kamtekar, 337–352, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.
Hanmer, Meredith. *The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories of the First six Hundred Yeares After Christ*. London, 1577, STC 10572.
Hill, Christopher. "Puritans and 'the Dark Corners of the Land'." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (1963): 77–102.
Hill, Christopher. *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution*. London: Penguin Books, 1994.
Hill, Jonathan D., and Fernando Santos-Granero, eds. *Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language Family and Culture Area in Amazonia*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
Hindmarsh, D. Bruce. *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
Holinshed, Raphael. *The Firste [Laste] Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*. London, 1577, STC 13568b.
Hughes, Sean F. "The Problem of 'Calvinism': English Theologies of Predestination c. 1580–1630." In *Belief and Practice in Reformation England: A Tribute to Patrick Collinson from his Students*, edited by Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger, 229–249. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
Jennings, Francis. "Goals and Functions of Puritan Missions to the Indians." *Ethnohistory (Columbus, Ohio)* 18, no. 3 (1971): 197–212.
Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
Johnson, D. Andrew, and Carolyn Arena. "Building Dutch Suriname in English Carolina: Aristocratic Networks, Native Enslavement, and Plantation Provisioning in the Seventeenth-Century Americas." *Journal of Southern History* 86, no. 1 (2020): 37–74.
Katz, David S. "Israel in America: The Wanderings of the Lost Ten Tribes from Mikveigh Yisrael to Timothy McVeigh." In *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West,* 1450–1800, edited by Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, 107–122. New York: Berghahn Books, 2001.
Keeble, N. H. "The Nonconformist Narrative of the Bartholomeans." In *'Settling the Peace of the Church': 1662 Revisited*, edited by N. H. Keeble, 209–232. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Kirner-Ludwig, Monika. Heathens, Pagans, Misbelievers*: A Lexico-Semantic Field Study and its Historio-Pragmatic Reflections in Texts from the English Middle Ages*. Heidelberg: Winter, 2015.
Knights, Mark. "Towards A Social and Cultural History of Keywords and Concepts by the Early Modern Research Group." *History of Political Thought* 31, no. 3 (2010): 427–448. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26224143.
Kopelson, Heather Miyano. *Faithful Bodies: Performing Religion and Race in the Puritan Atlantic*. New York: NYU Press, 2014.
Lawson, Russell M. *The Sea Mark: Captain John Smith's Voyage to New England*. London: University Press of New England, 2015.
Levy, Babette M. *Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies*. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1960.

Maghenzani, Simone, and Stefano Villani, eds. *British Protestant Missions and the Conversion of Europe,* 1600–1900. London: Taylor & Francis, 2020.
Mancall, Peter C. *Nature and Culture in the Early Modern Atlantic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.
Marenbon, John. *Pagans and Philosophers: The Problem of Paganism from Augustine to Leibniz*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015.
McGhee, Patrick Seamus. ""I Shall Give Thee the Heathen for Thine Inheritance"." *Exchange* 51, no. 3 (2022): 215–244.
Miller, Peter N. "Taking Paganism Seriously: Anthropology and Antiquarianism in Early Seventeenth-Century Histories of Religion." *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 3, no. 1 (2001): 183–209.
Mohr, Hubert. "Heathen." In *The Brill Dictionary of Religion*, edited by Kocku von Stuckrad. 837. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
Moore, Susan Hardman. *Pilgrims: New World Settlers and the Call of Home*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.
Morgan, Edmund S. *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea*. Ithaca: New York University Press, 1963.
Morgan, Edmund S. "The Half-Way Covenant Reconsidered." In *Puritanism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts*, edited by David D. Hall, 99–107. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.
Morrison, Dane. *A Praying People: Massachusetts Acculturation and the Failure of the Puritan Mission,* 1600–1690. New York: P. Lang, 1995.
Muller, Richard A. *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Nappi, Carla. "Following Ghosts: Skinning Science in Early Modern Eurasia." In *Empires of Knowledge: Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World*, edited by Paula Findlen, 367–372. London: Taylor & Francis, 2019.
Nash, Roderick Frazier. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. 5th edition, London: Yale University Press, 2014.
North, Richard. *Heathen Gods in Old English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
Ostler, Jeffrey, and Nancy Shoemaker. "Settler Colonialism in Early American History: Introduction." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (2019): 361–368. https://doi.org/10.5309/willmaryquar.76.3.0361.
Oxenbridge, John. [A plea for the dumb Indian], [ca. 1662–1667], Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Ms. SBd–56.
Oxenbridge, John. *A seasonable proposition of propagating the gospel by Christian colonies in the continent of Guaiana being some gleanings of a larger discourse drawn, but not published*. [s.n., London?], no date, STC Wing O838.
Oxford English Dictionary (OED).
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB).
Oxenbridge, John. *A Double Watch-Word, or, The Duty of Watching and Watching to Duty, Both Echoed […] by one That Hath Desired to be Found Faithful in the Work of a Watchman*. London: STC Wing O836, 1661.
Paddison, Joshua. *American Heathens: Religion, Race, and Reconstruction in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
Palmer, Ada. "Humanist Lives of Classical Philosophers and the Idea of Renaissance Secularization: Virtue, Rhetoric, and the Orthodox Sources of Unbelief." *Renaissance Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (2017): 935–976.
Parker, Annie. "Conversion in Theory and Practice: John Eliot's Mission to the Indians." In *The Spiritual Conversion of the Americas*, edited by James Muldoon, 78–98. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.
Parker, Charles H. "Converting Souls Across Cultural Borders: Dutch Calvinism and Early Modern Missionary Enterprises." *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 1 (2013): 50–71. doi:10.1017/S1740022813000041.
Parker, Charles H. "The Reformation in Global Perspective." *History Compass* 12, no. 12 (2014): 924–934.

Parker, Charles H. "Languages of Salvation: Translating Christianity in the Global Reformation." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 108, no. 1 (2017): 202–211.
Parker, Charles H. *Global Calvinism: Conversion and Commerce in the Dutch Empire, 1600–1800*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022.
Parrish, Susan Scott. *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
Pennington, Loren E. "The Amerindian in English Promotional Literature 1575–1625." In *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480–1650*, edited by K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P. E. H. Hair, 175–194. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978.
Perkins, William. *The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience*. Cambridge: 1606, STC 19669.
Pestana, Carla Gardina. *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
Raman, Shankar. "Learning from De Bry: Lessons in Seeing and Writing the Heathen." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41 (2011): 13–65.
Rivett, Sarah. "Conversion, Communication, and Translation in the Seventeenth-Century Protestant Atlantic." In *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, edited by Karen Newman and Jane Tylus, 189–205. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
Roberts, Justin. "Surrendering Surinam: The Barbadian Diaspora and the Expansion of the English Sugar Frontier, 1650–75." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (2016): 225–256.
Rogers, Matthew D. "Paganism/Neopaganism." *The Brill Dictionary of Religion*, edited by Kocku von Stuckrad, 1393–1396. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
Rogers, Richard. *Seuen Treatises Containing Such Direction as is Gathered out of the Holie Scriptures, Leading and Guiding to True Happines, Both in This Life, and in the Life to Come*. London, 1603, STC 21215.
Roitman, Jessica Vance. "Portuguese Jews, Amerindians, and the Frontiers of Encounter in Colonial Suriname." *New West Indian Guide* 88, no. 1–2 (2014): 18–52.
Rublack, Ulinka, ed. *Protestant Empires: Globalizing the Reformations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
Ryan, Michael T. "Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 4 (1981): 519–538. http://doi:10.1017S0010417500013542.
Ryrie, Alec. "Mission and Empire: An Ethical Puzzle in Early Modern Protestantism." In *Sister Reformations II, Schwesterreformationen II: Reformation and Ethics in Germany and in England, Reformation und Ethik in Deutschland und in England*, edited by Dorothea Wendebourg and Alec Ryrie, 181–120. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
Sachs, William L. *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
Sacks, David Harris. "Discourses of Western Planting: Richard Hakluyt and the Making of the Atlantic World." *The Atlantic World and Virginia,* 1550–1624, edited by Peter C. Mancall, 410–453. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
Sawday, Jonathan. "Marvell's 'Bermudas' and the History of the Eleutherian Republic'." *English Literary Renaissance* 48, no. 1 (2018): 60–97.
Sell, Alan P. F., ed. *The Great Ejectment of 1662: Its Antecedents, Aftermath, and Ecumenical Significance*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2012.
Sewall, Samuel. *Phaenomena Quaedam Apocalyptica ad Aspectum Novi Orbis Configurata*. Boston, MA: STC Wing S2821, 1697.
Shagan, Ethan H. *The Birth of Modern Belief: Faith and Judgment from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.
Shoemaker, Nancy. "A Typology of Colonialism." *Perspectives*, American Historical Association, 2015. https://www.historians.org/perspectives-article/a-typology-of-colonialism-october-2015.
Shoemaker, Nancy. "Settler Colonialism: Universal Theory or English Heritage?" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (2019): 369–374.
Southcombe, George. *The Culture of Dissent in Restoration England: 'the Wonders of the Lord'*. Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019.

Speed, John. *The History of Great Britaine*. London: 1611, STC 23045.
Stanley, Alison. "The Praying Indian Towns: Encounter and Conversion Through Imposed Urban Space." In *Building the British Atlantic World: Spaces, Places, and Material Culture, 1600–1850*, edited by Daniel Maudlin and Bernard L. Herman, 142–161. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.
Stephens, W. Peter. "Bullinger and Zwingli on the Salvation of the Heathen." *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 7 (2005), 283–300.
Tavárez, David. "Indigenous Intellectuals in Colonial Latin America." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History, 25 January 2019. https://oxfordre.com/latinamericanhistory/view/10.1093acrefore/9780199366439.001.0001/acrefore-9780199366439-e-531.
Tavárez, David. The Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.
Terpstra, Nicholas, ed. *Global Reformations: Transforming Early Modern Religions, Societies, and Cultures*. London: Taylor & Francis, 2019.
Terry, John. Theologicall Logicke: Or the Third Part of the Tryall of Truth Wherein is Declared the Excellency and Aequity of the Christian Faith, and That it is not Withstood and Resisted; but Assisted and Fortified by all the Forces of Right Reason, and by all the Aide That Artificiall Logicke Can Yeeld. London: 1625, STC 23914.
Twells, Alison. *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792–1850: The 'Heathen' at Home and Overseas*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
Vaughan, Alden T. *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians,* 1620–1675. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1965.
Wallace, Dewey D. *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660–1714: Variety, Persistence, and Transformation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
Walsh, James P. "Holy Time and Sacred Space in Puritan New England." *American Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (1980): 79–95.
Walsham, Alexandra. *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
Waters, Henry F. "Genealogical Gleanings in England." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 44 (1890): 73–99.
Whitehead, Neil Lancelot. "Ethnogenesis and Ethnocide in the European Occupation of Native Surinam, 1499–1681." In *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas*, edited by Jonathan D. Hill, 1492–1992. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996.
Wiesner-Hanks, Merry. "Comparisons and Consequences in Global Perspective, 1500–1750." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations*, edited by Ulinka Rublack, 747–764. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
Willet, Andrew. *Synopsis Papismi, That is, A Generall Viewe of Papistry Wherein the Whole Mysterie of Iniquitie, and Summe of Antichristian Doctrine is set Downe*. London: 1592, STC 25696.
Winship, Michael P. "Defining Puritanism in Restoration England: Richard Baxter and Others Respond to *A Friendly Debate*." *Historical Journal* 54, no. 3 (2011): 689–715.
Winslow, Edward. *Good nevves from New-England*. London: 1624, STC 25856.
Yoshinaka, Takashi. *Marvell's Ambivalence: Religion and the Politics of Imagination in Mid-Seventeenth Century England*. Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, D. S. Brewer, 2011.
Zakai, Avihu. *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.