A STUDY OF THE SCHOOLMASTERS OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
RICHARD EDWARD KELLY
1971

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SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

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RICHARD EDWARD KELLY

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Doctor of Philosophy degree in Education

J. Geoffrey Moore
Major professor

Date May 11, 1971

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE SCHOOLMASTERS OF
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

By

Richard Edward Kelly

The purpose of this work was to provide a study of the schoolmasters of seventeenth century Newbury, Massachusetts. Although some of the more noted schoolmasters have been studied extensively, comparatively little is known about the more typical pedagogues. The selection of Newbury as a town with representative rather than exceptional schoolmasters enabled the completion of much more extensive research than would have been possible in a more general study.

As an historical study, two types of sources were utilized. First, there were the primary sources, consisting of such materials as town records, church records, county records, colony records, books, letters, journals and published seventeenth century works. Second, there were the secondary sources, among which were included histories of Newbury, Essex County, the Massachusetts Bay Colony and New England. Numerous genealogical and biographical works were also utilized, as were many sources on Puritanism, education and culture.

Education in seventeenth century Newbury may be divided into three periods. The first was 1635 to 1675, near

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the beginning of which, in 1639, Anthony Somerby I became the first schoolmaster. Between 1647 and 1675, teaching was conducted by Reverend James Noyes I, the assistant minister, and Reverend Thomas Parker, the minister. As highly respected, scholarly divines, they considered teaching essential for the preparation of Christians and the preservation of knowledge. Thus, the school achieved importance second only to that of the church. Indeed, the educational commitment of the first four decades was not equaled at any point thereafter.

Severe challenges to formal learning occurred during the 1675 to 1684 transitional period. Because education's strongest ally was the church, the town school suffered greatly with the waning of the Puritan ideal. After 1675, Newbury hired one man as minister and another as schoolmaster. Yet, because the minister's status was significantly higher than the schoolmaster's, teaching became a comparatively inferior position and most of those who taught did so only temporarily. Unfortunately, none of the transitional schoolmasters, viz., Henry Short II, Reverend John Emerson II and Reverend Thomas Baily I, achieved a level of scholarship approximating that of Noyes and Parker.

The educational preparation of Newbury's schoolmasters greatly improved during the period from 1684 to 1700. Reverend Edward Tompson I, Reverend Seth Shove,

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Reverend John Clark, Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I and Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I, the century's last five schoolmasters, had all graduated from Harvard College and only one did not hold the Master of Arts Degree.

The 1689 to 1695 struggle between Oldtown and West Village killed the single town school by establishing the district, or moving school. Because Newbury continued to employ but one schoolmaster, the yearly length of instruction was shortened in the interest of providing more convenient formal education for a larger number of youth.

Throughout the seventeenth century, a single schoolmaster simultaneously offered elementary and secondary instruction. The vast majority of students mastered only the elementary subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic and religion. Even when the town's population exceeded 1000, generally less than twenty students prepared for Harvard College in the Latin grammar school. Like their schoolmasters, these students were, with few exceptions, members of families that were socio-economically above the average.

Throughout the seventeenth century, it was the Puritan clergy that was principally responsible for making education available to the town. Through providing an intellectually virile tradition in the training of men who would be pious Puritans as well as gentlemen and scholars, Newbury's minister-schoolmasters left to succeeding generations an impressive educational legacy.

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A STUDY OF THE SCHOOLMASTERS OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

By

Richard Edward Kelly

A THESIS

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum

1971

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To my wife,

ANNE LOUISE (REYNOLDS) KELLY,

And my daughter,

ELIZABETH SARAH ANNE KELLY

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his sincere gratitude and appreciation to his committee chairman, Dr. J. Geoffrey Moore, whose guidance and encouragement were invaluably beneficial in the completion of both the Master of Arts Degree and the Doctor of Philosophy Degree. The writer also acknowledges the suggestions and interest of the other committee members, Dr. Dale V. Alam, Dr. George W. Ferree Jr. and Dr. Justin L. Kestenbaum.

In addition to the help of the writer's committee, several other Michigan State University professors aided in the advancement of academic strengths pertinent to the orientation of the present work. They were Dr. Carl Henry Gross, in the history of American education; Dr. Robert Emmet Wall Jr., in the history of Puritan New England; and Dr. Richard Eugene Sullivan, in the history of medieval Europe.

Essential for the completion of the present work was the assistance of dozens of competent librarians who gladly made available both their knowledge and their oftentimes exceedingly rare collections of printed and manuscript sources. The writer's wife, Anne Louise (Reynolds) Kelly, continually expressed the confidence and encouragement

which did so much

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Williamsville, New
April 26, 1971

which did so much to lighten the exacting demands of several years of intensive research and writing.

RICHARD EDWARD KELLY

Williamsville, New York
April 26, 1971

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this work was to provide a study of the schoolmasters of seventeenth century Newbury, Massachusetts. It is contended that an intensive study of the town's seventeenth century pedagogues can provide historical information essential to the formulation of accurate hypotheses concerning the development of teaching in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and, indeed, throughout many parts of early colonial New England. Moreover, a comprehensive historical approach to a single town can be of greater value, it would seem, than merely asking few and shallow questions of a larger geographical region. Founded in the spring of 1635, Newbury was fairly representative of other early Puritan coastal towns in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

As Bernard Bailyn suggested, much comprehensive research remains to be completed if we are to understand more adequately the significance of the town school as an expression of the community's philosophical value system.[1]

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[1]Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 12-15.

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Bailyn further argued that, in general, the standard histories of American education have been characterized by far too many inaccurate generalizations to be considered wholly satisfactory.[2]

During the four decades from the late 1870s to the conclusion of World War I, there appeared a number of writers who addressed themselves to the history of education, which was at that time a rather unique aspect of American history. Among those who contributed published works during this era were John C. Henderson Jr.,[3] Richard G. Boone,[4] George H. Martin,[5]

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[2]Ibid.

[3]John C. Henderson Jr., Our National System of Education: An Essay (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1877).

[4]Richard G. Boone, Education in the United States: Its History From the Earliest Settlements (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1889).

[5]George H. Martin, "Compulsory Education in Massachusetts," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, Session of the Year 1891 (1891), pp. 403-412; "Public School Pioneering: A Reply," Educational Review, Vol. IV, No. 6 (June, 1892), pp. 34-46; "Public School Pioneering: Final Statement of the Massachusetts Claim," Educational Review, Vol. V, No. 3 (March, 1893), pp. 232-242; Brief Historical Sketch of the Massachusetts Public School System (Boston: N. Sawyer and Son, 1893) and The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System: A Historical Sketch (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1894).

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Andrew S. Draper,[6] Thomas Davidson,[7] Edward Eggleston,[8] Edwin G. Dexter,[9] Paul Monroe,[10] Henry Suzzallo,[11] Harlan Updegraff,[12] William H. Burnham,[13] Walter H. Small[14]

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[6]Andrew S. Draper, "Public School Pioneering in New York and Massachusetts: A Reply to a Reply," Educational Review, Vol. IV, No. 8 (April, 1892), pp. 241-252 and "Public School Pioneering in New York and Massachusetts: A Final Reply," Educational Review, Vol. V, No. 4 (April, 1893), pp. 345-362.

[7]Thomas Davidson, A History of Education (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900).

[8]Edward Eggleston, The Transit of Civilization From England to America in the Seventeenth Century (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1900).

[9]Edwin G. Dexter, A History of Education in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904).

[10]Paul Monroe, A Text-Book in the History of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905) and A Cyclopedia of Education, 5 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911-1913).

[11]Henry Suzzallo, The Rise of Local School Supervision in Massachusetts: The School Committee, 1635-1827 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1906).

[12]Harlan Updegraff, The Origin of the Moving School in Massachusetts (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1908).

[13]William H. Burnham and Henry Suzzallo, The History of Education as a Professional Subject (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1908).

[14]Walter H. Small, Early New England Schools (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1914).

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1897) and A Brief

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and Ellwood P. Cubberley.[15] These men were the pioneers of American educational history and many of their works long remained leading texts in the field.

With but few exceptions, however, their major emphasis was upon the compilation of general studies for use in college and normal school classrooms. In most instances, only slight attention was given to the colonial period, the major concern having been with the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With regard to the colonial era, the founding of the Boston Latin School in 1635, the founding of Harvard College in 1636, the Massachusetts Bay Colony statutes of 1642 and 1647 and the moving school of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries frequently comprised the extent of the topics of significant concern. There was, furthermore, a scarcely veiled favoritism for the so-called "practicality" of the history of education and a slighting of the intrinsic value of the field. Fortunately, many of the more recent

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[15]Ellwood P. Cubberley, Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education, With Selected Bibliographies (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902); Changing Concepts of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909); Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919); Readings in Public Education in the United States: A Collection of Sources and Readings to Illustrate the History of Educational Practice and Progress in the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920) and A Brief History of Education: A History of Practice and Progress and Organization of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922).

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writers have reversed this trend and the history of education has begun to come into its own as a more scholarly field of endeavor.

As Frederick Rudolph contended in his excellent work on the history of American higher education, it is worthwhile to consider educational history, at least partially, from the standpoint of the writer's background, be it that of history, education, government or foundation.[16] In each of these four categories, however, it would appear that as the field matured there developed a somewhat greater utilization of what is perhaps most appropriately called the historical monograph. That is to say, while general histories of education continued and, indeed, increased, there was also a profound increase in the writing of selected studies to explore more thoroughly a specialized topic.

To place the present study in its proper prospective, it should be noted that the emphasis is upon the study of seventeenth century education in Newbury. Thus, any immediate problem-solving attributes concerning twentieth century education are considered to be beyond the scope of the work.

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[16]Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 497-512.

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Works with significant similarities to the present study include a number of histories of Massachusetts town schools. Among these are the works of Carlos P. Slafter on Dedham,[17] Robert Francis Seybolt[18] and Pauline Holmes[19] on Boston and Charles K. Dillaway[20] and Richard W. Hale Jr.[21] on Roxbury. Concerning themselves with a particular town in an effort to fully comprehend the historical forces at work in seventeenth century Massachusetts are the recently published works of Sumner Chilton Powell on Sudbury,[22]

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[17]Carlos P. Slafter, A Record of Education: The Schools and Teachers of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1644-1904 (Dedham, Massachusetts: Dedham Transcript Press, 1905).

[18]Robert Francis Seybolt, The Private Schools of Colonial Boston (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935); The Public Schools of Colonial Boston (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935) and The Public Schoolmasters of Colonial Boston (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939).

[19]Pauline Holmes, A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1935 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935).

[20]Charles K. Dillaway, A History of the Grammar School, or "The Free Schoole of 1645 in Roxburie" (Roxbury, Massachusetts: J. Backup, 1850).

[21]Richard W. Hale Jr., Tercentenary History of the Roxbury Latin School, 1645-1945 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1946).

[22]Sumner Chilton Powell, Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963).

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Kenneth A. Lockridge on Dedham[23] and Philip J. Greven Jr. on Andover.[24] John J. Waters wrote that such works as these mark the emergence of an American "sixth section," the French prototype of which is convinced that history must be rewritten from the bottom up.[25] The present study is an attempt to aid such revision through a close, detailed examination of the experiences of seventeenth century Newburyites as they sought to extend the boundaries of European civilization in a Puritan mold.

The primary orientation of the work is that of a biographical approach to the lives of Newbury's schoolmasters, with particular concentration given to their socio-ecomonic background, academic preparation, recruitment, publications, family and general societal significance. Because Newbury's early pedagogues were representative, rather than exceptional, their lives may be considered generally typical of the Puritan minister-schoolmasters who did so much to extend learning to the New England frontier.

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[23]Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town, The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736 (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1970).

[24]Philip J. Greven Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1970).

[25]John J. Waters, "Reviews of Books," The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Ser., Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (October, 1970), pp. 657-658.

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In Chapter II, the background, the founding and the early history of Newbury are presented, particularly in terms of the Puritan mission and the specific religious and political structures which were created to help insure the success of that endeavor. The lives of Anthony Somerby I and Reverend James Noyes I, the town's first two schoolmasters, are concentrated upon. Chapter III concerns Reverend Thomas Parker, Newbury's founder and patriarch who dominated the town's first four decades and served as schoolmaster from 1656 to 1675. During this period, Newbury's educational and cultural life flourished as never before.

Chapter IV, covering the years 1675 to 1684, concerns the lives of Henry Short II, Reverend John Emerson II and Reverend Thomas Baily I, who taught during a period of Newbury's history when the direction of the town school remained largely uncertain. It was during this period that there occurred the struggles imminent in the coming to power of the sons and grandsons of the first settlers. In Chapter V, the final sixteen years of the seventeenth century are discussed. Reverend Edward Tompson I, Reverend Seth Shove, Reverend John Clark, Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I and Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I are considered together because their lives have many parallels with respect to the educational patterns of late seventeenth century Newbury.

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The conclusion is found in Chapter VI. In the Bibliographical Essay is found an evaluative discussion of the sources available on Newbury, the eleven seventeenth century schoolmasters and New England Puritanism. Related works of a more general nature are also explored.

Two types of sources have been utilized in the present work. First, there are the primary sources, consisting of such published and unpublished materials as town records, church records, court records, family papers and published and unpublished writings of schoolmasters. Second, there are the secondary sources, among them histories of the town, church and county, biographies, genealogies and innumerable historical works concerned, either in whole or in part, with seventeenth century education in Newbury.

This study is chronological and interpretative, beginning with Newbury's English antecedents, its founding in 1635 and the establishment of the first school in 1639. The work concludes with the dawn of the new age of the eighteenth century, by which time Massachusetts Bay's charter had been expired for nine years and Puritan authority had been greatly diminished.[26] To understand the individual schoolmasters and how they influenced education,

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[26]Thomas H. Johnson, The Oxford Companion to American History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 513.

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much attention has been focused upon the family backgrounds and the biographical details pertaining to each of the eleven men who wielded the master's rod during the seventeenth century.

It is felt that this work, through its concentration upon all aspects of education in seventeenth century Newbury, can help to explain further a portion of our colonial education heritage.

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CHAPTER II

THE INITIAL EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS, 1635-1656

To understand adequately Newbury's initial educational efforts, some attention must be given to the establishment and early history of the town. The origins of Newbury, Massachusetts, first known by the Indian name "Quascacunquen,"[1] may be traced directly to Newbury, Berkshire, England, an ecclesiastical settlement which was well established by the time of the Norman succession to power in the late twelfth century.[2] It was from this English community that a large number of the early settlers came during the Great Puritan Migration of the 1630s. Most importantly, the English Newbury was the home of Reverend Thomas Parker, leader of the founders of Quascacunquen.

The English Newbury of the fifteenth century was generally conformist, particularly with respect to religion.

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[1]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845), p. 9.

[2]George P. Tilton, Newbury: A Pattern of Flatware Made in Sterling Silver by the Towle Mfg. Company: With Some History of Newbury: Massachusetts and its Progenitor Newbury: England (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Towle Manufacturing Company, 1907), p. 3.

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Not surprisingly, it was overwhelmingly Anglican and, lest we imagine that Puritans were highly regarded, it is perhaps well to note that the persecution of all nonconformists was the rule, rather than the exception. Nor was violence necessarily avoided. On July 16, 1556, for example, the Parish Church became the scene of the religious heresy trial of Josceline Palmer, master of the Reading Grammar School, and two companions, Gwyn and Askew. Immediately following the determination of a guilty verdict, the three were burned at the stake to the general satisfaction of their neighbors.[3]

With respect to the town's educational provisions, there existed an enterprising grammar school, probably as early as the fifteenth century and most certainly by the beginning of the sixteenth.[4] In addition, St. Nicholas Church had for centuries been a major force in the town.[5] As was usual in most English towns, the church played a significant educational role in addition to its leadership in religious guidance.[6] Hence, the men and women who left

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[3]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[4]Ibid., p. 11.

[5]Allan Forbes, Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland and Scotland: Connecting Links Between Cities and Towns of New England and Those of the Same Name in England, Ireland and Scotland (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), p. 132.

[6]Foster Watson, The Old Grammar Schools (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), pp. 68-92.

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Newbury during the Great Puritan Migration of the 1630s were products of the significant cultural and religious influences of both grammar school and church.

Also of significance was the town's geographical location. Newbury was sufficiently close to the more consequential centers of English culture to prevent its citizenry from suffering the blight of intellectual stagnation. It is but fifty miles west of the heart of London, twenty-five miles south of Oxford University and sixty-five miles southwest of Cambridge University. From the time of Roman rule, major roads connected Newbury with sundry parts of the countryside. Consequently, although the town could not be said to have been a teeming urban metropolis, it was hardly an isolated peasant village.

With regard to the settlement of New England's Newbury, there exist numerous primary and secondary sources which are thoroughly discussed in the Bibliographical Essay. Although the exact date of settlement remains uncertain, it is definitely known that it occurred in the early spring of 1635, probably in the month of May. Presented in Joshua Coffin's exemplary town history is a discussion of the authenticity of citing the spring of 1635 as the actual time of Newbury's founding.[7]

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[7]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 9-15.

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Because of the religious motivation for emigration in the 1630s, virtually all of the early New England settlements occurred in groups under the leadership of a Puritan minister.[8] Newbury was no exception to this rule. During the winter of 1633 to 1634, Newbury's founders undertook final preparations for the Atlantic crossing. On February 14, 1634, there is a record of their being detained in the River Thames on board the "Mary and John" by order of the Privy Council of King Charles I.[9] Here, the anxious emigrants awaited the necessary authorization to embark. On March 24 and 26, 1634, after what must have seemed an annoyingly long delay, the following men were allowed to take the required oath of supremacy and allegiance to the Crown:

William Moudey	Henry Travers
Thomas Sweete	John Woodbridge
Thomas Savery	Christopher Osgood
Philip Fowler	John Bartlett
Robert Coker	William Savery
John Godfrey	George Browne
Nicholas Noyce	Richard Browne
Richard Littlehall	William White
John Whelyer	William Clarke
Robert Newman	Stephen Jurden

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[8]Perry Miller, Errand Into the Wilderness (New York: Harper and Row, 1956), pp. 1-15; Oliver Perry Chitwood, A History of Colonial America, 3rd ed., Harper's Historical Series, Guy Stanton Ford, ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), pp. 88-121 and Edmund S. Morgan, Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963), pp. 64-112.

[9]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902 (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1902), p. 28.

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Matthew Gillett	William Franklin
John Mussey	Thomas Cole
Thomas Parker	James Noyce
John Spencer	William Spencer
Henry Shorte	Richard Kent, Jun
John Newman	Henry Lunt
Thomas Newman	John Anthony[10]

The oath to which they swore was either the following or one very similar to it:

> I Doe sweare before the Almighty and ever living God, that I will beare all faithful allegiance to my true and undoubted Soveraigne Lord King Charles, who is Lawfull King of this Island and all other his dominions both by sea and land by the Law of God and man and by lawfull succession, and that I will most constantly and cheerefully even to the utmost hazard of my life and fortune oppose all seditions, rebellions, conspiracies, covenants, and treasons whatsoever against his maties Crowne and dignity or person, raysed or sett up under what pretence of religion or colour soever, and if it shall come veyled under pretence of religion I hould it most abominable before God & man. And this oath I take voluntary, under the faith of a good Christian and loyall subject, wthout any equivocation of mentall reservation whatsoever, from wch I hould no power on earth can absolve me in any parte.[11]

Unlike the far more famous voyages of Governor William Bradford in 1620 and Governor John Winthrop in 1629, that of the "Mary and John" was not, as far as is known, chronicled by the participants. Certain it was, nonetheless, that the Puritans from Newbury, England, were plagued by the same fears and trepidations that haunted other seventeenth

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[10]Samuel Gardner Drake, "Passengers of the Mary and John, 1634," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. IX, No. 3 (July, 1855), pp. 265-268.

[11]Thomas Lechford, Note-book, p. 105, quoted in, John J. Currier, op. cit., p. 642.

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century oceanic travellers. On many a turbulent day, when their wooden ship was tossed unmercifully about, the passengers had only the prayers of Reverend Thomas Parker and Reverend James Noyes I to comfort them. As Reverend Nicholas Noyes II wrote:

> On the sea, Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes preached, one in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon, every day during the voyage, unless some extraordinary thing intervened, and were abundant in prayer.[12]

Not until after two months at sea did the "Mary and John" arrive at Boston, Massachusetts.[13] During the summer of 1634, the party journeyed northward and reached the recently established settlement at Ipswich, where they spent the winter.[14] They did not reside here for long, however.

The Massachusetts General Court desired that the colony's limits be extended northward. On May 6, 1635, in the interest of putting this policy into effect, the Court granted the request of Reverend Parker through the passage of the following resolution:

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[12]Nicholas Noyes II, quoted in, Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New-England: From Its First Planting in the Year 1620, Unto the Year of our Lord 1698, Vol. I (Hartford: Silas Andrus and Sons, 1852), p. 484.

[13]Eliza Adams Little and Lucretia Little Ilsley, eds., The First Parish, Newbury, Massachusetts: 1635-1935 (Newburyport, Massachusetts: News Printing Company, Inc., 1935), p. 10.

[14]Ibid.

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> Wessacucon is allowed by the Court to be a plantacon & it is referd to Mr Humfry, Mr Endicott, Capt Turner and Capt Traske or any three of them, to sett out the bounds of Ipswich & Wessacucon, or soe much thereof as they can & the name of the said plantacon is changed & hereafter to be called Neweberry.
>
> Farther, it is ordered, that it shal be in the power of the Court to take order that the said plantacon shall receave a sufficient company of people to make a competent towne.
>
> It is referd to Mr Humfry, Mr Endicott, Capt Turner & Capt Traske to sett out a fferme for Mr Dumer, aboute the falls of Neweberry, not exceeding the quantity of 500 acres, pvided also it be not piuditiall to Neweberry.[15]

Within a matter of days after the act, Parker's hardy group left Ipswich and sailed northward through Plum Island Sound and up what later became the Parker River. It was at this point, on the north bank of the river but a few thousand feet inland from the ocean, that they established the town of Newbury.[16] Here, under the wide branches of a great oak tree which for centuries stood on the north bank of the river, Parker, according to John Pike II, who was then present, preached Newbury's first sermon, using as his text Matthew 18:17:[17]

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[15]John J. Currier, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

[16]Samuel Colcord Bartlett, "Historical Address," The Historical Society of Old Newbury, Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Newbury, June 10, 1885 (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1885), p. 39. The landing place is marked by a stone monument which was inscribed in 1902.

[17]John Pike II, quoted in, Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

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> And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.

After an elaboration upon the necessity of working together in the name of Christ Jesus, a covenant was agreed upon and the thirty-nine year old Parker was chosen pastor of the fledgling town, the founders "expressinge their voats therein," to quote John Pike II, "by lifting up the hande."[18]

Having learned from the experiences of the Plymouth Separatists fifteen years earlier, the fathers of Newbury were fortunate in benefitting from adequate preparation for settlement, a necessity which had sometimes been sadly neglected under the fervor of colony founding. By living in the established towns of Boston and Ipswich from 1634 to 1635, the early settlers learned much, we may be sure, that was to prove valuable during the crucial first years.

Abiding by the stipulations established at London prior to emigration, house lots, planting lots and meadow lots were given, by grants, to all settlers.[19] To the poorest colonists were granted four acre lots and the rights of pasturage, while fifty acre farms were granted to every person who paid for his own sea voyage.[20] Those who had

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[18] Ibid., p. 17.

[19] John J. Currier, op. cit., p. 36.

[20] Ibid.

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also contributed fifty pounds to the company's common stock received two hundred acres.[21] Thus were carried out the crucial economic provisions. It is significant to note that the first settlers were not disposed to attack the land distribution arrangement and that they all but guaranteed that even in the New World some men would have far greater opportunities for material success than would others.

Contained within the original dimensions of Newbury was the area which now comprises the city of Newburyport, the towns of Newbury and West Newbury and the larger part of the parish of Byfield.[22] The first division of the original settlement area did not occur until January 28, 1764, when the business oriented northern section was established as the town of Newburyport.[23] On February 18, 1819, West Newbury further divided the governmental unit of the original 1635 town.[24] Consequently, we are concerned in the present study with the educational history of a much larger part of northern Essex County than that which today constitutes the town of Newbury. Indeed, the

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[21] Ibid.

[22] The Essex Institute, Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. I (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1911), p. 4.

[23] E. Vale Smith, History of Newburyport: From the Earliest Settlement of the Country to the Present Time. With a Biographical Appendix. (Boston: Damrell and Moore, 1854), pp. 60-73.

[24] The Essex Institute, op. cit., p. 4.

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historical origins of the entire area between Rowley and Salisbury are largely derived from the planting of the Parker River settlement in the spring of 1635.

From the onset, rapid growth aided the new settlement. In June, 1635, there arrived fifteen ships carrying new settlers and one ship per month arrived during August, November and December.[25] Throughout the town's early years this growth continued and enabled Newbury to become one of the most firmly established of the numerous towns which, by the early 1640s, dotted the New England coast. According to the 1905 founders monument on Newbury's Lower Green, seventy adult male settlers lived in the town by the year 1650.[26] Since nearly all the settlers

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[25]Eliza Adams Little and Lucretia Little Ilsley, eds., op. cit., p. 11.

[26]Inscribed on a plaque fastened to the back of the monument are the following names: Robert Adams, Giles Badger, John Bailey, Thomas Brown, Richard Brown, Richard Bartlett, John Cheney, Aquila Chase, Nathaniel Clark, Thomas Coleman, Tristram Coffin, Robert Coker, John Cutting, John Davis, Richard Dole, Richard Dummer, John Emery, William Garrish, Edmund Greenleaf, Thomas Hale, Abel Huse, William Ilsley, James Jackman, Henry Jaques, John Kelly, Richard Kent, John Knight, Richard Knight, George Little, Percival Lowell, Henry Lunt, Robert Long, Hugh Marsh, William Marston, Nathaniel Merrill, William Moody, Edmond Moores, Anthony Morse, William Moulton, Nicholas Noyes, James Noyes, James Ordway, John Osgood, Thomas Parker, Richard Pettingall, Daniel Pierce, John Pike, William Pillsbury, William Plumer, John Poore, Samuel Poore, Edward Rawson, John Remington, Edward Richardson, Henry Rolfe, Robert Savory, Henry Sewall, Henry Short, Thomas Smith, Anthony Somerby, William Sawyer, Steven Swett, William Titcomb, Richard Thurlow, Daniel Thurston, Abraham Toppan, David Wheeler, Thomas Whittier, John Woodbridge, Edward Woodman.

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were married and had a number of children,[27] it is clear that within fifteen years after its founding the town could claim several hundred residents.

The meetinghouse, the town's most important building, was constructed during the summer of 1635, probably on the triangular lot of land now known as the Lower Green.[28] For at least the first few years, most homes of individual families were constructed in the immediate vicinity of the meetinghouse, both for convenient participation in the religious and civil affairs of the town and for greater protection against the ever present danger of Indians and wild animals. On September 6, 1635, the Massachusetts General Court, being greatly concerned about continuing the policy of internal centrality of development, ordered that:

> . . . noe dwelling howse shalbee builte above halfe a myle from the meeting howse in any newe plantacon, granted att this Court, or hereafter to be granted, without leaue from the court, (except myll howses & fferme howses of such as have their dwelling howses in some towne), Ipswich, Hingham, Newberry & Waymothe to be included in this order.[29]

This law stood on the books only until May 13, 1640, when it was repealed.[30]

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[27]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 293-322.

[28]John J. Currier, op. cit., p. 39.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid.

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A significant factor in the General Court's decision to rescind its earlier legislation was the resistance of many of the settlers. One of early Newbury's staunchest opponents to this legislation was John Kelly I. A descendant of the English Kellys who have been seated at Kelly Manor, Kelly, Lifton, Devon, England, since the eleventh century, John Kelly I left his native Exeter and, at the age of eighteen, arrived at Boston on the "Hector."[31] Soon after 1635, when Kelly became one of the earliest settlers of Newbury, he built his house on the north side of Oldtown Hill, west of High Road and some distance from the cluster of houses at the Parker River.[32]

In vain, Kelly's neighbors attempted to dissuade him from his decision. He continued, however, to provide for his family in this distant home, apparently contented in his avoidance of the disadvantages he saw in the more

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[31]Bernard Burke, A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland, 4th ed. (London: Harrison, 1863), pp. 803-804; "Obituaries: Arthur Willard Kelly," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XCIV, No. 2 (April, 1940), pp. 196-197; Richard Edward Kelly, "The Kelly Family," The Detroit Society for Genealogical Research Magazine, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Spring, 1964), p. 135 and Richard Edward Kelly, "An English Kelly: Reverend William Kelly (1744-1813) of Warner, New Hampshire," New Hampshire Profiles, Vol. XIX, No. 7 (July, 1970), p. 15.

[32]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 394 and Giles Merrill Kelly, A Genealogical Account of the Descendants of John Kelly of Newbury, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1886), p. 8.

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thickly settled part of Newbury. Yet, his peace was not undisturbed. The town passed a resolution that if he lost his life as a consequence of this decision, "his blood should be on his own head,"[33] a fear which failed to materialize. John Kelly I, ninth great-grandfather of the writer, exhibited many of the characteristics of the more adventurous second, third and fourth generation Newburyites.

Yet, the majority of the early settlers were more thoroughly conformist than Kelly and their residences near the Lower Green enabled the business of the town to be carried on entirely through mass meetings at which all inhabitants gathered. Here the freemen discussed local concerns and voted on matters brought to their attention for consideration. As the population continued to increase, however, it became apparent that representative government would have to replace the unwieldy mass assemblages of the freemen. Hence, selectmen, lot layers, town clerks, fence viewers and other town officers were chosen for the purpose of carrying out the tasks which had been performed in a far more cumbersome manner.[34] Whenever a building was constructed, a fence erected, a pew installed in the meetinghouse, or a plot of land surveyed for the town, it was customary for the popularly elected selectmen to choose a

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 15-18.

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number of men to supervise the work. Thus developed some of the first characteristics of the "town-meeting" form of government which characterized early New England towns.

With the town of Newbury firmly established, only the county governmental unit remained to be instituted. On May 10, 1643, Essex County, named after its English parent northeast of London, was established as an entity by the Massachusetts General Court.[35] At this time, the county had seven towns, of which Newbury had been the third to be incorporated: Salem (1630), Ipswich (1634), Newbury (1635), Lynn (1637), Rowley (1639), Gloucester (1639) and Enon, later called Wenham (1643).[36] As the county seat, Salem exerted a significant influence over northeastern Massachusetts throughout the colonial period.

It is in the light of this early development that Newbury's initial educational endeavors most be viewed. Simultaneous with the establishment of the town and church, the division of lands and the erection of the early dwellings, provisions were made for education. The following excerpt from the town records is the earliest known reference to education in Newbury:

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[35]Claude M. Fuess, "Essex County Metamorphosis," Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. XCII, No. 1 (January, 1956), p. 4.

[36]Ibid., p. 5.

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> There was granted unto Anthony Somerby in the year 1639 for his encouragement to keepe schoole for one yeare four akers of upland over the great river in the necke, also sixe akers of salt marsh next to Abraham Toppan's twenty akers.[37]

Such economic arrangements, in lieu of money, were frequently utilized in early Puritan towns, primarily because of the abundance of land surrounding the settlements.

The Newbury town school was one of the earliest in New England. Only four years before, the Boston Latin School had become the region's first secondary institution.[38] Moreover, in Essex County only Salem, Ipswich and Newbury had established schools by the end of the 1630s.[39]

The first schoolmaster, Anthony Somerby I, was born in 1610 in Little Bytham, Lincolnshire, England.[40] Having given or taken their name from Somerby, Lincolnshire, the family traced its ancestry to Adam de Somerby, a landholder who was mentioned in the Domesday Book (1086).[41]

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[37]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 32.

[38]Edgar W. Knight, "Latin Schools," Dictionary of American History, James Truslow Adams, ed., Vol. III (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), p. 250.

[39]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), p. 72.

[40]William Richard Cutter, ed., Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts, Vol. II (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1908), pp. 1013-1014.

[41]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 399.

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Within Anthony Somerby I's immediate family, marriage conferred a degree of socio-economic status. Somerby's brother, Henry Somerby IV, married Judith Greenleaf, daughter of the prominent Newbury and Boston merchant, Captain Edmund Greenleaf.[42] It is noteworthy that one of the grandchildren of Henry IV and Judith was Reverend John Clark, Newbury's ninth schoolmaster.[43]

It is unfortunate that so little is known about the early life of Anthony Somerby I. Indeed, even his level of education and his occupation prior to becoming a schoolmaster remain largely conjectory. William S. Appleton declared that Somerby received a Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1635 from Clare Hall, Cambridge.[44] However, Samuel Eliot Morison's thoroughly researched references to New England's 130 earliest known college graduates revealed no supportive evidence for Somerby's alleged degree.[45] Yet, the abilities

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[42]James Edward Greenleaf, Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family, 1574-1896 (Boston: Frank Wood, 1896), pp. 71-74.

[43]George Kuhn Clarke, The Descendants of Nathaniel Clarke and His Wife Elizabeth Somerby of Newbury, Massachusetts: A History of Ten Generations, 1642-1902 (Boston: privately printed, 1902), pp. 9-28, 270-276.

[44]William S. Appleton, Early Wills Illustrating the Ancestry of Hariot Coffin, With Genealogical and Biographical Notes By Her Grandson (Boston: David Clapp and Son, 1893), p. 57.

[45]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935), pp. 359-363.

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he demonstrated as town clerk suggest the possibility of his having been educated in a Latin grammar school.

It is certain, however, that at the age of twenty-nine, having decided to settle in New England, Somerby sailed on the "Jonathan" and arrived at Newbury in 1639.[46] As he stated at the "court held at Ipswich," on September 28, 1652, the "Jonathan" anchored at Boston, Massachusetts, and then proceeded northward along the coast until it reached Newbury.[47] At this point, Somerby joined the four year old settlement.

It was probably while in England that he had married Abigail, whose surname has been lost.[48] Born within two years after their arrival at Newbury was their only child, Abiel Somerby I, whose descendants have perpetuated the Somerby name.[49]

There exist no records of Somerby's teaching techniques or even any lists of his students' names. There

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[46]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 318 and John Farmer, A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New-England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: Carter, Andrews and Company, 1829), p. 268.

[47]Anthony Somerby I, quoted in, Henry F. Waters, "The Voyage of the Jonathan to New England, 1639: Passengers and Vessels that have Arrived in America," Part IX, The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 (October, 1878), p. 411.

[48]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 318.

[49]Ibid.

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is a record, however, of a significant financial development which occurred on March 12, 1642. Following the February 25, 1642 town meeting, the chosen committee consisting of Representative Henry Short I, the father of the fourth schoolmaster, Henry Short II; Representative Edward Woodman I; Representative Edward Rawson I; Thomas Hale I and Reverend John Woodbridge II ordered that one right to the common lands was to be assigned to the "towne house," and "to lye at the towne's appointment," one to "the ferry Lott" and three "for them that shall be schoolmasters successively."[50] It is obvious, then, that the town was determined to retain political control over the school. Furthermore, the granting of land in lieu of or in addition to a salary is an indication of the desire to limit the prohibitiveness of tuition payments.

Like other towns, Newbury was effected when the Massachusetts General Court passed the first colonial educational law on April 14, 1642. Although it did not require the organization of town schools, it established a precedent because of its expression of severe disapproval of the alleged deterioration of standards of learning and its imposition of fines for educational neglect. As the law stated:

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[50] Ibid., p. 36 and John Farmer, op. cit., pp. 264, 329, 240, 132-133, 327-328.

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> This Cort, taking into consideration the great neglect of many parents & masters in training up their children in learning & Labor, & other implyments which may be proffitable to the common wealth, do here-upon order and decree, that in euery towne ye chosen men appointed for managing the prudentiall affajres of the same shall henceforth stand charged with the care of the redresse of this evill, so as they shalbee sufficiently punished by fines for the neglect thereof, upon presentment of the grand iury, or other information or complaint in any Court within this jurisdiction; and for this end they, or the greater number of them, shall have power to take account from time to time of all parents and masters, and of their children, especially of their ability to read & understand the principles of religion & the capitall lawes of this country . . .[51]

Far more demanding was the November 11, 1647 "Old Deluder Satan Act," which required every town of fifty householders to provide for primary education and every town of one hundred householders to provide for secondary education. The introduction to the legislation is significant for the educational philosophy therein expressed:

> It being one chiefe project of ye ould deluder, Satan to keepe men from the knowledge of ye Scriptures, as in formr times by keeping ym in an unknowne tongue, so in these lattr times by perswading from ye use of tongues, yt so at least ye true sence & meaning of ye originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, yt learning may not be buried in ye grave of or fathrs in ye church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting or endeavors, . . .[52]

Later in the seventeenth century, as will be seen presently, the religious impetus for learning led, not unexpectedly,

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[51]Henry Steele Commager, ed., Documents of American History, 5th ed., Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, gen. ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949), p. 28.

[52]Ibid., p. 29.

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to a relatively advanced level of secular studies. As Edmund S. Morgan noted, the Puritan child in New England received an education considerably more advanced than that of his English cousin.[53]

Evasions of the 1642 and 1647 laws resulted in the levying of fines by the General Court. Although not every town complied with the law, it should be recognized that, as Carl H. Gross and Charles C. Chandler stated, "The intention was, nevertheless, present."[54] Moreover, the mere attempt to set up a school system in frontier New England can be seen as nothing short of valiant. The point is not that so little was attempted but, rather, that so much was accomplished.

It is significant that Somerby and his successor, Reverend James Noyes I, did not teach unaided in the Newbury school. Reverend Thomas Parker, who was even better educated than Noyes, continuously aided in the preparation of boys for admission to Harvard College.[55] As Samuel Eliot Morison noted, Parker had the most varied educational

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[53]Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 97-102.

[54]Carl H. Gross and Charles C. Chandler, eds., The History of American Education Through Readings (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1964), p. 6.

[55]Who Was Who in America, Historical Volume, 1607-1896, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The A.N. Marquis Company, 1967), p. 466.

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background of all the early college educated settlers of New England.[56] Consequently, it was natural that early Newburyites would turn to the scholarly Parker for leadership in advanced educational matters. Nevertheless, Somerby remained responsible for the entire elementary education of the town's children and, one may surmise, for much of the secondary education as well.

The youngest children in Somerby's school read, undoubtedly, from hornbooks in an effort to master the alphabet, numerals and religious figures and wording.[57] Later, when they had begun to study the various spellers and catechisms, they used quill pens to carefully copy and memorize the material in preparation for the oral examinations which would determine readiness to tackle even more advanced books.[58] Nearly all of these works were published in England because even though Cambridge had a press as early as 1639, the largest number of colonial authors

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[56]Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, Vol. XXVIII (April, 1932), p. 261.

[57]Charles Carpenter, History of American Schoolbooks (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), p. 21.

[58]Clifton Johnson, Old-Time Schools and School-Books (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), pp. 13-24.

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preferred to have their works published in England, where a larger reading public existed.[59]

In all probability, the textbooks utilized by Newbury's seventeenth century students included a catechism or primer, a Psalter, a Testament or Bible and any number of works on the revered classics.[60] Since Somerby was responsible for teaching children at various stages of learning, he had to utilize various texts simultaneously. Yet, especially when he had a manageable number of students, he undoubtedly devoted a substantial amount of individual attention to his pupils.

The Spelling Books (1642-1645), the earliest textbook published in the colonies, was widely studied in the primary schools of early New England.[61] So thoroughly was this work read that, as is true with the first edition of Michael Wigglesworth, The Day of Doom (1662), no copy survives.[62] The leading seventeenth century New England catechism was John Cotton, Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes in either England Drawn out of the Breasts of Both

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[59]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., pp. 113-118.

[60]Clifton Johnson, op. cit., pp. 14-24.

[61]Thomas Goddard Wright, Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1920), p. 23.

[62]Ibid.

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Testaments for their Soul's Nourishment (1646),[63] a work which is also likely to have found its way into the hands of Somerby's students.

Yet, whatever books were studied in early Newbury, it is certain that they were selected because of their potential for teaching the basic tenets of the Puritan faith. Although the school was not controlled by the church, it was expected, nonetheless, that education would complement the church and the home by teaching an ideology consistent with the theology of the Puritan clergy. Prior to the establishment of formal educational institutions, learning had occurred in the home.[64] Perhaps largely for this reason, parents were ever watchful lest the school should fail to warrant their approval. Especially vigilant were the ministers and selectmen. Somerby apparently satisfied all of these groups, for he continued to teach for eight years, the third longest period of uninterrupted tenure in seventeenth century Newbury.

During Somerby's schoolmastership the town contributed to the financial support of Harvard College in addition to providing the funds necessary for the maintenance

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[63]James Truslow Adams, "John Cotton," Dictionary of American Biography, Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Vol. IV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), p. 462.

[64]Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England, op. cit., pp. 87-108.

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of elementary and secondary instruction at the local level. The town may have been especially interested in supporting the college because among its earliest settlers was the poet, Reverend Benjamin Woodbridge I, who, in 1642, had the honor of being the first to receive the Bachelor of Arts Degree from Harvard College.[65]

In addition, such notable seventeenth century Newbury families as Woodbridge, Rawson, Moody, Dummer, Noyes, Bayley, Gerrish, Sewall, Rolfe, Stevens, Clarke, Atkinson, Emery, Toppan, Webster, Brown, Greenleaf and Hale sent one or more of their sons to Harvard.[66] Since the classes of 1642 to 1699 included among their number 24 members of

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[65]John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1642-1658, Vol. I (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1873), pp. 20-27.

[66]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 350-359. Although Coffin erred in stating that Newbury families contributed 25, rather than the correct total of 24 graduates, his list remains a highly useful and thorough reference for some of the town's more notable scholars.

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these families,[67] Newbury averaged one graduate for every 2.38 years. Such data is suggestive of the adequacy with which the Newbury Latin Grammar School prepared boys for college as well as of the town's close association with Harvard. Surely, this relationship was an important factor in Newbury's willingness to help bear the financial burden of the college.

Despite the benefaction of John Harvard, whose contribution received far more attention than any of the numerous subsequent gratuities, the major financial responsibility for maintaining the college had to be shouldered by the Massachusetts Bay Colony.[68] To this end, a rather curious variety of means was devised for raising revenue. Among these were the "country's gift," the Charlestown Ferry rent, the Weld-Peter Mission, the Lady Mowlson

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[67]John Langdon Sibley, op. cit., pp. 20-25, 359-360, 367-380, 471-475; John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1659-1677, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1881), pp. 45-50, 50-52, 155-158, 239-246, 291-299, 299-304, 345-364, 464-470; John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1678-1689, Vol. III (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1885), pp. 159-168, 310-315, 386-388 and Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1690-1700, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. IV (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933), pp. 39-41, 93, 99-101, 113-117, 286-287, 336-341, 356-365, 472-476, 476-478.

[68]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., pp. 219-223, 292-293.

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Scholarship, the college corn and college lands and annuities.[69] In addition, it was agreed on March 4, 1645 that each family in the colonies would give to the college one peck of corn or one shilling.[70] As a result of this action, Newbury contributed, from 1645 to 1653, one pound and ten shillings,[71] an amount which, despite its apparent insufficiency, was of some consequence when one considers the frontier conditions which then existed in northern Essex County. Rowley's contribution was a surprisingly large seven pounds, eight shillings and seven and one half pence, while the far more prosperous Salem provided nothing.[72]

Somerby continued as schoolmaster until May 18, 1647, when he was appointed town clerk at Newbury.[73] He was the third man to occupy the clerkship, the first being Reverend John Woodbridge II, who served previous to November 30, 1636 until November 19, 1638, and the second being Representative Edward Rawson I, who served from November 19, 1638 to May 18, 1647.[74] Both of Somerby's

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[69]Ibid., pp. 292-324.

[70]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 43.

[71]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 317.

[72]Ibid.

[73]John J. Currier, op. cit., p. 639.

[74]Ibid.

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predecessors were among the most important men in the Massachusetts Bay Colony[75] and the appointment of the schoolmaster to this position might well be regarded as an indication that he had attained a status of at least a fair amount of significance.

Somerby was an exemplary town clerk, compiling his records with extreme meticulousness. This is clearly seen through an examination of his books, which are now under the care of the selectmen and the present town clerk, Ralph P. Lowell.[76] Somerby's devotion to the task was undoubtedly accorded appreciation from a people highly conscientious in their preservation of historical records.

It was not until February 17, 1693 that the General Court ordered town clerks to record births, marriages and deaths.[77] This does not mean, however, that vital statistics were previously neglected, for on December 10, 1641, the Court ordered that:

> . . . in every town one shalbee apointed to grant sumons & attachments in all civill actions . . . for Neweberry Mr Lowle . . . to be called clarks of the writtes.[78]

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[75]Raymond P. Stearns, "John Woodbridge," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), pp. 481-482 and John Farmer, op. cit., p. 240.

[76]Letter from Ralph P. Lowell, Town Clerk of Newbury, Massachusetts, to Richard Edward Kelly, March 2, 1969.

[77]John J. Currier, op. cit., p. 639.

[78]Ibid.

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Six months later, on June 14, 1642, the Court extended its previous action by requiring that "clarks of the writtes" were to:

> . . . take expecial care to record all births & deaths or persons in their townes; . . . & for time past it is ordered they shall do their utmost indeavr to find out in their severall townes who hat bene borne & who hath died, since the first founding of their towns & to record the same as aforesaid.[79]

John Lowell I died on June 29, 1647 and on October 27, 1647, Somerby, who had been the town clerk for only five months, was also appointed by the Court to continue Lowell's recording of vital statistics.[80] In the Court's words:

> Anthony Sumersby to be clarke of the writs at Newbury & to record births, deaths & marriages in the place of John Lowle deceased.[81]

It was while he was serving as town clerk that Somerby aided the pro-Parker factions in the conflicts of 1669 and 1672.[82] It is highly likely that there existed a friendship or, at the very least, a feeling of mutual respect between Parker and the former schoolmaster. Whether this was or was not the case, however, the fact remains that on March 30, 1669, when the open conflict was in its infancy,

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[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 72-81.

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Somerby, Representative Henry Short I[83] and Richard Kent I[84] registered a deposition with the "honored court now sitting at Ipswich" against Representative Edward Woodman I, the town moderator and the principal leader of the factions opposing the aged minister:

> To the honored court now sitting at Ipswich, March thirtieth, 1669.
>
> We whose names are underwritten, for ourselves and others the inhabitants of Newbury, doe humbly present, though to our great grief, that Mr. Edward Woodman spake in a town assembly before strangers publiquely on March first, 1669, that Mr. John Woodbridge, was an intruder, brought in by craft and subtilty, and so kept in, notwithstanding he was voated out twice, which we know to be untrue, and look upon as scandalous. Also he said to Mr. Parker that he was an apostate and backslider from the truth, that he would set up a prelacy, and have more power than the pope, for the pope had his council of cardinals, that his practice or actings did not tend to peace or salvation, that he was the cause of all our contention and misery. That you are an apostate and backslider.
>
> Also he said to captain Gerrish that he was no lover of the truth, that his gray hairs would stand where captain Gerrish his bald pate would, all of which we humbly conceive tends not only to the reproach of the parties concerned, but to the great disturbance of our peace both civil and ecclesiastical, and therefore leave it to the serious consideration of this honored court for some suitable redress as they shall think meet.
>
> Richard Kent
> Henry Short
> Anthony Somerby
>
> Witnesses
> Nicholas Noyes
> Ensign John Knight
> Tristram Coffin
> Thomas Hale, senior
> Joseph Muzzey
> Nathaniel Clarke[85]

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[83]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 264.

[84]Ibid., p. 168.

[85]Richard Kent I, Henry Short I and Anthony Somerby I, quoted in, Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 74.

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On April 28, 1669, the three men, along with Representative William Gerrish I,[86] Richard Dole I[87] and Judge Tristram Coffin II,[88] sent another paper to Ipswich which further supported Parker and levelled specific charges against Woodman:

> To the honored court now sitting at Ipswich this twenty-eighth of April 1669.
>
> Whereas upon searching the court records we find a paper in the court beginning (this court having heard the complaynt and so forth) subscribed Samuel Symonds, William Hathorne, wherein are several things charged, as we apprehend illegally, on sundry among us, to our just grief, we desire the favour of the court to accept this our paper, as a short vindication of ourselves, till the opportunity shall be offered for our farther clearing.
>
> First, we look not on the paper as the determination or sentence of the court, which, had it been, we durst not in any measure have replyed, or contradicted.
>
> Second, nor did we think it any legal evidence towards the issue of the case, in which Mr. Woodman was presented for his miscarriage.
>
> Third, nor can we think it any legal charge to answer whereunto any persons were summoned, or made any answer to; or if it were a censure we know not that ever it was first examined, and indeed we know not what to make of it, but think it very hard to be in such a matter taxed before we were examined.
>
> Whether the said gentlemen were the authors of it or no we cannot tell, neither dare we affirm, yet finding such a paper wherein there is so great reproof by false accusation insinuated against divers amongst us, we intreat the court to accept our complaint, that we suppose ourselves illegally dealt with, seeing that our law assures us of this liberty among other, that no man's name shall be blasted, but by virtue or equity of some law established among us.
>
> We acknowledge that no man is mentioned by name; yet when any man is so decyphered, that any man, who

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[86]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 119.

[87]Ibid., p. 85.

[88]Ibid., p. 64.

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reads it, may easily ghesse who is intended there is lawful cognisance in law of such infamyes, unless the person shall publickly disown it, else how shall men be righted against infamous libels?

These things being premised we desire the liberty of freemen to put in our plea against such a paper of accusation as we find, with all due submission to the court.

First, we judge our case exceedingly prejudiced, that it is insinuated in the preamble, that the complaynt is betwixt some members of the church, as if the cause were merely ecclesiastical. We grant the persons interested on both sides to be such, yet the cause presented is civil and criminal, not arising from some difference of opinion about discipline, but a publick breach of the peace against the plain words, as well as the intention, of the laws, which breach of the peace and violation of the law, as freemen of this jurisdiction we present to the cognizance of authority, desiring the redress of so great an evil, which authority in other like cases hath taken notice of with just indignation.

Second, we humbly conceive, that if the words taken in themselves are highly offensive and scandalous the defendants' answer hath not made them to be good, though he may pretend they may arise from difference of opinion, for as we must not lie, neither must we slander, for God and his cause. His putting of a fayr glosse will never make good by words, which is evil by deeds, no more than a quaker pretending conscience for reviling.

Third, we humbly present this to consideration that whereas the presenters of the said Mr. Woodman did out of duty to God, his ministers and the law, bring the case to the trial of justice, that for the time to come such irregularities, which tended to mutiny, and tumult might be prevented. We humbly conceive the sentence of the said paper is such as that it takes off the blame from the person presented, is a fact evident enough, else we know not the meaning of those words, "we find the matter much altered," and loads the plaintiffs and others of the church, ministers, and people with far greater crimes than either Mr. Woodbridge hath done or ever justly could doe, yet can we not find in any of the testimonies any one that proves in matter of fact any of the conclusions, on which such a censure should be grounded. Somewhat it may be there fell from Mr. Woodman in his speech, which among other falsehoods by him charged on us, might give a hint of such a thing, yet we suppose such a speech is far too weak to

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infer such conclusions, as the paper seems to brand us with. Such as these.

First, it intimates that though a great or greater part of the church stand for the congregational way of church government and discipline, yet according as other churches doe enjoy it, as the way of God, they cannot, which in point of fact is utterly denied.

Second, that they have not their freedom to vote, or act, according to the word of God, or according as other churches, or as themselves heretofore had, which, if it were true, as the paper seems to accept it for a truth, were such a scandal, as justly deserved reproof and censure, for that they who do it would be accounted secrilegious robbers of the churches, yet we assure ourselves that none of the opposites dare affirm it, if being so notoriously and evidently false. Let any act within twenty years or upwards be produced of this nature, that hath been carried on without the churches' consent or the major part thereof. We can evidence that Mr. Parker hath been blamed for bringing things of too meane a nature to the churches examination, and strangers have taken notice of the over much liberty of some in church actings.

Third, we hope we have not deserved to be noted as a singular people contrary to the professed persuasion and practice of all the churches which we know not what the intimation of such a charge should aim at, but to raise an odium on us in the country when we are innocent of any such thing.

Fourth, then the alteration hath caused much difference and unquietness among those, which by the intimation lights on the plaintiffs, or ministers, who have made the alteration, which is as false as the rest, yet the difference in this case to be considered arises only from the manner of testifying the assent or dissent of the church, not from any substantial disagreement. Near thirty years since at a synod at Cambridge it was proposed, and it was consented unto by them, that if the ministers thought it most convenient to vote by speech and silence, rather than by lifting up the hand, they had nothing against it, seeing the one was a testimony of consent as well as the other, so this kind of voting began and continued in practice without difference or interruption for a good season. Afterwards when some difference arose at Newbury that there was need of a council, this among other things was put in, and in fine it was concluded and consented to by the people that things should be carried on in this manner without disturbance. A third time near six years since there being occasion

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> of a council at Newbury (in all which transactions Mr. Woodman was the chief instrument to oppose the minister) this among other differences came into discourse. The same conclusion was as before that things should be carried on in this way with love and peace, yet several times since and more strongly now at last, Mr. Woodman by violence of opposition hath made open protestation and resistance against it; and no disturbance or alteration hath been made but by them against a thing so long used and approved, and so we leave it to any impartial judgment to determine who is the cause of that alteration, which hath occasioned so much difference and unquietness, which though it be imputed to the plaintiffs, yet we suppose it rather to be to the unquiet and turbulent spirits of the opposites, and let any man judge whether this course only (for there is no other) be a sufficient cause of complaining of so great a burthen.
>
> William Gerrish Richard Kent
> Richard Dole Henry Short
> Tristram Coffin[89] Anthony Somerby

In addition to Somerby's individual leadership in the pro-Parker faction, his family represented a united force in the controversy. His son, Abiel Somerby I, had married Rebecca Knight, daughter of the prominent merchant-tailor, Deacon Richard Knight I.[90] Knight was also a leader of the pro-Parker faction,[91] as was his other son-in-law, John Kelly II, the husband of Sarah (Knight) Kelly.[92]

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[89]Richard Kent I, Henry Short I, Anthony Somerby I, William Gerrish I, Richard Dole I and Tristram Coffin II, quoted in, Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 76-78.

[90]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 171.

[91]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 76-78, 82-83, 85-86, 98-100.

[92]Ibid., pp. 85-86; Giles Merrill Kelly, op. cit., pp. 10-11 and Richard Edward Kelly, "The Kelly Family," op. cit., p. 135.

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Kelly was, to quote Giles Merrill Kelly, "uniformly on the side of his pastor."[93] Thus, the Knight-Somerby-Kelly coalition was established.

On two occasions in 1671, Abiel Somerby I swore to testimony on Parker's behalf:

> TESTIMONY OF ABIEL SOMERBY. December 19, 1670. In the school house Mr. Woodman expressing himself highly, Mr. Parker said, soft, sir, your ways are ungodly, you neglect publick worship and withdraw from the communion of the church. Mr. Woodman said Mr. P.'s ways were ungodly. After further discourse Mr. Woodman began to call for witness of what Mr. Parker said. I said, Mr. Woodman, you said Mr. P.'s ways were ungodly, and therefore it is but quid pro quo. Who is that that saith so, Biel? I answered, you, sir. He broke forth with a strange expression, the Lord help us, or the Lord have mercy on us. A man had need to have a care what he speaks before such men.
>
> Sworn to March twenty-eighth, 1671.[94]

> I Abiel Somerby was present when my father in law Richard Knight asked Mr. Woodman for the church book. Mr. Woodman said that he would not let it go till the church sends for it. My father Knight said that Mr. Parker and the church had voted that he should come to fetch it. Mr. Woodman answered I do utterly disown such a church. My father Knight said, is this your answer? Mr. Woodman said yes, that is my answer, only I think you do very sinfully to hold with such a church.
>
> Sworn to, April eighteenth, 1671.[95]

After the controversy subsided, Somerby spent his remaining years in relative quiet. His wife died at

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[93]Giles Merrill Kelly, op. cit., p. 11.

[94]Abiel Somerby I, quoted, Ibid., p. 97.

[95]Ibid., p. 98.

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Newbury on June 3, 1673.[96] The grandchildren, who continued to live in the Newbury area,[97] were, no doubt, a constant source of comfort during his elderly years.

On January 22, 1686, perhaps realizing that he was but clinging precariously to life, Somerby paused to write his will,[98] a document which illustrated clearly his religious faith:

> In the name of god, and with the assistance of his holy spirit, I Anthony Somerby of Newbury in the County of Essex Newe Ma being sencible of my own weaknes & mortality & perfect memory, doe make my last will & Testament, Commending my Soule into the hands of the blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ, and my body when it shall decease this fraile life to be buryed in the burying place of Newbury betweene my deare Relations my wife & son, In an assured hope of a blessed Resurrection, and for my worldly goods which god of his free mercy hath entrusted me with in this my pilgrimage I desire to dispose of as followeth . . .[99]

Among his properties were his house, barn, furniture, freehold on the Common, an orchard, numerous acres of pasture land, a salt marsh on Plum Island and another on Pine Island.[100] He left the bulk of his estate to his three

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[96]James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, Vol. IV (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1862), p. 140.

[97]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 318.

[98]William S. Appleton, op. cit., p. 4.

[99]Anthony Somerby I, quoted, Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[100]Ibid., p. 3.

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surviving grandsons, Representative Henry Somerby V, Captain Abiel Somerby II and Anthony Somerby II.[101] Smaller inheritances[102] went to his surviving granddaughters, Elizabeth (Somerby) Moody, the wife of Daniel Moody I, of Newbury; Abigail (Somerby) Greenleaf, the wife of Edmund Greenleaf II, of Newbury; and the unmarried Rebecca Somerby.[103] Other portions of Somerby's estate went to Newbury's fourth minister, Reverend John Richardson I, Elinar Davis and Representative Richard Bartlett II.[104] He alloted, in addition, "thirty shillings to the poore of Newbury."[105]

Only two months after writing his will, Somerby's health prevented his carrying out the duties of the town clerkship and in March, 1686, he resigned the position he had held for just short of four decades.[106] He was succeeded by Henry Short II, the town's fourth schoolmaster.[107]

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[101]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 318.

[102]Anthony Somerby I, quoted in, William S. Appleton, op. cit., p. 3.

[103]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 310, 304, 318.

[104]Anthony Somerby I, quoted in, William S. Appleton, op. cit., p. 3.

[105]Ibid.

[106]John J. Currier, op. cit., p. 639.

[107]Ibid.

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On July 31, 1686, death came to the "clark of ye Towne of Newbury."[108] According to his wishes, he was buried in Newbury's Oldtown Cemetery, his body being placed between those of his wife, Abigail Somerby, and his son, Abiel Somerby I.[109]

Despite his not having had a college education, Somerby made a substantial contribution to Newbury's intellectual life. For nearly half a century, he served ably as the first schoolmaster and as the third town clerk, both of which were positions of major import. Because he was the first schoolmaster, he was, in truth, the educational pioneer of Newbury.

On May 18, 1647, when Somerby became Newbury's third town clerk, the responsibility for educating the town's youth was assumed by Reverend James Noyes I, who had been teacher or assistant minister of the church since 1635. Noyes was the descendant of an old Norman family which had been "distinguished for influence and scholarship" since the Norman Conquest.[110] He was born in 1608 in Choulderton, Wiltshire, England, the son of Reverend William Noyes I and

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[108]The Essex Institute, Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. II (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1911), p. 725.

[109]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 318.

[110]Sarah Anna Emery, Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian (Newburyport, Massachusetts: William H. Huse and Company, 1879), p. 112.

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Anne (Stephens) Noyes, daughter of Nicholas Stephens, of Burdrop Manor, Wiltshire, England.[111]

In 1602, Reverend William Noyes I had been installed as rector of the diocese of Hants, England, a position which he held until 1621, when he resigned in favor of his son, Reverend Nathan Noyes I.[112] Both father and son had been granted degrees by Oxford University and both opposed what they contended to be the rebelliousness of the Nonconformists.[113] However, Reverend James Noyes I neither received a college degree nor was he in agreement with his father's attitudes towards Nonconformists. As Sumner Chilton Powell noted, it might well have been Reverend Thomas Parker, a cousin and close ministerial associate, who fanned Noyes' rebellious spirits.[114]

Reverend James Noyes I was admitted to Brasenose College, Oxford, on August 22, 1627 and he received grace

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[111]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1896), p. 165.

[112]James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, Vol. III (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1861), p. 296.

[113]Sumner Chilton Powell, Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 2-3.

[114]Ibid., p. 3.

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for his Bachelor of Arts Degree on May 7, 1629.[115] He appears not, however, to have taken the degree.[116] During the years immediately after his leaving Oxford, he undoubtedly preached and taught among the Puritans in Wiltshire and Berkshire, England. He was particularly active in the Free School at Newbury, where he assisted his above mentioned cousin, Reverend Thomas Parker.[117]

In March, 1634, shortly after his marriage to Sarah Brown, daughter of Joseph Brown of Southampton, England, Noyes sailed for the Massachusetts Bay Colony on the "Mary and John," accompanied by his wife, his younger brother, Nicholas Noyes I, and Reverend Thomas Parker.[118] The party of settlers spent their first year in New England at the newly established town of Ipswich, Massachusetts.[119] Yet, although Parker assisted Ipswich's noted minister, Reverend Nathaniel Ward,[120] Noyes left to help in the

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[115]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 392.

[116]Ibid.

[117]Ibid.

[118]James Savage, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 296.

[119]Eliza Adams Little and Lucretia Little Ilsley, eds., op. cit., p. 10.

[120]Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury," op. cit., p. 266.

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In 1635, nearby Watertown, Massachusetts, asked Noyes to accept the ministry of their church but he declined, at least partially because of his desire to reunite the Noyes and Parker families.[122] Returning to Ipswich, he was among the original party of settlers that established Newbury, Massachusetts, in the spring of 1635.[123] His brother, twenty-one year old Nicholas Noyes I, was, according to tradition, the first to leap ashore when the party arrived on the north bank of the Quascacunquen River.[124] Further particulars of the establishment of the town are found earlier in the present chapter.

At the time of Newbury's founding, Noyes was chosen teacher of the church and, to quote Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather, he "continued painful and successful in that station" until his death.[125] In addition to his preaching,

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[121]Frederic Lewis Weis, The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: The Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1936), p. 153.

[122]Henry E. Noyes and Harriette E. Noyes, Genealogical Record of Some of the Noyes Descendants of James, Nicholas and Peter Noyes, Vol. I (Boston: privately printed, 1904), p. 20.

[123]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 15.

[124]Ibid., p. 312 and Sarah Anna Emery, op. cit., p. 112.

[125]Cotton Mather, quoted in, Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 393.

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his prolific writings resulted in the completion of a number of published and unpublished works. Although only one of Noyes' published works did not appear posthumously, he was almost as widely read as his more noted colleague, Reverend Thomas Parker.[126]

In 1641, the Massachusetts General Court expressed its desire that "the elders would make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion."[127] Between 1641 and 1684, numerous clergymen throughout Massachusetts Bay prepared one or more catechisms in compliance with this expressed need.[128] In addition to Noyes, the other Puritan divines who labored in this endeavor included Reverend John Davenport I, Reverend Thomas Shepard I, Reverend John Cotton I, Reverend John Eliot I, Reverend Richard Mather, Reverend Dr. John Fiske I, Reverend John Norton I, Reverend Seaborn Cotton, Reverend James Fitch I and Reverend Samuel Stone.[129]

Joshua Coffin appears to have been convinced that Noyes completed his published catechism shortly after the

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[126]E. Vale Smith, op. cit., p. 59.

[127]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 33.

[128]Paul Leicester Ford, The New-England Primer: A History of its Origins and Development (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1897), p. 10.

[129]Ibid. and John Farmer, op. cit., pp. 78-79, 262-263, 69-70, 94, 191, 106, 207, 70, 107, 276-277.

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1641 request.[130] Charles Evans concluded, however, that A Short Catechism was not published until it appeared posthumously in 1661.[131] The writer contends that Evans' assessment of the publication date is, in all probability, correct and that the Noyes work was written gradually between 1647 and 1656, during which time Noyes served as schoolmaster. At least one copy of the first edition has survived and the work continued to be published as late as 1797.[132] It consists of sixteen pages of questions and answers, all of which were intended to explain the Puritan faith to children. Typical of the questions and answers are the following:

> Quest. How do the Scriptures prove themselves to be true?
> Answ. By the holiness of the matter, by the majesty of the style, by the accomplishment of the Prophesies, by the efficacy of their power on the hearts of men, besides the holy Ghost beareth witness, helping us to discern the truth of them. — Joh. 7.46. Joh. 14. 20. 1 Joh. 2, 20.

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[130] Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 33.

[131] Charles Evans, American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America From the Genesis of Printing in 1639 Down to and Including the Year 1820, Vol. I (Chicago: The Berkely Press, 1903), p. 14.

[132] James Noyes I, A Short Catechism Composed by Mr. James Noyes, Late Teacher of the Church of Christ in Newbury, in New England, For the Use of the Children There (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Samuel Green, 1661; reprinted, Newburyport, Massachusetts: Barrett and Marsh, 1797).

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Quest. What is the sum of the Scriptures? 2 Tim. 2. 16,17.
Ans. A Doctrine of a godly life.

Qu. Wherein consists a godly life? Rom. 16, 26.
A. In the obedience of Faith.

Q. What is Faith? Rom. 10.9. 1 Joh. 5.1. Joh. 17.2. Act. 8.37. Joh. 6,40. 1 Joh. 4,15. & 3.6.
A. Faith is an effectual assent to the Doctrine of the Scriptures, especially concerning the Grace of God in Christ.

Q. What doth the Scripture reveal concerning God?
A. His Nature, and his Acts.

Q. What is revealed concerning his Nature?
A. His Essence, and his Persons.

Q. How is the Essence of God made manifest?
A. By his Names, and Attributes.

Q. What are his Attributes?
A. His Independency, Unity, Immutability, Eternity, Infiniteness, Omnipresence, Omnipotency, Wisdom, Omnisciency, Holiness, Blessedness, Soveraignty, Goodness, Mercy, Meekness, Clemency, Justice and Verity.

Q. How many Persons are there in the Godhead? 1 Joh. 5.7. Mat. 28.19 2 Cor. 13. 14. Joh. 1.1. Act. 5. 3,4 1 Cor. 8.6.
A. Three, Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost; and every one of these is God, and yet there is but One God.

Q. How many fold are the acts of God?
A. Twofold, eternal and temporal.

Q. What are the eternal acts of God?
A. His Decrees.

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Q. How many fold are his Decrees?
A. Twofold, general and particular.

Q. What is the general Decree of God?
A. An eternal act of God whereby he did determine to make the World, and dispose of all things therein.

Q. What are the particular Decrees of God?
A. Election and Reprobation.

Q. What is Election?
A. An eternal act of God, whereby he did determine to glorifie himself in saving a certain number of persons through Faith in Christ. Eph. 1,4, 5,6.

Q. What is Reprobation?
A. An eternal act of God, whereby he did determine to glorifie himself in condemning a certain number of persons for their sins. Rom. 9.22 1 Pet. 2,8 Jude 4.

Q. What are the Temporal acts of God?
A. Creation, Preservation and Government.

Q. How many-fold is his Government?
A. Twofold: general and special.

Q. What is the general Government? Matth. 10.
A. A temporal act of God, whereby he doth dispose of all creatures according to a general Providence. 29,30 Acts 17. 28.

Q. What is the special Government of God?
A. A temporal act of God whereby he doth dispose of the reasonable creature according to a special Covenant. Jer. 31 31,32.

Q. How many Covenants hath God made with man?
A. Two: The Covenant of the Law, and the Covenant of the Gospel. Gal. 3. 11,12.

Q. What is the Covenant of the Law?
A. A promise of Life on perfect and personal Obedience.

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Q. What is the Covenant of the Gospel?
A. A promise of Life upon Faith in Christ. Mark 16. 16.

Q. What is the Occasion of the Covenant of the Gospel?
A. ADAMS Sin. Rom. 5.17

Q. What is Sin?
A. A breach of Gods Law. 1 Joh. 3.4

Q. How many kinds of Sin are there?
A. Two: Original and Actual.[133]

Noyes' two other publications, both of which appeared earlier than A Short Catechism, were concerned with church government. Published in 1647 was The Temple measured,[134] which presented arguments for strong ecclesiastical rights, as opposed to those of the congregation. In this same work, Noyes contended that there existed a universal, i.e., catholic church, in which all true Christians were united.[135]

Noyes' 1647 work evoked the negative response of John Ellis, Vindiciae Catholicae, or the rights of particular

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[133]Ibid. (1661), pp. 3-7.

[134]James Noyes I, The Temple measured: Or, A brief Survey of the Temple mystical, Which is the Instituted Church of Christ, Wherein are solidly and modestly discussed, Most of the material Questions touching the Constitution and Government of the Visible Church Militant here on Earth (London: Edmund Paxton, 1647).

[135]Ibid.

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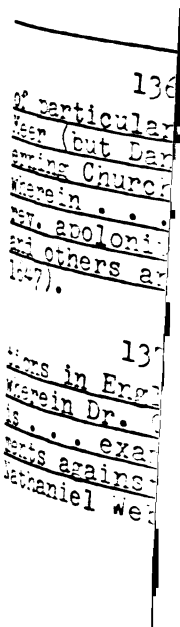

Churches rescued (1647).[136] Yet, even though Ellis was extremely critical of Noyes' arguments and went so far as to conclude that the Newbury teacher's positions were "examined and dissolved," Noyes offered no arguments in rebuttal. Neither did he respond to extensive references in Giles Firmin, Of Schism, parochial Congregations in England, and Ordination by Imposition of Hands (1658).[137]

Since Noyes did not seek publication for his writings after 1647, his manuscripts achieved widespread notice only because Reverend Thomas Parker sought to have them printed. It is altogether likely that the adverse response to The Temple measured quenched Noyes' desire to see his name in print. As is suggested in the following chapter, Parker could not so easily be shaken from his course.

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[136]John Ellis, Vindiciae Catholicae, or the rights of particular Churches rescued: and asserted against that Meer (but Dangerous) notion of one Catholick, Visible, Governing Church: the foundation of the . . . presbyterie: wherein . . . all the arguments for it, produced by the rev. apolonius, M Hudson, Mr Noyes, the London Ministers, and others are examined and dissolved (London: Henry Overton, 1647).

[137]Giles Firmin, Of Schism, Parochial Congregations in England, and Ordination by Imposition of Hands; wherein Dr. Owen's discovery of the true nature of schism is . . . examined, together with Mr. Noyes . . . his arguments against imposition of hands in ordination (London: Nathaniel Webb and William Grantham, 1658).

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Published posthumously was Moses and Aaron (1661),[138] in which Noyes considered the rights of the church and state in Puritan Massachusetts Bay. Herein, he presented the position that both lay and ecclesiastical influences were necessary for the establishment of a Christian state which would enable Christ's followers to live in a world of evil doers, a dilemma with which Governor John Winthrop also grappled.[139] Since both church and state were entrusted with helping to bring about a model society, Noyes argued that serious difficulties should not arise over questions of authority.

From 1635 to 1646, Noyes lived with his family on the west side of the Lower Green on the bank of what later became the Parker River.[140] It was here that he began work on the three above mentioned publications. In 1646, however, he built a house on the Upper Green at what is now

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[138]James Noyes I, Moses and Aaron: Or, The Rights of Church and State: Containing two Disputations. The former concerning the Church, in which are examined the principles of Separation, and their inconsistency with truth and peace demonstrated: and the Government of the Church vindicated into the hands of the proper Rulers. The Latter asserts the sacrednesse of persons and authority of Kings against Sacrilegious usurpation and King-killing. (London: Edmund Paxton, 1661).

[139]Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop, The Library of American Biography, Oscar Handlin, ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958), p. 203.

[140]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., p. 14.

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10 Parker Street.[141] It was here that he spent the rest of his days, having within his household his wife and children as well as his unmarried cousin, Reverend Thomas Parker.[142] This two and one-half story structure, now owned by Mabel Hale, remains as one of the oldest houses in the United States.[143] Here were heard theological discussions between the two ministers and the clergymen of neighboring towns. Not unexpectedly, the house soon became a repository for printed and manuscript materials which were, both qualitatively and quantitatively, unequaled in early Newbury.

By the time the new house was completed, the Noyes family had increased to four sons and one daughter. Over a period of nineteen years, Noyes and his wife became the parents of nine children, all of whom were born in Newbury.[144]

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[141] Ibid., p. 165.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Letter from Constance (Kelly) Law, of West Newbury, Massachusetts, to Richard Edward Kelly, October 20, 1970 and Fowle's News Company, The Early History of Newburyport, Massachusetts: Which is intended to delineate and describe some quaint and historic places in Newburyport and vicinity (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Fowle's News Company, 1926), p. 15.

[144] Henry E. Noyes and Harriette E. Noyes, Genealogical Record of Some of the Noyes Descendants of James, Nicholas and Peter Noyes, Vol. II (Boston: privately printed, 1904), pp. 42-43. The children were Joseph I, born October 15, 1637; James II, born March 11, 1640; Sarah, born August 12, 1641, died February 21, 1653; Moses I, born December 16, 1643; John I, born June 3, 1645; Thomas I, born August 10, 1648; Rebecca, born April 1, 1651; William II, born September 22, 1653; and Sarah, born March 21, 1656.

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Noyes' schoolmastership remains the most obscure period of Newbury's educational history. It is unknown, for example, why the town did not look outside the ranks of the immediate church leadership for a successor to Somerby. Community financial difficulties might have led to Noyes' offering to assume the responsibilities of the schoolmastership. If he did make this gesture, however, it is surprising that he did not do so in the interval between the settling of the town in 1635 and the appointment of Somerby in 1639. Nonetheless, since Newbury did not hire a schoolmaster in 1647, when Somerby resigned, it was natural for the duties of teaching to be assumed by Noyes, the church's teacher or assistant minister.

It is known that the school did not cease operations after 1647, as is indicated by a boy's death. On December 6, 1648, while on his way to school, twelve year old Thomas Smith II, evidently studying Latin grammar at the secondary level, drowned in the pond of Anthony Morse I.[145] Since Parker had not yet launched his famed school, the unfortunate boy was, in all probability, a student of Noyes.

For both primary and secondary schools, a major emphasis was placed upon the tenets of the Puritan faith, it being thought that "Independency," no less than "Papacy"

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[145]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 50 and Sarah Anna Emery, op. cit., p. 119.

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and "Episcopacy" were subversive to the Puritan endeavor.[146] Since the school was seen as a supportive institution for the church, strict morality and obedience were demanded,[147] especially, we may be sure, since Noyes served simultaneously as assistant minister and schoolmaster.

During Noyes' schoolmastership, two buildings were constructed which significantly affected the church and school. In 1642, a majority of the settlers moved from the Lower Green northward to the Upper Green.[148] At this time:

> There was granted unto Mr. James Noyes that four acres of land upon the hill by the little pine swamp, which was marked to sett the meeting house . . .[149]

As noted earlier, Noyes proceeded thereafter in the construction of his new house, the dwelling being finished in 1646.

As a result of the moving of the town, there soon developed a heated controversy over where the meetinghouse was to be located.[150] The first meetinghouse stood, in all likelihood, on or near the Lower Green on three acres of

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[146]Paul Leicester Ford, op. cit., p. 3.

[147]Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy (New York: American Book Company, 1939), pp. 37-41.

[148]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

[149]Ibid., p. 37.

[150]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 314.

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land, afterwards sold to John Emery I, and from which twenty rods were reserved "for a burying place, as it is bounded with stakes with a way to it from the street."[151] If this was not the exact location of the meetinghouse, it was most assuredly in this general area. Naturally, those who remained at the Lower Green were opposed to the meetinghouse being moved and those who had relocated favored the action.

As a compromise between Newbury's Lower Green and Upper Green sections, it was ordered that on or before October 20, 1647, the old meetinghouse was to be taken down and a new one erected "in or upon a knowle of upland by Abraham Toppans barne."[152] This structure stood until the spring of 1661, when a more commodious building was completed.[153] Noyes conducted many sessions of the school in the second meetinghouse and, occasionally, in various homes, including, probably, his own.[154]

Several years after the completion of the second meetinghouse, however, facilities for the school were given greater consideration, as is clear from the following vote,

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[151]Ibid., p. 313.

[152]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., p. 93.

[153]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 315.

[154]Ibid., p. 395.

entered in the town records on November 29, 1652:

> There was voted by the major part of the towne that there should be a convenient house built for a schoole.
>
> There was also voted that there should be twenty pounds a yeare allowed for to maintain a school master out of the towne rate.
>
> There was also voted that Mr. Woodman, Richard Kent, junior, lieutenant Pike and Nicholas Noyes should be a committee for the managing the business of the schoole.[155]

This legislation was greatly extended by the resolution passed on May 14, 1653 at the general town meeting, at which time it was ordered that in the interest of public education:

> . . . the towne should by an equall proportion according to mens estates by way of rates pay foure and twenty pounds by the yeare to maintain a free schoole to be kept at the meeting house & the master to teach all such inhabitants children as shall be sent to him so soon as they know their letters & begin to read.[156]

Yet, it should be noted that when the final vote was cast, seventeen persons "desired to have their dissents recorded."[157] Financial support continued to be given to higher education and in 1653 the town donated fifteen pounds to Harvard College, a vast increase over previously allocated funds.[158]

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[155]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 56.

[156]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 395-396.

[157]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 57.

[158]Ibid., p. 58.

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After nine years of devoting much of his attention to the school, Noyes departed this life. According to his gravestone in Newbury's Oldtown Cemetery, he breathed his last on October 22, 1656.[159] In the preface to Noyes' Moses and Aaron (1661), Reverend Thomas Parker wrote the following regarding the life and death of his cousin and fellow laborer in the work of the gospel:

> The Author Mr James Noyes (my worthy collegue in the ministry of the Gospel here) was a man of Singular qualifications, in piety excelling, an implacable enemy to all herisie and schism, and a most able warrior against the same . . . He was couragious in danger and still was apt to believe the best, and made faire weather in a storm. He was much honoured and esteemed in the Countrey, and his death was much bewailed. I think he may be reckoned among the greatest worthies of this age. Upon the rising of our late usurpers, and the beheading of our most gracious and most excellent King Charles the Second (whom God preserve) he fell into such a depth of sadness and sorrow of heart that it hastened his death as was believed. So he died in the 48th year of his age Octob. 22, 1656 . . .[160]

In scholarship, Noyes was judged to have been second only to Parker, whom he "ably aided . . . in the preparation of many students for Harvard."[161] Although he was somewhat more thorough in discipline than some of the

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[159]The Essex Institute, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 674.

[160]Thomas Parker, "To the Reader," in James Noyes I, Moses and Aaron, op. cit., p. ii.

[161]Robert Noxon Toppan, Brief Biographical Sketches: Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Newbury (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1885), p. 13.

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early settlers desired, Noyes retained their respect and admiration, largely because of his scholarship and his devotion to the Puritan ideal.[162] Because of his early death, he was spared the intense church controversy of 1669 to 1672,[163] but had he lived, there is no doubt that, with Parker, he would have been criticized by a considerable number of townspeople. As Noyes wrote in The Temple measured (1647), he agreed with Parker that the strong ministerial control of the Presbyterians was preferable to the more democratic leanings of the Congregationalists. A brief excerpt from this work will suffice to demonstrate Noyes' theological position on the matter. In his use of the word "church," he was indicating the members of the Newbury church:

> The church is to be carried, not to carry; to obey, not to command; to be subject, not to govern . . . if all members, young and old, children and men, if thousands together must judge and govern upon conscience together with the presbytery, first, it must needs interrupt the work. Second, it is work enough, a double labour for the elders to instruct the church how to judge. There is more time spent in informing the church, than in determining the case. Must elders hold the hands of the common members (as the master teacheth scholars to write) and act only by them? Third, pride is an epidemical disease in a democratical government. Who is sufficient to hold the reins of authority? Where there are no standing magistrates in the commonwealth, and in the church, no governors at all, the offspring is like to be an Ichabod. Fourth, confusion and disorder are inevitable. Turba ruunt. The church ought to be a

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[162]Henry E. Noyes and Harriette E. Noyes, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 21.

[163]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 72-112.

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> pattern of punctual order. A democracie is called by Plato, nundines popularies. Fifth, as a church must needs be too long a doing by so many, when it is easy, it is difficult. Some are conscientious and scrupulous, others unreasonable, ignorant, youthful. This is a paidocracy as well as a democracy. The seat of government is the seat of wisdom.[164]

It need hardly be added that the "seat of wisdom" in Newbury was occupied by none other than Noyes and Parker.

On October 17, 1656, five days before his death, Noyes wrote a brief will in which he gave all of his property to his wife and children, the sole stipulation being that his widow must not remarry.[165] If she obtained another husband, her portion of the estate would pass to Reverend Thomas Parker, Representative Nicholas Noyes I and Captain William Gerrish I.[166]

The will was proven on November 21, 1656 and on November 26, 1656 and the inventory was taken by Deacon Richard Knight I, Anthony Somerby I and Captain Benjamin Swett I.[167] As a result of the inventory, the Noyes estate was valued at 657 pounds, 11 shillings and 4 pence.[168]

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[164]James Noyes I, quoted, Ibid., pp. 72-73.

[165]James Noyes I, quoted in, The Essex Institute, The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664, Vol. I (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1916), p. 245.

[166]Ibid.

[167]Ibid., p. 246.

[168]Ibid., p. 247.

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Noyes' devotion to books is indicated by the fact that his library was appraised at 30 pounds, whereas his house and seven adjoining acres were appraised at the comparatively small 100 pounds.[169] Noyes' widow, complying with her husband's wishes, did not remarry. She was evidently a frugal woman, for when she died at Newbury on September 13, 1691, the estate had increased in valuation to 1008 pounds.[170]

In the next generation, Noyes' sons played leading roles in New England's religious and civil affairs. Reverend James Noyes II, who graduated from Harvard College in 1659, was the Congregational minister at Stonington, Connecticut, from 1664 until December 30, 1719 when, after over fifty-five years of service, he departed this life.[171] He was in the unique position of being a trusted friend of both the Pequots and the Niantics.[172] Another son, Reverend Moses Noyes I, also a 1659 graduate of Harvard College, lived to the age of eighty-three years, sixty of which

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[169] Ibid., pp. 146-147.

[170] John Farmer, op. cit., p. 208 and James Atkins Noyes, "Noyes Inscriptions and Memoranda," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XLVIII, No. 1 (January, 1894), p. 19.

[171] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 45-50.

[172] Douglas Edward Leach, Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1958), p. 146.

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were spent as the Congregational minister of Lyme, Connecticut.[173]

Colonel Thomas Noyes I, another son, took part in a number of military campaigns.[174] In addition, he held the position of magistrate and represented Newbury in the General Court in 1689, 1690 and 1692.[175] Still another son, Sergeant John Noyes I, moved to Boston where, in 1675, he became a freeman.[176] Here, he served with distinction as a member of the famed Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.[177] Noyes' daughter, Rebecca Noyes, the wife of Reverend John Hale I, of Beverly, Massachusetts, received some undesired attention when she was charged with witchcraft during the Salem mania of 1692.[178]

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[173]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 50-52.

[174]Henry E. Noyes and Harriette E. Noyes, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 176-180.

[175]Ibid.

[176]Ibid., p. 172.

[177]Oliver Ayer Roberts, History of The Military Company of the Massachusetts, Now Called The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts. 1637-1888., Vol. I (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1895), pp. 242, 249, 314, 319.

[178]Henry E. Noyes and Harriette E. Noyes, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 43; John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 517 and Marion L. Starkey, The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials (New York: Time Incorporated, 1963), pp. 223-224, 233.

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In an assessment of Noyes' life, it would appear that if a single personality flaw were focused upon, it would probably be that he was somewhat overawed by the intellectual prowess of his elder cousin. Noyes had ample opportunity to accept pulpits in towns other than Newbury. Consequently, he was not forced, at least by external conditions, to live his life under Parker's dominant shadow. Nonetheless, as Newbury's second schoolmaster and first assistant minister, Noyes was responsible for rendering invaluable intellectual strength in both teaching and preaching during the first twenty-one years of the town's existence. To view him as having been of less than major consequence in Newbury's early history would be to commit a serious error in judgment.

Indeed, Somerby and Noyes were unquestionably indispensable in Newbury's initial educational efforts. From 1639 to 1656, they devoted uncounted hours to the instruction of the town's youth and established the precedent for the continuance of the school. It is noteworthy that both men, but more especially the latter, were considered by their contemporaries to be leaders of the community. Status came, however, not solely from teaching, but from the town clerkship in the case of Somerby and from the assistant ministry in the case of Noyes. Thus, the schoolmastership, while not an independent position, was regarded as part-time employment suitable for those of above average intellectual

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Perhaps most significant is the fact that Newbury had established and maintained its school even before the passage of the Massachusetts Bay Colony's 1642 and 1647 educational laws. To have done so in the face of the wilderness of Puritan New England is an indication of the esteem with which learning was held. Clearly, Newbury's impressive initial educational efforts rested largely upon the labors of Somerby and Noyes. Yet, behind them stood the impressive figure of Reverend Thomas Parker, who led the founding of the town, served as minister and fondly overlooked the early development of the school.

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CHAPTER III

REVEREND THOMAS PARKER: FOUNDER AND PATRIARCH, 1656-1675

Newbury's third schoolmaster, Reverend Thomas Parker, was, without doubt, the town's true founder and patriarch. Chronologically speaking, it is indeed surprising that he should have been the third, rather than the first schoolmaster. Yet, as shown in the preceeding chapter, he was most thoroughly engrossed in the care of the church during the period in which Anthony Somerby I and Reverend James Noyes I served as schoolmasters. Only with the death of Noyes in 1656, followed by the town's failure to employ another assistant minister or teacher, did Parker, being a firm believer in the value of education, consent to conduct the famous free school.

As we have seen in Chapter II, Parker was the leader of the group which founded Newbury in the spring of 1635.[1] From that year until 1675, when he achieved octogenarian status, he held a firm hand upon Newbury's ecclesiastical and secular affairs. He was, in short,

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[1]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845), pp. 14-15.

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the most significant personal force in the early cultural and intellectual life of the town.

Parker was born on June 8, 1595, at Stanton St. Bernard, Wiltshire, England, the son of Reverend Robert Parker and his wife, Dorothy (Stephens) Parker, the daughter of Nicholas Stephens, of Burdrop Manor, Wiltshire, England.[2] Reverend Robert Parker, one of the leading Nonconformist Protestants, was a colleague of such early Congregationalist leaders as Reverend Dr. William Ames, Reverend Paul Baynes, Reverend William Bradshaw and Reverend Arthur Hildersham.[3] He was born circa 1564 and received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1582 and his Master of Arts Degree in 1587 from Magdalen College, Oxford.[4]

Despite his Puritan learnings, however, he enjoyed great favor among the more influential men in the hierarchy of the Episcopal Church. Among his honors was the holding of a fellowship at Magdalen College, Oxford.[5]

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[2]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1896), p. 165.

[3]John Cotton, The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared: In two Treatises (London: John Bellamie, 1648), pp. 13, 20.

[4]W.A. Shaw, "Robert Parker," The Dictionary of National Biography, Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., Vol. XV (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917), p. 269.

[5]Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, Vol. XXVIII (April, 1932), p. 261.

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In 1591, the Bishop of Winchester presented Parker to the church of Putney, Wiltshire, and prior to this time the Earl of Pembroke had given him the living of the Hospital of St. Nicholas at Salisbury, England.[6] He relinquished these positions in 1593, upon being presented to the church of St. Mary of Wiltshire, with the chapel of Balbridge annexed.[7] The following year, Queen Elizabeth I gave him the living of Stanton St. Bernard where, in 1604, he appointed his own vicar.[8] It was while holding the living of this parish that his only son, Reverend Thomas Parker, was born.

Despite a degree of success, however, Reverend Robert Parker's religious affinity for the Puritan elements within the Church of England could not but result in some rather serious difficulties with many of his more traditional parishioners and colleagues. As early as 1591, for example, there had arisen complaints about his criticism of some tenets of the Episcopal Church.[9] At length, in 1607, fearing prosecution before the Court of High Commission on the charge of nonconformity, Parker fled to Leyden,

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[6]Augustus G. Parker, Parker in America, 1630-1910 (Buffalo: Niagara Frontier Publishing Company, 1911), p. 41.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]W.A. Shaw, op. cit., p. 269.

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Holland.[10] One of Parker's most controversial books, A Scholasticall Discovrse Against Symbolizing With Antichrist in Ceremonies (1607),[11] was a major factor in heightening the persecutions by those who were repulsed by his Puritan learnings.

In 1614, having spent seven years in the Netherlands and having been formally censored by the Episcopal Church,[12] he died at Doesburg, Gelderland.[13] Yet, until the end of his days, he carried out the work of Christ according to the Puritan doctrine. We may well surmise that when he departed this life he comprehended that he had, in no small way, contributed to the articulation of the Nonconformist Protestant position.

In addition to his preaching, Reverend Robert Parker wrote a number of theological works which came to occupy positions of much respect among the Puritans of England and the colonies. Being well educated and holding the respect of his fellow Puritans, his impact upon theology was markedly powerful.[14] Published during his lifetime

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[10]Samuel Eliot Morison, op. cit., p. 262.

[11]Robert Parker, A Scholasticall Discovrse Against Symbolizing With Antichrist in Ceremonies: Especially in the Signe of the Crosse (Amsterdam: n.p., 1607).

[12]Augustus G. Parker, op. cit., p. 41.

[13]W.A. Shaw, op. cit., p. 270.

[14]Ibid., pp. 270-271.

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were the previously mentioned A Scholasticall Discovrse Against Symbolizing With Antichrist in Ceremonies (1607)[15] and De Descensu Domini Nostri Iesu Christi ad inferos (1611).[16] Published posthumously were De Politeia Ecclesiastica Christi et Hierarchine Opposita (1615),[17] An Exposition of the pouring out of the fourth Viall (1650)[18] and The Mystery of the Vialls Opened (1651).[19]

Reverend Thomas Parker was not one to disapprove of the manner in which his father had chosen to spend his life. That he should have been highly devoted to Puritanism was hardly surprising in view of the immediate influences of his father and his associates in the Church. An only son,

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[15]Robert Parker, op. cit.

[16]Robert Parker, De Descensu Nostri Iesu Christi ad inferos, Libri qvatvor, Ab auctore doctissimo, Hygone Sanfordo, coomfloris, anglo, inchoati, opera vero et studio Roberti Parkeri, ad umbilicum perducti, ac jam tandem in lucern editi. Cum duplici indice sectionum & rerum (Amsterdam: Aegis Thorp, 1611).

[17]Robert Parker, De Politeia Ecclesiastics Christi et Hierarchine Opposita, libri tres (Amsterdam: n.p., 1615).

[18]Robert Parker, An Exposition of the pouring out of the fourth Viall mentioned in the Sixteenth of Revelation, T. Gataker, ed. (London: Thomas Pierrepont, 1650).

[19]Robert Parker, The Mystery of the Vialls Opened: Being a short Exposition upon the pouring out of the four last Vialls, mentioned in the 16 Chapter of the Revelation: Wherein divers things relating to times present, past, and to come, are discovered: As the ruine of Antichrist, and the several degrees thereunto; And the shadowing out these times wherein we live, are generally surveyed. (London: John Sweeting, 1651).

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Parker was, in all likelihood, the center of many of his parents' activities in the home.

In addition to thorough study under his father's tutelage, Reverend Thomas Parker received his grammar school education in the Netherlands, since he was but twelve years of age at the time his family moved to Leyden.[20] Emerging as a center of English Calvinism, the Netherlands served as a refuge for the Parkers and for many other families who were persecuted for their religious convictions. Yet, a benefit from having to leave his native England was that Parker enjoyed, as Samuel Eliot Morison contended, the most varied academic preparation of all the 130 known university educated men who settled in New England during the Great Puritan Migration.[21]

In 1610, at the age of fifteen, Parker matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin.[22] For two years, he was greatly influenced by the teaching of Reverend Dr. James Ussher, the future Archbishop of Armagh.[23] On April 23,

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[20]Samuel Eliot Morison, op. cit., p. 262.

[21]Ibid., p. 261.

[22]Samuel Eliot Morison, "Thomas Parker," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XIV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 241.

[23]Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury," op. cit., p. 262 and Alexander Gordon, "James Ussher," The Dictionary of National Biography, Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., Vol. XX (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917), pp. 64-72.

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1613, Parker matriculated at Oxford University, probably from Magdalen College.[24] That he did not long remain was, in all probability, the result of his holding to Puritanism in a university largely dominated by the Church of England.

Shortly after the death of his father in 1614, he was reunited with his mother when he enrolled at the University of Leyden.[25] Here, he studied under the influential Reverend Dr. William Ames, who had perhaps the most incisive, radical mind of any Cambridge Puritan and who strongly emphasized the moral code of the Bible, rather than the reliance upon nature or reason.[26] Ames' emphasis upon the Bibical moral code remained with Parker throughout his life.

Parker made still another move before completing his formal education. Friesland's University of Franeker had been established in 1585 and it continued to be a respected center of learning until it was closed by Napoleon

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[24]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 393.

[25]Who Was Who in America, Historical Volume, 1607-1896, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The A.N. Marquis Company, 1967), p. 466.

[26]Samuel Eliot Morison, "Thomas Parker," op. cit., p. 241; Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 95; Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954), p. 196 and James Bass Mullinger, "William Ames," The Dictionary of National Biography, Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., Vol. I (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917), pp. 355-357.

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in 1811.[27] Here, on April 1, 1617, Parker took his Master of Philosophy Degree, receiving it, to quote Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather, "with the general Applause of all, and the special Esteem of Maccovius."[28]

Johannes Makowsky, to use his proper name, was professor of theology and theoretic philosophy and had earlier played a prominent role in a controversy with a fellow Franeker professor, Sibradus Lubbertus. Not entirely unexpectedly, when Parker, Maccovius' student, presented his Theses Theologicae de traductione homines peccatoris ad vitam (1617),[29] Lubbertus, claiming that there were contained within the 1617 work no less than fifty errors, launched a bitter attack upon Parker.[30] The controversy, it seems, involved Parker only incidentally, the major debate centering upon differing opinions of Maccovius and Lubbertus. Parker's work was considered to have been

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[27]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., pp. 142-143 and Elizabeth Porter Gould, Ezekiel Cheever, Schoolmaster (Boston: The Palmer Company, 1904), p. 59.

[28]Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New-England, From its First Planting in the Year 1620, Unto the Year of Our Lord 1698, Vol. III (London: T. Parkhurst, 1702), p. 144.

[29]Thomas Parker, Theses Theologicae de traductione homines peccatoris ad vitam, quas ad disputandum proponit Thomas Parkerus, Anglus (Friesland, Netherlands: University of Franeker, 1617).

[30]Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury," op. cit., p. 264.

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liberal enough to put him under suspicion of heresy, although, as a result of the defense of the highly respected Ames, the Council of Dort dismissed the charges of Lubbertus and his followers.[31]

The protracted controversy over Parker's theses might well have been a factor in his decision to return to England. By 1620, he had left the Netherlands and was teaching at the Grammar School in Newbury, England,[32] assisting Reverend Dr. William Twisse, the Congregational minister of the town.[33] He continued in this position for fourteen years, teaching a number of students, many of whom entered Oxford, Cambridge, or other universities in Ireland or the Netherlands.[34] During the early 1630s, Parker gained the assistance of his cousin and closest associate, Reverend James Noyes I, who, on May 7, 1629, had received grace for his Bachelor of Arts Degree at Brasenose College, Oxford.[35]

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Frederic Lewis Weis, The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1936), p. 158.

[33] Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury," op. cit., p. 265.

[34] Robert Noxon Toppan, Brief Historical Sketches: Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Newbury (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1885), p. 11.

[35] Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 392.

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Parker was both the spiritual and the secular leader of the group which left Newbury, England, during the Great Puritan Migration. Sailing from London on board the "Mary and John" in March, 1634, he arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, two months later.[36] Among Parker's fellow passengers on board the ship were a number of his Wiltshire friends and neighbors.[37] Distinguished for his classical and theological scholarship[38] and possessing a rather determined disposition, he in all probability felt at ease in the role of leader.

Shortly after dropping anchor in Boston, the brave emigrants journeyed northward to Ipswich.[39] Spending the next year in the newly settled town, Parker assisted the famous Ipswich minister, Reverend Nathaniel Ward, who is best remembered for his authorship of the 1641 Massachusetts Body of Liberties and for his most

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[36]Samuel Gardner Drake, "Passengers of the Mary and John, 1634," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. IX, No. 3 (July, 1855), pp. 265-268.

[37]John Coffin Jones Brown, "Newbury and the Bartlett Family," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XL, No. 2 (April, 1886), p. 194.

[38]Robert Noxon Toppan, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

[39]Eliza Adams Little and Lucretia Little Ilsley, eds., The First Parish, Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635-1935 (Newburyport, Massachusetts: News Printing Company, Inc., 1935), p. 10.

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noted book, The Simple Cobler of Aggawam (1647).[40] Although sentiment existed for Parker to remain in Ipswich, he decided to organize a new town several miles northward. As indicated in Chapter II, Parker was chosen minister at the time of Newbury's founding in the spring of 1635.

While living at Newbury, Parker wrote a number of books on Puritan theology and secular government. If he published anything between 1617 and 1644, however, it has long since been obliterated by the ravages of time. During this quarter of a century, he was involved almost totally with the Newbury Grammar School in Newbury, England, and with the establishment of Ipswich and Newbury in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1643, however, he regained an interest in theological writing through his attendance at the Church Synod at Cambridge, Massachusetts.[41] It was here that he argued vehemently for the Presbyterian, as opposed to the Congregational form of church government.[42] That is to say, he favored a stronger form of control by

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[40]Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury," op. cit., p. 266 and Edward H. Dewey, "Nathaniel Ward," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XIX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), pp. 433-434.

[41]John Gorham Palfrey, History of New England, Vol. II (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1865), pp. 171-172 and Perry Miller, Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), pp. 276-277.

[42]Ibid.

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the minister than the Congregational organization of churches generally provided for.

In part, this contention might well have been fostered by Parker's realization that his strict control of the Newbury Church was leading to mounting criticism.[43] In the words of his cousin's son, Reverend Nicholas Noyes II, Parker in "no ways approved of a governing vote in the fraternity, but took their consent in a silential way."[44] Illustrative of Parker's determination is his response to a criticism put forth by some of the members of his church. He returned only questions to their queries and, instead of using English, he spoke in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, to which his critics successively replied.[45] Undaunted, he resorted to Arabic and, since the parishioners were unable to comprehend what he was saying, he summarily refused to be judged by any but his equals.[46]

At the New England Church synod of 1662, Parker again argued a strong case for the limitation of lay influence in the church.[47] He appears to have remained convinced

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[43]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 44.

[44]Nicholas Noyes II, quoted, Ibid., p. 73.

[45]E. Vale Smith, The History of Newburyport: From the Earliest Settlement of the Country to the Present Time. With a Biographical Appendix. (Boston: Damrell and Moore, 1854), p. 58.

[46]Ibid.

[47]John Gorham Palfrey, op. cit., pp. 171-172.

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that this was essential for restraining dangerous democratic tendencies of the laity as well as for merely keeping order in the churches.[48] In this belief, Parker was not alone among the shepherds of the Puritan flock, for even those who chose to associate themselves with Congregational church government often had serious reservations about the wisdom of extending lay influence.

One such shepherd, Reverend John Cotton, the famed teacher of Boston's First Church, was in agreement with the majority of his brethren[49] when he wrote, "Democracy I do not conveyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government either for church or commonwealth."[50]

When one considers the English origins of seventeenth century New England thought, the desire of many leaders to limit the extensiveness of democratic leanings is quite easily understood. Of crucial significance was

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[48]Samuel Eliot Morison, "Thomas Parker," op. cit., p. 242.

[49]Larzer Ziff, The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962); Everett H. Emerson, John Cotton (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1965) and Larzer Ziff, ed., John Cotton on the Churches of New England, The John Harvard Library, Bernard Bailyn, ed.-in-chief (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968).

[50]John Cotton, "Copy of a Letter from Mr. Cotton to Lord Say and Seal in the Year 1636," in Thomas Hutchinson, The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay, Lawrence Shaw Mayo, ed., Vol. I (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 415.

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the fact that transmitting society to the barren frontiers of Puritan New England could be accomplished only through great sacrifice. The Puritan fathers tended, then, to give special attention to the essentials of the English background.

Thus, education, as Max Savelle concluded, continued to be regarded as one of the traditional means by which society was to be perpetuated.[51] During the seventeenth century, this belief continued to be supported. Particularly strong in their support was the clergy, who were in a position to suffer greatly from any inroads made by those referred to as "common men."[52] Largely for this reason, maintained Leonard Woods Labaree, orthodox Congregationalists, royal officials, planter aristocrats, seaport merchants, Anglican clergymen and Revolutionary Loyalists, different as they were, came to constitute the strongest elements opposing the democratizing tendencies of the colonies.[53]

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[51]Max Savelle, The Colonial Origins of American Thought (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 72-73.

[52]Ibid., pp. 77-79 and Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), pp. 20-28.

[53]Leonard Woods Labaree, Conservatism in Early American History (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1948), pp. vi-viii.

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There can be little doubt that had Parker lived to see the eighteenth century, he would have sided with these conservative forces, rather than with the counter movements which favored both the Great Awakening and the enlargement of the political and secular franchise.[54] Indicative of Parker's conservatism is his departure from the opinions of many of his Puritan brethren by firmly denouncing the Cromwellian Puritans who beheaded King Charles I.[55] Indeed, in his dedication of Reverend James Noyes I's work, Moses and Aaron (1661), he saw fit to celebrate the cause of the restored Stuart monarch, King Charles II.[56] The King had been but recently proclaimed on May 8, 1660[57] and less than three months later Parker lauded the Roman Catholic sympathizer with the following words:

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[54]Ibid., pp. 76-89, 101-105, 140-142.

[55]Thomas Parker, "To the Reader," in James Noyes I, Moses and Aaron: Or, The Rights of Church and State; Containing two Disputations. The former concerning the Church, in which are examined the principles of Separation, and their inconsistency with truth and peace demonstrated: and the Government of the Church vindicated into the hands of her proper Rulers. The latter asserts the sacrednesse of the persons and authority of Kings against Sacrilegious usurpation and King-killing. (London: Edmund Paxton, 1661), p. 2.

[56]Thomas Parker, "Dedication," Ibid., p. 3.

[57]William L. Langer, ed., An Encyclopedia of World History: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Chronologically Arranged, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), p. 461.

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To the most HIGH and MIGHTY PRINCE CHARLES the second, by the Grace of God KING of great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Now as touching this work that followeth, I have presumed to dedicate the same to your Royal Majesty, because the matter of it pertaineth to your consideration and because of the singular joy and hopes I have of your ascending into the Throne, and because the Author was a special lover of your Royal Father (of blessed memory) and of your majesty, the fall of whom stuck so close and neer unto him and wrought in him so deep sorrow and affliction, that it is thought to have been the principal cause of his death. Let your Majesties Gracious acceptation Countenance the work . . .

Now the God of all Grace and Mercy, who hath raised up your Majesty into the Throne of Royal Government . . . confirm and establish you upon your Throne, and crown you with grace, prosperity and glory, unto his own everlasting praise, the beauty and enlargement of the Church and to the laying a foundation of higher advancement of yourself in the future world than can be here expected. This is, and shall be the constant prayer of

Your Majesties Most Loyal
Servant and Subject
THOMAS PARKER.

A minister of the Gospel, though unworthy, and Pastor to the Church of Newbury in New England.

Written from Newbury in New England August 6, 1660.[58]

Perhaps always in some doubt will be the question of how such a staunch Puritan as Parker could have supported a monarch, who, by his defeat of Oliver Cromwell, dashed the hopes of many English and colonial Puritans. Moreover, to suggest that Noyes had died because of the overthrow of King Charles I was, at the very least, a most surprizing statement. Indeed, it was the rare Puritan who prayed for the monarchy rather than for Cromwell, their fellow Puritan.

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[58]Thomas Parker, "Dedication," op. cit., p. 3.

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It might plausibly be argued, however, that Parker supported the Restoration primarily because he had increasingly grown to dislike the absence of what today has become the popular political campaign slogan of "law and order." King Charles I, it will be remembered, had, like his father, King James I, ruled rather arbitrarily,[59] a form of administration hardly unfamiliar to Parker. Cromwell, Puritan though he most assuredly was, had illegally seized power and had caused King Charles I to be beheaded in front of his palace at Whitehall on January 30, 1649.[60] In addition to engaging in such usurpations of power as these, Cromwell's Protectorate, regardless of its merits, constituted a period of extensive civil and external warfare as well as being characterized by rampant non-violent discontent within England.[61] Moreover, Parker might well have been angered by Colonel Thomas Pride's December 6-7, 1648 exclusion of ninety-six Presbyterian members from Parliament.[62] In the words of Goldwin Smith, "The galling knot of Presbyterian opposition had been cut by the sword of Cromwell."[63]

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[59]Oliver Perry Chitwood, A History of Colonial America, 3rd ed., Harper's Historical Series, Guy Stanton Ford, ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), p. 70.

[60]Goldwin Smith, A History of England, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), pp. 337-339.

[61]Ibid., pp. 339-348.

[62]William L. Langer, ed., op. cit., p. 405.

[63]Goldwin Smith, op. cit., p. 338.

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These events, it is felt, helped to persuade Parker that the Restoration should be supported by New England Puritans. There is, moreover, no evidence that he wavered from this course even in the light of the post-Restoration reaction against Puritanism and notwithstanding the Clarendon Code, which so obviously and desperately sought to re-establish the power of the Church of England.[64] It is evident, therefore, that as far as Parker was concerned, stability was one of the most desirable of goals. Indeed, not even the forbidding spectre of personal and collective religious difficulties could strip the Newbury minister of his abhorence of disruptiveness.

A clearly discernible emphasis upon both orthodoxy in religion and preservation of the status quo in more secular pursuits is evident throughout Parker's writings. Between 1644 and 1660, there flowed from his pen a number of theological discourses, the first of which was The Trve Copy of a Letter: Written by Mr. Thomas Parker (1644), in which he quite clearly expressed his sympathy for the Presbyterian form of church government:

> I assure you wee have great need of help in the way of discipline, and wee hope wee shall receive much light from you. My cousin Noyse and myself, have been seen such confusion of necessity depending on the government which hath been practised by us here, that wee have been forced much to search into it within these two or three yeeres.

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[64]William L. Langer, ed., op. cit., p. 461.

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> And although wee hold a fundamentall power of government in the people, in respect of election of Ministers, and of some acts in cases extraordinary, as in the want of Ministers; yet wee judge, upon mature deliberation, that the ordinary exercise of government must be so in the Presbyters, as not to depend upon the expresse votes and suffrages of the people. There hath been a Convens, or meeting, of the Ministers of these parts, about this question, at Cambridge, in the Bay; and there wee have proposed our arguments, and answered theirs; and they proposed theirs, and answered ours: and so the point is left to consideration. Also concerning admission of Members, wee hold, the rule must bee so large, that the weakest Christians may bee received; and there was, according to appearance, much conjunction in this particular . . . From Newbury in New-England, Decem. 17. 1643.[65]

Parker's work was commented upon in M.S., A reply of Two of the Brethren to A.S. (1644).[66]

Written, to quote George D. Wildes, in "the humble parsonage of the (Newbury) settlement,"[67] was The Visions

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[65]Thomas Parker, The Trve Copy of a Letter: Written by Mr. Thomas Parker, a learned and godly Minister, in New-England, unto a Member of the Assembly of Divines now in Westminster. Declaring his judgement touching the Government practised in the Churches of New-England (London: Ralph Smith, 1644), pp. 3-4.

[66]M.S., A reply of Two of the Brethren to A.S. Wherein You Have Observations On His Considerations, Annotations, &c. Upon the Apologeticall Narration With A Plea for Libertie of Conscience for the Apoligists Church way; Against the Cavils of the said A.S. Formerly called M.S. to A.S. Humbly submitted to the judgements of all rationall, and moderate men in the world. With a short survey of W.R. his Grave confutation of the Separation, and some modest, and innocent touches on the Letter from Zeland, And Mr. Parker's from New-England, 2nd ed. (London: H. Overton, 1644).

[67]George D. Wildes, An Oration Before the Historical and Antiquarian Society of Newbury, Essex County, Massachusetts, September 11th, 1878, Commemorative of the Settlement of Newbury, A.D. 1635 (New York: T. Whittaker, 1878), p. 8.

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and Prophecies of Daniel Expounded (1646).[68] This was perhaps Parker's most widely known work. As is plainly evident in the complete title, indicated in the footnote below, Parker was far from being the most modest colonial New England writer. He believed, quite unswervingly, that his concept of Christ was the only correct one and that it was God's will that he should not stray from the course upon which he had embarked in his youth. Lest we judge him too harshly, however, it should be realized that without such devotion and righteousness, it is doubtful that there could have developed the exertion required to transplant a civilization and to create, in many respects successfully, a model for the rest of the world to emulate.

To put it mildly, Parker was highly incensed when his sister, Elizabeth (Parker) Avery, of Newbury, England, embraced the Quaker faith, rather than remaining steadfast in the Calvinist doctrine of her parents and

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[68]Thomas Parker, The Visions and Prophecies of Daniel Expounded: Wherein the Mistakes of Former Interpreters are modestly discovered, and the true meaning of the Text made plain by the Words and Circumstances of it. The same also illustrated by clear Instances taken out of Histories which relate the Events of time mystically foretold by the holy Prophet. Amongst other things of Note, touching the Two Witnesses, the New Jerusalem, the Thousand yeers, &c. here is propounded a new Way for the finding out of the determinate time signified by Daniel in his Seventy weeks; when it did begin, and when we are to expect the end thereof. Very considerable, in respect of the great stirs and tumults of this present Age wherein we live. (London: Edmund Paxton, 1646).

brother.[69] During the seventeenth century, Puritans, as well as Anglicans and Roman Catholics, were convinced that the Society of Friends constituted a profound threat to their well being. The Puritans were extremely angered when Quakers invaded the Bible Commonwealth[70] and they were hardly less aroused when they learned of Quaker activities in England. Moreover, the Society of Friends' emphasis upon conscience's "Inner Light," rather than upon intellectual study of the Scriptures as the supreme authority for men's conduct, was a truly dangerous doctrine when followed to the extreme and it ran thoroughly counter to Puritan theology.[71]

In view of Parker's strenuous support of the Presbyterian form of church government, it should not appear surprising that when his sister's waywardness became known he would do whatever he could to prevent her from pursuing further what he believed to be a dangerous advance into the arms of Satan. It was for this reason that he wrote a bittingly critical personal letter which was eventually published as The Copy of a Letter Written

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[69]Samuel Eliot Morison, "Thomas Parker," op. cit., p. 242.

[70]Daniel J. Boorstin, op. cit., pp. 36-40.

[71]Perry Miller, Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition (New York: Atheneum, 1953), pp. 241-253 and Thomas H. Johnson, The Oxford Companion to American History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 315-316.

by Mr. Thomas Parker, Pastor of the Church of Newbury in New-England, to His Sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Avery (1650).[72] In addition to arguing against the theological tenets of the Society of Friends, Parker criticized his sister's violations of the acceptable role of seventeenth century English women as well as her alleged conceit:

> Your printing of a Book, beyond the custom of your Sex, doth rankly smell; but the exaltation of your self in the way of your Opinions, is above all.[73]

Among Parker's other writings were several sermons and theological works, among them Theses Theologicae de Traductione (1652),[74] A farewell sermon . . . January 1, 1655 (1656)[75] and Methodus Gratiae Divine In traductione hominis peccatoris ad vitam (1657).[76] Parker was severely criticized, on theological grounds, in N.H., The Examination

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[72]Thomas Parker, The Copy of a Letter Written by Mr. Thomas Parker, Pastor of the Church of Newbury in New-England, to His Sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Avery, Sometimes of Newbury in the County of Berks, Touching Sundry Opinions By Her Professed and Maintained, Novemb. 22. 1649 (London: Edmund Paxton, 1650).

[73]Ibid., p. 13.

[74]Thomas Parker, Theses Theologicae de Traductione Hominis Peccatoris ad Vitam (London: Samuel Thomson, 1652).

[75]Thomas Parker, A Farewell Sermon . . . January 1, 1655 (London: Richard Lowndes, 1656).

[76]Thomas Parker, Methodus Gratiae Divinae In traductione hominis peccatoris ad vitam, Septuaginta Thesibus succincte & elaborate explicata (London: Abelis Roper, 1657).

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of Tilenus Before the Triers (1658)[77] and in Philo-Tileno, Parkerus Illustratus: Sive, Annotate Quaedam in Omnes LXX (1660).[78] Most of these works exist today only in The British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, and in other major British libraries,[79] there obviously having been a rather extensive correspondence between Parker and his English colleagues. Indeed, all of his published works were products of the presses of London or Amsterdam, rather than of the press at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Because of his classical learning and largely as a result of his lifelong respect for academic endeavors, many of his books were published in a cultivated Latin,

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[77]N.H., The Examination of Tilenus Before the Triers; In order to his intended settlement of the office of a publick Preacher in the Common-wealth of Utopia. Whereunto are annexed The Tenets of the Remonstrants touching those five Articles Voted, Stated and imposed, but not disputed, at the Synod of Dort. Together with a short Essay (by way of Annotations) upon the Fundamental Theses of Mr. Thomas Parker (London: R. Royston, 1658).

[78]Philo-Tileno, Parkerus Illustratus: Sive, Annotate Quaedam in Omnes LXX, T. Parkeri Theses, de Traductione Hominis Peccatoris ad Vitam, Etc. (London: Joannis Baker, 1660).

[79]The British Museum, General Catalogue of Printed Books: Photolithographic Edition to 1955, Vol. 180 (London: The Trustees of The British Museum, 1963), pp. 711-712; Donald Wing, Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700, Vol. III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 14; Letter from J.M. Griffin, of The British Museum, to Richard Edward Kelly, December 3, 1970 and Letter from D.M. Merry, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, to Richard Edward Kelly, January 11, 1971.

rather than in the vernacular. Even those which appeared in English, however, could hardly be considered as popularized works. Thus, one can reasonably assume that Parker's efforts, at least as evidenced by his writings, were largely directed towards similarly well educated members of the intellectual community in England and in the colonies.

Although he never wrote on education per se, Parker's intellectual endeavors helped to shape his teaching as well as his performance in the pulpit and in weekly prayer meetings. From the commencement of the settlement of Newbury, we may be sure that he occupied a prominent position, both in the church and in the school, despite the fact that he was preceded in the schoolmastership by Anthony Somerby I and Reverend James Noyes I. Parker was better educated than either of his two predecessors and it is likely that his wisdom was greatly valued, especially by those families who anticipated that their sons would be educated at Harvard College or in Europe. It should be remembered that the Puritan concentration upon learning for salvation immeasurably aided in the establishment and retention of significant inter-relationships between the church, the town school and Harvard College.[80]

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[80]Adolphe E. Meyer, An Educational History of the American People, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 19-40.

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Since the clergy was almost always the most educated element in seventeenth century New England society, it was natural for the towns to turn to their ministers for educational leadership.[81] Consequently, even when the minister did not serve simultaneously as schoolmaster, his pronouncements on education were frequently listened to with more interest and respect than those of any other individual. Parker, like most of the other Massachusetts Bay clergymen, undoubtedly made frequent visits to the schools in order to supervise the quality of instruction available to the youth.[82] Much emphasis was given to the child's understanding of the catechism and to his knowledge of the Bible as well as, quite frequently, his comprehension of the sermon which had been delivered the preceeding Sunday.[83]

In short, the minister was seen by most of the settlers as the high oracle of knowledge about nearly all fields, even those not directly related to Puritan

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[81]Clifford K. Shipton, "The New England Clergy of the 'Glacial Age'," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, Vol. XXXII (December, 1933), pp. 24-54.

[82]Clifton Johnson, Old-Time Schools and School-Books (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), p. 24.

[83]Ibid.

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theology.[84] Moreover, it should be recognized that the meetinghouses did not serve solely as places for the townspeople to congregate. Especially when the minister was as well educated as Parker, the meetinghouse became a center of culture, a school of good manners, a training place for proper decorum, an enforcing agency of order and much else, all in the name of Christ Jesus.[85]

Newbury was among the towns to be delinquent in providing for a formal grammar school, as required by the 1647 "Old Deluder Satan Act."[86] Although instruction had continued to be provided by Noyes and Parker, the town did not hire a man who served exclusively as a pedagogue. Consequently, on May 6, 1658, Newbury was compelled by the court held at Ipswich to answer the charge of not having a secondary educational institution.[87] As a result,

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[84]Noah Porter, The New England Meeting House, Committee on Historical Publications, Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut, Pamphlet No. XVIII (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1933), p. 19.

[85]Ibid., p. 60.

[86]Henry Steele Commager, ed., Documents of American History, 5th ed., Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, gen. ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949), p. 29.

[87]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 62 and John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902 (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1902), p. 396.

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Newbury was fined five pounds, to be paid to Ipswich, for "want of a grammar school."[88]

It is important to note that the 1647 law did not specify who was qualified to teach, the only stipulation being that:

> . . . it is furthr ordered, yt where any towne shall increase to ye numbr of 100 families or househouldrs, they shall set up a grammer schoole, ye mr thereof being able to instruct yough so farr as they shall be fitted for ye university, provided, yt if any towne neglect ye performance hereof above one yeare, yt every such towne shall pay 5 pounds to ye next schoole till they shall performe this order.[89]

Obviously, "being able to instruct yough so farr as they shall be fitted for ye university" was a relatively vague statement. Nonetheless, Newbury could do naught but plead guilty even though Somerby and, more especially, Noyes and Parker, had been preparing boys for "ye university" since 1639. The town remained in clear violation of the law because a schoolmaster had not been hired to replace Noyes after his death in 1656.

Samuel Eliot Morison claimed that in 1658 Newbury was too small for a grammar school,[90] a statement which has

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[88]Paul Monroe, Founding of the American Public School System: A History of Education in the United States From the Early Settlements to the Close of the Civil War Period, Vol. I (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940), p. 149.

[89]Henry Steele Commager, ed., op. cit., p. 29.

[90]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), pp. 92-93.

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now been shown to have been erroneous. After a thorough study of the populations of Massachusetts Bay towns in 1647, Robert Emmet Wall Jr. found that Newbury's population consisted of 115 adult males, in addition to their wives and children.[91] Moreover, Newbury's growth between 1647 and 1658[92] clearly indicates that when the town was cited in court for not having a Latin grammar school, it could not have been argued that there were less than one hundred families. Indeed, Newbury did not even attempt to enter any such plea.

Rather, it is evident that following Noyes' death, Newbury became somewhat lax in providing education for its youth. It was only Parker's generous offer to teach students preparing for college as well as those in the elementary stages of learning[93] that helped to meliorate the General Court's disapproval. As might be expected, Parker had continued his informal instruction during the months immediately following Noyes' death. Yet, the General Court was determined that specific institutions for elementary and secondary education be founded throughout the colony. Consequently, had Parker not undertaken the

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[91]Robert Emmet Wall Jr., "The Massachusetts Bay Colony Franchise in 1647," The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Ser., Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (January, 1970), p. 138.

[92]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 49-62.

[93]Samuel Eliot Morison, "Thomas Parker," op. cit., p. 242.

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additional burden of the school, the town would have had to employ another man to fill the schoolmastership.

Parker gave much attention to the school, despite the fact that in 1658 he was sixty-three years of age. Even though he had to carry on for five years without the help of an assistant minister or teacher,[94] he was determined that Newbury's educational needs should be met. At length, on July 26, 1663, assistance came when his nephew, Reverend John Woodbridge II, returned to Newbury after serving English pulpits in Andover, Hants, and Barford St. Martins, Wilts.[95] He was chosen immediately to assist Parker, the town voting him thirty pounds for the first half year, beginning the twenty-fifth of September, "for his encouragement in the ministry."[96]

Naturally, the 1669 to 1672 controversy between Parker and Representative Edward Woodman I deeply affected Newbury's town school as well as the church. In The Trve Copy of a Letter: Written by Mr. Thomas Parker (1644), Parker had noted that some Newburyites were increasingly dissatisfied with his government of the church, particularly with respect to what they thought to be an excessively

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[94]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 316.

[95]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., pp. 409-410 and Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 68.

[96]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 68.

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authoritarian rule.[97] Yet, the first direct clash between Parker and his dissident church members did not occur until October 26, 1664, when the "major part of the towne voted that Mr. Parker should have but sixty pounds per year."[98] On June 3, 1665, however, he was the beneficiary of a salary increase to eighty pounds.[99] On November 1, 1665, it was voted by four affirmative ballots and thirty-one blanks that Reverend John Woodbridge II, "should be chosen . . . to preach to the towne for one year."[100]

Since the members of the church had the power to determine the selection and retention of the minister as well as his salary, their opinions, usually expressed in the form of paper ballots,[101] were crucial. Both the lessening of his salary and the thirty-one abstentions indicated rather severe disagreements within the town. Irregardless of these omens, Parker was hardly disposed to compromise with his adversaries.

Some might be inclined to suggest that Parker was, at least in his later years, a slave to his

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[97]Thomas Parker, The Trve Copy of a Letter: Written by Mr. Thomas Parker, op. cit., p. 3.

[98]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 69.

[99]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 316.

[100]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 69.

[101]Ibid.

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stubborness. It would appear, however, that he was far less concerned about his own fate at the hands of his fellow Newburyites than he was with the outcome of the struggle he believed to be raging between God and the Devil. Thus, in a manner which reappeared two generations later in the actions of Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I, Parker drew upon his undeniably mightly certitude and prepared for the onslaught of criticism. Compromise was entirely out of the question. Better to go down in defeat while arguing for the right cause than to prostitute righteousness on the altar of victory. Parker had done what he believed to be best for Newbury and upon that record he would stake both his earthly and his spiritual life.

The opposition between the pro-Parker and pro-Woodman factions of the church reached such an intensity by 1669 that it became necessary to appeal to the Essex County Court for a settlement of the dispute.[102] Here, Woodman was accused of having publically claimed that Woodbridge was being retained as Newbury's assistant minister only by sheer craftiness and subtlety and that Parker was "an apostate and backslider from the truth," who would set up a prelacy and, though unsupported by a council of cardinals, would have more power than the Pope,[103]

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[102]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 318.

[103]Ibid., pp. 318-319.

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The pro-Woodman faction's by now familiar complaint was that Parker refused to allow enough control of church affairs by the congregation. Ultimately, the matter was referred to the "Great and General Court" in Boston where, on May 29, 1671, the principal leaders of those opposing Parker, viz., Representative Edward Woodman I, Assistant Richard Dummer I, Representative William Titcomb I and Representative Richard Bartlett II,[104] were found "guilty of very great misdemeanors, though in different degrees" and received fines varying from one noble (six shillings and eight pence) to twenty nobles.[105]

Yet, the controversy continued despite the decisions rendered at Salem and Boston. Consequently, on May 13, 1671, the churches at Charlestown, Boston, Dedham and Roxbury were ordered "to send their elders and messengers to the church at Newbury" and, after conferring with Parker and his parishioners, to "make such suggestions as may be necessary to reunite them in the bonds of brotherly love."[106] When this

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[104]John Farmer, A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New-England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: Carter, Andrews and Company, 1829), pp. 329, 89, 288; Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 322, 301, 319, 295 and Richard Edward Kelly, Ancestral Record of the Family of Deacon Richard Edward Kelly and Anne Louise (Reynolds) Kelly, Vol. I (Boston: Goodspeed's Book Shop, 1969), p. 25.

[105]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 320.

[106]Ibid., pp. 320-321.

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committee proved unable to settle the dispute to the satisfaction of the various contending factions within Newbury, the General Court attempted once again to resolve the issue. On October 23, 1672, the Court appointed another committee, consisting of such prominent men as Deputy-Governor Thomas Danforth,[107] Governor William Stoughton,[108] Reverend Dr. Leonard Hoar,[109] Assistant Thomas Clarke I[110] and Reverend Joshua Moodey I,[111] to help assuage the differences between Parker and the parishioners opposing him.[112]

Yet, despite the fact that every effort was expended to prevent further dissension within the church, strife continued to tear at the town's heart for a number of years. Although Parker retained his position as

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[107]James Truslow Adams, "Thomas Danforth," Dictionary of American Biography, Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Vol. V (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), pp. 66-67.

[108]Sidney G. Morse, "William Stoughton," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XVIII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), pp. 113-114.

[109]Samuel Eliot Morison, "Leonard Hoar," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. IX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 88-89.

[110]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 61.

[111]John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1642-1658, Vol. I (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1873), pp. 367-380.

[112]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 322.

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minister, he must surely have viewed this most unfortunate strife as an saddening anticlimax to his lifelong devotion to religion and education.

That there were forty-one families supporting Parker and forty-one families opposing him is a fact which clearly indicates the town's divisiveness at the height of the controversy.[113] From a thorough study of all eighty-two families who were active in the church between 1669 and 1672, it is seen that the families supporting Parker were Adams, Chandler, Clarke, Coffin, Davis, Dole, Gerrish, Hale, Huse, Jackman, Jacques, Kelly, Kent, Knight, Little, Long, Lowle, Moody, Morse, Muzzy, Noyes, Pettingell, Peirce, Sewall, Short, Smith, Somerby, Turvill, Wallington, White and Woodbridge.[114] The opposing families were Bailey, Batt, Browne, Emery, Hale, Ilsley, Lowle, Merrill, Moody, Moores, Morse, Ordway, Pilsbury, Plumer, Poor, Richardson, Rolf, Sawyer, Swett, Toppan, Webster and Wells.[115] In many instances, there were a number of families bearing the same surname who supported one side or the other, thus preventing there being forty-one different surnames in either faction. There were also some families, among them the Moodys and Lowles, who were divided in their allegiance to the pro-Parker and pro-Woodman camps.

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[113]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 100.

[114]Ibid.

[115]Ibid.

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Of particular significance for the present work is the fact that of the six Newbury families who provided schoolmasters for the town during the seventeenth century, four pedagogues, viz., Anthony Somerby I, Reverend James Noyes I, Henry Short II and Reverend John Clark, came from families which supported Parker. Only Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I and Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I, both of whom were schoolmasters during the late 1690s, came from families which opposed the minister. Despite the fact that the schoolmaster was chosen by the freemen, there would appear to have been at least some correlation between support for the minister and one's selection as schoolmaster. This was perhaps especially true as it pertained to Parker who, despite the controversy which dimmed the happiness of his later years, enjoyed the support of a majority, slender though it was, of the church. In addition, he deserved and received the respect, if not the devotion, of many of those who opposed him.

Reverend John Woodbridge II was dismissed circa 1670[116] and in January, 1673, Reverend John Richardson I was employed as assistant minister to Parker.[117] The son

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[116]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 410.

[117]John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1659-1677, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1881), p. 210.

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of Amos Richardson, a Boston merchant-tailor, he had received his Bachelor of Arts Degree from Harvard College in 1666.[118] Three years later, when he presented an affirmative response to "An Homo sit Causa libera suarum Actionum?" his alma mater presented him with the Master of Arts Degree.[119] Richardson was ordained as the successor to Parker on October 20, 1675[120] and, as John J. Currier stated:

> He was evidently an earnest and faithful preacher, and was successful in healing the dissensions that had disturbed the church for more than a quarter of a century.[121]

Having examined some of the more significant local events which occurred between 1669 and 1675, it is possible to understand more adequately Newbury's education during Parker's nineteen year schoolmastership. From 1656 to 1675, when advanced age and ill health forced his retirement,[122] Parker was, without doubt, the most significant individual in early Newbury's successful efforts to keep alive its English educational heritage.

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[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid., p. 206.

[120] Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 116.

[121] John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 330.

[122] Ibid., p. 324.

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In 1658, when Parker formally took charge of Newbury's education, ten grammar schools had been established in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The first was the Boston Latin School which, founded in 1635, has remained one of the most exemplary and influential secondary institutions in the United States.[123] It was followed by the founding of the grammar schools of Charlestown (1636), Salem (1637), Dorchester (1639), Cambridge (1640), Roxbury (1645), Braintree (1645), Watertown (1650), Ipswich (1651) and Dedham (1653).[124]

From all that is known regarding the curriculum and the management of seventeenth century grammar schools, it is clear that, judging from the Harvard College rules, precepts and entrance requirements[125] and from the

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[123]Robert Francis Seybolt, The Public Schools of Colonial Boston (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935); Pauline Holmes, A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1935 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935); Robert Francis Seybolt, The Public Schoolmasters of Colonial Boston (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939) and Letter from Thomas D. Cravern, Secretary of the Boston Latin School Association, to Richard Edward Kelly, October 1, 1969.

[124]Walter H. Small, Early New England Schools (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1914), p. 30.

[125]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 11-14.

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subjects studied at the Boston Latin School as of 1712,[126] classical study and religious instruction, traditional in the English grammar school, served as models for the early New England educational institutions. Most typically, boys entered the grammar school between the ages of six and eight years, remaining slightly over half a decade for rather intensive study.[127] To prepare his pupils for admission to college, the schoolmaster kept long hours throughout the greater part of the year.[128]

The immediate, tangible object of such education was, from a curricular point of view, to make the student completely familiar with reading, writing and speaking Latin as a living language and to give him an introduction to Greek.[129] As Samuel Eliot Morison contended, the town schools, because of their impetus for the American concept of free popular education, were early New England's most lasting contribution.[130] Thus, in addition to preserving

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[126]Kenneth Ballard Murdock, "The Teaching of Latin and Greek at the Boston Latin School in 1712," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, Vol. XXVII (March, 1927), pp. 21-29.

[127]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Oxford History of the American People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 70.

[128]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., p. 89.

[129]Ibid., p. 88.

[130]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Oxford History of the American People, op. cit., p. 70.

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intellectualism on the early New England frontier, seventeenth century schools significantly contributed to the form which education was to take in later centuries and in distant parts of the country.

Parker's grammar school was generally attended by twelve to fourteen boys, a large number of whom later entered Harvard College.[131] Since they were preparing for an institution of higher learning which had a required classical curriculum for all students, the grammar school curriculum also consisted solely of prescribed academic work. Latin and Greek grammar and the classical authors were, largely for this reason, the mainstay of the grammar school's curriculum.[132]

Commonly used books were Aesop Eutropius and The Colloquies of Corderius for the younger students and, for the older students, typical works included Caesar, Ovid, Virgil and Cicero.[133] The most advanced scholars studied Greek grammar, the Testament and Homer.[134] One of the books which have been preserved from the early Newbury

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[131]Ola Elizabeth Winslow, Samuel Sewall of Boston (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), p. 22.

[132]S. Alexander Rippa, Education in a Free Society: An American History (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1967), pp. 38-42.

[133]Clifton Johnson, op. cit., p. 18.

[134]Ibid.

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is Aelian, Varia Historiae Libri XIII, cum Latine interpretatione (1630).[135] It was purchased on April 21, 1665 by the famous jurist and diarist, Samuel Sewall, who was then one of Parker's students.[136] One of the earliest known New England secondary school texts, it is part of the Prince Collection at the Boston Public Library. Unfortunately, hard and repeated use prevented the survival of representative numbers of textbooks. Consequently, it is impossible to know with any degree of certainty exactly which works were studied by the town's early scholars.

Nevertheless, from studies of the history of other schools and from the extant grammar school texts,[137] it appears that a relatively small number of standard works were utilized throughout the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This was to be expected in view of the high degree of educational uniformity. Thus, while the quality of instruction obviously varied from one town to the next, significant differences in the purposes of learning did not generally exist.

Although precise data on Parker's teaching schedule is nonexistent, a hypothesis, based upon averages for the seventeenth century, may be considered relatively

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[135]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., p. 109.

[136]Ibid.

[137]Ibid., pp. 109-112.

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accurate. It is, then, likely that he taught for eight hours per day during May, June, July and August; six hours per day during March, April, September and October and four hours per day during November, December, January and February.[138]

As Robert Noxon Toppan wrote, Newbury's school "did much to foster and maintain the high rank which that seat of learning (Harvard College) held from its beginning."[139] Parker's teaching and intellectual prowess were well respected throughout the colony and were especially revered at Harvard, where a number of his students won high honors.[140] Indeed, ten of his pupils are known to have graduated from the famed center of learning.

Parker's earliest pupils were Reverend Joshua Moodey I, of Boston and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a graduate of the class of 1653;[141] Reverend Shubael Dummer, of York, Maine, a graduate of the class of 1656;[142] Reverend James Noyes II, of Stonington, Connecticut, a graduate of the

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[138]Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy (New York: American Book Company, 1939), p. 58.

[139]Robert Noxon Toppan, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

[140]Ola Elizabeth Winslow, op. cit., p. 23.

[141]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 367-380.

[142]Ibid., pp. 471-475.

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class of 1659[143] and Reverend Moses Noyes, of Lyme, Connecticut, also a graduate of the class of 1659.[144] Later students of Parker were Reverend Nicholas Noyes II, of Haddam, Connecticut, and Salem, Massachusetts, a graduate of the class of 1667;[145] Reverend Dr. James Bayley I, of Danvers, Massachusetts, Killingworth, Connecticut, and Roxbury, Massachusetts, a graduate of the class of 1669;[146] Reverend Joseph Gerrish I, of Wenham, Massachusetts, also a graduate of the class of 1669;[147] Judge Samuel Sewall, of Newbury and Boston, a graduate of the class of 1671;[148] Reverend Timothy Woodbridge I, of Hartford, a graduate of the class of 1675[149] and Reverend Benjamin Rolfe II, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, a graduate of the class of 1684.[150]

It is indeed noteworthy that such a large number of Newbury's seventeenth century graduates were students

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[143]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 45-50.

[144]Ibid., pp. 50-52.

[145]Ibid., pp. 239-246.

[146]Ibid., pp. 291-299.

[147]Ibid., pp. 299-304.

[148]Ibid., pp. 345-364.

[149]Ibid., pp. 464-470.

[150]John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1678-1689, Vol. III (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1885), pp. 310-315.

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of Parker. As is elsewhere stated, the town could claim 24 Harvard College graduates who received degrees from the first class, that of 1642, to the class of 1699.[151] Thus, 41.66 per cent of the graduates were direct beneficiaries of Parker's teaching. Not one of the town's other early schoolmasters even approached such an instructional feat.

In addition, Parker's influence upon the town's Latin grammar school continued long after his death. As Samuel Eliot Morison noted, the ambition for learning which Parker had inculcated helped Newbury to remain, despite its relatively small population, in the fourth position among towns sending boys to Harvard during the period from 1673 to 1707.[152] Only the far more populous Boston, Roxbury and Cambridge sent more students to Harvard during this interval.[153]

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[151]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 20-25, 359-360, 367-380, 471-475; John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 45-50, 50-52, 155-158, 239-246, 291-299, 299-304, 345-364, 464-470; John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 159-168, 310-315, 386-388; Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1690-1700, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. IV (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933), pp. 39-41, 93, 99-101, 113-117, 286-287, 336-341, 356-365, 472-476, 476-478 and Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 350-359.

[152]Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 449.

[153]Ibid., pp. 449-450.

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It appears that immediately following the 1669 to 1672 church controversy the supporters of Parker's cause attempted to restore a needed sense of unity to the town. That they were successful to at least some degree is seen in the fact that a committee, consisting of "Capt. Gerrish, Richard Dole & Ensigne Greenleaf," was chosen on January 31, 1673 "to build a house for the ministry the same dimensions every way according as Nath: Clarkes house is with an addition of a porch," to be paid for by a town vote.[154] This was to be the home of Reverend John Richardson I[155] who, as mentioned earlier, came to Newbury in January, 1673, to assist the aging Parker. Parker was still living in the house which had been built in 1646 by his first cousin, Reverend James Noyes I.[156] Although Noyes had been dead for a number of years, Parker had continued to be an honored member of the family.[157]

As the work on Richardson's house proceeded, the Gerrish, Dole and Greenleaf committee was authorized, on December 3, 1673, to oversee:

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[154]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 330.

[155]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 210-213.

[156]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., p. 166.

[157]Ibid., p. 167.

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> . . . the building of Mr Richardsons house & to carry it on to the finishing of it & the selectmen were ordered to make a Rate for the building of it.[158]

This rate was assessed against the inhabitants of the town, regardless of the extensiveness of their church activities.

Perhaps a hard winter, quite typical for northeastern Massachusetts, interfered with the construction of the house. In any event, it was still unfinished in the spring and on March 2, 1674, it was voted that the completion of the building and its alteration would be "left to the selectmen," who were also ordered "to see that six acres of land be laid out for the ministry between Rich: Brownes pasture and Capt Gerrishes land," as well as purchasing glass and nails for the structure.[159] In the meantime, having served Newbury for just short of two years, Richardson was formally admitted to membership in the church on December 6, 1674.[160]

Richardson must have been a patient man, for the following spring, more than two years after the first committee had been established, the much hoped for house still demanded many finishing touches. Yet, there appears at last to have developed a greater determination to

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[158]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 330.

[159]Ibid.

[160]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 115.

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complete the work. On March 1, 1675, Nathaniel Clarke I and Henry Jaques I were appointed as yet another committee "to complete the ministry house."[161] The selectmen were also given instructions to notify all persons who had carts or oxen suitable for hauling lumber or stone that they were to bring them to Clarke and Jaques, along with other available implements and tools, for utilization in the construction of a fence around the house and the adjoining pasture.[162] At the same meeting, Richardson was voted a salary of one hundred pounds annually, all families being required to pay their proportion on or before the first day of November, "one half in merchantable barley at the malt houses of Daniel Pierce or Caleb Moody" and the remaining half in pork, wheat, butter or Indian corn which were to be to the minister's satisfaction.[163]

As if enough building committees had not been selected, Newbury concluded that still another was necessitated. Thus, on May 7, 1675, "Daniel Peirce Senr Nath: Clarke & John Bartlet Senr were chosen to compleat the finishing & fencing of the ministry house."[164] The

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[161]Ibid., pp. 298, 306 and John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 330.

[162]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 330.

[163]Ibid., pp. 330-331.

[164]Ibid., p. 331.

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dwelling had taken two and one-half years to build and we can well imagine that Richardson and his wife, Mary (Pierson) Richardson, breathed more easily when they were able at last to move into their new house. The delays must have been particularly difficult in view of the fact that they now had an infant daughter, Sarah Richardson, who was born September 19, 1674.[165]

In a letter dated August 15, 1675, Richardson set forth the conditions under which he would agree to succeed Parker in the ministry:

> 1. So long as the people of God here do continue in the profession of the true faith and peace of the Gospel, as in Acts ii. 42; 2. So long as I may have the liberty of my ministry among them; and 3. discharge my duty to my family: Thus I say I do express myself willing to settle among you with a true intention and a true affection.[166]

Having chosen to emphasize the Biblical verse, "And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers," Richardson was, no doubt, announcing to the town that he intended to effect a reconciliation between the pro-Parker and pro-Woodman factions. Newbury obviously accepted Richardson's conditions, for he was ordained on October 20, 1675.[167]

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[165]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 243.

[166]John Richardson I, quoted in, John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 211.

[167]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 116.

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Yet, although Parker lived to see a successor with whom he could theologically concur, his declining years were anything but comfortable. For some time prior to his death, he was totally blind,[168] an affliction which was particularly hard to bear because of his love for learning. In one of his works, published when he was forty-nine years of age, Parker had noted that his eyes were troubling him greatly.[169] The following account of his blindness was written by his close relative and former student, Reverend Nicholas Noyes II, the Congregational minister of Haddam, Connecticut, and Salem, Massachusetts:

> The strain which his immoderate studies gave unto his organs of sight, brought a miserable defluxion of rheum upon his eyes; which proceeded so far, that one of them swelled until it came out of his head, and the other grew altogether dim some years before his death. Under this extreme loss he would, after a Christian and pleasant manner, give himself that consolation: 'Well, they'll be restored shortly, at the resurrection . . .'
>
> Our Parker had no children to afflict him; and his pupils were such as to comfort him; yet failure of sight was his calamity.[170]

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[168]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 324.

[169]Thomas Parker, The Trve Copy of a Letter: Written by Mr. Thomas Parker, op. cit., p. 1.

[170]Nicholas Noyes II, quoted in, Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England; From Its First Planting, in the Year 1620, Unto the Year of Our Lord 1698, Vol. I (Hartford: Silas Andrus and Son, 1852), p. 482.

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Reverend Nicholas Noyes II also wrote of Parker's worsened physical condition:

> About a year and a helf before he died, that which he had long feared befel him, viz: the palsey in his tongue: and so he bacame speechless, and thus continued until his death: having this only help left him, that he could pronounce letters, but not syllables or words. He signified his mind by spelling his words, which was indeed a tedious way, but yet a mercy so far to him and others.[171]

It is unknown whether "the palsey in his tongue" afflicted Parker before or after Richardson's ordination. In any event, the latter obviously had to carry on the bulk of the ministry after the autumn of 1675.

Having given forty years to the Newbury Church, Parker's remaining two years were painful and unpleasant indeed. At least, he had the care of his beloved Noyes relatives as well as the respect of the largest part of the town. At length, having patiently endured much suffering, he died on April 24, 1677, in his eighty-second year.[172] He was buried in Oldtown Cemetery under a simple headstone,[173] upon which was inscribed, "He was a great and good man."[174]

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[171] Ibid., p. 485.

[172] Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 119.

[173] The Essex Institute, Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, To the End of the Year 1849, Vol. II (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1911), p. 682.

[174] Robert Noxon Toppan, op. cit., p. 13 and John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., p. 110.

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At the time of his death, Parker was still shrouded in controversy. Yet, few would deny that he had devoted his life to serving God in the manner which he believed to be right. Consequently, his death must have created a feeling of emptiness in the hearts of many first, second and third generation Newburyites. One suspects that even those who had differed with him were genuinely saddened by the passing of the aged divine.

Pertaining to Parker were a number of eulogistic statements. One of his more notable students, Judge Samuel Sewall, wrote in his often quoted diary, "The Lord give me grace to follow my dear Master as he followed Christ, that I may at last get to heaven whither he has already gone."[175] Some years later, Reverend Israel Chauncy, of Stratford, Connecticut,[176] received the following letter from Sewall:

Boston, Decb. 25th. 1689.

> SIR,--Coming lately from England, there wanted not Some Probability of my being beholding to the sea ffor a buriing Place; the thoughts of it brought to my Mind the kind obligations of Mr. Thomas Parker, and Mr. Charles Chauncy. Accordingly I set down in writing my desire of having some books bestowed in Remembrance of those Nobly Learned and Godly Men.[177]

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[175]Samuel Sewall, quoted in, T.B. Strandness, ed., Samuel Sewall: A Puritan Portrait (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967), p. 13.

[176]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 82-87.

[177]Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Ser., Vol. I (1886), p. 93.

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Again, on October 9, 1705, in a letter to the previously mentioned Reverend Nicholas Noyes II, Sewall referred to the deceased minister as "the Learned and pious Mr. Thomas Parker our honoured Master of blessed Memory."[178] Yet another reference, made forty-three years after Parker's passing, is found in a letter Sewall wrote to John Woodbridge V, Newbury's fourteenth schoolmaster.[179] This document is particularly significant because of Sewall's specific references to Parker's teaching:

> To Mr. John Woodbridge, Schoolmaster at Newbury.
> March 25, 1720.
>
> SIR,--To hear of the lessening of your Salary, was a displeasure to me. But to see the invitation of your excellent Unkle the Reverend Mr. Thomas Parker was very delightfull; in that you avoided taking any thing of the Children lest you should discourage the Parents from sending them to School. This was the Guise of my ever honoured Master. It was Dr. Harris's noble Instruction to his Sons, that they should be more concerned for Work than for Wages![180]

Perhaps the most famous statement about Parker is that of Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather:

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[178]Ibid., p. 318.

[179]Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1701-1712, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. V (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1937), pp. 555-556 and James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, Vol. IV (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1862), pp. 631-633.

[180]Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Ser., Vol. II (1888), pp. 112-113.

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> He was a person of most extensive charity; which grain of his temper might contribute unto that largeness in his principles about church government, which exposed him unto many temptations, amongst his neighbours, who were not so principled . . . He went unto the immortals in the month of April, 1677, about the eighty-second year of his age; and after he had lived all his days a single man, but a great part of his days engaged in apocalyptical studies, he went unto the apocalyptical virgins, who follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes.[181]

Parker wrote his will on September 12, 1663 and it was proven on May 23, 1677.[182] According to the inventory taken on May 30, 1677 by Captain William Gerrish I, Representative Nicholas Noyes I and the first schoolmaster, Anthony Somerby I, the entire estate consisted of 611 pounds, plus four or five small books.[183] Of this, Parker's five most valuable possessions were his farm, pasture and meadow, worth 250 pounds; his land in England, worth 200 pounds; "debts due to the deceased," worth 60 pounds; "book & Lybrary," worth 40 pounds; and clothing, worth 30 pounds.[184] Being unmarried, Parker's beneficiaries, as stipulated in his will, were his two nephews, Reverend Benjamin Woodbridge I and Reverend John Woodbridge II, his

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[181]Cotton Mather, quoted in, Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 374.

[182]The Essex Institute, The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1675-1681, Vol. III (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1920), p. 135.

[183]Ibid. and John Farmer, op. cit., pp. 119, 209, 268.

[184]The Essex Institute, The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1675-1681, op. cit., p. 135.

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first cousin, Representative Nicholas Noyes I, and Sarah (Brown) Noyes, the surviving widow of Reverend James Noyes I.[185] Parker's thorough devotion to God is apparent from the opening sentences of his will:

> I Thomas Parker pastor of the church of christ in Newberry in New England being Groune into years, the Infirmityes of Age dayly increasing upon me Considering the Comand of God & my duty to be dayly preparing for my departure out of this world & sett in order what the Lord hath bestowed on me, being thro the patience & rich mercy of God in Good health & of a disposing minde doe desire to put in practise my duty of disposing thereof and therefore make ordeyne & declare this present writting to be my last will & testament Impr I doe fully & freely resigne up my Soule into the hands of my most gracious God & father that gaue it me & my body to the dust from whence it Came in hope of a Glorious resurrection amongst them that are Sanctified in christ Jesus.[186]

In August, 1697, twenty years after Parker's death, the town changed the name of the "Quascacunquen River," Newbury's outlet to the Atlantic Ocean, to the "Parker River."[187] To effect this change, the following order was issued and set forth in the town records:

> Ordered by the selectmen that the river called by the Indians Quasacuncon and has since been called by divers names as Newbury river, Oldtown river, be from this time called by the name of the river Parker in remembrance of the worthy, learned, and reverend minister Mr. Thomas Parker, who was a first planter and pastor of ye church of Newbury and learned schoolmaster.[188]

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[185]Thomas Parker, quoted, Ibid., pp. 133-134.

[186]Ibid.

[187]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 166.

[188]Ibid.

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This name has continued to be used as the designation of the river.[189] Truly, it is a most fitting tribute to the man who, in that faraway spring of 1635, led the hardy band of settlers to the place where they began the town of Newbury.

In any assessment, Parker emerges as a rather severe, determined, even self-righteous man. Yet, such attributes were perhaps necessary for those who dared to hope that they might establish a truly Christian community three thousand miles across the treacherous Atlantic. Although outwardly somewhat aloof, Parker was a warm individual within. True, he could be uncompromising and, as Samuel Eliot Morison noted, he was ultimately more effective in outliving and in wearing out his enemies than he was in converting them with his tactfulness.[190]

It would, however, be difficult to imagine any seventeenth century person, be he a Puritan, a Quaker, a Catholic or a Jew, who was thoroughly committed to a theological persuasion and was not characterized by at least

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[189]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit.; Augustus G. Parker, op. cit., p. 408 and Fowle's News Company, The Early History of Newburyport, Massachusetts: Which is intended to delineate and describe some quaint and historic places in Newburyport and vicinity (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Fowle's News Company, 1926), p. 15.

[190]Samuel Eliot Morison, "Thomas Parker," op. cit., p. 242.

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some degree of self-righteousness. As Perry Miller concluded, the Puritans were convinced that they were fulfilling the wishes of God by establishing the Biblical form of church government and system of faith in the New England wilderness.[191] For this cause, Parker and dozens of other early ministers of the Congregational and Presbyterian persuasions worked unceasingly until the end of their days on earth.

To best understand Parker, we must be cognizant of the good he did for the church, particularly through his concern for the souls of his flock, as well as for the advanced learning which, through the Latin grammar school, he made available to many who would otherwise have gone untaught. He was, moreover, a well published author and the central pillar of Newbury's early culture. As Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather wrote:

> If some of his expositions upon those difficult parts of the Scripture, have been since confuted by some great authors, who disliked them, we may, on more accounts than one, consider him as the Homer of New-England; and add,
>
> Aliquando Bonus Dormitat Homerus[192]

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[191]Perry Miller, Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition, op. cit., p. 22.

[192]Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 482.

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CHAPTER IV

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION, 1675-1684

As indicated in Chapter I, the nine years from 1675 to 1684 represented a period of great uncertainty for the Newbury school. However, Newbury was not alone in suffering from educational difficulties at this time. Indeed, education in the entire New England region was in peril. This was particularly true during the first half of the 1670s,[1] just prior to the haphazard beginning of King Philip's War.[2]

Being aware of the educational problems, the ministers who preached the Massachusetts election sermons in 1672 and 1673 complained of the deplorable condition of the Latin grammar schools.[3] As Reverend Thomas Shepard II

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[1]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), p. 96.

[2]Douglas Edward Leach, Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1958), pp. 30-49.

[3]John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1642-1658, Vol. I (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1873), pp. 177, 330.

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> O that inferiour Schools were every where so setled and encouraged, as that the Colledge (which the Lord hath made to be a Spring of Blessing to the Land) might not now languish for want of a sufficient supply of young ones from thence! There is a great decay in Inferiour Schools, it were well if that also were examined, and the Cause thereof removed, and Foundations laid for Free-Schools, where poor Scholars might be there educated by some Publick Stock.
>
> Let the Schools flourish: This is one means whereby we have been, and may be still preserved from a wilde Wilderness-state, through Gods blessing upon the same, and from becoming a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death. Cherish them therefore, and the Colledge in special . . .[4]

Instruction in the grammar schools of New Haven, Connecticut, and Hartford, Connecticut, lapsed in 1673 and in 1675 the operation of the school at Watertown, Massachusetts, ground to a standstill.[5] Harvard College, the institution to which many of the grammar school graduates aspired, also suffered during this period. In 1672, no degrees were granted and there were but four graduates in 1673 and only three in 1674.[6] By comparison, during the years immediately preceeding 1672, there were a number of young men who received degrees. There were eight graduates in 1667, five in 1668, ten in 1669, four in 1670 and eleven in 1671.[7]

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[4]Thomas Shepard II, quoted, Ibid., p. 330.

[5]Samuel Eliot Morison, op. cit., p. 96.

[6]John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1659-1677, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1881), pp. 412-446.

[7]Ibid., pp. 216-412.

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To a great extent, the difficulties were the result of controversies within the college, and from 1672 to 1684 the institution lingered in "A Low and Languishing State."[8] Another significant factor, however, was the expanding business trade of the late seventeenth century,[9] an opportunity which must have lured many a potential scholar away from his books. Samuel Eliot Morison called attention to the changing conditions, stating that:

> Trade with Europe and the West Indies was booming; likely lads preferred a berth in the forecastle or a cabin of a Yankee vessel to spending seven years in a grammar school and four more in college.[10]

Moreover, King Philip's War, the colonists' second major military conflict, had a devastating effect upon both the conqueror and the conquered.[11] Also of major significance was the uncertainty which ran rampant prior to King William's War, the first of the four inter-colonial struggles between the English and French.[12] Clearly, the

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[8]Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936), pp. 390-445.

[9]Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century (New York: Harper and Row, 1955), pp. 112-167.

[10]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

[11]Douglas Edward Leach, op. cit., pp. 242-250.

[12]Howard H. Peckham, The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762, The Chicago History of American Civilization, Daniel J. Boorstin, ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 5-76.

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exigencies of the increasingly dangerous military situation would appear to have been of major consequence in the limitation of educational growth.

In addition to serious changes far beyond the gentle banks of the Parker River, Newbury suffered a local tragedy. As mentioned in the preceeding chapter, Reverend Thomas Parker, Newbury's founder and patriarch, became so disabled by ill health in the fall of 1675 that the assistant minister, Reverend John Richardson I,[13] was obliged to carry on the bulk of the ministry. On October 20, 1675, Richardson was ordained as successor to Parker.[14] Newburyites were now without the leadership of the patriarch who had ministered to them since they left London in late March, 1634.[15]

With the exception of the first schoolmaster, Anthony Somerby I, the Newbury school had been taught by Parker and the assistant minister, Reverend James Noyes I. There was, then, considerable question as to whether Richardson would assume the position of schoolmaster as

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[13]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 210-213.

[14]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845), p. 116.

[15]Samuel Gardner Drake, "Passengers of the Mary and John, 1634," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. IX, No. 3 (July, 1855), pp. 265-268.

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well as minister or whether another man would be hired. The matter was resolved two weeks prior to Richardson's ordination when, at the town meeting held on October 5, 1675, "it was voted to have a schoolmaster got to teach to write & read & cypher & teach a gramer schoole."[16] The next month, on November 10, 1675, the selectmen, who had the power of hiring the schoolmaster on the approval of the freemen, voted:

> That whereas the Law requires that our Towne should maintaine a Grammer schoole & a schoole master to teach to recite & read, the Selectmen agreed with Henry Short to be the schoolmaster and to have for this first halfe yeare five pounds to be paid out of the Towne Rate and to have sixpence a week for every scholar.[17]

This determination to maintain the school through both public funds and relatively small tuition expenditures continued throughout the century. Charging tuition naturally prevented the continuation of a truly "free" school, as had existed under Parker from 1656 to 1675. Yet, the town school remained essentially a public institution in the sense that, despite the harshness of the pauper's oath, all of the town's youth could, in theory, avail themselves of both elementary and secondary education.

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[16]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902 (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1902), p. 396.

[17]Ibid.

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Henry Short II, Newbury's fourth schoolmaster, was born at Newbury on March 11, 1652.[18] He was the only surviving son of Representative Henry Short I and his second wife, Sarah (Glover) Short.[19] On March 4, 1635, Representative Short had claimed election from Ipswich to the Massachusetts General Court but, since two other men also claimed victory, five commissioners examined the matter and:

> Vpon a certificatt of 5 comissioners, chosen by the Court to consider of the elecon of the deputyes of Ipswich it did appeare to the Court that two of them viz: Mr Easton & Henry Shorte were vnduely chosen, whoe were forthwith dismessed: soe Mr John Spencer onely stands legally elected in the opinion of the Court.[20]

Nearly a decade later, however, the dismissed representative was elected from Newbury and, beginning with the March 7, 1644 session, he took his seat in Boston.[21] He had been among the earliest settlers of Newbury[22] and had sailed from London on the "Mary and John" in late March, 1634.[23] Although it is quite likely that he had been a neighbor of his fellow Newburyites, this has not

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[18]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 317.

[19]Ibid.

[20]John J. Currier, op. cit., p. 29.

[21]Ibid., p. 676.

[22]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 15.

[23]Samuel Gardner Drake, op. cit., pp. 265-268.

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been established positively.

The fact that a published Short family history does not exist is a situation compounded by the numerous errors which appeared in Newbury's vital records.[24] After a thorough search for genealogical data on the Short family, Martha G. Fales found only the unpublished manuscript of Mary Adams Rolfe, which is in the possession of The Historical Society of Old Newbury.[25]

Yet, some pertinent information has survived regarding the life of Representative Short during Newbury's early decades. In 1636, the General Court determined that:

> . . . every particular township should have power over its own affairs, and to settle mulcts upon any offender, upon any public order not exceeding twenty shillings, and liberty to chuse prudential men, not exceeding seven, to order the affairs of the towne.[26]

In consequence of this ruling, Newbury chose, "by papers," its first seven prudential men, viz., Representative Edward Woodman I, Reverend John Woodbridge II, Representative Henry Short I, Representative Christopher Hussey, Richard

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[24]The Essex Institute, Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. I (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1911), pp. 472-475; Vol. II, pp. 447-449, 719-721.

[25]Martha G. Fales, "The Shorts, Newburyport Cabinetmakers," Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. CII, No. 3 (July, 1966), p. 224.

[26]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 19.

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Kent I, Richard Brown I and Deacon Richard Knight I.[27] The extent of their powers is indicated in the diary of Reverend Richard Brown III, the Congregational minister of Reading, Massachusetts:

> They were chosen from quarter to quarter by papers to discharge the business of the town, in taking in, or refusing any to come, into town, as also to dispose of lands and lots, to make lawful orders, to impose fines on the breakers of orders, and also to levy and distrain them, and were fully impowered of themselves to do what the town had power for to do. The reason whereof was, the town judged it inconvenient and burdensome to be all called together on every occasion.[28]

As a family, the Shorts played a significant role in early Newbury and, in all likelihood, Henry Short II benefitted from being one of Parker's students during the 1660s. As noted in the previous chapter, the by now elderly minister continued to provide educational instruction without charging fees. The most thorough record of those who studied under Parker is found in the three volume

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[27]Ibid. and John Farmer, A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New-England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: Carter, Andrews and Company, 1829), pp. 329, 328, 264, 155, 168, 45, 171.

[28]Richard Brown III, quoted in, Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 19.

[29]Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. I (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 333.

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biographical work of John Langdon Sibley.[30] Unfortunately, however, there remains no body of data concerning non-college students who were, nonetheless, Parker's pupils. Consequently, due to the lack of historical data, one cannot be certain that Short attended the grammar school. Yet, in view of the educational emphasis which Newbury placed upon the position of schoolmaster, it is highly likely that he had been a student of Parker.

It should be remembered that the majority of seventeenth century students did not proceed beyond the elementary level of education.[31] The Latin grammar school, New England's major form of seventeenth century secondary education was, in most instances, an institution which reflected the value system of the small upper class, rather than that of the middle or lower class.[32] In order to become a schoolmaster, then, the completion of a grammar school education was generally required and at least one college degree was preferred. Consequently, most of the teachers in New England's early grammar schools were college educated in England and the second generation of

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[30]John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1642-1689, Vols. I-III (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1873-1885).

[31]S. Alexander Rippa, Education in a Free Society: An American History (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1967), p. 38.

[32]Ibid.

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schoolmasters tended to be holders of degrees from Harvard College.[33] As Clifford K. Shipton maintained, Short was "a man of more than average education, for he was town clerk and even for a time schoolmaster."[34] The writer would emphasize, then, the strong probability of Short's having completed his grammar school education under Parker.

In addition to holding numerous positions in early Newbury, Short's father was a successful farmer whose original property became so valuable that his descendants continued to occupy it into at least the middle of the nineteenth century.[35] Following the completion of his education, Short worked with his father on the family farm. On March 30, 1674, in his twenty-second year, he married Sarah Whipple, daughter of Representative John Whipple II, of Ipswich, Massachusetts.[36] Representative Whipple also served in the position of captain and his father, Representative John Whipple I, an early settler of Ipswich, was

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[33]Clifton Johnson, Old-Time Schools and School-Books (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), p. 20.

[34]Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1701-1712, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. V (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1937), p. 394.

[35]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 399.

[36]James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, Vol. IV (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1862), pp. 89, 505-506.

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a deacon of the town's Congregational Church.[37]

While engaged in his farming activities, Short decided to accept the position of schoolmaster and, as mentioned earlier, he was hired on November 10, 1675.[38] Undoubtedly, he was helped in achieving the position by virtue of the fact that his father had strongly sided with Reverend Parker during the controversy which had divided the Newbury church between 1669 and 1672.[39] Short's assets in terms of the job were that he had a fairly good education, he was orthodox in religion and he came from a rather prominent family. Not unexpectedly, acceptance by the minister was a desirable circumstance for seventeenth century schoolmasters[40] and we can be quite certain that, with Parker's victorious emergence from the church's inner strife, it would be insisted that the man hired as schoolmaster be someone who would function in a manner judged acceptable by the dominant half of the town.

Legally, the school was controlled by the town, rather than by the church or the minister.[41] Nonetheless,

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[37]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 312.

[38]John J. Currier, op. cit., p. 396.

[39]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 100.

[40]Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy (New York: American Book Company, 1939), pp. 51-53.

[41]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., p. 91.

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it is important to note that in a Bible state such as the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Puritans placed value upon education primarily because of their belief that it would help to enhance the religious welfare of their children.[42] There was, in short, a clearly evident relationship between the church and the state in that one of the major goals of education was to teach children the proper respect for the magistrates and ministers.[43] Under these circumstances, it is hard to imagine that a man who doubted the value of the church would have been chosen for the position of schoolmaster.

Newbury's method for hiring schoolmasters was typical of the method found in the majority of seventeenth century Puritan towns. Specifically, the selectmen chose a candidate who then faced a vote in the town meeting.[44] A major factor in the selection process was bargaining with the town over the amount of salary and the conditions of employment.[45] During the seventeenth century, Newbury voted yearly on the renewal of the schoolmasters'

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[42]Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 88.

[43]John C. Miller, The First Frontier: Life in Colonial America (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1966), p. 226.

[44]Willard S. Elsbree, op. cit., pp. 51-53.

[45]Ibid.

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contracts,[46] thus maintaining tight control over the local educational system.

The two largest salary expenditures in seventeenth century New England towns were the funds appropriated for the minister and those set aside for the schoolmaster, the latter receiving substantially less income than the former. Although teaching has always been a relatively poorly paid profession, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, where the established church exerted a comparatively powerful societal influence, a schoolmaster could expect somewhat greater remuneration than he could in the other colonies.[47] Generally speaking, schoolmasters earned approximately twenty to thirty pounds per year,[48] an income comparable to that of carpenters, bricklayers and other skilled craftsmen.[49] It should be remembered that most schoolmasters were pious young men who had graduated from Harvard College and were awaiting a parish.[50] Consequently, the average salary, under the circumstances of it being but seldom paid to middle aged and older men, was perhaps not as deficient as

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[46]John J. Currier, op. cit., pp. 395-402.

[47]Willard S. Elsbree, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

[48]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., p. 93.

[49]Willard S. Elsbree, op. cit., p. 97.

[50]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., p. 93.

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In 1676, Short began to keep an account of his various teaching activities and methods,[51] but the book has, unfortunately, been lost. A small portion of it was preserved in printed form in the 1845 work of Joshua Coffin. Thus, it is known that Short began the book when he "kept school at home and the time they (the scholars) came."[52] Between May 10, 1676 and December 25, 1676, there were seventeen students in attendance.[53] This was a relatively small number since Newbury had 236 male inhabitants who were sixteen or more years of age in 1678.[54] Their names and ages are found on an oath which had been required on April 27, 1678 by King Charles II and implemented on October 2, 1678 by the Massachusetts General Court.[55] On the basis of this document, we can ascertain with a high degree of certainty that Newbury had a total population exceeding 1000 during Short's tenure as schoolmaster. The vast majority of the 236 men were married and since a large percentage of them were in their twenties, thirties and forties,[56]

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[51]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

[52]Henry Short II, Notebook, quoted, Ibid., p. 118.

[53]Ibid.

[54]John J. Currier, op. cit., pp. 179-182.

[55]Ibid., pp. 178-179.

[56]Ibid., pp. 179-182.

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it is evident that quite a substantial number of children under the age of sixteen also constituted the town's population. In terms of the educational significance of these statistics, it is apparent that, with only seventeen pupils studying under Short, the town was committed to the concept of providing a high level of education even if only a very small percentage of the populace would be involved directly.

Short evidently pleased his fellow citizens during his first year of teaching, for on June 21, 1676 the town renewed his contract and although his salary was not increased, provision was made for him to teach in the watch house, rather than in his own home:

> June 21, 1676 the selectmen agreed with Henry Short to keep schoole for this year from the first Day of May last past (which time untill now he hath taught children) & he is to teach untill the first day of May next & the selectmen Do engage to pay him ten pounds out of the next Towne Rate and if the number be about twenty scholars & upwards he is to teach them at the watch house.[57]

Thereafter, Short's salary was increased to twenty pounds per annum, in addition to the fees from his students.[58] As was customary, the minister, who was frequently the best educated man in the Puritan town, also played a significant role in education through his preparation of boys for admission

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[57] Ibid., p. 397.

[58] Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 120.

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to Harvard College. Not surprisingly, Richardson, Newbury's third minister, assisted the schoolmaster on an informal basis from 1675 until his death in 1696.[59]

In 1680, after half a decade as schoolmaster, Short resigned his position and devoted his full attention to the family farm.[60] It is quite evident that Newbury had faith in his teaching and that he resigned for economic reasons, perhaps coupled with personal motivations which are now unknown. His father had died at Newbury on May 5, 1673[61] and it might well have been that Short had become increasingly interested in giving attention to the old homestead. He might also have had ambitions for the town clerkship which, in 1680, was still occupied by Somerby, the man who had previously served as Newbury's first schoolmaster. Yet, regardless of Short's motivation for resigning, there is no reason to believe that the town was in any way displeased with his efforts as schoolmaster.

Having served as clerk since 1647, Somerby resigned because of ill health in March, 1686, in his seventy-sixth year.[62] Short was elected to the position on

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[59]Eliza Adams Little and Lucretia Little Ilsley, eds., The First Parish, Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635-1935 (Newburyport, Massachusetts: News Printing Company, Inc., 1935), p. 30.

[60]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 127.

[61]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 264.

[62]John J. Currier, op. cit., p. 639.

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March 20, 1686.[63] The fourth schoolmaster, he was, by coincidence, also the fourth town clerk. Like his predecessor, he was re-elected annually for the rest of his life.

Short's wife, Sarah (Whipple) Short, died on December 28, 1691 on the family farm.[64] The following year, on May 11, 1692, he married, for his second wife, Ann (Sewall) Longfellow,[65] sister of the famous diarist, Judge Samuel Sewall, and daughter of Reverend Henry Sewall III and Jane (Dummer) Sewall.[66] Reverend Sewall settled in New England in 1634 and in 1637 he made his home in Newbury.[67] In 1646, however, he returned to England and became a Congregational minister at Warwick, Bishop-Stoke, and at Baddesly.[68] Not until 1659 did he permanently locate in Newbury and, having sent for his family, they arrived at Boston on July 5, 1661.[69] He was elected as Newbury's representative to the General Court from 1661 to 1664, 1666 to 1667, 1668 to 1669 and 1670 to 1671.[70] His father,

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[63] Ibid.

[64] James Savage, op. cit., p. 89.

[65] The Essex Institute, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 447.

[66] John Farmer, op. cit., p. 259.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid. and Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 398.

[69] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 345-346.

[70] John J. Currier, op. cit., pp. 677-678.

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Henry Sewall II, an early settler of Newbury, moved to Rowley, Massachusetts, in 1646.[71] Reverend Sewall's grandfather, Henry Sewall I, was elected mayor of Coventry, England, in 1606.[72] The Sewalls have been, to quote James Savage, "one of the most venerated families"[73] of New England.

The second Mrs. Short's maternal grandfather was Stephen Dummer, one of the early settlers of Newbury and the brother of the prominent Richard Dummer I, an Assistant of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.[74] The latter left his native Bishop-Stoke, near Southampton, England, in 1632 and was elected as Newbury's representative to the General Court from 1640 to 1641, 1645 to 1646 and 1647 to 1648.[75] From 1644 to 1645 and from 1646 to 1647, he was the representative from Salisbury, Massachusetts, Newbury's immediate neighbor to the north.[76] As Joshua Coffin maintained, Representative Dummer was:

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[71]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 317.

[72]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 259.

[73]James Savage, quoted in, Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 398.

[74]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 89.

[75]John J. Currier, op. cit., pp. 647-651.

[76]Ibid.

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> . . . one of the fathers of Massachusetts, was chosen magistrate, warmly espoused the cause of sir Henry Vane, was one of the disarmed adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson . . . He was very rich and equally benevolent. He contributed greatly to the improvement and growth of that part of Newbury, where he lived. The lands, upon which the academy is built, were his, and were left for the support of this institution. The house in which he lived, stood a few rods southeast of the present mansion house . . .[77]

The Dummer Academy, Massachusetts' first incorporated academy, was established in 1763 through the bequest of Lieutenant Governor William Dummer, grandson of the family founder.[78]

One of the sons of Representative Richard Dummer I was the noted Boston silversmith, engraver, portrait-painter and magistrate, Jeremiah Dummer I.[79] His son, Dr. Jeremiah Dummer II, held the important position of colonial agent for Massachusetts and Connecticut.[80] As an author, he was perhaps most noted for helping to perpetuate the rights of the colonies in his work, Defence of the New-England Charters (1721), which was addressed to

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[77]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 392.

[78]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1896), pp. 324-325.

[79]Frederick W. Coburn, "Jeremiah Dummer," Dictionary of American Biography, Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Vol. III (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), pp. 501-502.

[80]James Truslow Adams, "Jeremiah Dummer," Ibid., pp. 502-503.

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"the right Honourable the LORD CARTERET, one of His Majesty's Principle Secretaries of State."[81]

Clearly, the second Mrs. Short's paternal and maternal ancestors were among the leaders of New England. In terms of affecting the history of the colonies, they were of substantially greater consequence than were Short's ancestors.

Although the socio-economic status of Ensign William Longfellow I, Mrs. Short's first husband, was below that of the Sewalls and Dummers, he was by no means insignificant. Longfellow left his native Yorkshire, England, circa 1676 and settled in Newbury.[82] His grandfather, Edward Longfellow, was a Yorkshire man of property during the early seventeenth century.[83] In the assessment of John J. Currier, however, Longfellow was "a man of ability and education, but rather improvident in his manner of life, preferring fun and frolic to work and study."[84] Indeed, he acquired excessive debts and at one point his brother-in-law, Judge Samuel Sewall, wrote that the Sewall

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[81]Jeremiah Dummer II, A Defence of the New-England Charters (London: W. Wilkins, 1721), p. i.

[82]W.C. Bronson, "Henry Wadsworth Longfellow," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XI (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), p. 382.

[83]Ibid.

[84]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., p. 305.

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family was obliged to provide him with "upwards of an hundred pounds to get him out of Debt."[85] Even the Longfellow House, one of Byfield's most impressive and stately structures, was the gift of his father-in-law.[86]

Yet, had Longfellow lived longer than he did it is likely that he might well have shown greater evidence of maturity than that which had been exhibited in his youth. According to the diary of Judge Sewall, Longfellow was "cast away and drowned at Cape Breton" in October, 1690.[87] He had lived only long enough to see his thirty-ninth year.[88] Certainly the entire Longfellow family was not averse to serious work, however, for among Longfellow's descendants was his great-great-great-grandson, the famous nineteenth century poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.[89]

These rather elaborate genealogical references are included to provide some indication of socio-economic status in seventeenth century Newbury. The Sewalls and

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[85]"Letters of Cotton Mather, Samuel Sewall, John Callender, Adam Winthrop, and Others: Samuel Sewall to Stephen Sewall," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (April, 1870), p. 123.

[86]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., p. 305.

[87]Samuel Sewall, quoted in, Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 155.

[88]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 308.

[89]W.C. Bronson, op. cit., p. 382.

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Dummers, especially, were among the most prominent families of the colony. It is, therefore, a significant indication of the respect given schoolmasters and town clerks that, in an age of arranged marriages,[90] a man such as Short would have been judged acceptable to wed the daughter of Reverend Henry Sewall III.

At the time of Short's second marriage, his father-in-law deeded to him the above mentioned Longfellow House.[91] One of the oldest houses in northern Essex County, it survived the wrecker's ball until the early 1880s.[92] As appears in a photograph taken in 1880, it was a large, rectangular house and had an adjacent barn and stone wall.[93]

Possessing two substantial farms and numerous outlying acres, Short was one of the more notable Newbury-ites, both for his properties and for his position as town clerk. He was able to live in relative comfort and had rather substantial influence in the town. In 1694, probably as a consequence of his increased wealth, he ordered a specially made "remarkable dressing chest," which is now prominently displayed in The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur

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[90]Edmund S. Morgan, op. cit., pp. 55-59, 80-81.

[91]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., p. 308.

[92]Ibid., p. 312.

[93]Ibid., p. 306.

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Museum.[94] The following year, he, along with Judge Tristram Coffin II[95] and Abraham Merrill,[96] were chosen to divide the town into two parishes.[97] This action grew out of the 1689 to 1695 controversy between the settlers at Oldtown and those at West Village.[98] A thorough explanation of the troubles is presented in the following chapter.

Of all the seventeenth century Newbury schoolmasters, Short, having sired fourteen children, was the most prolific. His oldest and youngest children were separated from each other by more than a quarter of a century.[99] The younger children were but barely out of infancy when both

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[94]Martha G. Fales, op. cit., p. 225.

[95]Louis Coffin, ed., The Coffin Family (Nantucket, Massachusetts: Nantucket Historical Association, 1962), p. 136 and Richard Edward Kelly, Ancestral Record of the Family of Deacon Richard Edward Kelly and Anne Louise (Reynolds) Kelly, Vol. I (Boston: Goodspeed's Book Shop, 1969), p. 21.

[96]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 309.

[97]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 351.

[98]Ibid., pp. 347-351.

[99]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 317. The children were Henry III, born August 22, 1675; Sarah, born August 1, 1677; John, born December 14, 1679, died 1684; Hannah, born March 28, 1682; John, born October 13, 1685; Matthew I, born March 14, 1688; Lydia, born May 7, 1690, died 1691; Jane, born March 4, 1693; Samuel, born November 18, 1694, died 1698; Mehetabel, born January 12, 1696; Samuel, born February 16, 1698, died March, 1698; Samuel, born February 22, 1699; Hannah, born March 2, 1701, died April, 1701; and Joseph, born April 8, 1702.

Short and his wife died unexpectedly. The "Clark for ye Town & keeper of Records & Register twenty years & two months" died on October 23, 1706, in his fifty-fourth year.[100] Less than two months later, on December 18, 1706, his widow also died.[101]

One of his sons, Reverend Matthew Short I, attended Harvard College, where he received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1707 and his Master of Arts Degree in 1710.[102] He was the Congregational minister of, successively, Hampton Falls, New Hampshire; Chatham, Massachusetts; Attleboro, Massachusetts; Saco and Biddeford, Maine; and Easton, Massachusetts, the frequent moves being necessitated by insufficient annual salaries.[103] Short's youngest child, Joseph Short, was the father of Sewall Short who, born in 1735, became the first of an impressive line of Newburyport cabinet-makers.[104] The cabinet-making Shorts continued in business until the time of Stephen Short, who lived until 1882.[105]

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[100]The Essex Institute, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 719.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Clifford K. Shipton, op. cit., p. 394.

[103]Ibid.

[104]Martha G. Fales, op. cit., p. 225.

[105]Ibid., p. 239.

Newbury's fourth schoolmaster, like the first, proved that, despite the absence of a college education and a high socio-economic background, it was possible to rise to occupy positions of major significance in the town. Indeed, Short, to a far greater extent than Somerby, came to acquire substantial material acquisitions. It should be noted, however, that although Somerby and Short did not come from families as notable as did some of the other schoolmasters, their origins were, nonetheless, within the middle range of status.

Short's successor, Reverend John Emerson II, became embroiled in a controversy almost as intense as that which had troubled Parker from 1669 to 1672.[106] A major difference between the two controversies, however, was that the former was primarily a doctrinal dispute, while the latter was chiefly socio-economic and political.

Like his predecessors in the Newbury school, Emerson was born into a family of at least moderate means and influence. Born in 1654 at Ipswich, Massachusetts, he was the son of Nathaniel Emerson I, a farmer and baker of

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[106]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 72-112.

Chebacco Parish.[107] Nathaniel Emerson I inherited the Turkey Shore Road farm of his father, Thomas Emerson I, also a farmer and baker.[108] In 1639, the family founder had left the Emerson home in Sedgefield Parish, Durham, England, and, with his wife, Elizabeth, moved his family to Ipswich.[109]

In 1648, on a portion of his eight acre grant, Thomas Emerson I constructed what is today known as the Emerson-Howard House.[110] A large, two story clapboard house with weathered siding and hewn overhang, it is among the oldest existing homes in North America and is now owned by The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.[111] Built in a rather austere, functional

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[107]Benjamin Kendall Emerson, The Ipswich Emersons, A.D. 1636-1900: A Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Emerson of Ipswich, Mass., With Some Account of His English Ancestry (Boston: David Capp and Son, 1900), pp. 47, 64 and James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, Vol. II (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1860), p. 118.

[108]Benjamin Kendall Emerson, op. cit., p. 47.

[109]Ibid.

[110]James Savage, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 118 and Knowlton Mixer, Old Houses of New England (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), p. 111.

[111]Dorothy Pratt and Richard Pratt, A Guide to Early American Houses: North and South (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956), p. 15.

architectural style, it has been partially restored by the Society.[112]

In addition to having the distinction of owning one of the most impressive homes in Ipswich, the family received further recognition in 1709, when Nathaniel Emerson I obtained a certified copy of the Emerson coat of arms.[113] As shown in a photograph reproduced in the Benjamin Kendall Emerson genealogy, workmen left out the "Mr." on Nathaniel Emerson I's tombstone but his family afterwards insisted upon its insertion, thereby necessitating its being raised above the other lettering.[114] In seventeenth and early eighteenth century New England, the title, "Mr.," was used only to indicate holders of the Master of Arts Degree or individuals of particular distinction.[115] Consequently, the use of this title on the gravestone and on other records is an indication of the status of the Ipswich Emersons.

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[112]The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Visitor's Guide To Forty-six Historic Houses owned by The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (Boston: The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1970), p. iv.

[113]Benjamin Kendall Emerson, op. cit., p. 11.

[114]Ibid., p. 11, facing p. 48.

[115]Edward M. Cook Jr., "Social Behavior and Changing Values in Dedham, Massachusetts, 1700 to 1775," The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Ser., Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (October, 1970), p. 575.

Reverend John Emerson II was named for his uncle, Reverend John Emerson I, who graduated from Harvard College in 1656.[116] One of his classmates was the famous divine, Reverend Dr. Increase Mather, who later became President of the college.[117] The first John Emerson was the Congregational minister of Gloucester, Massachusetts, from 1661 until his death in 1700.[118]

The second John Emerson received his education at Ipswich, at least partially from the famous colonial schoolmaster, Ezekiel Cheever, who was the town's pedagogue from 1650 to 1661.[119] There are no extant records of Emerson's performance at this school, but his admission to Harvard College is evidence of his having completed secondary education.

While at college, his behavior was not without blemish. One of his infractions was recorded on February 2, 1674, when:

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[116]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 485-487.

[117]Kenneth Ballard Murdock, Increase Mather: The Foremost American Puritan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1925), pp. 43-55, 177-178, 356.

[118]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 485-487.

[119]Elizabeth Porter Gould, Ezekiel Cheever, Schoolmaster (Boston: The Palmer Company, 1904), pp. 17-23.

> Emerson for his refusing to come to the praesident when twice sent for was injoyned and warned to make an acknowledgmt in writing on ffryday next. And then also to declame as before by the praesident he had bin injoyned: for going out of town without leave &c.[120]

More favorable was the June 1, 1675 order by which the college awarded him "three pound, besides five pound due of ye schollarships, and ye last to be presently paid."[121] After receiving his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1675, he remained to take his Master of Arts Degree and, at the 1678 commencement exercises, he presented, "An potentiae animae rationalis agant inorganice?"[122]

His activities during the two years after receiving his second degree are unknown. However, it is most likely that, having been unable to secure a position as minister or schoolmaster in one of the New England towns, the question of financial solvency became of primary importance. As was evident in later years, however, Emerson was not one to remain content with receiving a lower salary than necessary.

From the founding of the Newbury school in 1639 to 1680, the highest annual salary for the schoolmaster had been the twenty pounds paid to Short during the late 1670s.[123]

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[120]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 471.

[121]Ibid., p. 472.

[122]Ibid.

[123]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 396-397.

It is true that Noyes and Parker had received substantially higher salaries, but they were being paid as ministers, rather than as schoolmasters. Indeed, when Parker took over the responsibility for the school in 1656, his salary was not increased commensurate with the additional task.[124]

On April 13, 1680, Newbury voted to pay twenty pounds annually "to Mr Emerson for to keep school."[125] Accepting the offer, Emerson commenced teaching. Financial complications soon arose, however. On June 11, 1680, in response to the May 19, 1680 petition of several of the town's inhabitants, the General Court authorized the Newbury selectmen "to raise by way of rate sixty pounds per annum to be to the use of the schoolmaster there."[126]

Concerning the controversy which ensued, Joshua Coffin merely noted that on October 22, 1680, "it was agreed that Mr. Burly should keep school in the watch house."[127] John J. Currier more fully discussed the dissension, noting that immediately after the General Court's June 11, 1680 ruling, Emerson demanded an increase in salary.[128] With but one negative vote, however, the

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[124]Ibid., pp. 316, 396.

[125]Ibid., p. 397.

[126]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 126.

[127]Ibid.

[128]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 397.

town notified Emerson that they would dismiss him before they would raise his salary so significantly.[129]

On September 14, 1680, in an attempt to reconcile the differences between the schoolmaster and the town, an ad hoc committee suggested that Emerson accept the originally offered twenty pound salary,[130] surely not a particularly negotiable recommendation. Emerson responded by demanding, instead, sixty pounds and he proceeded still further in an aggressive vein by declaring that since he had been hired for one year it was wholly illegal for the town to dismiss him.[131]

Negotiations such as these are generally outside twentieth century man's conception of the behavior of seventeenth century schoolmasters and ministers. Such bargaining is, moreover, anathema to many present day educators who contend that negotiations are beneath the dignity of the profession. Clearly, Emerson did not hold to such a persuasion.

Perhaps Emerson's lack of employment for two years after leaving Harvard College had whetted his appetite for a relatively high salary when he finally found a position.

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[129]Sarah Anna Emery, Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian (Newburyport, Massachusetts: William H. Huse and Company, 1879), pp. 218-219.

[130]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 397.

[131]Ibid.

Whatever the reason, he decided to fight the town's refusal of the higher salary to which he felt entitled. Following the Newbury committee's unsuccessful attempt to secure his services for twenty pounds, he appealed to the General Court and on October 13, 1680, it was ordered that he was to receive sixty pounds and that he was to be allowed to continue as schoolmaster until the Court's next session.[132] Ignoring the Court's ruling, Newbury hired a successor to Emerson, thereby creating some confusion as to who actually carried on the responsibility of teaching the youth during the 1680 to 1681 academic year.

According to Sarah Anna Emery, the controversy over Emerson's salary was largely the result of the long brewing jealousies between the several sections of Newbury,[133] viz., Oldtown on the Parker River, Riverside Village on the Merrimack River and West Village on the Artichoke River. Oldtown was able to raise the greatest amount of money for the school and church and, as a result, frequently voted for higher monetary expenditures than did the newer areas to the north and west.[134] Also of major consequence was the belief that Oldtown, to a large extent because it was the original center of Newbury, derived more

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[132] Ibid.

[133] Sarah Anna Emery, op. cit., pp. 218-219.

[134] Ibid.

benefit from the town funds than did the newer areas. There are, moreover, some indications that the contentions culminating in 1680 might even have been a rather direct extention of the divisiveness which had plagued Parker a decade earlier. In short, Emerson's demand for a higher salary was clearly not the sole reason for the controversy in which he became embroiled.

After having carefully studied the rather involved legal actions which transpired in Newbury and in the General Court in Boston, the writer has concluded that, despite substantial opposition, Emerson continued to occupy the position of schoolmaster during the year for which he had been hired. He was, most assuredly, the schoolmaster at Oldtown, where the greatest support existed for his increased salary, although he might not have taught during the entire year at Riverside Village or at West Village.

Eleven months after Emerson had been hired, the controversy was still raging and, as was typical in periods of crisis, the Newbury town meetings were the scenes of oftentimes heated arguments. At the town meeting of May 4, 1681, the following was decided:

> Sergeant Tristram Coffin and Joseph Pike were desired by the Towne to treat with Mr John Emerson about his wages for keeping schoole this last yeare past from May in the yeare 1680 until this present May: whereupon the said Mr Emerson did promise and engage to us above mentioned that in case the Towne

> pay or give security for the payment (to the said Mr Emerson) of twenty pounds in merchantable corne or mault by the twentieth of this Instant May, and by the last of October next forty pounds more in the like merchantable corne & mault that the said Mr Emerson do engage to desist from keeping schoole in Newbury forthwith upon such engagement.[135]

Accepting this proposal, Newbury adopted the following order:

> The Towne having heard & received Mr Emersons answer to the said Sergeant Coffin & Joseph Pike do consent thereunto and do hereby grant the same and do hereby order and empower the Selectmen to make a rate of sixty pounds for the settlement (with) Mr Emerson according to the said agreement, to be levied on the Towne in part, and the rest on the schollars that have been Instructed by the said Mr Emerson this last yeare, according to their discretion.[136]

In receiving sixty pounds, rather than the originally agreed upon twenty, Emerson won his fight with the town. Shortly after the town meeting, however, Newbury presented a petition to the General Court requesting the repeal of the June 11, 1680 order:

> To the Honoured Generall Court now assembled at Boston May 11, 1681.
> The Humble petition of the Selectmen of Newbury in the behalf of the Towne Humbly Sheweth
>
> That whereas this honoured Court was pleased to order our Town to pay sixty pounds pr Annum to a school-master this may certify this Honoured Court that according to their order wee have taken a course for the paying of the said sixty pounds unto Mr Emerson who was then in the place to his satisfaction. And the Towne hath agreed with a schoolmaster and taken order

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[135]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 398.

[136]Ibid.

for his maintenance, who is an able orthodox man. Therefore wee humbly desire this Honoured Court that they will bee pleased to repeale the order for the payment of the said three score pounds pr Annum and leave our Towne to the same Liberty to make a bargaine for a school as the rest of the Townes in the Country are, we are all now agreed and if that order should stand we feare it may make a breach amongst us, not doubting but that you will be pleased to consider and grant our humble request we humbly pray

Nicholas Noyes
Samuel Plumer
Joseph Pike
George March
Moses Gerrish

Granted by the Deputies
Consented to by the magistrates
Edward Rawson Secretary

In ansr to the petition of Nicholas Noyes, Samuel Plumer &c selectmen of Newbury, humbly desiring that, being agreed, the late order for the payment of sixty pounds p anna to their then schoole master, may be repealled, the Court judgeth it meet to grant the peticon.[137]

Not until February 22, 1682 was the matter finally settled, as evidenced by the following note:

Received of Joseph Pike constable of Newbury according to <u>according to</u> the severall sums above mentioned, the full and just summe of an hundred & ten pounds in satisfaction in full for whatsoever is due to me from the towne of Newbury for keeping schoole in the said towne of Newbury, and I do hereby acquit & discharge the said Constable & Towne from all debts & demands on that account from the begining of the world to this present day dated February 22, 1691-2 As witness my hand

Jno Emerson.[138]

After the conclusion of his controversial year at Newbury, Emerson went to Berwick, Maine, where he was the

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[137] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 398-399.

[138] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 399.

Congregational minister from 1683 to 1689.[139] There remains, however, some question as to whether he was ordained. John Langdon Sibley noted that Emerson's name was printed in italics in Harvard's Triennial Catalogue, but, he added, "though he preached, I find no record of his ordination."[140] The ordination record could have been lost at some point during the passage of nearly three centuries. Yet, even if he was not ordained, it is certain that he led Berwick's Christian flock. It should also be remembered that New Hampshire and Maine were far less well settled by the late seventeenth century than was Massachusetts Bay. Consequently, ecclesiastical regulations tended to be enforced with less rigor than they were in the older sections of New England.

Berwick, located approximately fifteen miles northwest of Kittery, Maine, is in an area which was not settled until late in the seventeenth century.[141] On this northern Puritan frontier, Emerson ministered to both the white settlers and the Indians. Berwick faced, as did

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[139]Frederic Lewis Weis, The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1936), p. 80.

[140]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 471.

[141]Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, 5th ed., Vol. I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 93.

dozens of other towns, the consequences of strained white-Indian relations, a situation which was made ever more obvious by King Philip's War.[142]

This part of New England was, in short, hardly the most sedate area of colonial settlement. Nor did Emerson appear to relish life of unremitted calm. On June 27, 1689, he narrowly escaped death when Major Richard Waldron I and fifty-one of his company were massacred or made prisoners by the Indians.[143] From September 7, 1689 to November 23, 1689, he was chaplain under Lieutenant Thomas Savage II.[144] Indeed, no other seventeenth century schoolmaster could claim such adventures as those which Emerson found as he moved from the classroom to the church and the battlefield.

Neither John Langdon Sibley[145] nor Frederic Lewis Weis[146] were able to account for Emerson's activities between 1689 and 1691. In 1691, however, the record resumes when he was made freeman[147] and on April 20, 1691, he

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[142]Douglas Edward Leach, op. cit., pp. 242-250.

[143]James Savage, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 117 and John Farmer, op. cit., p. 300.

[144]Ibid., p. 225 and Frederic Lewis Weis, op. cit., p. 80.

[145]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 472-473.

[146]Frederic Lewis Weis, op. cit., p. 80.

[147]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 473.

became the "Famous Master Emerson" of the Charlestown Grammar School.[148]

Never one to avoid controversy, he became closely associated with the prosecution of witches during the famous trials at Salem in 1692. Mary Tyler, who was charged with being a witch, was taken from Charlestown to Salem by her brother and Emerson, each of whom continually demanded that she confess her transgression.[149] As reported at her trial:

> . . . when she came to Salem, she was carried to a room, where her brother on one side and Mr. John Emerson on the other side, did tell her that she was certainly a witch, and that she saw the devill before her eyes at that time (and accordingly the said Emerson would attempt with his hand to beat him away from her eyes) and they so urged her to confesse, that she wished herself in any dungeon, rather than be so treated: Mr. Emerson told her once again, Well! I see you will not Confesse! Well! I will now leave you, and then you are undone, body and soul forever (till she) became so terrifyed in her mind that she own'd at length almost any thing that they propounded to her.[150]

Not long after moving to Charlestown, Emerson, now nearly forty years of age, married Sarah (Stowers) Carter,

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[148] Ibid.

[149] Marion L. Starkey, The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials (New York: Time Incorporated, 1963), p. 193.

[150] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 473.

widow of the Charlestown mariner, John Carter II.[151] Carter's father, John Carter I, settled in Charlestown in 1640 and in 1644 he became a freeman in the newly founded Woburn, Massachusetts.[152]

Mrs. Emerson was the daughter of Richard Stowers, of Charlestown.[153] His father, Nicholas Stowers, one of the eleven earliest settlers of Cape Ann, probably crossed the ocean in 1629 in the fleet which carried Reverend Francis Higginson.[154] Shortly after arriving in Salem, Stowers moved to the Boston area with the influential brothers, Representative Ralph Sprague and Representative Richard Sprague I.[155]

Emerson's only child, Sarah, was born at Charlestown on August 7, 1695.[156] She married Richard Foster II, of Charlestown, and died in the town of her birth on

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[151]Ibid., p. 474 and James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, Vol. I (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1860), p. 340.

[152]James Savage, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 340 and John Farmer, op. cit., p. 53.

[153]James Savage, Vol. IV, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

[154]Ibid. and James Truslow Adams, "Francis Higginson," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. IX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 11-12.

[155]James Savage, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 219 and John Farmer, op. cit., p. 271.

[156]Benjamin Kendall Emerson, op. cit., p. 66.

November 16, 1724.[157] John Langdon Sibley referred to Foster as "the Honorable," indicating greater than average status.[158]

During almost the entire decade of the 1690s, Emerson continued as the schoolmaster of Charlestown. On August 25, 1699, however, the selectmen of Salem asked him to assume the schoolmastership of their town.[159] Accepting the offer, he moved his family to Salem and on September 23, 1699 his contract was formalized.[160] The town provided him with an annual salary of fifty pounds, although it was stipulated that should the anticipated funds not be available, the remainder was to be "proportioned on ye scholars by ye selectmen."[161] By February, 1700, he had twenty students.[162]

At neither Charlestown nor Salem did there occur the type of controversy which had surrounded him at Newbury. He was respected and, as far as can be discerned from the records, his salary was paid promptly, one of the clearest

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[157] Ibid.

[158] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 474.

[159] James Duncan Phillips, Salem in the Eighteenth Century (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), p. 27.

[160] Ibid.

[161] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 473.

[162] Ibid.

indications of the community's acceptance.

In addition to being one of the better paid schoolmasters in the colony, he was also a trusted friend of a number of prominent men, among them Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather. Their friendship is indicated in letters of April 4, 1709 and May 22, 1710 which Mather wrote[163] to the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, merchant, lawyer and historian, Judge Samuel Penhallow.[164]

Death came to Emerson in his fifty-eighth year on February 24, 1712.[165] He was buried in Salem's Charter Street Cemetery.[166] A man of considerable property, the inventory of his estate, which was completed by his widow on August 21, 1713,[167] indicated his total worth to be 2503 pounds.[168] Of this, there were 1824 pounds in mortgages, bills, bonds, plate and money and 580 pounds in real estate

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[163]Cotton Mather, "Diary of Cotton Mather, 1709-1724," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Ser., Vol. VIII (1912), pp. 34-36.

[164]Howard R. Bartlett, "Samuel Penhallow," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XIV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), pp. 427-428.

[165]The Essex Institute, Vital Records of Salem, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. V (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1925), p. 228.

[166]Ibid.

[167]Benjamin Kendall Emerson, op. cit., p. 66.

[168]Ibid.

holdings in Charlestown and Boston.[169] By a considerable margin, he was Newbury's wealthiest seventeenth century schoolmaster. In comparison, the 1656 estate of Noyes, Newbury's second schoolmaster, was valued at 657 pounds, 11 shillings and 4 pence.[170] Parker, Newbury's founder, first minister and third schoolmaster, died in 1677, leaving an estate of 611 pounds.[171] In 1717, five years after Emerson's death, Newbury's eleventh and last seventeenth century schoolmaster, Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I, died at Gloucester, Massachusetts, leaving an estate of less than 240 pounds.[172] Most assuredly, Emerson had not been ineffectual in garnering material riches.

As far as is known, however, he did not produce a single book, article, poem or theological treatise. Moreover, his intense interest in material acquisition might even have been of sufficient magnitude to support the contention that he was somewhat alienated from the

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[169] Ibid.

[170] The Essex Institute, The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664, Vol. I (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1916), p. 247.

[171] The Essex Institute, The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1675-1681, Vol. III (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1920), p. 135.

[172] Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1690-1700, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. IV (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933), p. 287.

intellectual concerns of his predecessors. He represents, then, an example of the increasing number of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century schoolmasters and ministers who yearned for adventure and wealth as well as for the pedagogue's desk and the preacher's pulpit.

Although his life was substantially different from that of Parker, he was less atypical of latter day Puritans than might be supposed. As Ola Elizabeth Winslow reminds us in her biography of the Indian apostle, Reverend John Eliot, divergence of both ideology and actions among seventeenth century Puritans was of a rather profound magnitude.[173] To think that such men as Emerson emerged only on exceedingly rare occasions would be to misinterpret the nature of latter day New England Puritanism.

As noted earlier in the present chapter, there is some question about when Newbury's sixth schoolmaster, Reverend Thomas Baily I, commenced teaching. Although the town agreed, on October 22, 1680, "that Mr. Burly should keep school in the watch house,"[174] the weight of historical evidence seems to indicate that Emerson continued to serve as the town's regularly hired schoolmaster for the duration of the 1680 to 1681 academic year. As early as the fall of

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[173]Ola Elizabeth Winslow, John Eliot: "Apostle to the Indians" (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), p. 189.

[174]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 127.

1680, Baily might have taught in some parts of Riverside Village or West Village, where his greatest support existed,[175] but it is highly doubtful that he taught at Oldtown until 1681. The first definite record of his functioning as schoolmaster is that of October 19, 1681, when the town voted:

> . . . that the selectmen shall make a rate of twenty pounds for the Towne payt for Mr Baily. And that the year begine for Mr Baily schooling this day October 19, 1681.[176]

In addition to the existence of some doubt as to when Baily began teaching, however, there is also a certain degree of imprecision concerning the identity of the man himself. Joshua Coffin referred to Baily but once and then only as "Mr. Burly."[177] John J. Currier referred to him once in a reference quotation and once in conjunction with the controversy over Emerson.[178] It is unfortunate that neither of Newbury's two major historians included Baily's Christian name.

John Farmer, New England's early nineteenth century genealogist, included a number of male Baileys in

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[175]Sarah Anna Emery, op. cit., pp. 218-219.

[176]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 399.

[177]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 127.

[178]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 397, 399.

his A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New-England (1829): two named John, one named Richard, one named Theophilus, two named Thomas and, under the spelling "Bayley": three named John, two named James, one named Joseph, one named Joshua and one named Abner.[179] Through the process of elimination, largely on the basis of noting that only two or three of the above mentioned men lived in the Newbury and Salisbury area, the writer attempted to locate additional biographical data on these individuals.

In The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England (1956), Samuel Eliot Morison stated that "of eleven successive teachers at Newbury, only one lacked the A.B."[180] The years to which Morison was referring, however, are not stated. Surely he was not indicating only the seventeenth century since four schoolmasters in the century, viz., Somerby, Noyes, Short and Baily, all failed to attain a college degree. In response to the writer's personal letter inquiring about the possibility of greater specificity, Morison replied that unfortunately he had no extant notes from which to elaborate further.[181] It is most likely, however, that he obtained his information from the

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[179]John Farmer, op. cit., pp. 22, 30, 336.

[180]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., p. 93.

[181]Letter from Samuel Eliot Morison, Jonathan Trumbull Professor of American History, Emeritus, Harvard University, to Richard Edward Kelly, June 12, 1970.

Joshua Coffin and John J. Currier volumes, neither of which, as mentioned earlier, reveals Baily's identity.

Yet, since a large number of schoolmasters eventually were ordained as Congregational ministers, there was a strong likelihood that Baily might well have been among this number. The affinity between the school and the church was logical in view of Puritan societal structures. Indeed, this circumstance was a factor in eliminating some of the men who might possibly have been Newbury's sixth schoolmaster.

Finally, after more than two months of intensive research, it was concluded that the person most likely to have been "Mr. Burly" was Reverend Thomas Baily I, whose brother was the better known Congregational minister of Boston and Watertown, Massachusetts, Reverend John Baily I.[182] It must be noted, however, that, because of insufficient data, this conclusion must remain somewhat uncertain despite the fact that there are no other known seventeenth century men who bore the surname and could conceivably have been schoolmaster of Newbury during the early 1680s.

Surprisingly little is known about the ancestry of Thomas Baily I. According to Reverend Dr. Increase Mather, Baily was born on February 24, 1643 at

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[182]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 22.

Blackburn, Lancashire, England.[183] He arrived in Boston circa 1675 after having been imprisoned in both England and Ireland because of his religious convictions.[184] Although his activities in Boston during the late 1670s are unknown, it is possible that he assisted a minister or schoolmaster.

Baily was quite obviously a highly religious man and his having suffered for his faith must have helped to endear him to Newbury's faithful. He was the only seventeenth century Newbury schoolmaster not to have come from a family which left England during the Great Puritan Migration or very shortly thereafter and his being hired indicates that orthodoxy of religion was more significant than simply being born into an early colonial family. Although Baily's performance as schoolmaster is not indicated in the town records, it is quite safe to assume that he filled the position in a capable manner and that he was evidently satisfactorily received by the town.

Circa 1683, his brother, Reverend John Baily I, had settled in the Boston area.[185] When Reverend Thomas

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[183]Increase Mather, quoted in, Samuel G. Drake, The History and Antiquities of Boston, The Capital of Massachusetts and Metropolis of New England, From Its Settlement in 1630, to the Year 1770 (Boston: Luther Stevens, 1856), p. 462.

[184]Ibid.

[185]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 22.

Baily I resigned the Newbury schoolmastership in 1684,[186] he returned to Boston. Here, the Baily brothers were well respected, an indication of their esteem being given by Reverend John Dunton, the Congregational minister of Little Missinden, Buckinghamshire, England, who visited the colonies in 1685 and kept a diary from which the following is taken:

> Leaving Mr. Allen's house, I went next to visit Mr. John and Mr. Thomas Bailey. These two are popular preachers, and very generous to strangers. I heard Mr. John upon the words, 'looking unto Jesus,' and I though he spake like an angel. They express a more than ordinary kindness for Mr. Wilkins, my landlord, and (being presecuted in Limerick for their Nonconformity) came over with him from Ireland. Reader, I might be large in their character, but when I tell you they are true pictures of Dr. Annesley (whom they count a second St. Paul), it is as high as I need go.[187]

The year after Dunton's visit, John was called to Watertown and, on October 6, 1686, he was settled as the Congregational minister.[188] It was probably at this time that Thomas also moved to Watertown as assistant to his brother. His ordination took place at Watertown on November 2, 1687.[189]

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[186]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 127.

[187]John Dunton, quoted in, Samuel G. Drake, The History and Antiquities of Boston, op. cit., pp. 459-462.

[188]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 22.

[189]Frederic Lewis Weis, op. cit., p. 25.

At an unknown time, Thomas Baily I had married a certain Rebecca, who bore him two sons, John II, born in the early 1680s, and Thomas II, baptized at Watertown on August 19, 1688.[190] On January 21, 1689, Baily died at Boston in his forty-sixth year.[191]

On April 26, 1694, his widow married the wealthy Salem, Massachusetts, merchant, Representative William Browne II.[192] With his father, Representative William Browne I, also a merchant, he was a member of the Council of Governor Edmund Andros and, following Andros' overthrow, he served on the Council of Safety.[193] He was, in addition, a counsellor under the charter of William and Mary.[194] The Browne family had resided in the colony since 1635[195] and for three generations they were, to quote Clifford K. Shipton, "perhaps the richest and most distinguished family of Salem."[196]

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[190]James Savage, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 95.

[191]Increase Mather, quoted in, Samuel G. Drake, The History of Antiquities of Boston, op. cit., p. 462.

[192]James Savage, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 278.

[193]Ibid.

[194]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 45.

[195]James Savage, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 277.

[196]Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1726-1730, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. VIII (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1952), p. 118.

In the absence of significant data concerning Baily's ancestry as well as his activities in Massachusetts Bay, the socio-economic level of the Brownes might offer some indication, imprecise though it is, of the former schoolmaster's societal position. Seventeenth century marriages were, as noted earlier, negotiated on economic as well as religious grounds. Protracted wrangling over finances was especially characteristic of second marriages since a New England widow inherited a life estate in at least one third of all the land which her husband had possessed at any point during the marriage.[197] Regardless of the genuineness of Browne's love, then, it would not appear unkind to state that, as a member of one of the colony's wealthiest families, he would have been unlikely to have married Mrs. Baily had the Baily family not achieved at least some respectably high measure of prominence.

While Reverend Thomas Baily I hardly rose to the pinnacle of recognition within ecclesiastical circles, his brother clearly did so. In 1692, after ministering to the Watertown church, Reverend John Baily I returned to Boston and became, on July 17, 1693, assistant minister of the famous First Church.[198] This was the church over which the

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[197]George L. Haskins, Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts: A Study in Tradition and Design (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), pp. 180-182.

[198]Samuel G. Drake, The History and Antiquities of Boston, op. cit., p. 548.

influential Reverend John Cotton had been chosen teacher on October 10, 1633[199] and it continued to be one of the most prominent churches in New England. Among Baily's closest associates were the Mathers, father and son, who together served the pulpit of Boston's Second Church.[200]

Indicative of Baily's religious convictions is a statement which he made in one of his published works, Man's chief End to Glorifie God (1689):

> It is your great Duty to Glorifie God . . . If God may be Glorified, or Converted, Edified or Comforted I should Rejoyce; and if it should be otherwise, my Soul desires to weep in Secret for your Pride and Misery.[201]

On numerous occasions, he was also known to state:

> Three things I desire to get: patience under the calamities of life; impatience under its moral infirmities; and earnest longings for the life to come . . . May we not be of the number of them who live without love, speak without feeling, and act without life.[202]

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[199]Larzer Ziff, The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 82-84.

[200]Kenneth Ballard Murdock, op. cit. and Barrett Wendell, Cotton Mather: The Puritan Priest (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1963).

[201]John Baily I, Man's chief End to Glorifie God: Or, Some Brief Sermon Notes on 1 Cor. 10. 31. (Boston: Samuel Green, 1689), p. 160.

[202]John Baily I, quoted in, Alexander McKenzie, "The Religious History of the Provincial Period," The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County Massachusetts, 1630-1880, Justin Winsor, ed., Vol. II (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1881), p. 197.

In addition to the above mentioned work, he also wrote a forty page book, To my Loving and Dearly Beloved Christian Friends (1689),[203] for the Puritans in Limerick, Ireland, to whom he had ministered prior to leaving for New England. When Baily died in 1697, both Increase and Cotton Mather wrote long eulogies, pointing to him as an example whom all Christians would benefit from following.[204]

The foregoing examination of the lives of the schoolmasters and the state of the school between 1675 and 1684 would seem to indicate a decidedly prominent tendency towards laxity in education, rather than a continuation of the firm direction of previous years. Undoubtedly, the controversy which came to a head during the latter portion of Parker's career did much to undermine the unity which had formerly characterized the town's religious and educational life. Hardly less debilitating were King Philip's

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[203]John Baily I, To my Loving and Dearly Beloved Christian Friends, in or about Limerick (Boston: Samuel Green, 1689).

[204]Increase Mather, David Serving His Generation. Or, A Sermon Shewing What is to be done in order to our So Serving our Generation, as that when we Dy, we shall Enter into a Blessed REST: (Wherein Some account is given concerning many eminent Ministers of Christ at London, as well as in N.E. lately gone to their Rest.) occasioned by the Death, of the Reverend Mr. John Baily, Who Deceased at Boston in New-England, December 12th. 1697 (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1698) and Cotton Mather, The Life and Death of the Reverend Mr. John Baily, Comprised and Expressed In A Sermon, On the Day of his Funeral (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1698.

War of 1675 to 1676 and the 1680 to 1681 crisis over Emerson.

In addition to heightened internal dissension, however, there was also the significant modification of a different breed of man having come to wield the master's rod. Of the three schoolmasters, Short, Emerson and Baily, only the second had attended college and his effectiveness was seriously marred by controversy. Taken as a unit, the schoolmasters who taught during this period of transition were less well educated than their three predecessors. Of Somerby, Noyes and Parker, the latter two had studied at European universities and Parker had earned the prestigious Master of Philosophy Degree. A further aspect of the more limited intellectual climate is the fact that both Noyes and Parker were the authors of a number of learned works, whereas not one of the schoolmasters who taught from 1675 to 1684 published a single word.

Still another modification concerned the length of tenure. Somerby taught for 8 years, Noyes for 9 and Parker for 19, an average of 12 years per schoolmaster. In addition, all three were permanent residents of Newbury. During the second period, however, Short taught for 5 years, Emerson for 1 and Baily for 3, an average of only 3 years per schoolmaster. This was a decidedly marked reduction in the length of tenure. Moreover, only Short was a permanent resident of the town, both Emerson and Baily

having been raised elsewhere and having resided in Newbury exclusively during the relatively short period of their schoolmastership.

There seems to have been a severe modification of, let us say, the spirit with which education had been carried out during the earlier decades of Newbury's existence. In short, the town school was becoming far less tightly structured and the schoolmasters' preparation was seriously declining in both quality and quantity. The absence of information on the texts used in the town school prevents the formulation of adequate conclusions about instructional quality. We can only hypothesize, however, that in view of the lessened emphasis upon the intellectuality of the schoolmasters, the education which they offered their students is not likely to have improved over that which had been made available by Noyes and Parker.

The question of direction for the Newbury school was still uncertain when Baily returned to Boston. Not until the late seventeenth century would the school's existence and intellectual respectability be established to a meaningful extent. As might be expected, it was the schoolmasters who played the dominate role in the resolution of the problem.

CHAPTER V

THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, 1684-1700

In 1684, Newbury's education was launched upon an entirely different path. As will be shown in the present chapter, the men who taught from 1684 to 1700, viz., Reverend Edward Tompson I, Reverend Seth Shove, Reverend John Clark, Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I and Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I, were active during a rather unique period in the history of the town school. In essence, the difficulties which had emerged during the transitional period of 1675 to 1684 were resolved, to a degree, during the final years of the century.

The seventh schoolmaster, Reverend Edward Tompson I, was Newbury's third pedagogue to hold a college degree. Having been born at Braintree, now Quincy, Massachusetts, on April 20, 1665, he was but nineteen years of age when he succeeded Reverend Thomas Baily I in the schoolmastership.[1] Tompson's parents were Representative

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[1]John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1678-1689, Vol. III (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1885), p. 306.

Samuel Tompson I and Sarah (Shepard) Tompson, daughter of Edward Shepard I, one of the early settlers of Cambridge, Massachusetts.[2] Representative Tompson was born circa 1631 in Lancashire, England, and was brought to New England by his father, Reverend William Tompson I, in 1637.[3] In addition to being a deacon of the Congregational Church, he was elected as Braintree's representative to the Massachusetts General Court from 1676 to 1679 and from 1682 to 1691.[4]

It was Tompson's paternal grandfather, however, who was the most noted of all the early Tompsons. Born in 1598 in Lancashire, England, Reverend William Tompson I matriculated on January 28, 1620 as a commoner's son at Brasenose College, Oxford University.[5] In 1622, he received his Bachelor of Arts Degree and for the fifteen years which followed he remained in England as a Puritan minister.[6]

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[2]Frederic Lewis Weis, The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1936), p. 205 and John Farmer, A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New-England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: Carter, Andrews and Company, 1829), pp. 289, 262.

[3]Frederick Chase, "Reverend William Tompson," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XV, No. 2 (April, 1861), p. 112.

[4]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 289.

[5]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 402.

[6]Ibid.

Between 1637 and 1639, he was the Congregational minister of Agamenticus, now York, Maine, and in 1639 he assumed the same position at Braintree.[7]

Although the Tompson family patriarch was an effective preacher, as Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather wrote, "he fell into that Balneum Diaboli, a black Melancholy, which for divers Years almost wholly disabled him for the Exercise of his Ministry."[8] Upon Tompson's return from a brief ministry in Virginia, he found that his wife had died and that his children had been taken into the homes of neighbors.[9] So severe were his fits of depression that he did not even reclaim all of his children from the families that had taken them in.[10] Yet, despite his lack of emotional adjustment, he continued to be one of the most notable ministers of the first generation.

He was not, however, the only significant member of his family. One of his sons, an uncle of the Newbury schoolmaster, was the poet, Representative Joseph Tompson I.[11]

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[7]Ibid.

[8]Cotton Mather, quoted in, Samuel Eliot Morison, op. cit., p. 402.

[9]Harrison T. Meserole, ed., Seventeenth-Century American Poetry (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1968), p. 221.

[10]Ibid.

[11]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 289 and Samuel Eliot Morison, op. cit., p. 402.

A resident of Billerica, Massachusetts, he occupied, at various times, the positions of schoolmaster, captain, selectman, town clerk and representative to the General Court.[12] Another son was Reverend William Tompson II, who graduated from Harvard College in 1653 and became the Congregational minister of Springfield, Massachusetts.[13] However, the most famous son of Reverend William Tompson I was Dr. Benjamin Tompson I, America's first native born poet.[14] After graduating from Harvard College in 1662, Dr. Tompson, a physician, taught school in various towns, being chosen, in 1667, as the fifth master of the Boston Latin School.[15] He remained here until January 6, 1671, when he "resigned vp the possestion of the schoole and schoole house" and was succeeded by Ezekiel Cheever.[16] After leaving Boston, Dr. Benjamin Tompson I held the

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[12] Ibid.

[13] John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1642-1658, Vol. I (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1873), pp. 354-357.

[14] Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings, 2nd ed., Vol. II (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 635.

[15] John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1659-1677, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1881), pp. 103-104 and Robert Francis Seybolt, The Public Schoolmasters of Colonial Boston (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 3-5.

[16] Robert Francis Seybolt, op. cit., p. 5.

positions of schoolmaster and physician in a number of New England towns but, at length, he returned to Braintree, where he was "practitioner of physick for above thirty years."[17] His most ambitious poetic work was New Englands Crisis (1676), a narrative of King Philip's War.[18]

Clearly, Reverend Edward Tompson I was a member of one of the prominent families of early New England. As shown above, a number of his close relatives were among the intellectual leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Moreover, these notable men were far from the only significant persons in the family. As John Farmer indicates, many cousins and nephews of Reverend Edward Tompson I also achieved levels of prominence.[19]

As the youngest schoolmaster in Newbury's history, Tompson was, perhaps, regarded as a rather precocious young man. It is clearly evident that the town appreciated his efforts for during his first year of teaching he received a salary of thirty pounds, an amount larger than that which

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[17]Ibid., pp. 104-108.

[18]Benjamin Tompson I, New Englands Crisis. Or a Brief Narrative of New-Englands Lamentable Estate at present, compar'd with the former (but few) years of Prosperity . . . Poetically Described. By a Well wisher of his Country (Boston: John Foster, 1676) and Howard Judson Hall, ed., Benjamin Tompson, 1642-1714, First Native-Born Poet of America: His Poems Collected With an Introduction (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924).

[19]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 289.

had been provided for any of his predecessors.[20]

As mentioned earlier in the present work, the 1647 "Old Deluder Satan Act" required every town of one hundred families to maintain a secondary school.[21] Because of frequent difficulties in attracting schoolmasters for a significant length of time, many towns were forced to hire young men fresh from college who were competent to teach Latin and, it was hoped, would have sufficient piety to engender a harmonious relationship with the minister.[22] In most instances, a salary of twenty to thirty pounds was welcomed by the young schoolmaster while he awaited a parish of his own.[23] Like his two immediate predecessors, Tompson was an example of such an educator. Since he was not particularly dedicated to teaching, he embraced the schoolmastership primarily as an expedient towards the attainment of

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[20]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845), p. 142.

[21]Henry Steele Commager, ed., Documents of American History, 5th ed., Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, gen. ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949), p. 29.

[22]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), p. 93.

[23]Ibid.

Nonetheless, he was so eager to secure employment that he commenced teaching even before receiving the Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1684.[24] Unlike all of his living fellow graduates, he did not return to Harvard College three years later to take the Master of Arts Degree.[25]

Unfortunately, the Newbury records pertaining to Tompson's teaching are rather sparse. After the statement of his being hired, the next time he was mentioned was on March 28, 1687, when:

> The Towne voted that ye selectmen should agree wth Mr Tompson to keepe schoole for the Towne one quarter of a year from this time, provided he will be pleased to keepe ye schoole ye sd quarter of a yeare for seven pounds & ten shillings. Ye scholars to pay pr week as formerly.[26]

As this document indicates, the school evidently continued to operate as a semi-public institution, since the town provided a portion of the funds necessary to carry it on and the fathers of those in attendance contributed the additional needed income.

In June, 1687, Tompson gained employment at Simsbury, Connecticut, where the inhabitants had agreed to remove his family and effects and to pay him fifty pounds a year:

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[24]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 306.

[25]Ibid., pp. 270-271, 286.

[26]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902 (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1902), pp. 399-400.

> . . . in good current pay, to wit, one third in good and merchantable wheat at four shillings per bushel, one third in pease or rye at three shillings per bushel, and one third of Indian corn or pork, the corn at two shillings sixpence per bushel, and the pork at three pounds ten shillings per barrel.[27]

In addition, Simsbury provided him with firewood, the use of the parsonage property and certain lands in fee.[28] As is fairly obvious, this was a substantial economic improvement over the Newbury schoolmastership and Tompson accepted the position, it may safely be assumed, with but little deliberation.

Located approximately ten miles northwest of Hartford, Simsbury had not been settled until 1671[29] and when Tompson became the Congregational minister the town had hardly more voting residents than the forty-nine men who signed his invitation.[30] Tompson had been unanimously approved at the meeting,[31] a circumstance certain to have added to the position's desirability.

Although facts pertaining to Tompson's marriage are hardly adequate, it is known that he wedded a certain

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[27]Noah A. Phelps, History of Simsbury, Granby and Canton, From 1642 to 1845 (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Burnham, 1845), p. 52.

[28]Ibid.

[29]John Farmer, op. cit., p. viii.

[30]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 306.

[31]Ibid.

Sarah.[32] Since his first child was born in Simsbury on May 11, 1688, it is likely that the marriage took place either shortly before or shortly after Tompson's relocation.[33] Yet, in the absence of data, this statement must remain conjectory.

Three years after moving to Simsbury, Tompson again became closely involved in Newbury's affairs. As noted in previous chapters, a vigorous rivalry developed quite early between Newbury's three sections, viz., Oldtown on the Parker River, West Village on the Artichoke River and Riverside Village on the Merrimack River. The town school, being controlled by the freemen, was, of necessity, a major point of contention in the disputes. In the main, the dissension was politically and economically motivated, rather than philosophically or theologically induced. It was, in short, a drama of conflicting interests between the established Oldtown and the budding West Village.

Relations between the two sections of Newbury became particularly tense on March 10, 1685, when a petition, signed by freemen in West Village, requested permission to hire a minister, i.e., to create a second parish.

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[32]Frederick Chase, op. cit., p. 114.

[33]Albert C. Bates, Simsbury, Connecticut: Births, Marriages and Deaths Transcribed from the Town Records (Hartford: The Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1898), p. 22.

The wording of the petition suggests the convictions of many of those at West Village:

> To the Town of Newbury the humble request of some of the inhabitants of this town doe sire and intreat that you would be pleased to grant us your consent, approbation and assistance in getting some help in the ministry amongst us, by reason that we doe live soe remote from the means, great part of us that we cannot with any comfort or convenience come to the publick worship of God; neither can our families be brought up under the means of grace as christians ought to bee, and which is absolutely necessary unto salvation; therefore we will humbly crave your loving compliance with us in this our request.[34]

However, despite the humility of the petition, the request was denied, perhaps principally because of Oldtown's desire to retain as much power as possible.

Yet, in 1689, despite the rejection of its petition, West Village, at its own expense, constructed a building thirty feet square, at or near the place now known as the Sawyer Hill Burying Ground.[35] On February 25, 1690, in response to this action, Newbury appointed a committee to confer with the minister, Reverend John Richardson I, about the proposed hiring of a pastor for West Village.[36] Because Richardson followed a middle course and declined to express an opinion on the matter, the committee decided

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[34]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 142-143.

[35]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1896), pp. 363-366.

[36]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 347.

not to grant the privilege which had been requested.[37]

On March 11, 1690, however, a committee composed of fifteen West Village freemen submitted two proposals which clearly specified the action they favored:

> 1. That the Towne would agree to make a rate for the maintenance of two ministers so that we at the new Towne might have the word of God preached among us at the West meeting house and that by a Loving agreement of the towne together, which wee your friends & broathers have long wished for, and now would hope that we may Lovingly agree in. But now if the Towne will not grant us that proposition, our second is,
> 2. That the Towne would grant us their free consent (to establish) the ministry among us upon our own charg & that the Towne would Lovingly agree to a Dividing line between us so we may know what families may now belong to the West meeting house &c.[38]

When the town refused to grant either proposition, West Village, taking the matter into its own hands, asked Tompson to occupy the pulpit of their newly constructed meeting-house.[39]

On July 14, 1691, Newbury harshly disapproved of what was contended to be an illegal usurpation of the power which they believed to be rightfully vested in the entire town:

> The towne understanding that several of the inhabitants of new towne are about calling Mr. Tompson to be their minister, the towne did by vote manifest their dislike against it, or against any other minister,

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., pp. 347-348.

[39] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 306-307.

> whom they should call, until ye church and towne are agreed upon it, looking upon such a thing to be an intrusion upon ye church and towne.[40]

Nonetheless, Tompson obviously accepted the West Village pulpit, for, as Frederic Lewis Weis indicates, he was settled as the Congregational minister from 1691 to 1695.[41]

During the fall of 1691, the controversy over the minister became so intense that on October 1, 1691 West Village petitioned the Massachusetts General Court "to be established a people by themselves for the maintenance of the ministry among them."[42] In Oldtown's December 2, 1691 response to the complaint, the illegality of the West Village actions was emphasized:

> Whereas divers of the inhabitants of our Towne presented to the Honoured Genll Court a petition Octo. 1 1691 to be established a people by themselves for the maintainance of the ministry amongst them & whereas the Honoured Genrll Court at a session of yrs in Boston 14th of Octobr 1691 ordered yt a copy of sd petition be sent to the Towne of Newbury and that oportunity be given them at the next sitting of the Court to present what they have to offer why the petioners should not be granted what they move for, if they have anything against it.
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> The inhabitants of the Towne did then by vote manifest ymselves against the new Townes men having yr petition granted & did then desire ye worshippful Jno Woodbridg Esq. Capt Peirce, Capt Noyes, Deacon Noyes and ye selectmen to draw up a petition to ye next sessions of ye Genll Court in the behalf of the Towne in way of answer to ye now Towne mens petition

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[40]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 156.

[41]Frederic Lewis Weis, op. cit., p. 205.

[42]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 156.

> & that Capt Noyes should manage ye sd afare in the behalfe of ye Towne at ye next session of ye Genll Court.[43]

Unpersuaded by the committee's arguments, West Village defended its actions once again in March, 1692.[44]

While it is not known how effective Tompson was in the strife-ridden West Village church, it is obvious that he had a strong desire to become minister. Had he not harbored this aspiration, it is doubtful that he would have left Simsbury, where he was apparently highly esteemed, only to enter into an uncertain situation in Newbury. He might, however, have miscalculated in deciding to return to Newbury. Yet, regardless of the wisdom of his initial decision, once he found himself in the midst of the controversy, he determined to fight it out.

The intensification of Tompson's opposition was clearly evident on December 20, 1692, when Newbury decided to "call another minister at the west end of the towne" even though twenty-two of the men from West Village, desiring to retain Tompson, entered their dissent against this measure.[45] Nonetheless, since the majority were in favor of the action, a committee was formed on December 27, 1692 "to enquire

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[43]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 348.

[44]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 157.

[45]Ibid., p. 158.

after a suitable person to preach to the west end and to keep schoole."[46]

On May 10, 1693, a town meeting was held and the following action was taken:

> It was voted yt Mr John Clarke be chosen to Asist Mr John Richardson in the worke of the ministry & to help at the west end of the Towne of Newbury to preach to them for one yeare in order to further settlement as the Church & Towne shall agree & also to keepe a Gramer Schoole for wch the sd Towne engages to allow sd Mr Clarke Rationall satisfaction if he except of the worke.[47]

However, Reverend John Clark, a native of Newbury and a 1690 graduate of Harvard College, did not easily assume the position.[48] Still desiring to keep its first choice for the ministry, West Village refused to accept the town's decision, as evidenced from Oldtown's May 31, 1693 petition to the General Court:

> . . . (that) a long difference has existed between the people of Newbury, and those in the west end of the town about calling a minister, that the west end people had called Mr. Edward Tomson to preach to them without acquainting the minister, church or towne with their proceedings in that affair, the which when our town did understand that they were about to bring him into town, the town being met to consider of it by their vote did declare that they were against his

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[46] Ibid.

[47] John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 348-349.

[48] Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1690-1700, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. IV (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933), pp. 39-40.

> coming, or any any other until the church and town were agreed, yet they persisted in their design and brought him in, and when he was come in our minister warned him to forbear preaching till the church and town were agreed, yet he presumed to set up a lecture, and preach without any allowance of ministers, church or town, which when the church did understand, they did call him to account, and declared their dislike of his irregular proceeding, yet he hath presisted in these irregularities to the great disturbance of our peace, and since upon request of the severall of the inhabitants of the west end of our towne, called another minister, Mr. John Clark, who hath accepted of the call, and yet there are severall, who refuse to accept of him, pretending they are bound to said Tompson, which agreement they made when the rest of their neighbors were about to make application to the town, which was since the late law was made to direct the town to call the minister.[49]

As in previous petitions, Oldtown continued to emphasize its contention that the conduct of those at West Village was illegal. In truth, Oldtown had a rather strong argument because a firm precedent had been established for hiring both the minister and the schoolmaster on the basis of the votes of all the freemen. Since West Village was still a part of Newbury, argued Oldtown, it had no legal right to hire a minister without the consent of the entire community.

Although there is no indication that the Oldtown freemen disliked Tompson, his persistence in preaching despite the opposition of the majority of the town must have resulted in some antagonism toward him. Nevertheless, the fact remains that instead of opposing Tompson per se, Oldtown

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[49]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 158-159.

was, in essence, arguing against the contention that a minority of the town should have the right to take independent action in selecting a minister or schoolmaster.

The West Village position was expressed adequately well on June 15, 1693 in still another petition to the General Court:

> We have been endeavoring above these five years to have the publick worship of God established among us on the Lord's day for reasons such as these. The bulk of us live four miles from the ould meeting house, some six or seven. Our number is above three hundred. Few of us have horses, and if we could get down to the ould meeting house, it is impossible it shoudl receive us with them so that many (would) lay out of doors, the house is so little. Some of us have groaned under this burden this thirty years, some grown old, some sickly, and although we were favored with the liberty granted by king James the second and had erected an house to the worship of God on our own cost and charge, and acquainted the two next justices with our intent before we built the said house. A committee of five were appointed to come on the place, but before they had finished their work, the governor arrived, who granted us a protection from paying to the ould meeting house, then countermanded it. The town had a meeting--they intend to declude us by granting the help of a schoolmaster at sometimes for one yeare. We believe our neighbours would be glad to see us quite tired out. We beg the honorable court to establish peace among us a rational dividing line. June 15th,1693.[50]

Obviously, it was hoped that the Court's sympathy could be won for those who could only with great difficulty reach the meetinghouse and, hence, had "groaned under this burden this thirty years, some grown old, some sickly." They also played upon the argument that the governor and, by implication, the General Court had engaged in vacillation of a

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[50] Ibid., p. 159.

nature that was harmful to the West Village cause.

We find, then, that both Oldtown and West Village argued in favor of peace and that both cast aspersions upon the other. Each side had, it would appear, sufficient strength to give confidence to its adherents. Representatives of both positions travelled to Boston, then, with at least some confidence of victory. Yet, perhaps somewhat fearful of wading into the less than tranquil waters of this internal battle, the General Court took no definite action.[51]

In response to Boston's lack of leadership, Newbury held a town meeting on July 5, 1693 and again discussed the issue which was becoming as intense as that concerning Reverend Thomas Parker from 1669 to 1672[52] and that concerning Reverend John Emerson II from 1680 to 1681.[53] After a long debate, the following action was taken:

> The Towne gave in theyr votes for the choyce of a minister for the west end of the Towne in order to a full settlement in the work of the ministry thrre, the inhabitants then brought in theyr votes by papers & Mr John Clarke was then chosen & not one vote against him.[54]

Yet, despite the apparent unanimity of the decision, abstentions had evidently been cast since twenty-five persons

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[51]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 349.

[52]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 72-112.

[53]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 397-399.

[54]Ibid., p. 349.

from West Village entered their objections to calling Reverend John Clark for the reason that "the new towne people have a minister already."[55] Although the twenty-five were outvoted, Clark, perhaps desiring to preach to a more sympathetic congregation, declined to assume the pulpit which had been offered to him.[56] On February 21, 1694, in an attempt to persuade Clark to remain in Newbury, the town offered the following inducement:

> . . . twenty pounds in money and fifty pounds in graine was voted to ye reverend Mr. John Clarke so long as he carry on the worke of the ministry.[57]

Clark served as schoolmaster during the 1693 to 1694 academic year.[58] However, he did not accept Newbury's offer of the ministry and, in the spring of 1694, he moved to Exeter, New Hampshire, where he took a pulpit.[59]

Meanwhile, Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I, also a native of Newbury and a 1691 graduate of Harvard College, was asked by the town to preach at West Village.[60] On May 28, 1694, Toppan replied that, although he could

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[55]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 159.

[56]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 350.

[57]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 160.

[58]Clifford K. Shipton, op. cit., p. 40.

[59]Ibid.

[60]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 350.

not answer affirmatively, he was willing "to help in the work of the ministry in Newbury for a year in order to further settlement as Gods providence shall make way."[61]

The by now flagrant controversy was hardly over and on September 5, 1694 another petition was sent to a General Court which must have been weary of contending with Newbury's difficulties:

> . . . in behalf of the company, that as they had erected a meeting house, and supplied themselves with a minister yet nevertheless our distresses do continually grow upon us toward an insupportable extremity, since the imprisoning of some of our number for their signifying our desire to enjoy the minister, whom we had formerly invited to preach in the meeting house, which we built at our own cost and charge, and some of us have been fined for not delivering up the key of the said meeting house.[62]

On October 22, 1694, another election was held in Newbury with the result that:

> The town brought in theyr votes by papers (for) the west end of the towne of Newbury and Mr. Christopher Toppan had sixty-five votes and Mr. Tompson seventeen.[63]

The major outcome of the 1689 to 1695 controversy was that the Second Church in Newbury, later the First Church in West Newbury, was organized. It would appear that this modification was inevitable largely because of West Village's determination to pursue a tenable position. Other than having delayed the creation of another parish,

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[61]Christopher Toppan I, quoted, Ibid., p. 332.

[62]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 160.

[63]Ibid.

Oldtown's only apparent victory was in forcing West Village to accept a minister other than Tompson. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that anything resembling a harmonious relationship could have existed in Newbury had there not been a division of the First Parish. Hence, Oldtown's acquiescence in the face of most of West Village's demands is perhaps best viewed as a strategic retreat.

On December 21, 1694, shortly after Toppan had been selected as Newbury's fifth minister:

> Col. Daniel Pierce Esqr. Capt Thomas Noyes, Cornt Goerge March & Abraham Merril & Ensigne Joseph Little were by vote chosen to be a committee to draw up such articles and proposals as they may think most convenient in order to seting off part of the West end of the Town for ye maintaining of ye ministry among them & to present what they shall do therein to ye Town at their next meeting.[64]

On January 1, 1695, it was voted that:

> Pipe-stave hill near Daniel Jaques house shall be the place for the meeting house, and those that live nearest to that place shall pay to the ministry there and those that live nearest to the old meeting house shall pay there, the inhabitants at the West end to choose a minister for themselves, only Mr. Tompson excepted. The meeting house to stand where it do until the major part of them see cause to remove it. The dividing line shall be from the middle way from the prefixed place in Pipe-stave hill and the old meeting house, to run on a straight line to Francis Brown's house near Birchen meadows and so straight over to the little pond.[65]

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[64]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 350.

[65]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 161.

It was not until six years after the controversy had first come to a head that the Second Parish was formally established. On December 18, 1695, Judge Tristram Coffin II,[66] Henry Short II, who had been Newbury's fourth schoolmaster, and Abraham Merrill[67] divided the town into two parishes and recorded the following:

> Upon the request of the inhabitants of the West end of the town of Newbury for the settlement of the ministry then amongst them the town granted them five acres of land on the East side of Artichoke River to by Layed out so as may be most convenient for a pasture for the ministry And an acre of land near the West Meeting house for the building of a ministry house. Both which parcles of land to be layed out by a Comte chosen by the town for that end, provided always that this our grant shall not prejudice the vote of the town of Jan. 1, 1694-5 where in liberty for the removal of the west meeting house is granted And when a Major part of the inhabitants according to sd vote shall see cause to remove the sd meeting house that then the sd five acres of land here in allotted for a pasture for ye ministry for the West end of the town shall be at the disposition of the town to procure Land for ye ministry near the West Meeting house when removed, and also yt It shall be in the power of the Major part of ye inhabitants of ye West end of the town to dispose of the acre of land and housing yt may be built there upon for the procuring of a ministry house near the sd meeting house when removed or another one built. The town also at this meeting gives the West end power to choose a man amongst them to make assessment for the ministry and

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[66]Louis Coffin, ed., The Coffin Family (Nantucket, Massachusetts: Nantucket Historical Association, 1962), p. 136 and Richard Edward Kelly, Ancestral Record of the Family of Deacon Richard Edward Kelly and Anne Louise (Reynolds) Kelly, Vol. I (Boston: Goodspeed's Book Shop, 1969), p. 21.

[67]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 309.

> for building and repairing of the West Meeting house and for ye building and repairing a house for the ministry.[68]

On November 10, 1698, nearly a full decade after the initial call for the creation of another parish, Reverend Samuel Belcher, a 1659 graduate of Harvard College, was ordained as the first minister of the Second Parish.[69]

Throughout the controversy, Tompson continued to hope that his support in West Village would enable him to be chosen as the minister of the Second Parish. Nonetheless, despite his optimism, on January 1, 1695, when West Village was given the opportunity to "choose a minister for themselves, only Mr. Tompson excepted,"[70] the west end of the town apparently decided to sacrifice Tompson in the interest of achieving the autonomous parish they desired.

Consequently, by 1695 Tompson clearly understood that he had no future in Newbury. Although Simsbury, Connecticut, voted unanimously to rehire him, he declined.[71] Marshfield, Massachusetts, a town approximately ten miles north of Plymouth, had also manifested an interest in him and in 1696 he was ordained as the fourth minister of the

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[68]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 351.

[69]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 42.

[70]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 161.

[71]Noah A. Phelps, op. cit., p. 52.

Congregational Church.[72] In a personal memorandum, Tompson recorded the specifics of his installation:

> The Church gave me, Edward Tompson, a call; I was ordained 14 Oct. 1696, in the 31st year of my age. My text was Isaiah 6: 9 and 10. Mr. Samuel Torrey of Weymouth gave me my Charge. Mr. Ichobod Wiswall of Duxbury gave me the right hand of fellowship.[73]

On March 16, 1705, while ministering to the people at Marshfield, Tompson suddenly died "of a consumptive disease."[74] He was not yet forty years of age. The Boston News-Letter, which had been established on April 24, 1704 as the second paper in the colonies,[75] printed the following news of Tompson's death:

> Marshfield, March 19. On Fryday last the 16th Currant, Dyed the Reverend Mr. Edward Thompson, Pastor of this place, and was buryed this Day.[76]

The following was engraved on his tombstone in Marshfield:

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[72]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 308.

[73]Edward Tompson I, quoted in, Frederick Chase, op. cit., p. 113.

[74]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 308.

[75]C.S. Brigham, "The Colonial Newspaper," Dictionary of American History, James Truslow Adams, ed., Vol. I (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), p. 420 and Mary Farwell Ayer, "Check-List of Boston Newspapers, 1704-1780," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Collections, Vol. IX (1907), p. 15.

[76]The Boston News-Letter, No. 49 (March 14-26, 1705), p. 2.

HERE LYES YE ASHES
OF YE REVEREND LEARNED
& PIOUS MR EDWARD TOMPSON
PASTOR OF YE CHURCH OF
MARSHFIELD WHO SUDDENLY
DEPARTED THIS LIFE MARCH
YE 16TH 1705
ANNO AETATIS 40.

Here in a Tyrant's Hand Does Captive Lye
A Rare Synopsis of Divinity
Old Patriarchs, Prophets, Gospel Bishops Meet,
Under Deep Silence in Their Winding Sheet;
All Rest Awhile in Hopes and Full Intent
When Their King Calls, To Meet in Parliament.[77]

As notable a divine as Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather noted that Tompson was one of "no less than seven young Ministers, brought up among us (who) had been taken away by the Stroke of Death."[78] An almost eerie number of Congregational ministers died in 1705, two of whom, Tompson and Clark, had been schoolmasters at Newbury.[79] Ever mindful of the precariousness of mortal existence, Mather was moved by these deaths to preach a sermon on the "Readiness for the coming of the Lord."[80] During this same period, he also wrote Vigilantus or, a Servant of the

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[77]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 308-309.

[78]Cotton Mather, "Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1708," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Ser., Vol. VII (1911), p. 525.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Ibid.

Lord found Ready for the Coming of the Lord (1706),[81] in which he considered the same theme.

Tompson had been one of the more widely published Newbury schoolmasters. One of his works, An Elegiack Tribute (1686),[82] published as a broadside, eulogized Reverend Seaborn Cotton, the third Congregational minister of Hampton, New Hampshire.[83] A poem of ninety lines, a fragile copy is preserved in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The following excerpt suggests the form and content of the work:

> If tears & fears, or Moans & Groans were verse,
> How would I, could I, should I grace the Herse
> Of this vast soul; of which th' unworthy earth
> Was ner'e so much as honour'd with the Birth.
> The grandest birth ere Amphitrite had:
> To rock his Cradle Angels they were glad.
> By Winds & Wayes, & prosp'rous Gales before
> Heav'n sent by Sea his heav'n-born soul to shore.
> Whose Worth, whose Works, whose Life and Well-spent Dayes
> I need to imitate but not to praise.--
> I ever hated flatt'ring of the dead.
> (Without all fraud) it may, must, shall be se'd
> He was a Gemm, Joy, Jewel, Head and Hand,
> Light, Life, Stay, Staff, & Oracle of our Land.
> Hard things he eas'd, obscure he brought to Sight,
> Feet to the lame he was: to Blind a Light.

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[81]Cotton Mather, Vigilantus or, a Servant of the Lord found Ready for the Coming of the Lord (Boston: B. Green, 1706).

[82]Edward Tompson I, An Elegiack Tribute to the Sacred Dust of the Reverend and Worthy Mr. Seaborn Cotton Pastour of the Church of Christ at Hampton in New-England: Who was discharged from his Work and Office, to be admitted into Heaven, April 20th, 1686 (Boston: broadside, 1686).

[83]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 286-293.

Ears to the deaf. Strength to the feeble Knee.
A Mouth to dumb. A Churches eye was hee.
Hands to the helpless ones. Stay to the Weak.
The faint he cheer'd: to wicked swords he'd speak.
An heart to heartless. A Souls guid, to keep
And fright off wolves & wicked from Christ's sheep.
He drew & drove, woo'd, warn'd with all his might
Mens souls, by love, by fear, by force, by Fright.
Never had Body such a Soul within:
Vice-hater, and a Thunder-bolt to Sin.
Oh how he studi'd, preacht, teacht, parctis'd too!
His words, works, light & life together grew.
A Mirrour and a Master-peice of Art.
His head was full of Light, of Grace his heart.
He did not seek the Churches Goods but Good:
'Twas them not theirs he sought. O what a brood
His sed'lous care, love, labour, bred, fed, rais'd!
What earth does hide, in heaven will be prais'd.
Modest, mild, meek was he. A gracious grave
Pattern and Patron. Souls to strive to save
He made his work his wages. Souls to gain
He nere grutcht time, labour, life, strength or pain.
To make souls start, smart, feel to heal, he spar'd
No cost, no means: let Heav'n regard, reward.
One while he'd draw, then thunder, yet anon
He'd bring to calm souls an Anodynon.
Scarce second to an Angel was his Tongue.
I wonder how he tarried here so long,
When fitted for the Angels company;
(That high, that holy, heavenly Hierarchy)
That he wasn't hous'd before, but left to stay
Till ominous sins did fright this Saint away.[84]

Seven years after Tompson's death, his manuscript for Heaven the best Country, a major work of 126 pages, was published.[85] It was dedicated by a number of Congregational ministers, viz., Reverend Nehemiah Hobert, of Newton,

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[84]Edward Tompson I, An Elegiack Tribute, op. cit.

[85]Edward Tompson I, Heaven the best Country. Being Some of the Last Meditations and Discourses of that Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Edward Tompson, Late Pastor of the Church in Marshfield. Who Being Dead, yet Speaketh (Boston: B. Green, 1712).

Massachusetts;[86] Reverend Zechariah Whitman, of Hull, Massachusetts;[87] Reverend Peter Thacher I, of Milton, Massachusetts;[88] Reverend John Norton II, of Hingham, Massachusetts;[89] Reverend John Danforth, of Dorchester, now Boston;[90] and "Nath. Eells." In their introductory comments they indicated a deep respect for the Christian life Tompson had led:

> Behold a most Lively and Lovely Map of the Heavenly Country, by the kind Providence of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, is here Presented you, Extracted out of the Holy Scriptures, New Drawn by the hand, & Heart of a Faithful and Skilful Man of GOD, while he was on the TOP of the Mount, in the clear View of, and just Entring into, that Glorious & Holy Land of Promise . . . this Author's Grand-father was Renowned in England, Virginia, and New-England, for a worthy Confessor of the Lord Jesus Christ, and a Seraphical Minister and Pastor of the Church of Braintrey; of which Church afterwards our Authors Father was for many Years a Deacon, of excellent Vertue, examplary Holiness, & Usefulness, and marvellously gifted for Prayer, and faithful to the Death; the vertue & force of the blessed Covenant act being spent & extinct in them, but extending to our Author also. Let us then Pray & Hope that the survivor; & Successors in this precious Lineage may inherit the Blessings of their Progenitors; and that the Readers may be Taught to Profit.[91]

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[86]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 146.

[87]Ibid., p. 315.

[88]Edward H. Dewey, "Peter Thacher," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XVIII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), pp. 389-390.

[89]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 207.

[90]Ibid., p. 77.

[91]Nehemiah Hobert, Zechariah Whitman, Peter Thacher I, John Norton II, John Danforth and Nathaniel Eells, "Dedication," in Edward Tompson I, Heaven the best Country, op. cit., pp. i, iii-iv.

Tompson's personal convictions are well illustrated in the following excerpt from Heaven the best Country:

> Heaven is far better than any Earthly Country: It is to be preferred, and pursued after above any, yea, above all other Places: Phil. 1.22, To be with Christ (i.e., in Heaven) is far better than to be anywhere here below, Psal. 87. 3 (Hebr. NIKEBADOTH:) Most Honourable & Glorified Things are spoken of thee, O City of God! By the City of God thus spoken of, nextly is meant the Church, & Typically, and ultimately is meant Heaven, Psal. 103. 11. Isa. 55. 9. The Heaven is high above the Earth, not only in Place, but in Price: No Country like the City of God above. It is the true Eutopia: It is good for us to get thither, and dwell there . . .[92]

Consisting primarily of logically supported reasons for statements of faith, the work makes ample use of quoted Scripture.

When Tompson died, his eight children were still in childhood or adolescence.[93] His eldest son, Reverend Samuel Tompson I, graduated from Harvard College

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[92]Edward Tompson I, Heaven the best Country, op. cit., p. 3.

[93]Frederick Chase, op. cit., p. 114 and Albert C. Bates, op. cit., p. 22. The children were Sarah, born May 11, 1688; Ann, born December 31, 1689; Samuel I, born September 1, 1691; Edward II, born May 14, 1695; William III, born April 26, 1697; John, born September 17, 1699; Joseph, born 1704; and Abigail. Although the youngest child's precise birthdate is unknown, she was obviously born sometime in 1705, either shortly before or shortly after her father's early death.

in 1710.[94] After spending a short time as a schoolmaster, he was ordained on November 28, 1716 and, until his early death on December 8, 1724, he was the first minister of the Second Congregational Church in Gloucester, Massachusetts.[95] Another son, Dr. Edward Tompson II, was a physician at Haverhill, Massachusetts.[96] Reverend William Tompson III, the third son, graduated from Harvard College in 1718.[97] He preached, successively, at Wells, Maine; Gloucester, Massachusetts; Newbury, Massachusetts; Kingston, New Hampshire; and Scarborough, Maine.[98] The two other sons, John Tompson, of Pomfret, Connecticut, and Joseph Tompson, of Falmouth, Maine, were both farmers.[99] The only known information pertaining to the two older daughters is that one married a Mr. Clark and the other married a Mr. Thomas.[100] Abigail Tompson, the youngest child, married Stephen

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[94]Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1701-1712, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. V (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1937), pp. 544-545.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Frederick Chase, op. cit., p. 114.

[97]Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1713-1721, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. VI (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1942), pp. 284-286.

[98]Ibid.

[99]Frederick Chase, op. cit., p. 114.

[100]Ibid.

Longfellow II, a Newbury locksmith and blacksmith who was the step-son of Henry Short II, the town's fourth schoolmaster and town clerk.[101]

It is significant to note that, although undoubtedly handicapped by their father's early death, two sons became ministers, one became a physician and two became farmers. Clearly, the intellectual and social prominence of the family was maintained through at least the family's fourth generation, of which Tompson's children were members.

Newbury's hiring of Tompson as the seventh schoolmaster appears to indicate a return to a more sincere respect for learning. As noted in the previous chapter, of the three men who served as schoolmaster between 1675 and 1684, none was published and during only one of the academic years within this period was the schoolmaster a college graduate. By contrast, Tompson was a graduate of Harvard College as well as a published author of some repute. Despite his controversial ministry at West Village during the early 1690s, he was, in general, a well respected minister and schoolmaster. Perhaps most indicative of a changed direction for the Newbury school is the fact that Tompson was far more similar to Reverend James Noyes I and Reverend Thomas Parker than he was to his three predecessors.

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[101]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., pp. 305-312.

Consequently, his schoolmastership may be seen as a turning point in the history of Newbury's education.

Since Newbury's major educational controversy of the late 1680s and early 1690s has been elaborated upon in conjunction with the life of Tompson, it shall not be repeated even though Reverend John Clark, the ninth schoolmaster, and Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I, the tenth schoolmaster, were deeply effected by it. Rather, the remainder of this chapter is devoted to biographical studies of Clark and Toppan and of Reverend Seth Shove, the eighth schoolmaster, and Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I, the eleventh schoolmaster. To avoid repetition, the controversy is referred to only at such times as it directly effected the lives of the remaining schoolmasters of seventeenth century Newbury.

Newbury's eighth schoolmaster, Reverend Seth Shove, was born on December 10, 1667, in Taunton, Massachusetts.[102] His parents were Reverend George Shove and Hopestill (Newman) Shove.[103] Reverend George Shove was the third minister of the Congregational Church in Taunton and he had been one of the proprietors of the Taunton North Purchase, a section of land which consisted of the present

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[102]New England Historic Genealogical Society, Vital Records of Taunton, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850, Vol. I (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1929), p. 387.

[103]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 400.

towns of Norton, Easton and Mansfield, Massachusetts.[104] Although he had studied at Harvard College from 1650 to 1652, he did not remain to receive his Bachelor of Arts Degree.[105] Yet, he was ordained at Taunton on November 19, 1665 and he continued to serve as the town's minister until he died on April 21, 1687.[106]

On the maternal side of his family, Reverend Seth Shove was also descended from ministerial stock. His grandfather, Reverend Samuel Newman I, was born at Banbury, England, in 1600 and was baptized on May 24, 1602.[107] In 1620, Newman received his Bachelor of Arts Degree from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford University, and from 1625 to 1635 he was the Congregational minister at Ecclesfield, Yorkshire, England.[108] Circa 1636, he emigrated to New England where, in 1644, after having lived at Weymouth, Massachusetts, he became the first Congregational minister of the newly settled

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[104]Seth Shove, "Letter from Rev. Seth Shove, of Simsbury, Conn., to Capt. Samuel Sewall, of Boston, 1692," William Blake Trask, ed., The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (January, 1864), p. 69.

[105]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 554.

[106]Ibid.

[107]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 391.

[108]Ibid.

Rehoboth, Massachusetts.[109] A noted scholar, he was the author of A Large and Complete Concordance to the Bible in English (1643),[110] which was, for some years, the standard concordance used by Puritans in both Englands.[111]

Reverend Seth Shove received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1687 from Harvard College.[112] In 1690, when he returned to Cambridge to receive his Master of Arts Degree, he presented an affirmative argument to the question, "An Conservatio sit continuata creatio?"[113] On October 18, 1687, a few months after taking his first degree, Shove succeeded Tompson and became Newbury's eighth schoolmaster.[114] He was aided in achieving this position by Judge Samuel Sewall, into whose household he had been taken as a youth and through whose financial and intellectual assistance he had been educated.[115] In a July 15, 1687

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[109]Ibid. and John Farmer, op. cit., p. vii.

[110]Samuel Newman I, A Large and Complete Concordance to the Bible in English, According to the last Translation (London: Thomas Downes and James Young, 1643).

[111]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 391.

[112]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 400.

[113]Ibid., p. 369.

[114]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 400.

[115]T.B. Strandness, Samuel Sewall: A Puritan Portrait (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967), p. 55.

letter to Newbury's minister, Reverend John Richardson I, Sewall suggested that Shove be hired as the schoolmaster:

> I am apt to think such an exercise may be an advantage to his studies, especially respecting the tongues, as much as if he should live at Cambridge these three years, which doubt he will not find convenience for. He has Liv'd in our house, Sundry years and have found him a person of sobriety and Commendable behavior, and I hope going abroad will benefit him upon that account and qualify that modesty, or whatever it be, that might be a hinderance to good manners.[116]

Yet, despite Sewall's letter, Newbury was still considering whom to hire in the fall of 1687, as evidenced from the decision made in a town meeting on September 6, 1687:

> The Towne considering the great advantage & benefit that have been & may be to ye Towne by promoting of Learning among us do desire ye Revnd Mr. Richardson and ye selectmen to procure an able schoolmaster for us for ye Teaching of children to Read write & cipher and to ffit them for the Colledge and for ye (maintenance) of a schoolmaster we do promise to give twenty pounds for ye first yeare in good country pay, besides what the schollers shall give, and also five pounds for this yeare to each end of ye Towne to be disposed of by ye selectmen according to ye discretion to such schoolmasters as shall be improved for ye teaching of children to Read, write & cipher. But if ye ends of the Towne shall neglect to procure a schoolmaster to teach to reade, write & cypher as aforesd that then ye whole thirty pounds shall go to ye Latin schoolmaster.[117]

This document is of particular value for the light it sheds on Newbury's expectations of its school, i.e., that the

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[116]Samuel Sewall, quoted in, John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 400-401.

[117]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 400.

institution should teach the youth how to read, write and compute mathematical figures as well as to "ffit them for the Colledge" at Cambridge. A desire was also expressed to maintain educational standards in Oldtown and in the more distant parts of the town. The fear of the possible deterioration of educational quality was probably generated by a relaxation of standards in West Village and Riverside Village. Nonetheless, the respect for traditional education remained strong enough to enable the hiring of Shove as "ye Latin schoolmaster," rather than as a teacher of, let us say, a more "practical" field of knowledge.

In addition to Newbury's Reverend John Richardson I,[118] the committee which was formed on September 6, 1687 "to procure a schoolmaster" consisted of the town's selectmen, viz., Representative Daniel Pierce II,[119] Judge Tristram Coffin II,[120] Sergeant Nathaniel Clarke I,

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[118]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 210-213.

[119]David W. Hoyt, The Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts, With Some Related Families of Newbury, Haverhill, Ipswich, and Hampton, Vol. I (Providence: Snow and Farnham, 1897), p. 285 and Richard Edward Kelly, Ancestral Record of the Family of Deacon Richard Edward Kelly and Anne Louise (Reynolds) Kelly, Vol. II (Boston: Goodspeed's Book Shop, 1969), p. 67.

[120]Louis Coffin, ed., op. cit., p. 136 and Richard Edward Kelly, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 21.

the father of Newbury's ninth schoolmaster,[121] Representative Richard Bartlett II[122] and Joseph Bailey I.[123] On October 18, 1687, the committee reported to the town that:

> Whereas ye Towne of Newbury at a meeting of theyrs Sept. 6 last past did imploy us ye subscribers a committee for ye procuring of a schoolmaster as in the said vote may appear: We have accordingly now agreed wth Mr Seth Shove to be ye lattin schoolmaster for ye Towne for this present year & to performe sd worke of a Lattin schoolmaster for reading, writing and cyphering according to sd vote.[124]

Shove's contract was renewed each year and in 1690 his annual salary was increased from twenty pounds to twenty-five pounds.[125] In 1691, when another salary increase brought his annual income to thirty pounds, he was required to teach:

> . . . readers free, Latin scholars six-pence per week, writers and cypherers four pence per week, to keep the school one third part of the year at the middle of the new towne, one third part at the school house, and the other third part about middle way between the meeting house and old town ferry.[126]

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[121]George Kuhn Clarke, The Descendants of Nathaniel Clarke and His Wife Elizabeth Somerby of Newbury, Massachusetts: A History of Ten Generations, 1642-1902 (Boston: privately printed, 1902), p. 10.

[122]Genevieve Wilson Bartlett, Forefathers and Descendants of Willard and Genevieve Wilson Bartlett and of Allied Families, Moulton, McGehee, Endress (Saint Louis: privately printed, 1952), pp. 5-8 and Richard Edward Kelly, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 12.

[123]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 30.

[124]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 400.

[125]Ibid.

[126]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 156.

Since the instruction of Newbury's youth had been given previously only in Oldtown,[127] this action represented a major modification of the school's structural organization. The alteration led, as might be expected, to a reduction in the educational uniformity which had characterized the earlier decades of the seventeenth century. Yet, as Bernard Bailyn contended, although a dramatic bursting of the geographic boundaries of the germinal settlements occurred, a decline in learning did not necessarily result.[128] It would appear, instead, that at the onset of the 1690s, Newbury initiated a necessary educational modification.

It should be understood that although the district, or "moving" school, became widespread during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, this did not mean that there was a complete break with the traditions of the town school of the earlier decades. Moreover, to have prevented the creation of the district school at a time when, due to a dispersal of the population, there was, in all likelihood, a decline in demographic density, would have prevented many youths from achieving even a minimum

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[127]Sarah Anna Emery, Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian (Newburyport, Massachusetts: William H. Huse and Company, 1879), p. 219.

[128]Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 81-82.

of instruction. Although there was undoubtedly a lessening of some of the rigors of scholarship, largely because lessons were heard for a much shorter part of the year, the countervailing factor of the school's being able to reach a larger number of Newbury's youth was certainly of some significance. That Shove was able to grapple with the exigencies of the modification is a tribute to his effectiveness as a schoolmaster.

Throughout his life, Shove retained his friendship with Judge Sewall. In the following letter, he indicated both his close association with the famous judge and some of his religious convictions:

Simsbury, Sept. 10th, '92.

Honoured Sr:

I received yours, dated Augt: 25th: yesterd: Return thanks for your Care of my Letter. Am glad to hear of your Health, & ye Health of yours. The Feav: and Ag: seized me July ye: 30th: & has not left me yet; have been handled very moderately, yet not a little weakned by reason of my extream sweating: Was detailed at home 3 Savv: dayes. Had about a weeks Intermis(sion.) People are well generally about here, except in Winsor, several have had ye Tertian & Quartan Ague. Mr: Mather & Mr: Woodbridge are well; Mr: Mather and Mr: Hooker have visited me in my sickness. I thank you sr: for ye news you sent. Hope God will still goe forth with our Armies, succeed ym; and grant them their desire upon yr Enemies, yt ye Praise waiting in Sion may be given him. Am very glad yt any more of those wicked Instruments of Satan are found out. Hope yr will a spirit of Judgment be given to such as sit in Judgment; further Discovery made and Deliverance appear for ye miserably afflicted.

Gods Mercie is much to be admired who preserves others whom ye Devil in as desirous and ready to exercise his Malice towards wr: he permitted. Sr: I cannot be unmindful of all your Kindnesses to me. Intended in way

> of Return for ye Last to have sent you a Barrll, or 2 of Flower, but cannot find above a Bushl: or 2 of clear Winter Wheat through out ye whole Town. Hope to have some of my own growing next year. I hope (through Gods blessing) I shall live (though a poor) yet comfortable & contented Life. The People are unanimously desirous Yt I would settle among ym: We have no news here. Desiring your Prayers, I present my humble service & hearty thanks to your self, Miss: Sewall & Mis: Hall, for all your Bounty to me, & Remain yours to serve in wt I can.
>
> Seth Shove
>
> For the Worshipful
> Capt. Samuel Sewall
> In Boston.[129]

Clearly, Shove believed that during King William's War God was on the side of the colonists and the English, rather than on that of France. Concerning his personal life, he was correct in stating that "the People are unanimously desirous yt I would settle among ym" for, after leaving Newbury on November 7, 1691, he succeeded Reverend Edward Tompson I as Simsbury's Congregational minister.[130]

After a ministry of several years at Simsbury, however, Shove moved to Danbury, Connecticut, where he became the town's first Congregational minister.[131] Located in southwestern Connecticut, approximately twenty miles north of Norwalk, Danbury was one of the western outposts

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[129]Seth Shove, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

[130]Noah A. Phelps, op. cit., p. 52; Frederic Lewis Weis, op. cit., p. 187 and John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 402.

[131]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 402-403.

of Puritan New England.[132] Although it was settled in the spring of 1684, it had been without a minister until Shove's arrival.[133] The former Newbury schoolmaster was ordained on October 13, 1697.[134] His ministry was so eminently successful and influential that as late as 1885 John Langdon Sibley found that when things did not turn out well in Danbury someone was likely to state, "It was not so in Mr. Shove's day."[135] On October 3, 1735, one and one-half centuries prior to Sibley's research, Shove died at Danbury in his sixty-eighth year.[136] Indicative of the town's opinion of their departed minister is the following inscription on his monument:

> Here lyes buried the body of the Revd. Mr. Seth Shove, ye Pious and Faithful Pastor of ye Church in Danbury 39 years, who died Oct. 3d, Anno Domini 1735, Aetatis Suae 68.[137]

Surprisingly little is known about Shove's immediate family. While James Savage vaguely wrote that he

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[132]Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, 5th ed., Vol. I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 93.

[133]Susan Benedict Hill, History of Danbury, Conn., 1684-1896: From Notes and Manuscript Left by James Montgomery Bailey (New York: Burr Printing House, 1896), p. 521.

[134]Frederic Lewis Weis, op. cit., p. 187.

[135]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 403.

[136]Ibid.

[137]William Blake Trask, ed., op. cit., p. 69.

"may have had a wife and children,"[138] Shove's obituary notice, which appeared in The Boston News-Letter, indicated that he had sired eight children.[139]

Despite a strenuous attempt to locate the records of Shove's offspring, much of the little that is known must still be stated in negative terms. It is known, for example, that none of his immediate descendants received degrees, either from Harvard College or Yale College. In the absence of factual data, it can only be conjectured that his children became, in all likelihood, farmers or tradesmen. In any event, it is possible to conclude, with a fair degree of certainty, that Shove's children and grandchildren did not perpetuate the socio-economic status of their sire.

Other than the previously mentioned letter, Shove is not known to have written anything which received publication. Moreover, in a comparative sense, he could not be said to have been an especially prominent schoolmaster or minister. He was fortunate, however, in that he held several positions where he could function rather admirably, perhaps largely due to personality and to a degree of intellectuality appropriate to the circumstances of his

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[138]James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, Vol. IV (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1862). p. 90.

[139]The Boston News-Letter, No. 1656 (November 6, 1735), p. 2.

employment. It would appear, then, that Shove was an amiable, rather capable individual whose nearly three score years and ten were spent serving the Puritan cause to which he had devoted his life.

Although Shove had moved from Newbury on November 7, 1691, his successor, Reverend John Clark, was not hired until May 10, 1693.[140] Precisely what educational provisions existed during the one and one-half year interim remains unclear. It must not be forgotten, however, that Shove's resignation occurred shortly after the outbreak of King William's War, a conflict which bore grave consequences for a relatively peaceful New England. The Puritans' fear of Roman Catholicism was now heightened dramatically by the frequent attacks of the "papist" French and their Indian allies.[141] Yet, as Howard H. Peckham wrote, "the Puritans of New England were a committed people, ever ready to defend themselves and their religion by force of arms if necessary."[142]

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[140]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 348-349.

[141]Oliver Perry Chitwood, A History of Colonial America, 3rd ed., Harper's Historical Series, Guy Stanton Ford, ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), pp. 308-309.

[142]Howard H. Peckham, The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762, The Chicago History of American Civilization, Daniel J. Boorstin, ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 26.

In the interest of military readiness, the colonists organized a militia and required every able-bodied man between the ages of sixteen and sixty to give four to six days a year to inspection and training.[143] Exemptions were granted only to ministers, magistrates, physicians, schoolmasters, fishermen and students at Harvard College.[144] It is unlikely that many Newburyites objected, however, for the enemy's attacks occurred not far from home. Raids were carried out at Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, on March 27, 1690; Portland, Maine, on July 31, 1690; Wells, Maine, on June 21, 1692; and Haverhill, Massachusetts, on March 15, 1697.[145] Even Newbury, which was hardly a frontier village at this time, suffered a minor Indian offensive. On October 7, 1695, the house of John Brown I at Turkey Hill was attacked and nine women and children were taken captive.[146]

There can be little doubt that the war did much to retard the advancement of Newbury's education. Neither

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[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Richard B. Morris, ed., Encyclopedia of American History, Henry Steele Commager, cons. ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 62.

[146] John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., pp. 288-289.

Joshua Coffin[147] nor John J. Currier,[148] Newbury's two first-rate historians, mentioned a single word pertaining to the town's education between November 7, 1691 and May 10, 1693. It must be assumed that any formal education which was provided during this period was, in all likelihood, the result of the efforts of Newbury's minister, Reverend John Richardson I. At no point, however, did Richardson assume the schoolmastership, as Reverend Thomas Parker had done after the death of Reverend James Noyes I in 1656.

Fortunately, Newbury did not wait for an excessively long time before hiring a successor to Shove. Moreover, the town was propitiously disposed to select a competent schoolmaster even though most of their attention must have been directed towards the war which was then raging not far beyond the comparatively quiet banks of the Parker River.

Reverend John Clark, the ninth schoolmaster, was born in Newbury on January 24, 1670.[149] His father, Sergeant Nathaniel Clarke I, a merchant, had been one of

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[147]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., pp. 156-158.

[148]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 332, 401, 518-519.

[149]The Essex Institute, Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. I (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1911), p. 104.

Newbury's earliest settlers.[150] Sergeant Clarke strongly supported Reverend Thomas Parker, rather than Representative Edward Woodman I, during the 1669 to 1672 controversy.[151]

On August 15, 1690, while taking part in Sir William Phips' expedition against French Canada, Sergeant Nathaniel Clarke I died on board the ship "Six Friends."[152] One of Newbury's most prominent men, he had held virtually dozens of local offices.[153] Among his more important positions were those of selectman, constable, tithingman and naval officer for Newbury and Salisbury.[154] His estate, valued at 714 pounds and 9 shillings,[155] was relatively substantial for a middle aged Newburyite of the late seventeenth century.

Sergeant Clarke's wife, Elizabeth (Somerby) Clarke, who was born in 1646 in Newbury, was the daughter of Henry Somerby IV, the brother of Newbury's first schoolmaster,

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[150]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 298.

[151]Ibid., pp. 74, 86, 100.

[152]Ibid., p. 298 and Viola F. Barnes, "Sir William Phips," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XIV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 551.

[153]George Kuhn Clarke, op. cit., pp. 9-23.

[154]Ibid., pp. 11, 17-18.

[155]Ibid., p. 27.

Anthony Somerby I.[156] Hence, Reverend John Clark was a great-nephew of the first schoolmaster.

On August 8, 1698, nine years after the death of Sergeant Nathaniel Clarke I, his widow married Reverend John Hale I, who had been chaplain of the expedition in which Clarke had lost his life.[157] Hale received his Bachelor of Arts Degree From Harvard College in 1657 and in 1660 he received his Master of Arts Degree, presenting an affirmative answer to the question, "U Trum Intellectus et voluntas sint facultates realiter distinctae?"[158] As the first Congregational minister of Beverly, Massachusetts, he played a prominent role in the ecclesiastical affairs of both the town and the colony.[159] He achieved the greatest attention through his initial support of the 1692 Salem witchcraft trials.[160] However, his sympathies were reversed when his second wife, Sarah (Noyes) Hale, daughter of Reverend James Noyes I,[161] was charged with being a witch.[162]

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[156]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 268.

[157]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 518.

[158]Ibid., pp. 509, 488.

[159]Ibid., pp. 509-520.

[160]Marion L. Starkey, The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials (New York: Time Incorporated, 1963), pp. 25, 101, 113, 140, 171, 211-212.

[161]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 517.

[162]Marion L. Starkey, op. cit., pp. 223-224, 233.

Confessing the error of his earlier position, Reverend Hale wrote A Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft (1702),[163] a widely read repudiation of the Salem trials. Although Clark was nearing thirty years of age when his mother remarried, it is likely that his step-father aided him in his ministerial career.

Reverend John Clark dropped the final letter from his surname and, in 1690, he received the Bachelor of Arts Degree from Harvard College.[164] In 1693, presenting the affirmative of the question, "An Motus fiat sine vacuo," his alma mater granted him the Master of Arts Degree.[165] As far as can now be ascertained, Clark was more orderly than were most of his classmates, for not a single infraction was recorded in the college's quarter-bill book.[166] One of his manuscript notebooks, now owned by the Yale University Library, includes extracts from the writings of Reverend Dr. William Ames and other prominent Puritan theologians, thereby illuminating at least a part of the learning at Harvard College.

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[163]John Hale I, A Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft, and How Persons Guilty of that Crime may be Convicted: And the means used for their Discovery Discussed, both Negatively and Affirmatively, according to Scripture and Experience (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1702).

[164]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 39.

[165]Ibid., p. 40.

[166]Ibid., p. 39.

During the Newbury controversy of 1689 to 1695, Clark was the favorite of those at Oldtown, whereas his predecessor in the schoolmastership, Reverend Edward Tompson I, received the support of West Village. With the majority of the town behind him, Clark could have continued as schoolmaster for far longer than one year. Indeed, on February 21, 1694, he was offered twenty pounds in money and fifty pounds in grain if he would "carry on the worke of the ministry."[167] Evidently disliking the town's heightened controversy and desiring the ministry of Exeter, New Hampshire, he declined the offer and was succeeded by Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I.[168] This action came near the end of Clark's only academic year as schoolmaster.

On March 26, 1694, shortly before the inducement to retain Clark, a meeting of Newbury's legal voters entertained the following petition:

> Capt Danll Peirce Esq., Capt Thomas Noyes, Lieut Moses Gerrish, Mr Joseph Woodbridge, Mr Nathaniel Coffin & Benjamin Morse in the behalfe of them selves & neighbors for liberty to erect a little house by the Rock between the end of Capt Noyes lane & Mr Woodbridge for the accomodation of a good & sufficient schoole dame.[169]

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[167]Joshua Coffin, op. cit., p. 160.

[168]Ibid.

[169]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 401.

The request was granted with the stipulation that the land and the building would revert to the town if they were utilized for any other purpose.[170] This is the first known formal interest in a school dame for the education of the youngest pupils. The idea must not have been urged with much immediacy, however, since the land was not specified legally until July 24, 1704, a full decade later.[171]

In the midst of the highly divisive forces operating within the Newbury church and school, Clark began to preach at Exeter, New Hampshire, a town which, in April, 1694, took steps toward building a parsonage.[172] We may well surmise that Clark was encouraged by the prospect of teaching and ministering in a town which universally desired his services, a condition which could hardly be said to have existed in late seventeenth century Newbury. Although he understood that his opposition in Newbury was of a sectional, rather than of a personal nature, such reassuring thoughts were quite probably of insufficient comfort to entice him to remain in the town of his birth.

On June 19, 1694, while preparing to move to Exeter, Clark married Elizabeth Woodbridge at New Castle,

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[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Charles H. Bell, History of the Town of Exeter, New Hampshire (Exeter, New Hampshire: J.E. Farwell and Company, 1888), p. 171.

New Hampshire.[173] At the wedding ceremony, Reverend John Cotton III, the Congregational minister of Hampton, New Hampshire,[174] and the grandson of the famous Reverend John Cotton of Boston's First Church,[175] preached a sermon which was published in a twenty-four page volume.[176] It was, in essence, an elaboration upon Hebrews 13:4: "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled: but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

At the time of the marriage, Mrs. Clark's father, Reverend Benjamin Woodbridge II, was the Congregational minister of Bristol, Maine.[177] He was the son of Reverend John Woodbridge II, who was the third master of the Boston Latin School[178] and who became, circa 1645, the first Congregational minister of the newly founded town of Andover,

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[173]George Kuhn Clarke, op. cit., p. 274.

[174]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 2-5.

[175]LaVerne C. Cooley, A Short Biography of the Rev. John Cotton of Boston And a Cotton Genealogy of His Descendants (Batavia, New York: privately printed, 1945), pp. 11-23, 25 and Richard Edward Kelly, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 64.

[176]John Cotton III, A Meet Help, or, A Wedding Sermon, Preached at New-Castle in New-England, June 19th. 1694. At the Marriage of Mr. John Clark, and Mrs. Elizabeth Woodbridge. (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1699).

[177]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 328.

[178]Robert Francis Seybolt, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

Massachusetts.[179] After serving pulpits in England from 1647 to 1663, Reverend John Woodbridge II returned to Newbury, where he was assistant minister to his uncle, Reverend Thomas Parker.[180] His father, Mrs. Clark's great-grandfather, was Reverend John Woodbridge I, who received his Master of Arts Degree in 1606, from Oxford University.[181]

Perhaps the most notable of Mrs. Clark's ancestors were Governor Thomas Dudley, who was elected to the governorship in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634, 1640, 1645 and 1650;[182] Reverend John Ward II, the Congregational minister of Haverhill, Massachusetts, from 1641 until his death in 1693;[183] and Reverend Nathaniel Ward, who served briefly as the Congregational minister of

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[179]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 409.

[180]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 316-322.

[181]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 409.

[182]James Truslow Adams, "Thomas Dudley," Dictionary of American Biography, Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Vol. V (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), pp. 484-485.

[183]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 403.

Ipswich, Massachusetts,[184] but was best noted for his authorship of The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America (1647).[185]

Exeter's first Congregational Church had been established in 1638 by Reverend John Wheelwright who, like his sister-in-law, Anne Hutchinson, was banished from the colony for his Independency.[186] Due largely to Wheelwright's banishment, the Exeter church had ceased to exist some years prior to Clark's settlement.[187] On September 18, 1698, however, Clark gathered twenty-five worshippers together and three days later he was ordained.[188] Only three other churches existed in New Hampshire at the time of his ordination.[189]

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[184]John Ward Dean, A Memoir of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, A.M., Author of the Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America. With Notices of his Family (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell, 1868); Elizabeth Deering Hanscom, "Nathaniel Ward," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XIX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 433 and Samuel Eliot Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), pp. 217-243.

[185]Nathaniel Ward, The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America. Willing to help amend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and sole, with all the honest stiches he can take . . . (London: J.D. and R.I., 1647).

[186]James Truslow Adams, "John Wheelwright," Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XX, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

[187]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 40.

[188]Ibid., p. 40.

[189]Ibid., pp. 40-41.

Exeter provided him with a salary of sixty pounds, as well as ten pounds in additional funds to procure firewood and to keep the fences in repair.[190] He was also given one hundred acres of land "upon the Neck," the only stipulation being that he had to remain in Exeter for a minimum of ten years for his heirs to receive title to the property.[191]

On July 25, 1705, after a short, but successful ministry at Exeter, Clark died in his thirty-fifth year.[192] Much notice was taken of the death, both in Exeter and in other New England towns. John Pike wrote in his journal that Clark "deceased with extream vomiting &c. in less than 24 hours after he was taken Ill."[193] Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather, Clark's friend and fellow laborer in the work of the Gospel, wrote in Vigilantus (1706), that Clark was:

> A very Timothy: One of whom, it might be said, as our Cranmer said of a Divine that he had a value for, He thinks of nothing, He hopes for nothing but JESUS CHRIST. A Good Man, always flaming with a Zeal to Do Good: it even Consumed him. A Mirrour; I had almost said, a Miracle of Diligence: One always abounding in the Work of the Lord: that is to say, as that Phrase has been by some of the Learned Glossed upon; Doing something Extraordinary; Doing things beyond the common rate of Expectation. Doing, Plusquam

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[190] Ibid., p. 41.

[191] George Kuhn Clarke, op. cit., p. 272.

[192] Ibid.

[193] John Pike, quoted in, Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 41.

> quisquam Exigere audeat. And it may be told with Admiration, His Labour was not in Vain for the Lord: Admirable Success attended the Labour: The whole Town felt it. The Word of God, in the management of this Commendable Workman, was notably Divided unto the Town; It ran and was Glorifyed. He also Ran, and soon arrived unto Glory.[194]

In The Boston News-Letter the following brief notice appeared:

> Piscataqua July 27 . . . This day the Reverend Mr. John Clark, Minister of Exeter is to be Interr'd, who Dyed the 25 Instant, in the Flower of his Age, whose Loss is universally lamented, being a person of indefatigable Industry, and Exemplary Piety.[195]

Clark left an estate of over 800 pounds,[196] a rather large amount for such a young minister. Had he lived beyond early middle age it is likely that his net worth would have been even more substantial. Exeter paid his widow the full amount of his salary and erected over his remains a rather impressive tomb on which the following was inscribed:

> A prophet lies under this stone,
> His words shall live, tho' he be gone,
> When preachers die what rules the pulpit gave
> Of living, are still preached from the grave.
> The faith and life which your dear Pastor taught
> Now in the grave with him, sirs, bury not.[197]

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[194]Cotton Mather, Vigilantus, or, A Servant of the Lord found Ready for the Coming of the Lord, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

[195]The Boston News-Letter, No. 67 (July 23-30, 1705), p. 2.

[196]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 41.

[197]Charles H. Bell, op. cit., p. 176.

It is evident that Exeter retained its interest in Clark, for in 1725, repairs on the tomb were made at the town's expense.[198]

Clark was the father of four children.[199] His daughter, Deborah, became the wife of Exeter's physician, Dr. Thomas Deane II.[200] Reverend Ward Clark, the youngest child, received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1723 and his Master of Arts Degree in 1726, both from Harvard College.[201] On April 19, 1725, he was settled as the first Congregational minister of Kingston, New Hampshire, and on September 17, 1725 he was ordained.[202]

Like his father, Reverend Ward Clark had a brief ministry. In 1735, Kingston and the surrounding area was hit with "the throat distemper" and within fourteen months

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[198] Ibid.

[199] Mary K. Talcott, "Genealogy of the Woodbridge Family," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXII, No. 3 (July, 1878), p. 293. The children were Benjamin, born January, 1695; Nathaniel II, born December 10, 1697; Deborah, born November 3, 1699; and Ward, born December 12, 1703.

[200] "Pedigree of Deane," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January, 1855), p. 93.

[201] Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1722-1725, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. VII (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1945), p. 156.

[202] Ibid., pp. 156-157.

nearly 1,200 people had died in the fifteen towns in which it appeared.[203] Among those for whom the epidemic was fatal were Reverend Ward Clark's wife and all of his children.[204] Tired and depressed, he gave up the Kingston parish in 1736 and returned to his boyhood home to die.[205]

Reverend John Clark's widow married Reverend John Odlin II, a man eight years her junior who had succeeded her husband as Exeter's Congregational minister.[206] The son of Deacon Elisha Odlin I and the grandson of John Odlin I, an early settler of Boston, Reverend Odlin received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1703 and his Master of Arts Degree in 1705, both from Harvard College.[207] Accepting Exeter's request that he settle with them as minister, Odlin was ordained on November 12, 1706.[208] A fine relationship developed between Odlin and his young step-son, Ward Clark. Indeed, it was Odlin who preached Clark's ordination sermon,

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[203]Roland D. Sawyer, The History of Kensington, New Hampshire, 1663 to 1945 (282 Years), With a Family and Homestead Register of the Pioneer Families, Early Settlers and Permanent Citizens of the Town (Farmington, Maine: The Knowlton and McLeary Company, 1946), p. 263.

[204]Ibid., p. 264.

[205]Ibid.

[206]John Taylor Perry, "The Odlin Family," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XLI, No. 3 (July, 1887), p. 267.

[207]Ibid., pp. 266-267.

[208]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 168.

a work which was published as Christian Courage necessary for a Gospel Minister (1727).[209]

In assessing the influence of Reverend John Clark, we must continually remind ourselves of the fact that he lived but thirty-five years. Although he had not published, his labors in Newbury's school and in Exeter's church were, as far as is known, highly exemplary. Moreover, had he lived longer, there is a high probability that he would have devoted attention to additional intellectual endeavors as well as to the care of his parishioners. Despite his relatively short life, he was one of Newbury's more significant schoolmasters and, as George Kuhn Clarke contended:

> He was a man of high character and ability, and although he died at the early age of thirty five was prominent among the preachers of New England.[210]

Clark was succeeded in the Newbury school by Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I, the tenth schoolmaster. Toppan was the first schoolmaster after Reverend Thomas Parker to devote the major part of his life to service in Newbury's church and school. Henry Short II, Reverend John Emerson II, Reverend Thomas Baily I, Reverend Edward

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[209]John Odlin II, Christian Courage necessary for a Gospel Minister. An Ordination Sermon Preached at Kingston, Sept. 29, 1725. When Mr. Ward Clark was Ordained Pastor of the Church there. (Boston: B. Green, 1727).

[210]George Kuhn Clarke, op. cit., p. 272.

Tompson I, Reverend Seth Shove and Reverend John Clark, Parker's successors, all either turned to other pursuits or carried their teaching and preaching to other towns.

Toppan's family origins were significant factors in his life. He was born in Newbury on December 15, 1671, the son of Dr. Peter Toppan I and Jane (Batt) Toppan.[211] Dr. Toppan, Newbury's third physician, was born in England in 1634 and was brought to Newbury by his parents three years later.[212] It was he who built the Dr. Peter Toppan I House (1697) at what is now 5 High Road.[213] One of the area's oldest structures, it is presently owned by Leslie Atkinson.[214] Dr. Toppan's father, Abraham Toppan, a cooper, was a native of Yarmouth, Norfolk, England.[215]

Among Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I's uncles were Lieutenant Jacob Toppan I, who, circa 1670, built the

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[211]David W. Hoyt, op. cit., p. 331.

[212]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 664.

[213]Newburyport Economic Development Commission, Historic Newburyport: A Yankee City (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Newburyport Economic Development Commission, n.d.), map.

[214]Letter from Constance (Kelly) Law, of West Newbury, Massachusetts, to Richard Edward Kelly, October 20, 1970.

[215]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 290 and Richard Edward Kelly, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 60.

famous Toppan House on Toppan's Lane,[216] and John Toppan who, on September 18, 1675, was wounded by the Indians at the famous battle of Bloody Brook.[217] Toppan's most famous uncle was the diarist and merchant, Judge Samuel Sewall.[218]

Toppan was named for his maternal grandfather, Representative Christopher Batt I, a native of Salisbury, Wiltshire, England, who settled in Newbury in 1638 and later moved to Salisbury, Massachusetts, and, eventually, to Boston.[219] In 1640, 1641, 1643 and 1650, Batt represented Salisbury in the Massachusetts General Court.[220]

To quote Clifford K. Shipton, Toppan was "the quietest and most law-abiding undergraduate of his college generation."[221] In 1691, as a "Scholar of the House," with

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[216]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 290; Joshua Coffin, The Toppans of Toppan Lane, With Their Descendants and Relations (Newburyport, Massachusetts: William H. Huse and Company, 1862), p. 11 and John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., pp. 260-267.

[217]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 290; Richard Edward Kelly, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 60 and Douglas Edward Leach, Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1958), p. 88.

[218]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 290; Ola Elizabeth Winslow, Samuel Sewall of Boston (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964) and T.B. Strandness, op. cit.

[219]J. Henry Lea, "The English Ancestry of the Families of Batt and Byley of Salisbury, Mass.," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. LII, No. 1 (January, 1898), pp. 48-50.

[220]David W. Hoyt, op. cit., p. 61.

[221]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 113.

a stipend of four pounds, he received his Bachelor of Arts Degree from Harvard College.[222] After spending far more time in residence than was typical, he took his Master of Arts Degree in 1694, arguing the negative of the question, "An Mundi Interitus fuerit Substantialis?"[223]

In numerous works, among them such generally accurate standard compilations as Joshua Coffin[224] and John J. Currier,[225] Toppan is credited with having received a Doctor of Divinity Degree. Harvard University has, however, no record of his having received this honor.[226] The error might have arisen in view of the fact that Toppan was a physician as well as a minister and schoolmaster. Nonetheless, it is certain that Toppan could not legitimately claim the coveted degree.

As noted earlier in the present chapter, a three way struggle developed between Reverend Edward Tompson I,

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[222]Ibid.

[223]Ibid.

[224]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., p. 370.

[225]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., pp. 112, 250.

[226]Letter from Mary M. Meehan, of the Harvard University Archives, to Richard Edward Kelly, August 27, 1970.

[227]Robert Noxon Toppan, Brief Biographical Sketches: Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Newbury (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1885), p. 22.

Reverend John Clark and Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I for the position of schoolmaster and, ultimately, minister, of Newbury. Although Tompson enjoyed the support of West Village, he was outvoted in Oldtown and although Clark received Oldtown's support, he decided to accept the pulpit of Exeter, New Hampshire. As a result, Toppan became Newbury's tenth schoolmaster and, after carrying out his duties of both teaching and preaching for two years, he was ordained as the successor to Reverend John Richardson I.

As assistant minister, Toppan's salary was twenty pounds in money and thirty shillings in "good country pay," for carrying on half of the ministry and thirty pounds in "good country pay for keeping the writing and grammar school," thus making a total yearly salary of fifty pounds and thirty shillings.[228] Reverend John Richardson I, the senior minister, received one hundred pounds annual salary and, after the death of Parker, he had been granted the option of an additional twenty pounds or two contributions, so long as he carried on "the whole work of the ministry."[229] This option naturally was no longer Richardson's prerogative when, near the end of his life, physical illness greatly limited his activities.

It was fortunate for Newbury that, despite his inexperience, the twenty-four year old Toppan was able to

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[228]Sarah Anna Emery, op. cit., p. 219.

[229]John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 211.

carry out the work of the ministry during Richardson's last two years. On July 17, 1695, as a result of the continued deterioration of Richardson's health, Toppan formally assumed nearly the full burden of the ministry.[230] Having reached only his forty-ninth year, Richardson died on April 27, 1696.[231]

On May 15, 1696, the town requested unanimously that Toppan take full charge of the parish and offered him a salary of eighty pounds, half in money and half in provisions.[232] When he accepted this offer, Newbury sought immediately to find another schoolmaster,[233] thus maintaining the separation of its church and the school. It is important to recognize, however, that West Village, which eventually succeeded in establishing its own parish, did not accept Toppan to an adequate degree. For this reason, Toppan was fortunate that the second parish was established since it is difficult to imagine that his ministry otherwise could have had even the semblance of harmony. Toppan's

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[230] Ibid., p. 212 and Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., p. 161.

[231] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 35.

[232] Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 114 and John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 332.

[233] John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 401.

final years were filled, as we shall see presently, with sufficient dissension to keep him from needing additional stimulation.

Toppan was ordained in Newbury on September 9, 1696.[234] On January 5, 1698, the town voted to build a new meetinghouse and Sergeant Stephen Jacques I commenced work on it.[235] Completed on January 1, 1701 for the rather substantial sum of 550 pounds, it was sixty feet long, fifty feet wide and twenty feet high.[236] This new meetinghouse, in which Toppan was the first to preach, remained in continual use until May 4, 1806.[237] Reverend Dr. John Snelling Popkin, Newbury's Congregational minister from 1804 to 1816,[238] wrote the following description of this meetinghouse:

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[234]Frederic Lewis Weis, op. cit., p. 206.

[235]"Old-Town Meeting-House, Newbury," Essex-County Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. I, No. 10 (October, 1894), p. 145 and Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., p. 306.

[236]Eliza Adams Little and Lucretia Little Ilsley, eds., The First Parish, Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635-1935 (Newburyport, Massachusetts: News Printing Company, Inc., 1935), p. 17.

[237]"Old-Town Meeting-House, Newbury," op. cit., p. 145.

[238]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 344-345.

> The body of the house was filled with long seats. Contiguous to the wall were twenty pews. The spaces for the pews were granted to particular persons, who appear to have been principals. Before the pulpit and deacons' seat was a large pew containing a table, where sat the chiefs of the fathers. The young people sat in the upper gallery; and the children on a seat in the alley, fixed to the outside of the pews. The floor measured 60 by 50 feet. The roof was constructed with four gable ends, or projections, one on each side; each containing a large window, which gave light to the upper galleries. The turret was on the centre. The space within was open to the roof; where was visible plenty of timber, with great needles, and little needles, pointing downwards, which served at once for strength and ornament. There were many ornaments of antique sculpture and wainscot. It was a stately building in the day of it; but it was not my lot to see it in all its ancient glory. Long ago a wall was spread over head, which was dropping down; and the floor was occupied by pews. The roof was made plain, the four very steep sides terminating in a platform, which supported a steeple.[239]

One of the requirements for the ministry, Clifford K. Shipton reminds us, was to have a wife.[240] It was, then, not surprising that, on November 19, 1698, Toppan announced his intention of marrying Sarah Angier.[241] Her father, Edmund Angier I, had settled in Cambridge in 1636.[242] Ruth (Ames) Angier, his wife, was the daughter of Reverend William Ames Jr., the Congregational minister of Wrentham,

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[239]John Snelling Popkin, A Sermon, Preached September 17, 1806, at the Dedication of the New Meeting-House of the First Parish in Newbury. (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Angier March, 1806), p. 69.

[240]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 114.

[241]James Savage, op. cit., p. 254.

[242]John Farmer, op. cit., p. 17.

Suffolk, England.[243] His father was the noted Puritan theologian, Reverend Dr. William Ames, a professor at the University of Franeker and an associate of the father of Reverend Thomas Parker.[244]

One of Mrs. Toppan's brothers, Reverend Samuel Angier, graduated from Harvard College in 1673 and became the Congregational minister of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, and, later, what is now Waltham, Massachusetts.[245] Mrs. Toppan was also related to Reverend Urian Oakes, the Congregational minister and poet who served as President of Harvard College from 1675 until his death in 1681.[246]

Through his marriage, then, Toppan became allied to families which were of far more socio-economic significance than was his own. In view of Toppan's interest in his personal advancement in the ministry, it is altogether likely that his marriage was motivated at least partially by concerns other than romance.

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[243] Ibid. and John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 107-110.

[244] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 107 and W.A. Shaw, "Robert Parker," The Dictionary of National Biography, Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., Vol. XI (London: Oxford University Press, 1917), pp. 269-270.

[245] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 422-426.

[246] John Langdon Sibley, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 173-185 and Samuel Eliot Morison, "Urian Oakes," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XIII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), pp. 602-603.

Unlike Reverend Thomas Parker, who thrived on theological speculation, Toppan although not lacking the knowledge to have done the same, chose to devote a major portion of his efforts to the acquisition of material goods. No published works poured from Toppan's pen and his only known formal theological works are two sermons which are now in the possession of the Congregational Library, in Boston.[247] One of the sermons is on Lamentations 3:8:

> Jerusalem hath grievously sinned; therefore she is removed: all that honoured her despise her, because they have seen her nakedness: yea, she sigheth, and turneth backward.

The other sermon is on Hosea 6:1:

> Hear ye this, O priests; and hearken, ye house of Israel; and give ye ear, O house of the king; for judgment <u>is</u> toward you, because ye have been a snare on Mizpah, and a net spread upon Tabor.

In both manuscripts, Toppan concentrated upon presenting arguments to prove that the Sabbath actually begins in the evening and is, therefore, to be kept from evening to evening, as was done by the Jews.

Both manuscripts were completed during the early part of Toppan's career. As Bailey Bartlett, one of the nineteenth century owners of the manuscript, observed:

> It would appear that this could not have been written earlier than about 1690--from the date of several of the books quoted in it. And as none are

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[247]Christopher Toppan I, Unpublished Manuscript Sermons, property of the Congregational Library, and Letter from Dwight L. Cart, Librarian of the Congregational Library, to Richard Edward Kelly, December 22, 1970.

> found referred to subsequent to that date, that would seem to fix the writing as probably not later than 1700.[248]

Toppan's later years, which would have been the time for serious writings by more scholarly men were, as far as is known, devoid of such intellectual endeavors. As Clifford K. Shipton contended, "Mr. Toppan was one of those clergymen who typify this period of declining interest in religion by their wide secular activities."[249]

Indeed, while Toppan was not preaching to his flock at Newbury, he was engaging in land speculation in the newly settled areas of New Hampshire and Maine. It was during the early eighteenth century, when good land was becoming scarce with great rapidity, that venturesome men moved northward and founded settlements in New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont.[250] The third and fourth generations of those families which arrived in New England during the Great Puritan Migration of the 1630s were especially likely to have left the more settled areas in search of greater opportunities to the north and west. Toppan, like many other rather well established men, remained in the older towns but attempted to realize a profit by investing money

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[248]Bailey Bartlett, quoted in, Christopher Toppan I, Unpublished Manuscript Sermons, op. cit., flyleaf.

[249]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 114.

[250]Carl Lotus Becker, Beginnings of the American People (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915), pp. 174, facing p. 178.

in the newly settled areas.

One of Toppan's earliest known purchases of land for investment was that of November 10, 1702, when he bought from Walter Phillips a parcel of land at Damariscotta, Maine, approximately twenty-five miles northeast of Brunswick, Maine.[251] Toppan also purchased other lands on the nearby Sheepscot River from the heirs of Sir Fernando Gorges.[252] At length, he acquired nearly the entirety of the present towns of Newcastle and Damariscotta, as well as lands extending to Edgecomb on the southwest and Nobleboro on the northeast.[253] Through his possession of Pemaquid, to the south, Toppan acquired a sizable part of the land immediately northeast of Boothbay Harbor,[254] which is now a popular resort area. It is also possible that other lands, located some distance west of the Sheepscot River, were among Toppan's properties.[255]

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[251]David Cushman, "Ancient Settlement of Sheepscot," Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. IV (1856), p. 232.

[252]Francis B. Greene, History of Boothbay, Southport and Boothbay Harbor, Maine, 1623-1905, With Family Genealogies (Portland, Maine: Loring, Short and Harmon, 1906), pp. 165-166 and Thomas H. Johnson, The Oxford Companion to American History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 339.

[253]Francis B. Greene, op. cit., p. 165.

[254]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 114.

[255]Francis B. Greene, op. cit., p. 165.

Land speculation has seldom been an especially reliable means of investment, as Toppan's own experiences were to illustrate. Although Indian sagamores had conveyed the right and title to the Toppan land in 1661, 1662 and 1674,[256] the Pemaquids later refused to recognize what they considered to be an illegal transaction.[257] Thus, an ever present danger was the very real possibility of Pemaquid warfare against the white settlers, a factor which severely limited the desirability of the area regardless of any legal decisions which might have been rendered in Boston.

Nonetheless, Toppan, being determined not to lose the right to his lands, refused to recognize the Pemaquid position regardless of potentially severe consequences.[258] Circa 1720, to further substantiate his ownership of the land, he sent Michael Thomas and two hired men, Samuel Gatchell and Benjamin Cheney, to spend the summer cultivating the three or four acres near "the lower falls."[259] The tensions which resulted from this testing maneuver can be

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[256] Ibid.

[257] H.W. Richardson, "The Pemaquid Country Under the Stuarts: Read Before the Maine Historical Society, at Portland, March 14, 1878," Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. VIII (1881), p. 183.

[258] John Johnston, A History of the Towns of Bristol and Bremen in the State of Maine, Including the Pemaquid Settlement (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell, 1873), p. 256.

[259] Ibid.

imagined quite readily. Fortunately, especially for Thomas, Gatchell and Cheney, the dreaded Pemaquid attack did not occur.[260]

Some of Newbury's most significant men differed with Toppan in his attitude toward the Indians. One such man was the noted judge and diarist, Samuel Sewall. Viewed, in retrospect, as having been ahead of his time in supporting the rights of the blacks and the Indians, Sewall was the author of America's first anti-slavery publication, The Selling of Joseph (1700).[261] It was perhaps because he had been critized by Sewall or others that Toppan wrote the following letter:

Aug. 11, 1721.

Hon. Sir.

Please to pardon my boldness for troubling you to read a few lines more. That expression in my writing which your Honor intimated, you did not well understand, namely, That the Indians should have convenient Lands allowed ym for themselves and posterity, I meant thus, that in case it be found that the Indians formerly disposed of so much of their Land as that they have not left Lands convenient for themselves, that then so much as may be thought proper, of what was purchased of them should be relinquished to them again. Further to open what I intend I would offer a few things.

1. That the Indians were the first Proprietors of the Lands in this Country.
2. That they had in themselves power to dispose of and convey away said Lands.
3. That what lands they formerly sold and conveyed away they can have no just claim unto. Now I make no doubt but as your Honor says, they have as full and firm a Right to their Lands, as any which men have to theirs, but then I presume your Honor means, Lands they have not sold.

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[260] Ibid.

[261] Samuel Sewall, The Selling of Joseph: A Memorial (Boston: Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1700).

4. That if through Imprudence and Inadvertency they have conveyed away so much of their Land to the English, as that, if what be conveyed away, be taken up and settled by the English, there be not convenient places left for themselves and posterity, I think it very agreeable to Reason and Religion, that the Government take care that such places as may be thought convenient be allowed them and Recompense made to such Persons (whose Predecessors formerly purchased said Land of the Indians) of Province Lands elsewhere.

5. That the Government, having offered and done what may reasonably be thought just and fair on this score, that then, if the Indians continue their Insolent Carriages, the English may justly commence a warr against them and expect God's blessing to be with them in their Endeavours to subdue them, and in the mean time, that the English in the Eastern parts may be secure and safe I see no way but for the Government to keep out some hundreds of men, or a sufficient number to keep the Indians in awe till the People are become strong enough to defend themselves, which they would in a few years be, were they compelled to settle regularly, and secured from fear and danger by a sufficient Army kept in a body in those parts well provided with snow-shoes for the Winter and a sufficient number of whale-boats for passage by water in the Summer---but let me not forget to mention here that I can but think it a duty to make a further offer of the Gospel to them and by degrees to Instill into their minds the true Doctrines of Religion, doubtless some of them might be gained, more especially if the Fryers could be fairly removed from among them. I went the last Spring to the Eastward and being at Damariscotta on a Sabbath day, there a Family there and several Persons besides, I preacht to them both forenoon and afternoon, and there being hard by an Indian wigwam, belonging to it a Netop and his squaw, he about seventy, and she near an hundred years of age, not able to stand or goe, both maintained by a Kinsman, a young pretty fellow, who went a hunting and returned once a week or fortnight and brought them provisions to live upon---The old Sannop came of his own accord on the Sabbath day to hear the word preacht and gave diligent attention. The subject I insisted on was that in Romans 10. 13. 'And whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved' and in the application I applyed myself to the Indian, shewing that their nation if they call aright on the name of the Lord should be saved as well as the English. The next day I went to his Wigwam. He told me 'very good speak-um

> yesterday' and desired me to speak to his squaw 'all one I speak yesterday for that very good.'---I went several times to his Wigwam and gave the best advice I could to the poor old Woman. She seemed to understand what I said, but was not seemingly so such affected therewith as her husband. The day I came away he came on board the vessel and prayed me to goe once more to his Wigwam and speak to his old Squaw about God and Christ and Heaven, for may be, me never see her any more. So I went again and at my coming away, the old man took me by the hand expressing a great deal of thankfulness for the counsel and advice I had given his Squaw. In my discourse with the old man I used to mention and open the Articles of the Christian Religion, which he always readily assented unto, and I am persuaded that by prudent methods in managing of them sundry of them might be wrought upon, and amongst other methods I have thought---but why should I presume to dictate to any, who know much better than myself what will best serve the Interests of our gracious Lord, in whose service that I may be found faithful, let me have your prayers, as you have his, who is, sir, your most humble servant,
>
> Christopher Toppan.[262]

Toppan's paternalistic approach to the Indians' rights and welfare was philosophically allied with his concept of the will of God. Clearly, Toppan was intrigued with the possibility of converting the Indians to Christianity. Yet, he felt that they could not learn as readily as could the English. He contended, however, that despite the Indians' deficiencies the Puritan ministers had the responsibility to "Instill into their minds the true Doctrines of Religion." Toppan was far from being sympathetic to pacifism, however, for he believed that "if the Indians

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[262]Christopher Toppan I, quoted in, Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., pp. 377-378.

continue their Insolent Carriages, the English may justly commence a warr against them . . ." Such contentions as these could hardly be expected to win acceptance from the Pemaquid warriors.

Even more serious than Toppan's problems with the Indians, were the actions of some of the white settlers in "Damariscotty." In the following letter to Lieutenant Governor William Dummer, Toppan described the problem and requested help from Boston:

> Newbury Jan. 13, 1726.
>
> Honourable Sr
>
> I have lately received Information that severall persons have gone this Winter from Casco Bay to Damiscotty (A place belonging to me) and Cut and Carried away abundance of Pipe Staves, and Capt. Moody has sent me Word, that there are Several more, fitting to goe down---Now the favour I would request of your Honour is, (if such a thing may be granted) that you'd please, to send an order to Cpt Heath to send two or three men across the Woods, to Damiscotty, (wch I suppose about ten or a dozen miles) and if any persons are cutting Timber in those Woods, to see who yy are, and take an Account of their Names, and forbid ym committing any further Trespass there---if yy should need a Pilot the Capt. may hire some Indian for that purpose, and 'ile repay wt he gives him.
>
> If your Honour can gratifye me in wt I request, it will very much oblige me who am your Honours most humble and Obedient Servant my service to Madam.
>
> Christopher Toppan.[263]

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[263]Christopher Toppan I, quoted in, James Phinney Baxter, ed., Documentary History of the State of Maine, Vol. X (Augusta, Maine: The State of Maine, 1907), pp. 354-355.

Although Dummer complied with Toppan's request, action was not taken until it was too late to catch the culprits. On March 24, 1727, Captain Joseph Heath, who had been charged with the responsibility for undertaking an investigation, wrote to Dummer that "yours relating to Mr. Tappens affair I recd, but ye Trespassers were gon."[264]

Toppan was also interested in the projected settlement of newly opened lands in New Hampshire and Maine. On February 2, 1725, a committee had met at Ebenezer Eastman's home in Haverhill, New Hampshire, for the purpose of cautiously choosing the settlers who would be permitted to move to Penacook, just north of Concord, New Hampshire.[265] In the following letter, Toppan indicated his concern with the ordering of what he considered to be an acceptable town:

Newb: Febr: 2, 1726.

May it please your Honors:

> It was my design to have waited on your Honours and the other Gentlemen appointed to be a Committee for Granting Lotts at Penny-Cooke, but being at present bodily Indisposed, durst not venture so far from home, have therefore sent my Sons to wait on you, and, in my name, to Request yt you'd be pleased to Grant me or them a Lott amongst the Rest, and the Conditions of ye Grant shall be performed by my Self or them.---And if your Honours would give me leave,

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[264]Joseph Heath, quoted, Ibid., p. 367.

[265]Nathaniel Bouton, The History of Concord, From Its First Grant in 1725, to the Organization of the City Government in 1853. With a History of The Ancient Penacooks (Concord, New Hampshire: Benning W. Sanborn, 1855), p. 59.

I'd mention a few things relating to the Affair now before you, as

1. That it seems Just yt Consideration be had to one Town as well as another, and that there be some Proportion, in that respect, as to the Number of Persons in each that the Lotts are granted to.

2. That those who have at any time before had Lotts allowed them in any New Township, should be excluded now.

3. That the Persons to whom the Lotts are granted be obliged (if it may be) to keep their Lotts and not sell ym to others, at least not without the leave of the majr part of the Society to whom the rest of ye Lotts belong. Some, no doubt, will desire Lotts under no other view than to make gain by Selling of ym afterwards, (and 'tis pitty such should have any.) Besides, if the Lotts should be presently bought and sold, it will be likely some of ym at least may fall into the hands of Persons very undesirable for the first Settlement of a place.

4. That the Persons to whom the Lotts are granted be obliged, at their first Settling on the place, to build a Garrison or Block-House for their defence, and so live as near it as with Convenience may be; for it will be very unsafe at first for enny one to build and dwell on his own Lott. This will too much expose ym to ye Indians, in whom little trust is at any time to be putt; besides, we may expect they'l not a little resent it, when yy come to understand that we are Settling upon a former noted Settlement of theirs.

5. That in case the Tract of Land at Penny-Cooke (the Settlement whereof is Designed) was formerly purchased of ye Indians (as I have heard it was, tho' I know not by whom,) it seems but Just that He or They so purchasing, should have reasonable allowance made ym out of the Lotts that shall be granted, as shall be to their satisfaction; for that Right I take to be the best in ye Eye of Concience, what ever it be in the Eye of the Law; besides, I know not how the Title can fairly be Justifyed against the Indians, if at any time they should demand it, but under the consideration of a former purchase.

Many other things might have been added, but 'tis not for me to direct your Honours. Begging therefore pardon, for my boldness in offering what I have, I take leave, so Subscribe my Self your Honour's most humble and obedient Servant,

Christopher Toppan.[266]

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[266]Christopher Toppan I, quoted, Ibid., pp. 60-61.

The Indians were not Toppan's only problem with respect to his lands in Maine. During the 1720s and 1730s, as Clifford K. Shipton stated, "a worse enemy unexpectedly appeared in the form of Colonel David Dunbar."[267] Totally unexpectedly, the British Board of Trade suggested that a colony should be established between New Hampshire and Nova Scotia.[268] Provisions for the colony went as far as the gathering of Nova Scotia troops to enable the safe settlement of Ulstermen irregardless of the claims of Toppan and the other land holders.[269] However, with the intervention of Governor Jonathan Belcher, Britain decided not to initiate its earlier plans and the New England investors' land holdings were not endangered.[270] In return for Belcher's help, Toppan suggested that he would sell the Governor one-third interest in the settlement. However, being convinced that his assistance was of greater value than this, Belcher shrewdly replied:

> I therefore expect That you be easy with me, as to the one Third, I don't mean to give it, for I will accept of nothing from anybody, but that you be moderate in the purchase Consideration. I have had great Offers of Lands made at the Eastward, but I

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[267]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 115.

[268]Ibid.

[269]Ibid.

[270]James Truslow Adams, "Jonathan Belcher," Dictionary of American Biography, Allen Johnson, ed., Vol. II (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), pp. 143-144.

> am more inclin'd to be concerned with you than anybody Else---And when the Matter is Settl'd betwixt us, I may perhaps be able to do greater Services to the joint Interest than you may presently think.[271]

It is not known what arrangement was deemed equitable ultimately.

By 1733, problems of ownership had subsided at last and Toppan, now in his sixty-second year, had his property surveyed and began to sell what he believed to be one hundred acre lots.[272] Soon, however, the settlers discovered that the lots were smaller than the stipulated size and that some contained as few as eighty-six acres.[288] To rectify the errors, Toppan gave the settlement a lot for the first minister, a lot for a parsonage glebe, two town landings, a common and a burying ground.[273] Because of these additional grants, a potentially severe legal suit was averted. However, Toppan's worst financial setback occurred in 1742, when he lost a court decision which cost him seven cottages, fifty acres, one grist mill and two double saw-mills, in addition to the costs of a complicated lawsuit.[274]

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[271]Jonathan Belcher, Unpublished Manuscript Letter-Book, 1732-1734, pp. 163-164, property of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[272]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 115.

[273]Ibid.

[274]David Cushman, op. cit., pp. 110-117.

Not unexpectedly, Toppan also invested in properties in the Newbury area. On July 17, 1718, for example, he purchased from his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Clark II, seven and one-half acres of land, with a "dwellinghouse thereon."[275] Indeed, despite his Damariscotta setbacks, Toppan became a fairly wealthy man. Perhaps of greatest interest is the fact that he appears to have reconciled rather well the idea of serving God while pursuing simultaneously such earthly ventures as the acquisition of money.

Toppan's first wife died on February 20, 1739, in her sixty-fourth year.[276] On June 28, 1739, in his sixty-eighth year, Toppan married Elizabeth Dummer,[277] a member of one of the colony's earliest prominent families. The Dummer lineage in New England extends to Richard Dummer I, of Roxbury, an Assistant of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; his brother, Stephen Dummer, of Newbury and Salisbury; and

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[275]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 333; David W. Hoyt, op. cit., p. 331 and Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., p. 298.

[276]Joshua Coffin, The Toppans of Toppan's Lane, op. cit., p. 12.

[277]The Essex Institute, Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. II (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1911), p. 490.

still another brother, Thomas Dummer I, of Salisbury.[278]

The second Mrs. Toppan must have been a much needed comfort to her husband during his later years. The 1740s, Toppan's last decade on earth, brought personal challenges which were of far greater magnitude than even the land difficulties had been. Indeed, the crises which faced the septuagenarian Toppan appear to have been of a type with which he was unable to contend adequately.

Other than the three man contest with Reverend Edward Tompson I and Reverend John Clark, Toppan's crises prior to the 1740s did not involve either the church or the school. One pictures him as a respected minister who was not, however, against engaging in shrewd financial schemes. It was his secular leanings, in fact, which led to his being labelled a religious liberal.

Yet, Toppan's liberality did not include the Puritan theology, for he disliked intensely the leaders of the Great Awakening, the vast majority of whom he believed to be irresponsible rabble rousers. Clearly, Toppan was an Old Light Congregationalist who must have shuddered at the contemplation of the harm which he believed was being wrought by the irreverant New Lights.

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[278]James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, Vol. II (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1860), pp. 79-80.

In the spring of 1742, the New Lights were thwarted in their attempt to occupy Toppan's meetinghouse. Yet, they were successful in taking possession of what is now the First Congregational Church in Newburyport, then under the pastorate of Reverend John Lowell I, a 1721 graduate of Harvard College.[279] As reported in The Boston Evening Post:

> Newbury, April 30. On Tuesday last the Rev. Mr. N. Rogers of Ipswich, Mr. Daniel Rogers and Mr. Bewell, Candidates for the Ministry, came into this Town, and presently formed a Party, and took Possession of the Rev. Mr. Lowell's Meeting-House, while he was gone a few Miles from Home, to return the same Day; and not meerly without his Knowledge but without so much as asking Leave of the Proprietors of said Meeting-House, or having the Consent of the Church or Congregation under Mr. Lowell's Care: The abovesaid Gentlemen officiated at Disertion and as many of the Party as pleased: The said Mr. Bewell preach'd in his Way, and advised the young People to continue their publick Exhortations (which have been much complained of by many of our faithful Ministers and other pious Persons) in spite of Men and Devils. The next Day an Attempt of the like factious Nature was made upon the Rev. Mr. Toppan's Meeting-House, but Mr. Toppan being present, the Party was repulsed, and the Rev. Mr. Rogers preached in the Town-House, inveighing there against the brief Extrast from Mr. Flavell, to the Joy of all the illiterate publick Teachers present and their Abettors. These Itinerants aim very much at dividing the Churches, and disaffecting People to their faithful Pastors, and what wild Scheme they are pursuing next, God only knows.[280]

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[279]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. VI, op. cit., pp. 496-502.

[280]The Boston Evening Post, No. 352 (May 3, 1742), p. 2.

In the heat of the controversy, Newburyites found it impossible to agree upon what had actually transpired when the ministerial candidates entered the town. Like many other New England towns during the early 1740s, Newbury was flooded with dozens of sermons, dialogues, tracts and other religiously oriented publications which concentrated, to a large degree, upon contradictory interpretations of the actions of the New Lights.[281]

Reverend George Whitefield, the famous Great Awakening evangelist,[282] heightened the conflict when he reached Newbury on February 22, 1745.[283] On November 25, 1745, Reverend Dr. John Tucker I, a 1741 graduate of Harvard College and an Old Light Congregationalist, was ordained as Toppan's assistant minister and, in protest, approximately thirty New Light families withdrew and helped to form what

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[281]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., p. 212.

[282]Luke Tyerman, The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, 2 vols. (London: Hodder and Stonghton, 1876-1877).

[283]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., pp. 215-216; The Boston Evening Post, No. 498 (February 25, 1745), p. 4 and The Boston Evening Post, No. 500 (March 11, 1745), pp. 1-2.

is now the First Presbyterian Church of Newburyport.[284]

It is not surprising that Toppan found himself in the heat of the controversy, particularly in view of the fact that he was one of the area's most unshakable opponents of the Great Awakening. Moreover, he was hardly the kind of man who would withdraw from a controversy. In response to the criticisms of some of his parishioners, he wrote the following letter in forthright preparation for the upcoming fight:

Newbury, June 10th, 1743.

To Charles Pierce esquire in Newbury.
Sir,

I have been informed that some yt are called schemers, by others new light men (for Satan being now especially transformed into an angel of light hath transformed his followers into his likeness in regard of the new light they pretend unto) have drawn up some articles against me, some respecting my doctrine, taught in publick, some respecting my belief in several articles of religion, and some respecting my practices and I have been told you have the original by you. I have long desired to see it, but could never yet obtain it. This is therefore to desire of you to send me the original, or a copy of it attested, for I am obliged to go to York superior court ye next week and would carry it with me to shew to the superior judges for their judgment upon the whole as to my doctrines whether they be right or no, for which I purpose to carry my sermons reflected upon, as to my principles

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[284]Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1741-1745, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. XI (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1960), pp. 78-79 and Jonathan F. Stearns, A Historical Discourse, Commemorative of the Organization of the First Presbyterian Church, in Newburyport, Delivered at the First Centennial Celebration, Jan. 7, 1846 (Newburyport, Massachusetts: John G. Tilton, 1846), p. 19.

> whether they be right or no, (though in the paper before mentioned I believe there are many things false, for I never yet knew a schemer that would not lie.) As to my practices whether right or no, I shall leave them to judge and determine. I purpose to carry with me a copy of what I now send to you to shew it to them; if you answer not my request in sending me the original or an attested copy.
>
> Sir, I am yours to serve in what I may,
> Christopher Toppan.[285]

The controversy, at length, overwhelmed Toppan and he began to exhibit signs of emotional imbalance. On one occasion, his mind troubled with insecurities, he carried a whip into his church in order, he said, to scourge out the enthusiasts, or "schemers," who were interfering with his preaching of the Gospel.[286] At approximately the same period of his life, Toppan wrote the following revealing note:

> Christopher Toppan desires to return thanks to God for his goodness to him in preserving of him, when the Devil cast a mist before his and his horse's eyes, throwing of him down, being in great danger, butt God in his good providence and his Angels garding of him out of the hand of the Devil, and after this I could not rest night nor day thinking of it what the Cause should be till Fryday morning it was revealed to me that it was because I oposed that great work of the Devil. It seemed that the voyce came to me and said I need not truble myself, it was that Devil did it and Deseaved all the people, and now I hope God will enable me to oppose that great work of the Devil and the Instruments of it more than ever I did.[287]

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[285]Christopher Toppan I, quoted in, Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., p. 213.

[286]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., pp. 376-377.

[287]Christopher Toppan I, quoted, Ibid., p. 377.

"That great work of the Devil" which Toppan had opposed was, naturally, the Great Awakening. More determined than ever, Toppan resolved to continue his crusade against those whom he thought were deceiving the people.

Despite the difficulties of the 1740s, early nineteenth century Newbury remembered Toppan chiefly for his success in winning new church members and for his abilities as a physician and surgeon. As Reverend Dr. John Snelling Popkin wrote in 1806:

> From conversation with seniors I have understood, that he "magnified his office" with great acceptance and success. In almost every month several were added to the Church; and according to the records, which are somewhat irregular, in some single days nineteen, twenty two, twenty nine, and, probably, thirty one, were admitted. These great additions were made chiefly about the end of the year 1727, after a great earthquake, which gave an awful alarm in the evening of the twentieth day of October, and was followed by general seriousness and frequent devotion.[288]

Toppan's greatest fame, however, resulted from the amphisbaena story which John Greenleaf Whittier immortalized in his poem, "The Double-Headed Snake of Newbury."[289] The origins of the incident are found in a letter which Toppan wrote to Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather to

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[288]John Snelling Popkin, A Sermon, Preached May 4, 1806, the Last Time of Assembling in the Old Meeting-House, in the First Parish in Newbury. (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Angier March, 1806), p. 16.

[289]John Greenleaf Whittier, The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1894), pp. 73-75.

report that a "reliable person" had

> . . . narrowly examined the snake, being brought to him by the Lads after it was dead, and he found two distinct Heads, one at each End, two mouths, opening each with a little stick, in each of which he saw a sting or tongue, and that each Head had two Eyes . . .[290]

On April 29, 1746, perhaps realizing that death was drawing near, Toppan sold to his grandson, Colonel Christopher Toppan III, of Hampton, New Hampshire:[291]

> . . . land in Newbury with the house I now dwell in, bounded westerly on the country road, easterly on New Lane, so called &c.[292]

The "country road" is now High Street and "New Lane" is now Allen Street, in Newburyport.[293]

Toppan died in his seventy-sixth year on July 23, 1747 and, like his four predecessors in the Newbury pulpit, he was buried in Oldtown Cemetery.[294] Inscribed on his gravestone was the following epitaph:

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[290]Christopher Toppan I, quoted in, Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 116.

[291]Joseph Dow, History of the Town of Hampton, New Hampshire, From Its Settlement in 1638, to the Autumn of 1892, Vol. II (Salem, Massachusetts: Salem Press Publishing and Printing Company, 1894), p. 996.

[292]Unpublished Essex County Deeds, Book LXXXVII, Leaf 269, on file in the Registry of Deeds and Probate Court Building, Salem, Massachusetts.

[293]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 333.

[294]John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches, op. cit., p. 112.

> Here lyes the Body of the Rev. MR. CHRISTOPHER TOPPAN, Master of Arts, fourth Pastor of the First church in Newbury; a gentlemen of good Learning, conspicuous Piety and virtue, shining both by his Doctrine and Life, skilled and greatly improv'd in the Practice of Physick and Surgery, who deceas'd July 23d, 1747, in the 76th year of his Age and the 51st of his Pastoral office.[295]

By his first wife, Toppan sired six children.[296] His second oldest son, Dr. Edmund Toppan I, a Harvard College graduate who received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1720 and his Master of Arts Degree in 1723, was a physician at Hampton, New Hampshire.[297] The third son, Dr. Bezaleel Toppan, a physician at Salem, Massachusetts, was also Harvard educated, receiving his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1722 and his Master of Arts Degree in 1725.[298] The youngest child, Susanna Toppan, married Benjamin Woodbridge, a descendant of Governor Thomas Dudley, of the

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[295]John Warner Bartlett, Historical Collections, Being a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes &c., Relating to the History and Antiquities of Every Town in Massachusetts, With Geographical Descriptions (Worcester, Massachusetts: Dorr, Howland and Company, 1839), p. 209.

[296]Herbert Tappan, "The Tappan (or Toppan) Genealogy," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (January, 1880), p. 51. The children were Christopher II, born 1700; Edmund I, born 1701; Bezaleel, born 1705; Sarah, born 1707; Eunice, born 1710; and Susanna, whose birth date is unknown.

[297]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 414.

[298]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. VII, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

Massachusetts Bay Colony.[299] Thus, at least three of Toppan's six children continued the family's prominence into the next generation.

Toppan's life had many parallels to that of Reverend Thomas Parker. This was particularly true in view of the fact that both men were relatively stern and inflexible, characteristics which limited their ability to confront adequately the controversies that marred their later years. After leading the founding of Newbury in 1635, Parker spent his remaining forty-two years in leadership positions in the church and school. By contrast, none of the six schoolmasters who followed him devoted more than a few years to Newbury's church or school. They either left the field of teaching or, far more frequently, moved to other towns. Toppan, the seventh schoolmaster to follow Parker, was a third generation Newburyite. More importantly, he spent his entire professional life in the town's church and school.

Yet, it would be erroneous to view Toppan as a later Parker in all respects. Although Toppan's religious faith was surely as strong as that of his predecessors in the Newbury pulpit, he was vitally interested in materialistic acquisition to a far greater extent than would have been judged appropriate at an earlier period.

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[299]Herbert Tappan, op. cit., p. 51 and James Truslow Adams, "Thomas Dudley," op. cit., pp. 484-485.

Nonetheless, despite his worldliness, Toppan defended the old order of the Congregational faith, rather than the ideology proposed by those who supported the Great Awakening. Consequently, it is all but certain that had Parker been alive in the 1740s, he would have favored the ministry of Toppan, rather than that of the New Light preachers. It is ironic that although his family had opposed Parker's rather tight ecclesiastical control,[300] Toppan spent his final years defending, essentially, the theology of his prominent predecessor. Indeed, even the methods employed by these two divines in defense of the status quo were remarkable for their similarity. Like Parker, Toppan's enemies were unsuccessful either in removing him from the pulpit or in seriously damaging his place in history.

When Toppan was ordained as Newbury's minister, his place in the school was taken by Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I, the eleventh schoolmaster. Webster was hired on July 29, 1696 and was given an annual salary of thirty pounds:

> . . . in good country pay to keep a grammar schoole provided he demand but fourpence per week for Latin scholars and teach the town's children to read, write and cypher without pay.[301]

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[300]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845, op. cit., pp. 83, 100.

[301]Ibid., p. 164.

A native of Newbury, Webster was born on October 19, 1673, the son of John Webster II and Anna (Batt) Webster.[302] Although the Websters were engaged primarily in farming and in the trades, they were relatively influential in Newbury and Ipswich. John Webster II, a blacksmith, was born in England circa 1632 and spent the major part of his life in Newbury.[303] In 1634, his father, John Webster I, a baker, settled in Ipswich, where he remained until his death in 1646.[304] The wife of John Webster I, Mary (Shatswell) Webster, was the daughter of Theophilus Shatswell and Sarah (Bosworth) Shatswell, who settled in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1642 and in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1646.[305]

Illustrative of the socio-economic status of the Webster family are the activities of the uncles of Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I. Stephen Webster I was a tailor in Haverhill, Israel Webster I was a cooper in Newbury and Nathan Webster I lived in Bradford, Massachusetts, where he

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[302] Ibid., p. 321.

[303] David W. Hoyt, op. cit., p. 343.

[304] John C. Webster, Some of the Descendants of John Webster of Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1634 (Chicago: privately printed, 1912), p. 5 and Richard Edward Kelly, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 11.

[305] James Savage, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 61 and Richard Edward Kelly, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 11.

was engaged, in all likelihood, in farming.[306] John Webster III, a brother of Reverend Dr. Webster, was a weaver in Newbury and, later, in Salisbury and another brother, Stephen Webster II, was probably a farmer in Newbury.[307] On the paternal side of his family, the Newbury schoolmaster was a first cousin of Hannah (Emerson) Dustin, the heroine of the March 15, 1697 Haverhill Indian raid.[308]

A member of his family's third generation, Webster entered Harvard College in 1691 and, being a normal undergraduate, he reached "the peak of his destructiveness during his junior year."[309] He received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1695, but he did not return to take the second degree.[310]

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[306]David W. Hoyt, op. cit., pp. 343-344.

[307]Ibid., pp. 343-345.

[308]Ibid., p. 343. As related in Howard H. Peckham, op. cit., pp. 51-52, on the night of April 29, 1697, Mrs. Dustin and her two fellow women captives surprised and slew the ten Indians who were holding them. She then returned to her home and, presenting the ten scalps to the authorities of the colony, received the established bounty of fifty pounds. Even after the passage of two and three quarter centuries, she is still a well-known historical figure throughout most of New England. A rather imposing monument, showing Mrs. Dustin with uplifted tomahawk, now stands in front of the City Hall in Haverhill, Massachusetts.

[309]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 286.

[310]Ibid., pp. 386-387.

For four years, from 1696 to 1700, he was Newbury's eleventh schoolmaster, his contract being renewed annually.[311] However, possibly because he had not shown an inclination to assist Toppan in the ministry, Webster was notified that his contract would not be renewed after the spring of 1700. On December 18, 1699, the following action was taken at a town meeting:

> December 18, 1699 Lieut Coffin, Lieut Noyes & Decn William Noyes were desired to discourse wth Mr Toppan & Mr Richard Browne for Mr Browne to preach a lecture once a month & once every sacramt day and to keepe ye Grammer Schoole and to help Mr Toppan or Mr Belcher in preaching in case of sickness, and if Mr Browne accept of the call, then to give Mr Webster a quarter of a years warning to Leave ye schoole.[312]

Reverend Richard Brown III was the son of Richard Brown II and the grandson of Richard Brown I, who had settled in Newbury in 1635.[313] A native of Newbury and a 1697 graduate of Harvard College, Brown became the town's twelfth schoolmaster on February 21, 1700, when he was:

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[311] John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., p. 401.

[312] Ibid., p. 402.

[313] James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, Vol. I (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1860), p. 275 and Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., pp. 336-341.

> . . . called to Teach the Gramr school in Newbury, which I accepted, and went on wth delight to train up youth in Learning and the knowledge and fear of God and teaching them to reverence yr Superiors.[314]

It was fortunate for Webster that he was aware of opportunities for employment outside of Newbury. He had begun to preach in Manchester, a town five miles east of Beverly, Massachusetts, on the southern shore of Cape Ann.[315] Shortly after he ceased teaching at Newbury, Manchester decided to offer him the ministry of its church:

> It At a town meting Leagualy warned and met to gather upon the 29th Day of July 1700 It is voted and agreed to treat with mr nicolas Webster to com and preach the gospill to us and to Indeavour to git him to be our setled minester as soon as may be with conveniance and to give him 45 pounds a year sallery in mony and the commettee here after named are hereby fully Impowered to agree with the abovsd mr webster to com and settell with us them or the major part of them namly Capt thomas West Lieft John Siblee Robberd Leach samuell allin senr and James pitman.[316]

It would appear that Webster was not particularly energetic about his work in either the school or the church of Manchester. The Manchester town records contain only

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[314]Richard Brown III, Journal, in Lilley Eaton, Genealogical History of the Town of Reading, Mass., Including the Present Towns of Wakefield, Reading, and North Reading, With Chronological and Historical Sketches, From 1639 to 1874 (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1874), pp. 53-54.

[315]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 287.

[316]Town of Manchester, Town Records of Manchester, From the Earliest Grants of Land, 1636, Vol. I (Salem, Massachusetts: Salem Press Publishing and Printing Company, 1889), p. 95.

brief references to his annual salary arrangements and to other minor matters.[317] Nonetheless, he continued to preach for at least eleven years, since, on November 15, 1711, he wrote a note indicating that he "received of mr cunstable robbert warrin in full for his second rate fourteen pounds thirteen shillings and sixpence."[318] Shortly thereafter, he was succeeded at Manchester by Reverend Ames Cheever, a 1707 graduate of Harvard College and the grandson of the famous colonial schoolmaster, Ezekiel Cheever.[319] Once again, Webster was dismissed in favor of a younger, far less experienced man.

In 1712, he moved to Gloucester, Massachusetts, approximately ten miles east of Manchester, where he became the first "regular" physician.[320] This was to be his final move. On December 22, 1717, after serving as Gloucester's physician for half a decade, Webster died in his forty-fourth year.[321]

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[317] Ibid., pp. 99-105, 117-121.

[318] Nicholas Webster I, quoted, Ibid., p. 121.

[319] Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. V, op. cit., pp. 326-327.

[320] James R. Pringle, History of the Town and City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts (Gloucester, Massachusetts: James R. Pringle, 1892), p. 64.

[321] The Essex Institute, Vital Records of Gloucester, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. III (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1924), p. 319.

Clifford K. Shipton stated that "Mr. Webster is curiously obscure,"[322] a comment which is significant for its understatement. If he wrote anything of note it has long been forgotten and many biographical details of his life are ambiguous at best. It is known that at some point he married Mary Woodman, who was born in Newbury on April 26, 1676.[323] She was the daughter of the Newbury "shipbuilder," Sergeant Jonathan Woodman I, and his wife, Hannah (Hilton) Woodman.[324] Her paternal grandfather, Representative Edward Woodman I, settled in Newbury in 1636 and was elected to the Massachusetts General Court in 1636, 1637, 1639, 1643, 1659, 1660, 1664 and 1670.[325] As discussed in Chapter III, he was the town moderator who led the battle against Reverend Thomas Parker from 1669 to 1672.

As far as is known, Webster had but one child, Nicholas II, who was baptized on October 3, 1708 according to the church records of what is now the First Parish Unitarian Church, in Beverly, Massachusetts.[326] Nothing

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[322]Clifford K. Shipton, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 287.

[323]David W. Hoyt, op. cit., p. 366.

[324]Ibid.

[325]John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902, op. cit., pp. 675-678.

[326]The Topsfield Historical Society, Vital Records of Beverly, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. I (Topsfield, Massachusetts: The Topsfield Historical Society, 1906), pp. 7, 359.

further is known about this child, nor does any pertinent information exist concerning Webster's widow.

It would appear that, unlike his predecessor in the Newbury school, Webster was content to watch quietly while the world went by. He did not spend time engaging himself in schemes for making money. Neither did he endeavor to write the theological tracts and sermons which were so dear to the hearts of many Puritan New Englanders. Instead, in Newbury, Manchester and Gloucester, he rather ploddingly pursued his three successive professions of education, the ministry and medicine. While he apparently satisfied at least some freemen in these three towns, he did not evince sufficient excitement about his callings to persuade the majority that they should permanently retain him. In short, mediocrity would not seem too harsh a word to use in describing him. Although Webster clearly was not incompetent, neither was he overzealous in his dedication to his various positions.

In conclusion, it is important to note that the late seventeenth century was the first period during which all the schoolmasters held college degrees. Furthermore, of Tompson, Shove, Clark, Toppan and Webster, only the latter lacked the Master of Arts Degree.

The emergence of a new breed of schoolmaster, a modification which first became evident during the

transitional period of 1675 to 1684, was accentuated during the final sixteen years of the century. In short, the schoolmasters of the late seventeenth century were well educated, mobile and, with the exception of Toppan, spent only a minor part of their lives in Newbury. Despite their education at New England's only institution of higher learning, the schoolmasters of this period were somewhat less committed to the Puritan ideal than Noyes and Parker had been. Only Tompson engaged in major theological writing and all of the others devoted substantial attention to activities which could not be regarded as religiously significant. In essence, the intensive commitment to Puritanism, evident during Newbury's first four decades, had become somewhat dissipated in the lives of the late seventeenth century schoolmasters.

Nonetheless, having survived the dangerous transitional period, Newbury faced the eighteenth century with determination as well as with a certain amount of justified pride. Although the town's schoolmasters were not of the scholarly calibre of Noyes or Parker and despite the fact that the educational program was somewhat weakened, there was clearly an improvement over the quality of education which existed from 1675 to 1684. Neither the tension filled lessening of the influence of the Puritan ideals nor the highly disruptive King William's War were of

sufficient strength to overpower Newbury's school. That this did not occur was the result, in the main, of the efforts of the schoolmasters of the late seventeenth century.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The foregoing study of the schoolmasters of seventeenth century Newbury permits the formulation of a number of conclusions pertinent to our knowledge of education in one of the early coastal settlements in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. As stated in Chapter I, the rationale for concentrating upon a single town was that much may be learned from asking major questions of a relatively small geographical region. It was found that Newbury was a relatively typical Puritan town and that sufficient primary and secondary sources exist to make possible rather thorough research on the lives of the seventeenth century schoolmasters.

Newbury's education was studied within the context of the milieu, rather than in a state of artificial isolation. Thus, Puritanism was given considerable attention in view of the fact that it was the major factor in the development of Newbury's education. Indeed, to attempt to comprehend seventeenth century New England without an adequate understanding of Puritanism would be most difficult.

Because of the vast amount of scholarly research which has been undertaken since the 1920s, we have reached at last the point where Puritanism is somewhat adequately understood. There exist numerous interpretations of the meaning of Puritanism, the complexity of which is suggested in such works as that of George M. Waller.[1] Perry Miller, one of the twentieth century's most astute scholars of colonial America, has provided perhaps the most accurate and concise definition of Puritanism:

> Puritanism may be described empirically as that point of view, that code of values, carried to New England by the first settlers. These were English Protestants, and in their fundamental convictions were at one with the Protestants, or at least with the Calvinistic Protestants, of all Europe. But the peculiar isolation of the New England colonies--the homogeneous people, the sparse soil, the climate, the economic struggle--quickly made these Protestants a peculiar people. Because their societies were tightly organized, and above all because they were a highly articulate people, the New Englanders established Puritanism--for better or worse--as one of the continuous factors in American life and thought.[2]

Had it not been for Puritanism, Newbury and its neighboring towns of Massachusetts Bay would have been far less adequate in transmitting and, indeed, adding to the English culture from which they sprang. Because Puritanism was such a powerful cultural and intellectual force, it enabled

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[1]George M. Waller, ed., Puritanism in Early America, Problems in American Civilization, George Rogers Taylor, ed. (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1950).

[2]Perry Miller, ed., The American Puritans: Their Prose and Poetry (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956), p. ix.

learning to survive on the frontier that was New England in the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Puritanism harbored certain stultifying tendencies, most notably the condemnation of the theater, religious music and sensuous poetry. Nonetheless, it was largely because of the Puritan emphasis upon classical and humanistic learning that seventeenth century New Englanders were, both qualitatively and quantitatively, better educated than were any other colonial people. In addition to transmitting a rich heritage to a virtual wilderness, the Puritans developed intellectual and moral strengths which still constitute a significant and, the writer contends, a largely beneficial part of the total American culture.

Because of their emphasis upon the necessity for studying the Bible, the Puritans founded and preserved the New England town school, many of the characteristics of which are preserved in the public educational institutions of late twentieth century America. It is a particularly significant indication of Newbury's concern for learning that in 1639, only four years after its founding, the town hired Anthony Somerby I as the first schoolmaster. Nowhere outside Newbury and other Puritan New England towns can there be found such an intense devotion to the concept of providing community education in a frontier environment.

Undeniably, the concern for education was rooted in the Puritan faith. Convinced that they were God's chosen people, New England's early settlers sought to live in a manner consistent with what they believed to be the will of their Heavenly Father. Hence, education, work and great personal struggle were necessary if one were to transcend corrupt physical surroundings and, hopefully, achieve nobility and salvation.

Yet, the Puritans feared more than the wrath of God. As Clifford K. Shipton has shown, they were also convinced of the need for maintaining their rich heritage of traditional secular knowledge.[3] Included in the anonymously published New Englands First Fruits (1643) was an indication of the ministers' responsibility for helping to foster knowledge:

> After God had carried us safe to New England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and setled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust.[4]

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[3]Clifford K. Shipton, "Secondary Education in the Puritan Colonies," The New England Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 4 (December, 1934), pp. 646-661.

[4]New Englands First Fruits: In Respect, First of the Conversion of some, Conviction of divers, Preparation of sundry of the Indians. 2. Of the progresse of Learning, in the College at CAMBRIDGE, in Massachusetts Bay. With Divers other special Matters concerning that Countrey (London: Henry Overton, 1643), p. 12.

As Samuel Eliot Morison has conclusively shown in his monumental volumes on Harvard,[5] the knowledge deemed worthy of being advanced and perpetuated can in no sense be considered solely ecclesiastical.

Some historians have concluded that Puritan scholarship was relatively inconsequential because it was associated closely with religion. The writer contends, however, that the religious influence was a positive, rather than a negative factor in the promotion of learning. Indeed, had the early Newburyites been less religious, it can hardly be supposed that they would have stressed education so strongly. As Morison aptly argued:

> It seems to be an axiom with Professor Knight, as with many other professional educators of today, that schools inspired by the spirit of religion, or conducted by ecclesiastics, are worthless. If that is true, we must condemn all schools and universities of the first sixteen Christian centuries; and all Catholic, Rabbinical, and church schools of our own day, in the same breath with those of colonial New England. Supposing that the schools of New England were just as religious in purpose as the parochial schools and Jesuit colleges of today, by what pedagogical or philosophical principle is a knowledge of the elements and of Latin grammar and literature rendered socially negligible when inculcated by teachers with a definitely religious purpose and outlook?[6]

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[5]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935) and Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936).

[6]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), pp. 58-59.

In essence, then, the intellectual emphasis, which was a major concern of the New England Puritan, did much to perpetuate and, to a degree, extend the pursuit of learning on these shores. Believing in the essential unity of secular and religious knowledge, the Puritans were convinced that all knowledge was from God.[7] Consequently, one does not find in the seventeenth century the type of religious versus secular arguments which have aroused such strident controversy ever since Charles Darwin announced his theory of evolution. Not even Reverend Dr. Increase Mather, President of Harvard College and one of the staunchest defenders of conservative Congregationalism, was opposed to his students' concentration upon secular studies. In the following address, for example, he went so far as to encourage such an emphasis in the anticipation that it would lead to truth:

> It pleaseth me greatly that you, who have been initiated in the Liberal Arts, seem to savour a liberal mode of philosophizing, rather than the Peripatetic. I doubt not that the Exercitationes of Gassendi are familiar to you; in which he sheweth with many proofs that there are many deficiencies in Aristotle, many excesses, and many errors. It is a trite saying, He who desireth not to be intelligible, should be negligible; moreover there are some matters in the books of Aristotle which no mortal can comprehend. Wherefore it is alleged of Hermolaus Barbarus, that he raised a demon from hell, to explain what Aristotle meant by (full, complete reality). A right proper interpreter of Aristotle, forsooth! How much in his writings are redolent of their author's paganism! He would have the

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[7]Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings, 2nd ed., Vol. II (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 698.

> world uncreated; he denieth a possible resurrection of the dead, he declareth the soul mortal. To Aristotle some prefer Pyrrho, father of the Sceptics; others, Zeno, father of the Stoics; many prefer Plato, father of the Academics. You who are wont to philosophize in a liberal spirit, are pledged to the words of no particular master, yet I would have you hold fast to that one truly golden saying of Aristotle: Find a friend in Plato, a friend in Socrates (and I say a friend in Aristotle), but above all find a friend in TRUTH.[8]

Not unexpectedly, such support for classical and humanistic studies was reflected in the Latin grammar schools which were preparing boys for admission to Mather's Harvard.

During the first period of Newbury's educational history, from 1639 to 1675, the school was well established and thriving. In 1647, when Somerby resigned to accept the town clerkship, Reverend James Noyes I, the teacher or assistant minister, took charge of the town's educational program. In turn, upon Noyes' death in 1656, Reverend Thomas Parker assumed responsibility for the Latin grammar school in addition to continuing his pastoral duties. All three men, but most notably Noyes and Parker, enabled education to flourish to an extent far beyond what could have been generally anticipated in a frontier settlement.

The school had been established eight years prior to the "Old Deluder Satan" Act of 1647, putting Newbury somewhat ahead of many of its neighboring towns in providing

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[8]Increase Mather, translated in, Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 167.

for education. During the first thirty-six years of its existence, the school perpetuated many of the educational standards of the English Latin grammar schools in which Noyes, Parker and, probably, Somerby had been educated.

Parker, who most assuredly deserves the title of founder and patriarch, was so determined that secondary education must not flounder that he refrained from charging tuition lest some parents might be forced, out of economic necessity, to keep their sons from attending the school. Indeed, it was only from 1656 to 1675, the nearly two decades during which Parker wielded the master's rod, that secondary education in seventeenth century Newbury can be said to have been genuinely free.

Upon Parker's retirement, Newbury entered a period of transition which could well have led to the death of the town school. Because of exceedingly poor health, Parker was unable to carry out his ministerial and pedagogical responsibilities after the fall of 1675 and within one and one-half years of his retirement he was dead. Although he was already middle-aged when he led the founding of Newbury, Parker survived for forty-two years thereafter. Despite the 1669 to 1672 controversy which marred the effectiveness of his later years, a sizable segment of the town continued to look upon him as a beloved founder and patriarch. Indeed, even Parker's enemies must surely have been aware of the far reaching significance of his efforts in

the church and school. He was, perhaps, not always particularly easy to get along with on a personal level. Nonetheless, few felt that they could legitimately question either his faith or his intellectual competence. Despite his austerity, Parker was unquestionably the principal leader of Newbury's religious and cultural life during the town's first four decades.

Reverend John Richardson I was hired to succeed Parker and Henry Short II, who was not college educated, became the schoolmaster. Although the school and church were now separately maintained, a supposed sign of "progress" to many historians of education, the quality of Newbury's education declined markedly. Far better educated than Short, Richardson undoubtedly exerted some influence upon the school. Yet, for the most part, Newbury's youth were educated for several years by men with far less education and ability than that which had been achieved by Noyes and Parker.

Because clergymen had more education than any other colonial group, it was inevitable that the separation of the church's and the school's functions would result, at least initially, in the town having to hire for the schoolmastership men of comparatively less intellectual stature and experience. In addition, the more capable schoolmasters invariably eschewed pedagogy and entered the ministry, where purpose and socio-economic status were

respected far more highly. It is, then, thoroughly incorrect to assume that an improvement occurred in education simply because laws eventually prevented ministers from teaching. In fact, after 1675, Newbury's school was in some respects intellectually weaker and less vital than had been true when it was more directly associated with the church.

It appears that Newbury's concern for education slackened during the 1675 to 1684 transitional period. In addition, there emerged a significant controversy which was based, primarily, upon divergent philosophies of education. The severe controversy of 1669 to 1672 had been highly detrimental since it helped to undermine the unity which had enabled the furtherance of learning during the schoolmasterships of Somerby, Noyes and Parker. Also debilitating were King Philip's War of 1675 to 1676 and the 1680 to 1681 controversy over the salary of Newbury's fifth schoolmaster, Reverend John Emerson II. The transitional period represented, in essence, the stressful nine years during which the town school moved from being an institution which reflected the utopian goals of the Great Puritan Migration to one which attempted to serve the needs of the still religious but, nonetheless, comparatively more secular and disunited second and third generations.

Newbury's early records indicate that, to a significant extent, the first generation limited conflicts

even though there existed many opportunities for dissension, especially with regard to such matters as the granting of land, the use of common lands and the admission of freemen. The second and third generations, however, were far more likely to fight for individual, as opposed to corporate, goals. This was largely the result of a decline in commitment to the utopian community ideals to which their parents and grandparents had been devoted. Consequently, the harmony which had characterized early seventeenth century Newbury rapidly evaporated with the dawning of the 1670s. Because the school was the second most important institution, it was continuously involved in the town's rivalries.

Not one of the three schoolmasters who taught from 1675 to 1684 was as intellectually noteworthy as Parker and Noyes had been. In addition to remaining as schoolmasters for much shorter periods of time--an average of three years rather than twelve--they did not write a single word which was deemed worthy of publication.

It is important to note, however, that the town's first four schoolmasters had not served solely as pedagogues. Concomitant with teaching responsibilities, Somerby was a farmer, Noyes was the assistant minister, Parker was the minister and Short was a farmer. It was, then, not until 1680, when Emerson was employed, that Newbury had a full time pedagogue who was college educated. Nonetheless, as suggested earlier in the present chapter, divisiveness

within the town prevented Emerson from effectively performing his duties as an educator.

In short, with the 1675 retirement of Parker, the town moved from a period of relative solidarity in its educational endeavors to one of a substantial degree of disquietude. Simultaneous with the above mentioned decline of religious conviction, there developed a dispersal of the population which helped to mitigate against the continued support of a single town school. As Oldtown became supplemented by settlements at West Village, on the Artichoke River, and Riverside Village, on the Merrimack River, rivalries among those living in the three sections reached major proportions. Eventually, during the late 1680s, pressures for the establishment of different schools in the three sections became so powerful that the district or "moving" school was established.

This is not to say, however, that the quality of education dwindled to the point of inconsequence. Despite the prevalence of political differences, education continued to be supported. There is, moreover, every reason to believe that curricular requirements continued to be rather stringently adhered to.

Yet, forces existed which prevented education from reaching the intellectual virility it might have achieved had unity of purpose continued to be a viable possibility. Religious conviction had been the major

motivating factor in the establishment and maintenance of the school. However, Newburyites had grown to doubt some of the other-worldly assumptions which had made life worthwhile for their parents and grandparents. In addition to rejecting a substantial part of their heritage, the younger generations failed to find a satisfactory substitute upon which to base their lives. Since the school had been founded and supported largely because of the ecclesiastical and secular intellectual desires of the more pious Puritans, the waning of support for the religious concept and the decline of the minister's dominance in the life of the town had severe consequences for education in Newbury.

During the third period, that from 1684 to 1700, there was a decided improvement in the quality of education over that which had existed during the transitional period of 1675 to 1684. Reverend Edward Tompson I, Reverend Seth Shove, Reverend John Clark, Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I and Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I, the five men who taught during this period, were all graduates of Harvard College. Moreover, all save Webster had also earned the Master of Arts Degree. Although only Tompson came close to approximating the scholarship of Noyes and Parker, each of the late seventeenth century schoolmasters was at least competently well educated. The extensiveness of the schoolmasters' education is not, admittedly, an entirely definite indication of the quality of the learning which took place

in the schoolhouse. Nonetheless, the fact that the schoolmasters of the final sixteen years of the seventeenth century were better educated than most of their predecessors had been may be viewed as a generally positive, rather than a negative factor.

Despite an improvement in educational preparation, however, the schoolmastership was significantly weakened by a decreasing level of commitment to the school. It was during the 1675 to 1684 transitional period that a dramatic increase in transience became noticeable. During the first period, that of 1639 to 1675, Newbury's three schoolmasters taught for an average of 12 years. From 1675 to 1684, however, the average fell to 3 years and during the third period, from 1684 to 1700, it fell still further to 2.8 years.

The tenth schoolmaster, Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I, was the only pedagogue after Parker to devote a major portion of his life to Newbury's church and school. Henry Short II, the fourth schoolmaster, had remained in Newbury throughout his life. Nonetheless, after five years as schoolmaster, he devoted himself to farming and to the town clerkship. Short's successors, Reverend John Emerson II, Reverend Thomas Baily I, Reverend Edward Tompson I, Reverend Seth Shove, Reverend John Clark and Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I, all continued to devote themselves to the ministry, to education or to medicine but

they moved from Newbury after serving but briefly as schoolmasters.

The age of the schoolmasters also declined substantially. From 1639 to 1675, the average age at which Newbury's schoolmasters had been hired was 43. From 1675 to 1684, the average dropped dramatically to 25.6 years and from 1684 to 1700 it reached the surprisingly young 21.6 years.

Because the schoolmasters taught for ever shorter periods of time, the age at which they resigned was also significantly lowered. Parker had retired in 1675 at the age of eighty. By contrast, during the remaining quarter century the "grand old man" of the school was Baily, who taught until he was thirty-one years of age. In addition, of the five schoolmasters who taught between 1684 and 1700, only Webster remained beyond the age of twenty-five. Clearly, teaching in Newbury had become primarily a first position for young Harvard College graduates, rather than a job which could attract even middle-aged men.

Another factor of major significance in the late seventeenth century was the 1689 to 1695 movement to establish a separate church and school in West Village. Of major significance for Newbury's education was the fact that the dispersal of the population had created the desire for institutions of instruction other than the single town school at Oldtown. Each section within Newbury wanted to

have its own church and school, a situation which was eventually resolved through the establishment of the district or "moving" school. Unfortunately, Newbury continued to employ but one schoolmaster who was responsible for teaching in the various sections of the town at different periods of each year. Consequently, the time given to instruction within any particular area of the town declined substantially from the level at which it had been maintained in earlier decades.

Despite severe difficulties, however, it is clear that Newbury endeavored to provide for the education of its youth throughout the seventeenth century. Beginning with the founding of the school in 1639, grants of land, payments of money and other commodities and student fees were the principal means of financing education. Toward the end of the century, however, there were fewer payments in land or in the use of land and there developed a far greater reliance upon monetary remuneration. Except for an exceedingly brief period during King William's War, Newbury continuously maintained the school.

It is of particular significance that the town continued to provide financially for education even when only a small minority of students availed themselves of the intellectual opportunities of the Latin grammar school. As in most Puritan towns, Newbury's schoolmasters did not teach in separate elementary and secondary institutions.

Rather, they were hired to give instruction to all students who were interested or, we might add, whose parents were interested, in the achievement of greater learning than could be derived in the home. It is evident that at least nine of the eleven men who served as schoolmasters in seventeenth century Newbury had been educated well above the average of their neighbors. In addition, they were comparatively highly committed to the importance of learning and to the significance of encouraging the retention of an appropriate level of respect for pedagogy. Clearly, they were quite different from the indentured servants and slave teachers who have been given such a disproportionate amount of attention by many historians of education.

Since it was not until the late seventeenth century that a school dame was hired from town funds, the schoolmaster was directly responsible for the town's only formal instruction, save what might be offered by the minister. It should be recognized, however, that one man served simultaneously as minister and schoolmaster during a significant part of the seventeenth century.

The Latin grammar school was an institution which attracted, in the main, those who had been born into families of the upper and upper-middle socio-economic class. This was due, to a significant degree, to the school's philosophical orientation in supporting the knowledge which most appealed to this segment of the town. Indeed, the

major focus of the Latin grammar school, that of teaching students to be fluent in reading, writing and speaking Latin and Greek, was largely removed from the concerns of the average seventeenth century Newburyite.

In short, it was not a lack of funds which largely restricted secondary education to those who were above the average in socio-economic status. Rather, through the process of choice, the lower and middle socio-economic classes tended to end their education when they had learned to read and write English and to compute simple arithmetic figures. Consequently, only a small portion of the town received a secondary education. In fact, even during the late seventeenth century, when Newbury had acquired a population of well over 1000, fewer than twenty students were typically in attendance at the Latin grammar school.

Like the secondary school students, the schoolmasters were also largely from a socio-economic strata above the average. In addition to their family background, moreover, the acquiring of a college degree added greatly to their already consequential status. This was largely the result of the high level of selectivity involved in higher education in the seventeenth century. Samuel Eliot Morison estimates that in 1640 in New England there was, at best, one university man for every thirty-two

families.[9] Although it is impossible to know the exact ratio because of the absence of anything approaching complete data, it would appear, nonetheless, that Morison's estimate represents the most accurate assessment to date.

Far easier to calculate is the number of college educated Puritans who had settled in New England by 1646. The United States Census Bureau estimates that New England had a population of 17,800 by 1640 and 106,000 by 1700, out of which 130 university men are known to be emigrated by 1646.[10] Through John Langdon Sibley's and Clifford K. Shipton's excellent biographies of Harvard College's seventeenth century graduates, it is seen that 465 men received Bachelor of Arts Degrees from the first class in 1642 to that of 1700. Obviously, this represents a comparatively small number when one considers the extent of New England's population.

Yet, this is not to minimize the educational attainments of seventeenth century New Englanders. Indeed,

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[9]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, op. cit., p. 361.

[10]Ibid., pp. 359-410 and Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., p. 25.

[11]John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1642-1689, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1873-1885) and Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1690-1700, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. IV (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933).

the percentage of those who attended Latin grammar schools and college was far higher than that which can be found anywhere in the seventeenth century. In addition, only an extremely small number of New Englanders were illiterate.[12]

The fact remains, nonetheless, that those who had earned college degrees were recognized as having attained a distinction that would enable them to hold the important positions of minister and schoolmaster. Although the schoolmaster earned only slightly more than did the average workman, his position provided social and intellectual status considerably above that of the freemen at large. Most significantly, the two schoolmasters who did not advance to the more lucrative calling of the ministry were the only ones who had not been college educated. Consequently, nine of Newbury's eleven early pedagogues may perhaps best fall into the category of minister-schoolmasters who, upon ascending to the pulpit, secured a position of paramount social, intellectual and economic significance.

It is significant that none of Newbury's schoolmasters came from poor families. Even the Somerby, Short and Webster families, who were perhaps somewhat less prominent than the Noyes, Parker, Emerson, Baily, Tompson, Shove, Clark and Toppan families, could hardly be considered

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[12]Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, op. cit., pp. 82-85.

poor. Most of Newbury's schoolmasters had a father, a grandfather or a great-grandfather, not to mention brothers, cousins and uncles, who had served as minister, schoolmaster, physician, representative to the Massachusetts General Court or had held some other position of more than ordinary responsibility. On the basis of an extensive study of the families of the town's eleven pedagogues, it is clearly evident that the schoolmastership was occupied by men of rather prominent backgrounds. Despite the absence of prohibitive legislation against the poorer and relatively non-influential freemen, societal machinations even more effectively restricted the attainment of the schoolmastership to those who were "more equal than others."

In conclusion, the school appears to have been a highly significant force in the education of seventeenth century Newburyites. In addition to helping to provide basic skills on a mass level, it prepared a number of students for admission to Harvard College.

That a frontier town school should be so thoroughly dedicated to the concept of community education is seen as a significant factor. When Newbury was founded in the spring of 1635, only Reverend Thomas Parker was a college graduate. Although Reverend James Noyes I, the assistant minister, had attended Brasenose College, Oxford, he had not remained to receive his degree. None of the other early settlers are known to have graduated from

college and the overwhelming majority had, at best, an elementary education. Yet, within four years the town hired a schoolmaster in a heroic effort to perpetuate both religious and secular learning.

Naturally, as the century progressed, additional numbers of college graduates were added to the populace. Indeed, twenty-four men from Newbury families were Harvard graduates during the seventeenth century and Newbury was recognized as one of New England's foremost towns in the sending of students to Cambridge. In 1680, with the hiring of Reverend John Emerson II as the fifth schoolmaster, the town first benefitted from having two college graduates, the pedagogue and the minister, simultaneously engaged in intellectual endeavors. From 1684, when Reverend Edward Tompson I became the seventh schoolmaster, until 1700, when the eleventh schoolmaster, Reverend Dr. Nicholas Webster I, resigned, Newbury continuously maintained college educated ministers and schoolmasters.

Throughout the century, but most particularly during the first four decades, Puritanism was the principal driving force behind the town school. Although it was diminished somewhat in the lives of the sons and grandsons of the first settlers, it continued to be the major motivating factor in the support for education. Yet, from Parker's retirement in 1675 until the end of the century, it is unlikely that the school again received a similarly

high degree of devotion and learnedness.

Nonetheless, although education floundered to a certain extent during the final quarter of the century, it could hardly be said that it was neglected. Rather, new orientations were being explored. In the main, the school generally continued along the familiar paths established by Somerby, Noyes and Parker. Despite demeaning hardships, Newbury maintained its institution of formal learning. By so doing, it helped to perpetuate the splendid intellectual heritage of the Ancient and Medieval worlds as well as of the Renaissance and Reformation. Considering the forces operating against it, the town school was a remarkably strong institution throughout the seventeenth century.

It should also be recognized that, other than supporting the clergy, the secular elements in the town did little to keep alive the flame of scholarship. Had it not been for the clergy, education in seventeenth century Newbury would have failed to achieve the strength it came to possess. Only the clergy's dedication to both religious and secular learning was sufficient to persuade the hard working people of this Puritan settlement that a school must be established and maintained. Through providing an intellectually virile tradition in the training of men who would be pious Puritans as well as gentlemen and scholars, Newbury's seventeenth century minister-schoolmasters left to succeeding generations an impressive educational legacy.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

This is a selective bibliographical essay which touches briefly upon some of the primary and secondary sources which were consulted in the writing of the present work. Although it does not purport to be a comprehensive survey, it is considerably more than a cursory listing of sources. To understand the schoolmasters of Newbury, Massachusetts, and the schools in which they taught, the research focused upon the nature of Puritanism, the history of Newbury and biographical material on each of the eleven pedagogues.

Basic to research in colonial American history are two monumental bibliographical works, Joseph Sabin, Wilberforce Eames and R.W.G. Vail, eds., Bibliotheca Americana: Dictionary of Books Relating to America, From its Discovery to the Present Time, 29 vols. (New York: J. Sabin and Sons and The Bibliographical Society of America, (1868-1892) and Charles Evans, ed., American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 Down to and Including the Year 1820, with Bibliographical and Biographical Notes, 12 vols. (Chicago: The Berkely Press, 1903-1934). Evans'

work is concluded in Clifford K. Shipton, The American Bibliography of Charles Evans: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 Down to and Including the Year 1800 with Bibliographical and Biographical Notes, Vol. 13 (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1955). Indispensable indexes are Roger Pattrell Bristol, The American Bibliography of Charles Evans: Index, Vol. 14 (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1959) and Roger Pattrell Bristol, Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers Indicated by Charles Evans in his American Bibliography (Charlottesville, Virginia: Bibliographical Society of Virginia, 1961). Also valuable is Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney, National Index of American Imprints Through 1800: The Short-Title Evans, 2 vols. (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1969). It is indeed fortunate that the American Antiquarian Society has undertaken the exhaustive task of microprinting the Evans titles, thereby making exceedingly rare works readily available to colonial American scholars throughout the world.

Early English works are found in A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1926) and Donald Wing, Short-Title Catalogue of Books

Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700, 3 vols. (New York: Index Society, 1945-1951). It is to be lamented that the proposed microprinting of works from these bibliographies has not yet advanced to a level even approximating that of the Evans titles. Consequently, many of the most vital sources are still to be found only in the rare book collections of a handful of British and American libraries.

Bibliography is the area in which New England history is perhaps most deficient. The only major works on Massachusetts are Jeremiah Colburn, Bibliography of the Local History of Massachusetts (Boston: W.P. Lunt, 1871) and Charles A. Flagg, A Guide to Massachusetts Local History: Being a Bibliographic Index to the Literature of the Towns, Cities and Counties of the State (Salem, Massachusetts: The Salem Press Company, 1907). Fortunately, The Committee for New England Bibliography is presently compiling a New England bibliography which will cover the settlement period through December, 1970.[1]

Numerous works were consulted with regard to Puritanism, the most powerful ally of education in seventeenth century New England. Puritanism remains one of the

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[1]John Borden Armstrong, "A Bibliography of New England History," The New England Quarterly, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (September, 1970), pp. 523-526.

most controversial of historical forces, as is shown clearly in such works as Frederick J. Hoffman, "Philistine and Puritan in the 1920s: An Example of the Misuse of the American Past," American Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 3 (Fall, 1949), pp. 247-263; George M. Waller, ed., Puritanism in Early America, Problems in American Civilization, George Rogers Taylor, ed. (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1950); Richard Schlatter, "The Puritan Strain," The Reconstruction of American History, John Higham, ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), pp. 25-45; Alan Heimert, "Introduction to the Harbinger Edition," in Barrett Wendell, Cotton Mather: The Puritan Priest (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1963), pp. vii-xxxix; Robert Allen Skotheim, American Intellectual Histories and Historians (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 173-255; Peter Gay, A Loss of Mastery: Puritan Historians in Colonial America (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 121-157; Edmund S. Morgan, "The Historians of Early New England," The Reinterpretation of Early American History: Essays in Honor of John Edwin Pomfret, Ray Allen Billington, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 41-63; David D. Hall, ed., Puritanism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968) and Michael McGiffert, "American Puritan Studies in the 1960's," The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Ser., Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (January, 1970),

pp. 36-67.

It is almost universally accepted that Puritanism had a profoundly significant impact upon the development of the American character. Heated controversies have often arisen, however, over the question of which aspects of Puritanism were influential and, far more significantly, whether the influence was positive or negative.

Sympathetic historians have concluded that Puritanism represented a constructive approach, religiously, morally and intellectually, to life on the seventeenth century New England frontier. It is pointed out that the Massachusetts Bay Colony faced strong opposition from the Indians and the French as well as from many elements within England. Moreover, internal dissent could hardly be considered inconsequential. Hence, the Puritans' rigorousness was needed if Europe's rich cultural heritage was to be preserved in the New World. Moreover, the emphasis upon hard work and disciplined living resulted in significant cultural, intellectual, economic and political achievements.

The detractors, on the other hand, argue that the Puritans were impossibly rigorous and that because of their intolerance life in seventeenth century New England was excessively rigid and formalized. As a result, intellectual stagnation became the rule and New England could not contribute meaningfully to American development until the

eighteenth century, when the influence of Puritanism had declined markedly. In essence, then, the detractors contend that the Puritans' restrictiveness was responsible for the failure of their religious experiment as well as for their inability to positively influence the country as a whole.

Such differences of opinion are not peculiar to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On the contrary, they were of major consequence in the seventeenth century, when the positive interpretations of William Bradford, John Winthrop, William Wood, Edward Johnson, William Hubbard, Nathaniel Ward, John Cotton, Thomas Shepard, Richard Mather, Increase Mather and Cotton Mather clashed violently with the negative intrepretations of Thomas Morton, Roger Williams, John Clarke, Samuel Gorton, Thomas Hooker and Thomas Lechford. It was not, however, until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that professional historians first engaged in scholarly debates over the nature and extent of the Puritans' impact upon American life. Finally, during the 1920s, the historiography of early New England achieved, as Edmund S. Morgan has shown, "a level of sophistication unmatched in the study of any other part of American history."[2]

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[2] Edmund S. Morgan, "The Historians of Early New England," The Reinterpretation of Early American History: Essays in Honor of John Edwin Pomfret, Ray Allen Billington, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1968), p. 41.

To a significant degree, the desire to embark upon more extensive studies of seventeenth century New England was in response to the early twentieth century's general antagonism toward everything believed to have been even vaguely characteristic of Puritanism. Widespread ignorance and utter disregard for historical truth were displayed, on a popular level, in the negativistic fulminations of H.L. Mencken. Even fairly reputable writers, among them James Truslow Adams, appeared to relish denigrating the Puritans in a manner similar to Charles A. Beard's denigration of the founders of the Republic. As Samuel Eliot Morison noted on December 29, 1950 in his Presidential Address at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association:

> There is a decided change of attitude toward our past, a friendly, almost affectionate attitude, as contrasted with the cynical, almost hateful one of young intellectuals twenty-five years ago. At that time Kenneth Murdock and I were voices crying in the wilderness against the common notion of the grim Puritan painted by J. Truslow Adams and other popular historians of the day: the steeple-hatted, long-faced Puritan living in a long cabin and planning a witch-hunt or a battue of Quakers as a holiday diversion. That picture has given way to one of the jolly Puritan sitting in a little frame house furnished with early American furniture, silverware and pewter, one arm around a pretty Priscilla and the other reaching for a jug of hard cider.[3]

In their reinterpretation of Puritanism, the historians of the 1920s and thereafter owed much to such works

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[3]Samuel Eliot Morison, "Faith of a Historian," The American Historical Review, Vol. LVI, No. 2 (January, 1951), p. 272.

as Henry Martyn Dexter, Congregationalism: What It is, Whence It is, Why It is Better Than Any Other Form of Church Government, And Its Consequent Demands (Boston: Nichols and Noyes, 1865); Moses Coit Tyler, A History of American Literature During the Colonial Time, 1607-1765, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1878); Henry Martyn Dexter, The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as Seen in its Literature (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880); George E. Ellis, The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1627-1685 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1888); Barrett Wendell, Cotton Mather: The Puritan Priest (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1891); Williston Walker, ed., The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893); Williston Walker, A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1894) and Henry Martyn Dexter and Morton Dexter, The England and Holland of the Pilgrims (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905).

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Francis Adams II, Three Episodes of Massachusetts History: The Settlement of Boston Bay, The Antinomian Controversy, A Study of Church and Town Government, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1892); Charles Francis Adams II, Massachusetts, Its Historians and Its History: An Object Lesson (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893); Charles Francis Adams II, ed., Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636-1638: Including the Short Story and Other Documents (Boston: The Prince Society, 1894); Edward Eggleston, The Beginners of a Nation: A History of the Source and Rise of the Earliest English Settlements in America, With Special References to the Life and Character of the People (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896); Edward Eggleston, The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1900) and Van Wyck Brooks, The Wine of the Puritans: A Study of Present-Day America (New York: M. Kennerley, 1909).

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Macmillan Company, 1927) and Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought: The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800, Vol. I (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1927).

The first major twentieth century reinterpretation of Puritanism was the posthumous work, Thomas Goddard Wright, Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1920). Appearing five years later was Kenneth Ballard Murdock, Increase Mather: The Foremost American Puritan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1925). This work established Murdock as the successor to Wright and it placed him in the front ranks of the historians seeking a reinterpretation of Puritanism. Murdock's subsequent works on Puritanism include Selections From Cotton Mather (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1926); "Cotton Mather and the Rectorship of Yale College," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, Vol. XXVI (March, 1926), pp. 388-401; "The Teaching of Latin and Greek at the Boston Latin School in 1712," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, Vol. XXVII (March, 1927), pp. 21-29; "William Hubbard and the Providential Intrepretation of History," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. LII (1942), pp. 15-37; Literature and Theology in Colonial New England (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1949) and "Clio

in the Wilderness: History and Biography in Puritan New England," Church History, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (September, 1955), pp. 221-238.

The next historian to respond to the call was Samuel Eliot Morison, whose Builders of the Bay Colony (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930) emphasized the beneficial influence of Puritanism upon the lives of eleven men and women of New England's first fifty years. As had been true with Murdock's 1925 biography, Morison's work earned him a prominent position in the field. In addition to his exemplary works on naval history, Morison wrote a number of subsequent articles and books on the New England Puritans. These include "Those Misunderstood Puritans," Forum, Vol. LXXV, No. 3 (March, 1931), pp. 142-147; "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, Vol. XXVIII (April, 1932), pp. 261-267; "Precedence at Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. XLII (1933), pp. 371-431; "The Harvard School of Astronomy in the Seventeenth Century," The New England Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 1 (March, 1934), pp. 3-24; The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935); Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936); Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936 (Cambridge,

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Three years after Morison entered the fray, there was published Perry Miller, Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650: A Genetic Study (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933). Like Miller's other works, this volume chiefly concerned the intellectual history of Puritanism. Miller was also the author of numerous other works on the meaning of New England Puritanism. Among these are: "Thomas Hooker and the Democracy of Early Connecticut," The New England Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 4 (October, 1931), pp. 633-712; "The Half-Way Covenant," The New England Quarterly, Vol. VI, No. 4 (December, 1933), pp. 676-715; "The Puritan Theory of the Sacraments in Seventeenth Century New England," The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (January, 1937), pp. 409-425; The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939); "Declension in the Bible Commonwealth," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. LI (1942), pp. 37-94; "'Preparation for Salvation' in Seventeenth-Century New England," Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. IV, No. 3 (June, 1943), pp. 253-286; Jonathan Edwards (New York:

W. Sloane Associates, 1949); Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1953) and The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953).

Errand Into the Wilderness (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956) contains, within a single volume, many of Miller's previously published essays. Also of major import are his anthologies of primary sources, The American Puritans: Their Prose and Poetry (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956) and, with Thomas H. Johnson, The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

With Wright, Murdock, Morison and Miller already notably in print, the fifth major Puritan historian, Clifford K. Shipton, Morison's research assistant, was soon to be heard from. He first received widespread acclaim in 1933, when there appeared Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1690-1700, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vol. IV (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933). This work was the continuation of John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1642-1689, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1873-1885). Likewise, the Sibley

volumes had been written in the tradition of the 1828 unpublished manuscript of John Kelly[4] and John Farmer, Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Commencing with the First Class, MDCXLII (Concord, New Hampshire: Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1833). Through more than four decades of intensive research and writing, Shipton has carried the initial work of Kelly, Farmer and Sibley as far as the aftermath of the French and Indian War.

Among Shipton's other works on Puritan New England are "The New England Clergy of the 'Glacial Age'," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, Vol. XXXII (December, 1933), pp. 24-54; "Secondary Education in the Puritan Colonies," The New England Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 4 (Decmeber, 1934), pp. 646-661; "A Plea for Puritanism," The American Historical Review, Vol. XL, No. 2 (April, 1935), pp. 460-467; "Literary Leaven in Provincial New England," The New England Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 2 (June, 1936), pp. 203-217 and "The New England Frontier," The New England Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 1 (March, 1937), pp. 25-36; Roger Conant: A Founder of Massachusetts (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1944);

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[4]John Farmer, A List of the Graduates, and Those Who Received Degrees, at All the New England Colleges . . . Forming a Complete Index to the Triennial Catalogues of All the Colleges in New England (Concord, New Hampshire: privately printed, 1835), p. 2 and Giles Merrill Kelly, A Genealogical Account of the Descendants of John Kelly of Newbury, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1886), pp. 48-49.

"The Autobiographical Memoranda of John Brock, 1636-1659," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. LIII (1944), pp. 96-105; "Puritanism and Modern Democracy," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. CI, No. 3 (July, 1947), pp. 181-198 and "The Hebraic Background of Puritanism," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, Vol. XLVII, No. 3 (March, 1958), pp. 140-153.

Several other scholars have demonstrated more recently their knowledge of Puritanism. Raymond Phineas Stearns, a student of Morison, was one such man. Stearns was primarily concerned with the relationships between Puritanism in England, the Netherlands and New England. Among his major works are "The New England Way in Holland," The New England Quarterly, Vol. VI, No. 4 (December, 1933), pp. 747-792 and Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands: The Rise and Fall of the English Congregational Classis, 1621-1635 (Chicago: The American Society of Church History, 1940). With David Holmes Brawner, Stearns wrote "New England Church 'Relations' and Continuity in Early Congregational History," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. LXXV, Part I (1965), pp. 13-45. His biographical works include "James Petiver, Promoter of Natural Science, c. 1663-1718," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. LXII (1952), pp. 243-365 and "Hugh Peter was a Wit," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. LXXVII, Part I (1967), pp. 13-34.

Ola Elizabeth Winslow, another recent historian of Puritan New England, presented much of the social history of the churches in her noted work, Meetinghouse Hill (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952). She was the author of such biographical works as Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758: A Biography (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940); Master Roger Williams: A Biography (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957); John Bunyan (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961); Samuel Sewall of Boston (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964) and John Eliot: "Apostle to the Indians" (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968). Much earlier in her career, Winslow edited American Broadside Verse From Imprints of the 17th and 18th Centuries (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1930).

Perhaps the most notable of all the recent historians of Puritan New England has been Edmund S. Morgan, a student of both Morison and Miller. Included among Morgan's major contributions are "Light on the Puritans From John Hull's Notebooks," The New England Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 1 (March, 1942), pp. 95-101; "The Puritans and Sex," The New England Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 4 (December, 1942), pp. 591-607; The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England (Boston: The Trustees of the Boston Public Library, 1944; 2nd ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1966); The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth, 1653-1657: The Conscience of a Puritan

(New York: Harper and Row, 1946); The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop, The Library of American Biography, Oscar Handlin, ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958); "New England Puritans: Another Approach," The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Ser., Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (April, 1961), pp. 236-242; The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1962); Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963); The Founding of Massachusetts: Historians and the Sources (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1964); Puritan Political Ideas, 1558-1794 (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1965); Roger Williams: The Church and the State (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967) and "The Historians of Early New England," The Reinterpretation of Early American History: Essays in Honor of John Edwin Pomfret, Ray Allen Billington, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 41-63. As is evident from their titles, most of these works emphasize the intellectual history of Puritan New England.

Bernard Bailyn is still another noted historian of early New England. Like Morgan, Bailyn studied at Harvard under the guidance of Morison and Miller. With regard to the English Puritans, R.W. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study (London: J. Murray, 1926) and Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the

Spirit of Capitalism, Talcott Parsons, trans. (London: G. Allen and Univin, Ltd., 1930) had appeared some years prior to the time when Bailyn was in a position to commence serious writing. Nonetheless, the businessman in Puritan New England continued to be largely neglected in favor of his generally more affluent English cousin. Consequently, Bailyn was responding to a serious gap in the history of early New England when he sought to study the records of Puritan merchants and their shipping activities.

Among Bailyn's most noted works are The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955) and, with his wife, Lotte Bailyn, Massachusetts Shipping, 1697-1714: A Statistical Study (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959). Revealing similar interests, Bailyn also edited The Apologia of Robert Keayne: The Self-Portrait of a Puritan Merchant (New York: Harper and Row, 1965). He was the author, as well, of the highly significant Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

Although numerous general sources were referred to in the writing of the present work, those sources which concerned most directly the history of Newbury, Massachusetts, and its seventeenth century schoolmasters were given

the most attention. It is fortunate that Newbury preserved such a wealth of primary source materials. Also of great value are the manifold secondary sources, among which are local histories, genealogies and biographies. Attempts were made to consult virtually all such known materials.

Unpublished manuscript records are preserved in the Newbury Town Hall, under the care of the present Town Clerk, Ralph P. Lowell. These materials include the books of birth, marriage and death, the town records and the proprietors' records, all of which date from the earliest years of Newbury's history. After having been lost since circa 1892, the seventeenth century vital statistics were finally uncovered in February, 1968.[5] Dating from 1674, the records of Newbury's First Congregational Church are being readied for deposition in a protective vault.[6]

Located in the Registry of Deeds and Probate Court Building, Salem, Massachusetts, are the Essex County deeds and probate records. The county's court records are found in the Office of the Clerk of the County Court House, also in Salem.

Fortunately, many of the most pertinent primary sources have been published. One such work is The Essex

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[5]Albert E. Fowler, "The Lost Records of Newbury, Massachusetts," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. CXXII, No. 4 (October, 1968), pp. 284-285.

[6]Letter From Emma Knapp, Church Historian, First Congregational Church, Newbury, Massachusetts, to Richard Edward Kelly, May 9, 1969.

Institute, Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, 2 vols. (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1911), a compilation of entries found in the books of record, kept by the town clerks; in the church records; in returns made to the Salem Quarterly Courts; in the cemetery inscriptions, gathered from tombstones throughout Newbury; and in many private records found in family Bibles. Both volumes are arranged alphabetically and are divided into three sections pertaining to births, marriages and deaths.

The equivolent works for Newburyport and West Newbury are The Essex Institute, Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, 2 vols. (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1911) and The Essex Institute, Vital Records of West Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849 (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1918). Because seventeenth century Newbury had geographical limits which included all of the area now designated as Newbury, Newburyport and West Newbury, the four 1911 volumes as well as the 1918 work represent significant sources for the town's early history.

Among other publications of pertinent primary sources are The Essex Institute, Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1636-1683, 8 vols. (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1911-1921); The Essex Institute, The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1681, 3 vols. (Salem,

Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1916-1920) and Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1628-1686, 5 vols. (Boston: William White, 1853-1854).

Newbury's records, like those of other early New England towns, contain but scant references to seventeenth century schools and schoolmasters. It is fortunate, nonetheless, that the schoolmasters' salaries and the dates of employment and dismissal were nearly always recorded. The fact remains, however, that by far the most significant sources for education in seventeenth century Newbury are the extant manuscripts and published works of the schoolmasters and their families as well as numerous town histories and genealogies.

The first comprehensive history of Newbury was Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845). Coffin has been widely consulted by all subsequent writers, largely because of his wide utilization of primary source materials and his accuracy of interpretation. In addition to the numerous facts pertaining to the town's history, Coffin contains such sections as Appendix D, "List of Grantees, and Genealogy of the First Settlers From 1635 to 1700," pp. 291-322 and Appendix I, "List of Graduates From Newbury," pp. 350-359. The entire work is, however, of immense value.

There later appeared George Lunt, Old New England Traits (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1873), a rather poorly organized volume consisting of rambling reminiscences of Newbury and Newburyport. Although of some interest to the casual reader, Lunt has but little value for the study of Newbury's educational history. Within the same decade was published Sarah Anna Emery, Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian (Newburyport, Massachusetts: William H. Huse and Company, 1879). Pertinent to the present study is Chapter XLII, pp. 218-224, which, although brief, relates some aspects of Newbury's educational history. Emery's major defect is her reliance upon pleasant memories, rather than upon consequential developments in the history of the town.

During the late nineteenth century, there arose a heightened interest in the writing of Newbury's history. This was, to an appreciable extent, a result of the great interest in the June 10, 1885 celebration of the town's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. A direct outgrowth of the commemoration was the publication of The Historical Society of Old Newbury, Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Newbury, June 10, 1885 (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1885). The most consequential part of this rather lengthy work is Samuel Colcord Bartlett, "Historical Address," pp. 36-68, which, although based largely upon Coffin, adds much interpretative background.

Appearing in the same year was Robert Noxon Toppan, Brief Biographical Sketches: Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Newbury (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1885). In addition to providing accurate data on the lives of three seventeenth century schoolmasters, Toppan presents other background information on early Newbury.

Other than Coffin's 1845 work, the two most significant volumes on Newbury history, both by John J. Currier, are "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1896) and History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902 (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1902). Although neither Coffin nor Currier are as interpretative as might have been hoped, the latter, being able to benefit from the research of his predecessor, is rather more thorough on various topical aspects of the town's history. Among the special areas of concentration in the 1902 work are "The Settlement at Parker River, 1635-1645"; "The Settlement at Merrimack River, 1645-1685"; "Churches and Pastors"; "Schools and Schoolmasters"; "Highways" and "Military Organizations and Indian Wars." The Currier volumes represent, in short, a level of excellence which has not since been attained.

A brief essay and numerous photographs may be found in George P. Tilton, Newbury: A Pattern of Flatware made in Sterling Silver by the Towle Mfg. Company: With

Some History of Newbury: Massachusetts and its Progenitor Newbury: England (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Towle Manufacturing Company, 1907). Also of some value is the appropriate section of Allan Forbes, Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland and Scotland: Connecting Links Between Cities and Towns of New England and Those of the Same Name in England, Ireland and Scotland (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921).

In 1930, Newbury's tercentennial celebration was held prematurely in order to coincide with that of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Published for the occasion was The Historical Society of Old Newbury, Ould Newbury: Comprising Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, in commemorating the Tercentenary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony with special events July 6, 7, 8 9 (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1930). This is a large map with explanatory information on Newbury's rather numerous historical sites. A brief historical narrative is also provided. A similar publication, appearing during the middle 1960s, is Newburyport Economic Development Commission, Historic Newburyport: A Yankee City (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Newburyport Economic Development Commission, n.d.).

Published during Newbury's actual tercentennial year was Eliza Adams Little and Lucretia Little Ilsley, eds., The First Parish, Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635-1935

(Newburyport, Massachusetts: News Printing Company, Inc., 1935). Despite its brevity, this is one of the town's more consequential historical works. Shortly thereafter, through the efforts of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration of Massachusetts, there appeared Old Newbury Tales: An Historical Reader for Children (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1937). This booklet dramatizes some of the more romantic aspects of Newbury's three centuries.

A number of comparatively brief sources are also significant for the history of seventeenth century Newbury. Among these are Elias Nason, "The Burial-Place at 'Oldtown,' Newbury, Ms." The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. I, No. 4 (October, 1847), pp. 371-376; A.W. Brown, "Materials For the History of Newbury," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. VII, No. 4 (October, 1853), pp. 349-350; "Newbury Troubles," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (July, 1854), p. 274; George D. Wildes, An Oration Before the Historical and Antiquarian Society of Newbury, Essex County, Massachusetts, September 11th, 1878, Commemorative of the Settlement of Newbury, A.D. 1635 (New York: T. Whittaker, 1878); Walter Lloyd Jeffries, "Taxes Under Gov. Andros: Town Rate of Newbury, Mass., 1688," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (April, 1878), pp. 156-164; "Number of Births in

Newbury, Mass., 1639-1715," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 (October, 1880), pp. 389-390; "Old-Town Meeting-House, Newbury, 1700-1806," Essex County Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. I, No. 10 (October, 1894), p. 146 and Robert Adams, "Lists of Soldiers of Newbury, Bradford and Vicinity, and Other Military Documents, 1686-1746," Francis E. Blake, ed., The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. L, No. 3 (April, 1896), pp. 338-346.

In addition to works which are expressly devoted to presenting Newbury's history, some material is also provided in the form of short articles in the major histories of Essex County, Massachusetts, viz., Cyrus Mason Tracy, et al., Standard History of Essex County, Massachusetts, Embracing a History of the County From Its First Settlement to the Present Time, With a History and Description of Its Towns and Cities, The Most Historic County of America (Boston: C.F. Jewett and Company, 1878); D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., History of Essex County, Massachusetts, With Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis and Company, 1888); Benjamin F. Arrington, ed.-in-chief, Municipal History of Essex County in Massachusetts: A classified work, devoted to the County's remarkable growth in all lines of human endeavor; more especially to within a period of fifty years, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1922) and Claude M. Fuess, ed.-in-chief

and Scott H. Paradise, comp., The Story of Essex County, 4 vols. (New York: American Historical Society, Inc., 1935).

Newbury's ministers have often sought to emphasize the town's impressive religious heritage. Consequently, in a number of nineteenth century sermons there was provided much information about Newbury's seventeenth and eighteenth century history. The more significant sermons include John Snelling Popkin, A Sermon, Preached May 4, 1806, The Last Time of Assembling in the Old Meeting-House, in the First Parish in Newbury. (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Angier March, 1806); John Snelling Popkin, A Sermon, Preached September 17, 1806, At the Dedication of the New Meeting-House of the First Parish in Newbury. (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Angier March, 1806); Jonathan F. Stearns, A Historical Discourse, Commemorative of the Organization of the First Presbyterian Church, in Newburyport, Delivered at the First Centennial Celebration, Jan. 7, 1846. (Newburyport, Massachusetts: John G. Tilton, 1846); Leonard Withington, A Sermon For the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Standing of the First Church in Newbury, On its Present Site, October 20, 1846. (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Enoch Hale Jr., 1846) and Moody D. Cook, A Genealogical Address, Giving a Brief History of the Parishioners and Founders of the Federal Street Church, From 1745-6 to 1862, With the Names of Their Descendants, now Parishioners, Delivered Before the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Association of the Parish, May 29, 1862. (Newburyport,

Massachusetts: William H. Huse and Company, 1862). Later in the century was published Horace Carter Hovey, ed., Origins and Annals of "The Old South" First Presbyterian Church and Parish, in Newburyport, Mass., 1746-1896 (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1896). Of all these works, the Popkin and Withington publications are the most pertinent for Newbury's early history.

Because seventeenth century Newbury was the parent settlement of what ultimately became the towns of Newbury and West Newbury, the city of Newburyport and part of the parish of Byfield, the histories of these communities frequently contain references to Newbury's earliest years. The first history of Newburyport, Caleb Cushing, The History and Present State of the Town of Newburyport (Newburyport, Massachusetts: I.W. Allen, 1826), appeared nearly a generation prior to Newbury's earliest similar work. Highly interpretative and far more comprehensive than Cushing is E. Vale Smith, History of Newburyport: From the Earliest Settlement of the Country to the Present Time. With a Biographical Appendix (Boston: Damrell and Moore, 1854).

Federalist Newburyport is discussed in three works by John P. Marquand, Lord Timothy Dexter of Newburyport, First in the East, First in the West, and the Greatest Philosopher in the Western World (New York: Milton, Balch and Company, 1925); Federalist Newburyport: or, Can Historical Fiction Remove a Fly From Amber? (New York: Newcomen

Society in North America, 1952) and Timothy Dexter Revisited (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1960). Newburyport's activities during the Civil War are examined in George W. Creasey, The City of Newburyport in the Civil War From 1861 to 1865, With the Individual Records of the Soldiers and Sailors Who Served to Its Credit, Also the War Records of Many Natives and Residents of the City, Credited to Other Places (Boston: Griffith-Stillings Press, 1903).

The city's most authoritative history is John J. Currier, History of Newburyport, Mass., 1764-1909, 2 vols. (Newburyport, Massachusetts: John J. Currier, 1906-1909). Less comprehensive but, nonetheless, somewhat valuable is George P. Tilton, The Colonial Book of the Towle Mfg. Company, Silversmith, Which is intended to Delineate and Describe some Quaint and Historic Places in Newburyport and Vicinity and show the Origin and Beauty of the Colonial Pattern of Silverware, 5th ed. (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Towle Manufacturing Company, 1908). Based largely upon Tilton is Fowle's News Company, The Early History of Newburyport, Massachusetts: Which is intended to delineate and describe some quaint and historic places in Newburyport and vicinity (Newburyport, Massachusetts: Fowle's News Company, 1926).

Recently published were Benjamin W. Labaree, Patriots and Partisans: The Merchants of Newburyport, 1764-1815 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press,

1962) and Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964). In both instances, the authors sought to thoroughly study the history of a single community with the conviction that such an approach would yield important information pertaining to this period of American history. These studies had, in short, an orientation quite similar to that of the present work.

Outside the field of history, Newburyport is perhaps best known as the city which was studied for the publication of W. Lloyd Warner, et al., The Social Life of a Modern Community, Yankee City Series, Vol. I (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1941); The Status System of a Modern Community, Yankee City Series, Vol. II (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1942); The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, Yankee City Series, Vol. III (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1945); The Social System of the Modern Factory. The Strike: A Social Analysis, Yankee City Series, Vol. IV (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1947) and The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans, Yankee City Series, Vol. V (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1959).

Newburyport's prominent position in the shipping industry is emphasized in such works as John J. Currier,

Historical Sketch of Ship Building on the Merrimac River (Newburyport, Massachusetts: William H. Huse and Company, 1877); William H. Bayley and Oliver O. Jones, History of the Marine Society of Newburyport, Massachusetts, From its Incorporation in 1772 to the Year 1906 (Newburyport, Massachusetts: The Daily News, 1906) and Stephen Willard Phillips, ed., Ship Registers of the District of Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1789-1870 (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1937).

Concerning other aspects of the history of Newburyport are H. Follansbee Long, "The Newburyport and Boston Turnpike," Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Vol. XLII, No. 2 (April, 1906), pp. 113-128; James M. Barriskill, "The Newburyport Theatre in the 18th Century," Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. XCI, No. 4 (October, 1955), pp. 329-352 and James M. Barriskill, "Newburyport Theatre in the Federalist Period," Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. XCIII, No. 1 (January, 1957), pp. 1-35.

The history of Byfield, part of which occupies the southern portion of the original town of Newbury, is found in John Louis Ewell, The Story of Byfield: A New England Parish (Boston: George E. Littlefield, 1904). Written in a highly informal style, Ewell places greatest emphasis upon the parish's eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Of the eleven men who served as schoolmasters of Newbury during the seventeenth century, it was found that there existed abundant source material on all but one individual. The examination and interpretation of this material provided sufficient data to aid greatly in the determination of such factors as family background, education, writings and socio-economic status. Consequently, there emerged a rather clear picture of the men who first occupied the schoolmastership.

Well known early schoolmasters, of whom the best example is Exekiel Cheever, have been referred to repeatedly in numerous educational histories. In addition, Cheever has been the object of major biographical studies, among which are John T. Hassam, "Ezekial Cheever and Some of His Descendants," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (April, 1879), pp. 164-202 and Elizabeth Porter Gould, Ezekiel Cheever, Schoolmaster (Boston: The Palmer Company, 1904). Yet, because the present work concerns specific, rather typical schoolmasters or, more accurately, representative minister-schoolmasters, there were found to exist no full length biographical accounts. Thus, a variety of other materials had to be consulted.

Of Newbury's eleven earliest schoolmasters, at least two and probably three had studied at universities in

England, Ireland and the Netherlands prior to settling in the town and six received degrees from Harvard College. Only two schoolmasters were not products of higher education. Consequently, major works on the history of higher education were consulted for the schoolmasters' backgrounds. Concerning Oxford is Charles Edward Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, 3 vols. (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1924-1927). Cambridge's history may be found in Thomas Fuller, The History of the University of Cambridge, and of Waltham Abbey (London: T. Tegg, 1840) and James Bass Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Decline of the Platonist Movement, 3 vols. (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1873-1911). One of the most thorough university histories is Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 3 vols. (Oxford, England: The Clarendon Press, 1895).

Among the most noted nineteenth century histories of Harvard College are Josiah Quincy, History of Harvard University, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: J. Owen, 1840) and Samuel A. Eliot, A Sketch of the History of Harvard College. And of Its Present State (Boston: C.C. Little and J. Brown, 1848). The most thorough and scholarly approach is found in the works of Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935) and Harvard College in the Seventeenth

Century, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936). The hitherto unpublished records of the institution are found in "Harvard College Records, 1636-1767," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Collections, Vols. XV-XVI (1925), XXXI (1935).

Also significant are works concerning the English Latin grammar schools, after which those in New England were patterned. Among the works that were consulted are A.F. Leach, English Schools in the Reformation, 1546-1548 (Westminster, England: A. Constable and Company, 1896); Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1908); A. Monroe Stowe, English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1908); A.F. Leach, The Schools of Medieval England (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1915); Foster Watson, The Old Grammar Schools (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1916); Norman Wood, The Reformation and English Education: A Study of the Influence of Religious Uniformity on English Education in the Sixteenth Century (London: G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1931); J. Howard Brown, Elizabethan Schooldays: An Account of the English Grammar Schools in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century (Oxford, England: B. Blackwell, 1933); Clara P. McMahon, Education in Fifteenth-Century England (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1947); Kenneth Charlton,

Education in Renaissance England (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965) and John Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (London: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

Yet, although these general histories are of exceptional value for understanding the secondary school background, a number of thorough biographical accounts contain essential information on the lives of many of Newbury's schoolmasters. The basic works on Harvard College are John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1642-1689, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles William Sever, 1873-1885) and Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1690-1763, With Bibliographical and Other Notes, Vols. IV-XV, in progress (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933; Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1937-1970, in progress).

Despite the fact that it contains biographical sketches which are far briefer than those found in Sibley and Shipton, a valuable work for the Yale College graduates is Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College, With Annals of the College History, October, 1701-September, 1815, 6 vols. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1885-1911; New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1912). The seventh volume in the series appeared as Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Biographical

Notices of Graduates of Yale College, Including Those Who Graduated in Classes Later Than 1815, Who Are Not Commemorated in the Annual Obituary Record (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1913).

Biographical accounts of Newbury's early schoolmasters are also found in the highly useful Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana: or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England: From Its First Planting, in the Year 1620, Unto the Year of Our Lord 1698, 7 vols. (London: T. Parkhurst, 1702); William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit: or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, From the Early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Five: Congregationalists, Vols. I-II (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1857) and Frederick Lewis Weis, The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1936).

Of great value were numerous genealogies pertaining to the families of schoolmasters. Without doubt, the most thorough bibliographical work is Fremont Rider, ed., The American Genealogical Index, 48 vols. (Middletown, Connecticut: The Cooperating Subscribing Libraries of Wesleyan University, 1942-1952) and Fremont Rider, ed., The American Genealogical-Biographical Index to American Genealogical, Biographical and Local History Materials,

70 vols., in progress (Middletown, Connecticut: The Godfrey Memorial Library, 1952-1970, in progress).

Basic genealogical dictionaries of colonial New England are John Farmer, A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New-England (Lancaster, Massachusetts: Carter, Andrews and Company, 1829) and James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register, 4 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1860-1862).

Concerning both Massachusetts and New England are Charles Henry Pope, The Pioneers of Massachusetts: A Descriptive List, Drawn From Records of the Colonies, Towns and Churches and Other Contemporaneous Documents (Boston: Charles Henry Pope, 1900); Henry Franklin Andrews, List of Freemen, Massachusetts Bay Colony from 1630 to 1691, With the Freeman's Oath, the First Paper in New England (Exira, Iowa: Exira Printing Company, 1906); William Richard Cutter, ed., Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1908); William Richard Cutter, ed., New England Families, Genealogical and Memorial: A Record of the Achievements of Her People in the Making of Commonwealths and the Founding of a Nation, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1913) and Frank R. Holmes, Directory of the Ancestral Heads of New

England Families, 1620-1700 (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1923).

Because several of Newbury's schoolmasters spent much of their lives in New Hampshire, Maine and Connecticut, the general works pertaining to these states are also of value. Concerning New Hampshire is Ezra S. Stearns, William F. Whitcher and Edward E. Parker, eds., Genealogical and Family History of the State of New Hampshire: A Record of the Achievements of Her People in the Making of a Commonwealth and the Founding of a Nation, 4 vols. (New York: The Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1908).

Concerning Maine and New Hampshire are Charles Henry Pope, The Pioneers of Maine and New Hampshire, 1623-1660: A Descriptive List, Drawn From Records of the Colonies, Towns, Churches, Courts and Other Contemporary Sources (Boston: Charles Henry Pope, 1908); George Thomas Little, ed., Genealogical and Family History of the State of Maine, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1909) and Sybil Noyes, Charles Thornton Libby and Walter Goodwin-Davis, Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire (Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthroensen Press, 1939).

With respect to Connecticut are Royal Ralph Hinman, A Catalogue of the Names of the Early Puritan Settlers of the Colony of Connecticut: With the Time of Their Arrival in the Colony, and Their Standing in Society, Together With Their Place of Residence, as Far as Can be

Discovered by the Records, Collected From the State and Town Records (Hartford, Connecticut: E. Gleason, 1852-1856); Nathaniel Goodwin, Genealogical Notes, or Contributions to the Family History of Some of the First Settlers of Connecticut and Massachusetts (Hartford, Connecticut: F.A. Brown, 1856); William Richard Cutter, et al., eds., Genealogical and Family History of the State of Connecticut: A Record of the Achievements of Her People in the Making of a Commonwealth and the Founding of a Nation, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1908) and Donald Lines Jacobus, List of Officials, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical of Connecticut Colony, From March 1636 through 11 October 1677, and of New Haven Colony, Throughout Its Separate Existence: Also Soldiers in the Pequot War Who Then or Subsequently Resided Within the Present Bounds of Connecticut (New Haven, Connecticut: R.M. Hooker, 1935).

For research in Newbury and in other areas of northeastern Essex County, Massachusetts, is the highly valuable David W. Hoyt, The Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts: With some Related Families of Newbury, Haverhill, Ipswich, and Hampton, 3 vols. (Providence: Snow and Farnham, 1897-1916). Also to be consulted is the supplemental volume, David W. Hoyt, Additions and Corrections for The Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts (Providence: Snow and Farnham, 1919).

A relatively small number of sources were utilized repeatedly becuase of their thorough biographical data on the Newbury schoolmasters. Particularly significant in this respect were the histories and records of Newbury and its first church; the Sibley and Shipton volumes on the Harvard College graduates; the biographical sketches included in the Mather, Sprague and Weis works and the Farmer, Savage and Hoyt genealogical dictionaries. To repeat continuously these by now familiar sources for each schoolmaster would be undeniably superfluous. Consequently, only the works other than these basic sources are included in the following pages. The sole exceptions are made when there exists a direct quotation from one of the schoolmasters.

Although there was found no genealogy of the Somerby family, numerous references to Newbury's first schoolmaster, Anthony Somerby I, are included in the histories of the families to which he was closely related. Among these works are Jonathan Greenleaf, A Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family (New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1854); Giles Merrill Kelly, A Genealogical Account of the Descendants of John Kelly of Newbury, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1886); Rufus Emery, Genealogical Records of Descendants of John and Anthony Emery, of Newbury, Mass., 1590-1890 (Salem, Massachusetts: Emery Cleaves, 1890); William S. Appleton, Early Wills Illustrating the Ancestry of Hariot Coffin, With Genealogical

and Biographical Notes By Her Grandson (Boston: David Clapp and Son, 1893); James Edward Greenleaf, Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family, 1574-1896 (Boston: Frank Wood, 1896) and George Kuhn Clarke, The Descendants of Nathaniel Clarke and His Wife, Elizabeth Somerby of Newbury, Massachusetts: A History of Ten Generations (Boston: privately printed, 1902).

More succinct references to Somerby and his relatives are found in such works as Henry F. Waters, "The Voyage of the Jonathan to New England, 1639: Passengers and Vessels that have Arrived in America," Part IX, The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 (October, 1878), pp. 407-411; Harriet Ruth (Waters) Cooke and Benjamin Ives, The Driver Family: A Genealogical Memoir of the Descendants of Robert and Phebe Driver, of Lynn, Mass., With an Appendix, Containing Twenty-Three Allied Families, 1592-1887 (New York: John Wilson and Son, 1889); William E. Chute, A Genealogy and History of the Chute Family in America, With Some Account of the Family in Great Britain and Ireland, With an Account of Forty Allied Families Gathered From the Most Authentic Sources (Salem, Massachusetts: privately printed, 1894); Richard Edward Kelly, "The Kelly Family," The Detroit Society for Genealogical Research Magazine, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Spring, 1964), p. 135; Richard Edward Kelly, Ancestral Record of the Family of Deacon Richard Edward Kelly and Anne Louise (Reynolds) Kelly, 2 vols. (Boston: Goodspeed's Book Shop, 1969);

Letter from Ralph P. Lowell, Town Clerk of Newbury, Massachusetts, to Richard Edward Kelly, March 2, 1969 and Richard Edward Kelly, "An English Kelly: Reverend William Kelly (1744-1813), of Warner, New Hampshire," New Hampshire Profiles, Vol. XIX, No. 7 (July, 1970), p. 15.

Genealogies of the family of Reverend James Noyes I include Horatio N. Noyes, Noyes' Genealogy. Record of a Branch of the Descendants of Rev. James Noyes, Newbury, 1634-1656 (Cleveland: privately printed, 1889) and the far more thorough Henry E. Noyes and Harriette E. Noyes, Genealogical Record of Some of The Noyes Descendants of James, Nicholas and Peter Noyes, 2 vols. (Boston: privately printed, 1904).

Among other works which contain references to Noyes and his family are Samuel Gardner Drake, "Passengers on the Mary and John, 1634," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. IX, No. 3 (July, 1855), pp. 265-268; Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Ser., Vols. I-II (1886-1888); James Atkins Noyes, "Noyes Inscriptions and Memoranda," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XLVIII, No. 1 (January, 1894), pp. 18-19; Sumner Chilton Powell, Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963) and Letter from Constance (Kelly) Law, of West Newbury, Massachusetts, to

Richard Edward Kelly, October 20, 1970.

Reverend James Noyes I was the author of The Temple measured: Or, A brief Survey of the Temple mystical, Which is the Instituted Church of Christ, Wherein are solidly and modestly discussed, Most of the material Questions touching the Constitution and Government of the Visible Church Militant here on Earth (London: Edmund Paxton, 1647); A Short Catechism composed by Mr. James Noyes, Late Teacher of the Church of Christ in Newbury, in New England, For the Use of the Children There (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Samuel Green, 1661; reprinted, Newburyport, Massachusetts: Barrett and Marsh, 1797) and Moses and Aaron: Or, The Rights of Church and State; Containing Two Disputations (London: Edmund Paxton, 1661).

Reactions to Noyes' 1647 work are found in John Ellis, Vindiciae Catholicae, or the rights of particular Churches rescued: and asserted against that Meer (but Dangerous) notion of one Catholick, Visible, Governing Church (London: Henry Overton, 1647) and Giles Firmin, Of Schism, Parochial Congregations in England, and Ordination by Imposition of Hands (London: Nathaniel Webb and William Grantham, 1658). Noyes' will is found in The Essex Institute, The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1634-1664, Vol. I (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1916), pp. 245-247.

The third schoolmaster and first minister, Reverend Thomas Parker, wrote more and had more written about him than did any other pedagogue of seventeenth century Newbury. A major genealogical work is Augustus G. Parker, Parker in America, 1630-1910 (Buffalo: Niagara Frontier Publishing Company, 1911).

With respect to Parker's noted father, Reverend Robert Parker, is W.A. Shaw, "Robert Parker," The Dictionary of National Biography, Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., Vol. XV (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917), pp. 269-271. His published works include A Scholasticall Discovrse Against Symbolizing With Antichrist in Ceremonies: Especially in the Signe of the Crosse (Amsterdam: n.p., 1607); De Descensu Nostri Iesu Christi ad inferos, Libri qvatvor (Amsterdam: Aegis Thorpe, 1611); De Politeia Ecclesiastics Christi et Hierarchine Opposita, libri tres (Amsterdam: n.p., 1615); An Exposition of the pouring out of the fourth Viall mentioned in the sixteenth of Revelation, T. Gataker, ed. (London: Thomas Pierrepont, 1650) and The Mystery of the Vialls Opened: Being a short Exposition upon the pouring out of the four last Vialls, mentioned in the 16 Chapter of the Revelation (London: John Sweeting, 1651).

Major biographical sketches of Reverend Thomas Parker include Henry Richard Tedder, "Thomas Parker," The Dictionary of National Biography, Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., Vol. XV (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917),

pp. 277-278; Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury," Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, Vol. XXVIII (April, 1932), pp. 261-267; Samuel Eliot Morison, "Thomas Parker," Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone, ed., Vol. XIV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), pp. 241-242; Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935); James D. Hart, The Oxford Companion to American Literature, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965) and Who Was Who in America, Historical Volume, 1607-1896, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The A.N. Marquis Company, 1967).

More succinct references are found in such works as Samuel Sewall, "Rev. Thomas Parker," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. VI, No. 4 (October, 1852), p. 352; Samuel Gardner Drake, "Passengers of the Mary and John, 1634," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. IX, No. 3 (July, 1855), pp. 265-268; Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Ser., Vols. I-II (1886-1888); John Coffin Jones Brown, "Newbury and the Bartlett Family," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XL, No. 2 (April, 1886), pp. 192-204; Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936) and Samuel Eliot Morison, The Intellectual Life of

Colonial New England, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1956).

Parker's works include Theses Theologicae de traductione homines peccatoris ad vitam, quas ad disputandum proponit Thomas Parkerus, Anglus (Friesland, Netherlands: University of Franeker, 1617); The Trve Copy of a Letter: Written by Mr. Thomas Parker, a learned and godly Minister, in New-England, unto a Member of the Assembly of Divines now in Westminster. (London: Ralph Smith, 1644); The Visions and Prophecies of Daniel Expounded: Wherein the Mistakes of Former Interpreters are modestly discovered, and the true meaning of the Text made plain by the Words and Circumstances of it. (London: Edmund Paxton, 1646); The Copy of a Letter Written by Mr. Thomas Parker, Pastor of the Church of Newbury in New-England, to His Sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Avery, Sometimes of Newbury in the County of Berks (London: Edmund Paxton, 1650); Theses Theologicae de Traductione Hominis Peccatoris ad Vitam (London: Samuel Thomson, 1652); A Farewell Sermon . . . January 1, 1655 (London: Richard Lowndes, 1656); Methodus Gratiae Divinae In traductione hominis peccatoris ad vitam, Septuaginta Thesibus succincte & elaborate explicata (London: Abelis Roper, 1657); "To the Reader," in James Noyes I, Moses and Aaron: Or, The Rights of Church and State; Containing two Disputations. (London: Edmund Paxton, 1661), pp. 1-2 and "Dedication," Ibid., p. 3.

Reactions to these works include M.S., A Reply of two of the Brethren to A.S., 2nd ed. (London: H. Overton, 1644); N.H., The Examination of Tilenus before the Triers; In order to his intended settlement in the office of a publick Preacher in the Common-wealth of Utopia. (London: R. Royston, 1658) and Philo-Tileno, Parkerus Illustratus: Sive, Annotate Quaedam in Omnes LXX. (London: Joannis Baker, 1660). Parker's will is printed in The Essex Institute, The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1675-1681, Vol. III (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1920), pp. 133-135.

Concerning the family of Henry Short II, there exists only a typewritten genealogy, prepared by Mary Adams Rolfe and now owned by The Historical Society of Old Newbury, and Martha G. Fales, "The Shorts, Newburyport Cabinetmakers," Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. CII, No. 3 (July, 1966), pp. 224-240. Other references include Samuel Gardner Drake, "Passengers of the Mary and John, 1634," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. IX, No. 3 (July, 1855), pp. 265-268 and Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Ser., Vols. I-II (1886-1888). A brief excerpt from Short's lost Notebook, dating from 1676, is found in Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845),

pp. 117-118. A major work on the Dummers, Short's in-laws, is Joseph Lemuel Chester, "The Family of Dummer," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXV, No. 3 (July, 1881), pp. 254-271, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (October, 1881), pp. 321-331.

Major genealogies of the family of Reverend John Emerson II include P.H. Emerson, The English Emersons: A Genealogical Historical Sketch of the Family From the Earlier Times to the End of the Seventeenth Century, Including Various Modern Pedigrees, With an Appendix of Authorities (London: David Nutt, 1898) and Benjamin Kendall Emerson, The Ipswich Emersons, A.D. 1636-1900: A Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Emerson of Ipswich, Mass., With Some Account of His English Ancestry (Boston: David Capp and Son, 1900). A severe critique of the 1900 work is found in P.H. Emerson, A Criticism of 'The Ipswich Emersons' alias 'The Emersons in America' (London: n.p., 1901).

Additional references to Emerson and his family include Charles W. Upham, Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects, 2 vols. (Boston: Wiggin and Lunt, 1867); Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Ser., Vol. I (1886); Cotton Mather, "Diary of Cotton Mather, 1709-1724," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Ser., Vol. VIII (1912); The Essex Institute, Vital

Records of Salem, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. V (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1925); Knowlton Mixer, Old Houses of New England (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927); George Lyman Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929); James Duncan Phillips, Salem in the Eighteenth Century (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937); Dorothy Pratt and Richard Pratt, A Guide to Early American Houses: North and South (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956); Marion L. Starkey, The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials (New York: Time Incorporated, 1963) and Chadwick Hansen, Witchcraft at Salem (New York: George Braziller, 1969).

There exist but brief references to Reverend Thomas Baily I. Among them are Convers Francis, An Historical Sketch of Watertown, in Massachusetts, From the First Settlement of the Town to the Close of Its Second Century (Cambridge, Massachusetts: E.W. Metcalf and Company, 1830) and Henry Bond, Genealogies of the Families and Descendants of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts, Including Waltham and Weston; To Which is Appended the Early History of the Town, Vol. I (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1855). Baily's only known works are several Latin odes and some verses, dated November 5, 1669, on Robert Catesby's famed 1605 Gunpowder Plot. The manuscripts are the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Baily was also referred to by Reverend Dr. Increase Mather and Reverend John Dutton, both of whom are quoted in Samuel G. Drake, The History and Antiquities of Boston, The Capital of Massachusetts and Metropolis of New England, From Its Settlement in 1630, to the Year 1770 (Boston: Luther Stevens, 1856). Important for correctly identifying Baily was Letter from Samuel Eliot Morison, Jonathan Trumbull Professor of American History, Emeritus, Harvard University, to Richard Edward Kelly, June 12, 1970.

Baily's brother, Reverend John Baily I, was the author of Man's chief End to Glorifie God: or, Some Brief Sermon Notes on 1 Cor. 10. 31. (Boston: Samuel Green, 1689) and To my Loving and Dearly Beloved Christian Friends, in or about Limerick (Boston: Samuel Green, 1689). In addition, he was quoted in Alexander McKenzie, "The Religious History of the Provincial Period," The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880, Justin Winsor, ed., Vol. II (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1881), p. 197. A friend and colleague of the Mathers, his death was the impetus for the writing of Increase Mather, David Serving His Generation. Or, A Sermon Shewing What is to be done in order to our So Serving our Generation, as that when we Dy, we shall Enter into a Blessed REST (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1698) and Cotton Mather, The Life and Death of the Reverend Mr. John Baily, Comprised and Expressed In A Sermon, On the Day of

his Funeral (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1698).

Major works concerning the family of Reverend Edward Tompson I include George Whitney, Some Account of the Early History and Present State of the Town of Quincy, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Boston: Christian Register Office, 1827); Frederick Chase, "Reverend William Tompson," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XV, No. 2 (April, 1861), pp. 112-116; Frederic A. Whitney, An Historical Sketch of the Church, Quincy, Mass. (Albany, New York: J. Munsell, 1864); William S. Pattee, A History of Old Braintree and Quincy, With a Sketch of Randolph and Holbrook (Quincy, Massachusetts: Green and Prescott, 1878); Daniel Munro Wilson, Three Hundred Years of Quincy, 1625-1925: Historical Retrospect of Mount Wollaston, Braintree, and Quincy (Quincy, Massachusetts: The City Government of Quincy, 1926) and Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935). Succinct references are found in such works as Tyler Seymour Morris, Ephraim and Pamela (Converse) Morris, Their Ancestors and Descendants (Chicago: privately printed, 1894) and Sherman Weld Tracy, The Tracy Genealogy: Being Some of the Descendants of Stephen Tracy of Plymouth Colony, 1623. Also Ancestral Sketches and Chart (Rutland, Vermont: The Tuttle Publishing Company, Inc., 1936).

Biographical works on Tompson include Noah A. Phelps, History of Simsbury, Granby and Canton, From 1642 to 1845 (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Burnham, 1845); Richard Brown III, Journal, in Lilley Eaton, Genealogical History of the Town of Reading, Mass., Including the Present Towns of Wakefield, Reading, and North Reading, With Chronological and Historical Sketches, From 1639 to 1874 (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1874), pp. 53-55; Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Ser., Vols. I-II (1886-1888) and Albert C. Bates, Simsbury, Connecticut: Births, Marriages and Deaths Transcribed from the Town Records (Hartford: The Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1898).

Tompson was the author of An Elegiack Tribute to the Sacred Dust of the Reverend and Worthy Mr. Seaborn Cotton Pastour of the Church of Christ at Hampton in New-England (Boston: broadside, 1686) and Heaven the best Country. Being Some of the Last Meditations and Discourses of that Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Edward Tompson, Late Pastor of the Church in Marshfield (Boston: B. Green, 1712). His October 14, 1696 reference to his ordination was quoted in Frederick Chase, "Reverend William Tompson," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XV, No. 2 (April, 1861), p. 113.

Tompson's obituary was printed in The Boston News-Letter, No. 49 (March 14-26, 1705), p. 2. His death was

also noted in Cotton Mather, "Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1708," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Ser., Vol. VII (1911) and Cotton Mather, Vigilantus or, a Servant of the Lord found Ready for the Coming of the Lord (Boston: B. Green, 1706).

References to Reverend Seth Shove and his ancestry are found in such works as Noah A. Phelps, History of Simsbury, Granby and Canton, From 1642 to 1845 (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Burnham, 1845); Richard Brown III, Journal, in Lilley Eaton, Genealogical History of the Town of Reading, Mass., Including the Present Towns of Wakefield, Reading, and North Reading, With Chronological and Historical Sketches, from 1639 to 1874 (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1874), pp. 53-55; Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Ser., Vols. I-II (1886-1888); Susan Benedict Hill, History of Danbury, Conn., 1684-1896: From Notes and Manuscript Left by James Montgomery Bailey (New York: Burr Printing House, 1896); New England Historic Genealogical Society, Vital Records of Taunton, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850, Vol. I (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1929) and Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935).

One of Shove's letters is printed in Seth Shove, "Letter from Rev. Seth Shove, of Simsbury, Conn., to Capt. Samuel Sewall, of Boston, 1692," William Blake Trask, ed.,

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (January, 1864), pp. 69-70. His obituary is found in The Boston News-Letter, No. 1656 (November 6, 1735), p. 2.

The major genealogy for the family of Reverend John Clark is George Kuhn Clarke, The Descendants of Nathaniel Clarke and His Wife, Elizabeth Somerby of Newbury, Massachusetts: A History of Ten Generations, 1642-1902 (Boston: privately printed, 1902). Clark's step-father, Reverend John Hale I, and his family are discussed in such works as Charles W. Upham, Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects, 2 vols. (Boston: Wiggin and Lunt, 1867); George Lyman Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929); Charles Edward Banks, The Winthrop Fleet of 1630: An Account of the Vessels, the Voyage, the Passengers and their English Homes, From Original Authorities (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930); Marion L. Starkey, The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials (New York: Time Incorporated, 1963) and Chadwick Hansen, Witchcraft at Salem (New York: George Braziller, 1969).

Works pertaining to Clark and his descendants include "Pedigree of Deane," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January, 1855), p. 92; Richard Brown III, Journal, in Lilley Eaton,

Genealogical History of the Town of Reading, Mass., Including the Present Towns of Wakefield, Reading, and North Reading, With Chronological and Historical Sketches, From 1639 to 1874 (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1874), pp. 53-55; Mary K. Talcott, "Genealogy of the Woodbridge Family," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXII, No. 3 (July, 1878), pp. 292-296; Charles H. Bell, History of the Town of Exeter, New Hampshire (Exeter, New Hampshire: J.E. Farwell and Company, 1888) and Roland D. Sawyer, The History of Kensington, New Hampshire, 1663 to 1945 (282 Years), With a Family Homestead Register of the Pioneer Families, Early Settlers and Permanent Citizens of the Town (Farmington, Maine: The Knowlton and McLeary Company, 1946).

The sermon which was preached at Clark's wedding was published as John Cotton III, A Meet Help, or, A Wedding Sermon, Preached at New-Castle in New-England, June 19th. 1694. At the Marriage of Mr. John Clark, and Mrs. Elizabeth Woodbridge (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1699). Works pertaining to Clark's in-laws include Dean Dudley, The Dudley Genealogies and Family Records (Boston: Dean Dudley, 1848); George Adlard, The Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts in New England. From the Norman Conquest to the Present Time (New York: privately printed, 1862) and Dean Dudley, History of the Dudley Family, With Genealogical Tables, Pedigrees, &c.

(Wakefield, Massachusetts: Dean Dudley, 1886-1894).

References to Clark's death appeared in The Boston News-Letter, No. 67 (July 23-30, 1705), p. 2; Cotton Mather, Vigilantus, or, a Servant of the Lord found Ready for the Coming of the Lord (Boston: B. Green, 1706) and John Pike, "Journal of the Rev. John Pike," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. XIV (September, 1875), pp. 121-152.

Clark's widow married Reverend John Odlin II, whose family is discussed in John Taylor Perry, "The Odlin Family," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XLI, No. 3 (July, 1887), pp. 265-271. The ordination sermon for Clark's son, Reverend Ward Clark, was preached by his step-father and appeared as John Odlin II, Christian Courage necessary for a Gospel Minister. An Ordination Sermon Preached at Kingston, Sept. 29, 1725. When Mr. Ward Clark was Ordained Pastor of the Church there. (Boston: B. Green, 1727).

Concerning the ancestry of Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan I are Joshua Coffin, The Toppans of Toppan Lane, With Their Descendants and Relations (Newburyport, Massachusetts: William H. Huse and Company, 1862); Herbert Tappan, "The Tappan (or Toppan) Genealogy," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (January, 1880), pp. 48-57; J. Henry Lea, "The English Ancestry of the Family of Batt and Byley of

Salisbury, Mass.," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. LI, No. 2 (April, 1897), pp. 181-188, Vol. LI, No. 3 (July, 1897), pp. 348-357 and Vol. LII, No. 1 (January, 1898), pp. 44-51; Richard Edward Kelly, Ancestral Record of the Family of Deacon Richard Edward Kelly and Anne Louise (Reynolds) Kelly, Vol. II (Boston: Goodspeed's Book Shop, 1969) and Letter from Constance (Kelly) Law, of West Newbury, Massachusetts, to Richard Edward Kelly, October 20, 1970.

Works pertaining to Toppan's in-laws include Dean Dudley, The Dudley Genealogies and Family Records (Boston: Dean Dudley, 1848); George Adlard, The Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts in New England. From the Norman Conquest to the Present Time. (New York: privately printed, 1862) and Dean Dudley, History of the Dudley Family. With Genealogical Tables, Pedigrees &c. (Wakefield, Massachusetts: Dean Dudley, 1886-1894).

Specific references to Toppan include four unpublished sources, viz., Unpublished Essex County Deeds, Book LXXXVIII, Leaf 269, on file in the Registry of Deeds and Probate Court Building, Salem, Massachusetts; Jonathan Belcher, Unpublished Manuscript Letter-Book, 1732-1734, pp. 163-164, property of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Letter from Mary M. Meehan, of the Harvard University Archives, to Richard Edward Kelly, August 27, 1970 and Letter from Dwight L. Cart, Librarian of the

Congregational Library, to Richard Edward Kelly, December 22, 1970.

Also significant are such published works as John Warner Bartlett, Historical Collections, Being a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes &c. (Worcester, Massachusetts: Dorr, Howland and Company, 1839); Nathaniel Bouton, The History of Concord, From Its First Grant in 1725, to the Organization of the City Government in 1853, With a History of The Ancient Penacooks (Concord, New Hampshire: Benning W. Sanborn, 1855); David Cushman and W. Willis, "Ancient Settlement of the Sheepscot," Collection of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. IV (1856), pp. 207-233; John Johnston, A History of the Towns of Bristol and Bremen in the State of Maine, Including the Pemaquid Settlement (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell, 1873); Richard Brown III, Journal, in Lilley Eaton, Genealogical History of the Town of Reading, Mass., Including the Present Towns of Wakefield, Reading, and North Reading, With Chronological and Historical Sketches, From 1639 to 1874 (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1874), pp. 53-55; H.W. Richardson, "The Pemaquid Country Under the Stuarts: Read Before the Maine Historical Society, at Portland, March 14, 1878," Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. VIII (1881), pp. 181-195; Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Ser.,

Vols. I-II (1886-1888); Joseph Dow, History of the Town of Hampton, New Hampshire, From Its Settlement in 1638, to the Autumn of 1892, Vol. II (Salem, Massachusetts: Salem Press Publishing and Printing Company, 1894) and Francis B. Greene, History of Boothbay, Southport and Boothbay Harbor, Maine, 1623-1905, With Family Genealogies (Portland, Maine: Loring, Short and Harmon, 1906).

Two major works from Toppan's pen are the Unpublished Manuscript Sermons which are the property of the Congregational Library. No published works are attributed to Toppan. He was quoted extensively, however, in Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, From 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845), pp. 213, 377-379, as well as in Nathaniel Bouton, op. cit., pp. 60-61 and James Phinney Baxter, ed., Documentary History of the State of Maine, Vol. X (Augusta, Maine: The State of Maine, 1907), pp. 354-355. Captain Joseph Heath, who is quoted in the Baxter work, p. 367, refers to Toppan. Major newspaper articles pertaining to Toppan include The Boston Evening Post, No. 352 (May 3, 1742), p. 2; The Boston Evening Post, No. 498 (February 25, 1745), p. 4 and The Boston Evening Post, No. 500 (March 11, 1745), pp. 1-2.

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(Chicago: privately printed, 1912). Other pertinent sources include J. Henry Lea, "The English Ancestry of the Families of Batt and Byley of Salisbury, Mass.," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. LI, No. 2 (April, 1897), pp. 181-188, Vol. LI, No. 3 (July, 1897), pp. 348-357, Vol. LII, No. 1 (January, 1898), pp. 44-51 and Richard Edward Kelly, Ancestral Record of the Family of Deacon Richard Edward Kelly and Anne Louise (Reynolds) Kelly, Vol. I (Boston: Goodspeed's Book Shop, 1969).

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