NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS, 1635-1885:
THE SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF
HARMONY AND CONFLICT

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
ROBERT LORD GOODMAN
1974

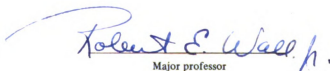This is to certify that the

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Robert L. Goodman

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

____Ph.D.___ degree in ___History___

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Date __April 30, 1974__

O-7639

ABSTRACT

NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS, 1635-1685:
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HARMONY AND CONFLICT

By

Robert Lord Goodman

This study endeavors to explore the interaction of specific
social relationships and the social goals of harmony, peace, and
cohesion in seventeenth-century Massachusetts. Using Newbury,
Massachusetts as their base, these essays examine the influence of
kinship and friendship differentiation upon the development of the
social structure and the emergence of contention in the town between
1635 and 1685. The spirit of this inquiry is inter-disciplinary,
employing themes and perspectives developed by both historians and
other social scientists. The methodology is simultaneously historical
and sociological. In particular, the kinship and friendship structure
of the town is determined according to network techniques hitherto
employed largely in the social sciences, and the sociometric network,
in turn, is used to analyze the interpersonal patterns of alignment
which lay behind both harmony and contention in the town.

When Newbury was founded in 1635, and for some years there-
after, the townsmen had every reason to expect success in their
attempt to create and maintain a utopian, cooperative community. They

comprised a moderately homogeneous group, having come to the new world
largely from the same area in southern and southwestern England. Many,
moreover, were already friends and kinsmen, arriving in groups on the
same ships or forming new groups upon settling prior to the creation
of Newbury. With the departure from the town of others from different
areas of England, Newbury remained a fairly tight-knit society of kin
and friends with the potential for both harmony and extensive social
interaction.

But their hopes proved loftier than their abilities. Contro-
versy began to affect the town as early as the 1640s and reached its
epitome during the church split of the 1660s and 1670s. Ostensibly
a confrontation between the organicism of the Presbyterian minister,
Thomas Parker, and the majoritarianism of Edward Woodman, this dispute
became cataclysmic because the lines of kinship and friendship dif-
ferentiation, which were only implicit during the earliest years of
the town, hardened and cut across the lines of intellectual disagree-
ment. As a result, personal allegiances reinforced ideological
positions, the assumptions and perspectives brought to the controversy
by each faction became unintelligible to the other, and the dispute
intensified beyond the possibility of compromise.

The same lines of social distinction continued to influence
the pattern of social relationships even after the church split. As
the unified network of the town during its earliest years became
increasingly disintegrated over time, the townsmen who formed the
new groups detached from the rest of the population tended to be the
same townsmen who had opposed the minister during the church quarrel.

But there were exceptions. Other forms of vertical and horizontal differentiation also began to dissect the town, blurring the lines of kinship and friendship alignments and making a restoration of the unified social network an impossibility. In effect, these broader social complications pointed toward the maturation of Newbury into a society of multi-stranded factions and interest-groups. From this perspective, Newbury entered the eighteenth century three decades early.

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A DISSERTATION

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

1974

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

University, read the entire manuscript, offering both comments and encouragement.

Marjorie Gesner and Douglas Miller of Michigan State University read every word of this manuscript and commented on every other word. Their critical supervision of my efforts, extended patiently (and possibly painfully), is thoroughly appreciated.

Two friends deserve special acknowledgment, even if my gratitude cannot be fully expressed. Kenneth A. Lockridge, of The University of Michigan, has been a constant source of encouragement. His critical eye, offered freely since the inception of my research, undoubtedly made this a better study, and his uncanny ability to see through the ambiguities of historical data has been an inspiration.

My appreciation of the efforts of Robert E. Wall, Jr., of Sir George Williams University, must inevitably be understated. Professor Wall was the first to introduce me to the fascination of colonial America, and he has remained a wise and tolerant mentor since that time. His comprehensive familiarity with seventeenth-century America has been shared openly and willingly from both near and far. Throughout the course of my research, his direction has been as subtle as it has been inspiring, and his approval has been its own reward.

Finally, without the constant encouragement and support of my parents and of Kathy, these acknowledgments would not have been written.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, early American historians have recognized the New England town as a fruitful medium for the study of colonial American society. The intensive study of individuals and collective life at the nearly anonymous, everyday level offers to provide a concrete foundation on which broader generalizations about social change and social development can rest. Accordingly, students of colonial American society have increasingly undertaken examinations of early towns and villages in a collective attempt to understand social life in the seventeenth century.

Although these studies have often raised two questions for every one answered, certain generalizations can be inferred from the threads already woven. Specifically, a common subject in these essays is the unity or cohesion of society in the early days of American settlement. Each study proposes a slightly different explanation of this social phenomenon, but all agree that the New England town was created with certain organic norms firmly emplanted in the minds of its founders.[1]

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[1]Likewise, most of these studies agree that these norms proved impossible to translate into sustained, long-term behavior.

These norms were well articulated in the social thought of
the early settlers. Called "Winthropian Ideals" by one historian,
they envisioned a harmonious, cooperative, voluntary, and Godly society
which existed by the grace and for the glory of God. Social hierarchy
was explicit in this scheme. Each man had his place and his calling.
If men acted according to the dictates of their ranks, society would
function smoothly and the good of the whole would be served. Mortal
responsibility did not end here, for society was to be a covenanted
institution and, hence, a volitional and consensual organization of
men under contract with God and with one another to cooperate in the
pursuit of the proper social ends. If men lived in peace with each
other and in due respect of God's appointed authorities--in short,
if men obeyed the terms of their covenants--the entire society would
continue to seek the common welfare and all would prosper.[2]

Complementing these articulated goals were tradition and
custom. The Puritan who settled New England was still an Englishman,
and much of the normative baggage he transported across the Atlantic
had been packed in England.[3] The "Christian Utopian Closed Corporate
Communalism" that describes Dedham and other New England villages was
only in part an offshoot of Puritan perfectionism. It was also a

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[2]Virtually all recent studies of early New England social
life touch on these values. See the discussion of these ideas in
Chapter I, 13-20, and the accompanying notes.

[3]Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., The Puritans:
A Sourcebook of Their Writings, Revised ed., Torchbook ed. (2 vols.;
New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), I, 7; Sumner C. Powell,
Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town, Anchor Books
(New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965), xv-xix; and Darrett B.
Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia: J. B.
Lippincott Company, 1970), 7-8 and passim.

nostalgic evocation of the ideals of a peasant existence not so far

distant as to be forgotten.[4] To the extent that tradition was handed

down from generation to generation, moreover, the culture of the

early migrants was postfigurative. In Stuart England and in the city

or colony upon the hill, social education, occupational training, and

even the rights to recognized adulthood were vested in the hands of

parents who reared their children as they, themselves, had been

raised.[5]

Together, these articulated norms and customs constituted part

of the cultural milieu of the seventeenth-century New England settler,

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[4]Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1970), 16-22. See also his "Social Change and the Meaning of the American Revolution," Journal of Social History, VI (1973), 421-22.
        For a different understanding of Lockridge's argument, see James A. Henretta, "The Morphology of New England Society in the Colonial Period," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, II (1971-72), 380-82. I am not so sure as Henretta seems to be that Lockridge intended to portray the New England town as a peasant village re-incarnated. Rather, I understand Lockridge's use of the term to be partly metaphorical and partly descriptive of the characteristics of local society. In the light of the disruptions in early seventeenth-century England--which was not a peasant society--the peasant life of the past may well have been remembered as "the good old days." To this extent, then, Puritanism was a traditionalist movement and part of what seems to be a never-ending "quest for community" as a solution for contemporary problems.

[5]See, for example, Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost: England before the Industrial Age (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965); Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts, paperbound ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970); Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study, paperbound ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony, paperbound ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England, Revised, Torchbook ed. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966); and Margaret Mead, Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1970), all passim.

and they combined to foster a social outlook which encouraged a harmonious, interrelated, and peaceful community. They were complemented by the environment of life in colonial times. On the one hand, the absence of any serious divisive agent spared the settlers from the need to oppose the general consensus almost until the next century.[6] In the peasant-style villages of both England and the New World, moreover, a pervasive population homogeneity helped to make life harmonious and relatively peaceful.[7] The concern for peace and consensus continued on in many towns well into the eighteenth century, when the central government's inability to coerce the population made towns all the more concerned to maintain the harmony they had always sought.[8]

But at the same time, disharmony was also present, implicitly, from the first settlement. The overriding similarities of the population could not entirely obscure differences among persons. The kernel of differentiation, in fact, had been imported with the first voyages across the Atlantic. Once in Massachusetts, former habits and ways of life were not forgotten. Compromise spared neither Sudbury nor Hingham nor Salem dissention before 1650.[9] As new towns matured, moreover,

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[6]Timothy H. Breen and Stephen Foster, "The Puritans' Greatest Achievement: A Study of Social Cohesion in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," Journal of American History, XL (1973), 5-22.

[7]Lockridge, A New England Town, 16-22.

[8]Michael Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Random House, 1970), 10-45.

[9]Powell, Puritan Village; John J. Waters, "Hingham, Massachusetts, 1631-1661: An East Anglian Oligarchy in the New World," Journal of Social History, I (1968), 351-70; Richard Peter Gildrie, "Salem, 1626-1668: History of a Covenanted Community" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1971).

divergent needs and interests began to create identifiable subgroups within the society.[10] Throughout the Bay Colony, the results were similar--the forces for social coherence had constantly to wage, almost in Manichean terms, an endless and futile struggle against the forces of social division.

Differentiation was a powerful influence in the "unknitting" of Massachusetts society. By the heyday of the "Peaceable Kingdoms" of Michael Zuckerman, the entire fabric of New England life had changed in subtle ways. Harmony remained the goal of the settlers, to be sure, yet the context and methods of their quest were no longer the same. The cooperation and compromise that had characterized the seventeenth-century town was gone. They were replaced by the quest for accommodation of divergent interests in a fashion that would be more familiar to the writers of the Constitution than to the spokesmen for the city upon a hill.

But differentiation is a dangerous term and even more dangerous a concept. As employed by most students of early American society, it is used with reference to class, interest, occupation, or neighborhood. This is not to say that these are misappropriations of the word, for differentiation does extend its meaning in these directions. But the danger is that it will become confined to vertical discrimination alone, narrowing its meaning more than academic license will allow.

Like "deference," differentiation acquires its significance only when it is recognized explicitly or implicitly. It is a

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[10]For example, Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston: A Portrait of a New England Town, paperbound ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1972), 135-63.

subjective attribute of society, only becoming an effective discrimin-
ator of persons when the society acknowledges in some way that social
dissimilarities actually make a difference. It does not, however,
need to be socio-economic distinctions that define the limits of
social differentiation. It may well be an implicit, psychological
dimension that defines the perceived social differences.

This study attempts to explore some of these potential,
psychological discriminators. Specifically, it focuses on the in-
fluence kinship and friendship exerted in the process of social
differentiation occurring in Newbury, Massachusetts between 1635 and
1685. The dates are artifacts of the time when this study was pointed
in a different direction, but they are not so arbitrary as they might
seem. These essays span the period from the founding of the town--
when differentiation was implicit along kinship and friendship lines--
to the time when the second generation of townsmen was beginning to
define the town's population and initiate a new series of kinship and
friendship relations which would rearrange the configuration of a
differentiated society. Accordingly, this study provides a glimpse of
the process of social discrimination among one generation, and suggests,
though only implicitly, that differentiation may well become more ex-
plicit over time, even among the same group of people.

Conflict plays an important role in this discussion, for
lines of differentiation by association are nowhere more explicitly
drawn than in situations where interpersonal relationships are ex-
ploited. This is not to deny the subjective realities of the intel-
lectual principles espoused by disputants in these moments of con-
tention. Rather, the focus is on disharmony because, by calling on

people to identify and seek out their friends and to spurn their foes, conflict places in relief various relationships which may not become revealed otherwise. Cause and effect, however, are impossible to evaluate. Whether people agreed with one another because they were friends or whether they were friends because they agreed are questions as yet unsolved. The important point to remember is simply that there is a relationship between association and agreement.

Much of this study, furthermore, is based on circumstantial and probabilistic data. I admit, therefore, that a certain speculative quality pervades the conclusions presented here. But the fact that speculation about some of the relationships discussed involves an ingredient of chance does not make this study any more arbitrary than a more conventional historiographical exploration. The confinement of conclusions to precise statements for which unambiguous documentation exists is no less an act of faith, for the student who sends imagination to the rear and remains firmly bound to "the sources" alone can reproduce only what the ravages of time and the whims of the recorder permit him to see. I am convinced that historical research can lead to understanding only when the historian takes the liberty to develop those perceptions which frequently are rooted in his impressions and his innate understanding of his subject.

Accordingly, this inquiry proceeds from a number of assumptions about the applicability of modern social science to pre-modern society. The justification for my use of inter-disciplinary scholarship is scattered throughout the text and notes of this study. For the present, I am satisfied that, within limits, the results presented

here will stand on their own in conformation of the assumptions I have made en route.

Finally, the subject of these essays is not overly difficult to understand. But this is by no means an easy study to read. Although the terms are readily comprehendible, the methodology is not so self-explanatory. To some, my use of unfamiliar data to support the generalizations of this study may seem strange, for both the data and the generalizations are based on social science concepts seldom used for historiographical purposes. Admittedly, this combination makes for occasional dull and pedantic reading. I have chosen this organization for several reasons, not the least important of which is my desire to employ the methodology in a fashion that makes its logic readily apparent and its replication by others directly possible. Hopefully, the advantages to be gained from this approach will balance the more obvious disadvantages. Whatever the case, however, this study is not designed for casual reading.

Dates in the text of this dissertation have been left in Old Style, except the year has been treated as beginning on January 1. Reference to the Town Records has been recorded by the date of entry because of the availability of transcripts. A list of frequently used abbreviations follows:

Coffin . . . . . Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, from 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845).

Mass. Archs. . . . Massachusetts Archives.

NEHGR . . . . . New England Historical and Genealogical Register.

Prop. Recs. . . . Proprietors Records.

QCR . . . . . . George F. Dow, ed., The Records and Files
of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County,
Massachusetts (Salem: The Essex Institute,
1911-1921).

Shurtleff . . . . Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the
Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay
in New England, 5 vols. in 6 (Boston: William
White, 1853-54).

Town Recs. . . . Town Records (First Town book unless
otherwise noted).

WMQ . . . . . . William and Mary Quarterly.

CHAPTER I

"Hereafter to be called Newbury"

When "some of the chief of Ipswich" requested liberty "to
remove to Quascacunquen" in 1635, the General Court was quite pre-
pared to grant their petition. To be sure, the Court had already
shown an eagerness to develop the land to the northeast, but more
than a coincidence of desires prompted the grant of the Court. The
petitioners were the right types of Puritan. They included not one
minister, but two. They comprised a balanced group of callings and
stations. They had the active support of other, prominent Massachu-
setts freemen. And, best of all, they already constituted a community
of sorts.

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Massachusetts had good reason to encourage settlement in the
area northeast of Boston. Despite the General Court's early hesitancy
to see the area developed, both English and foreign challenges con-
vinced the authorities that they would be well advised to extend their
effective jurisdiction as far to the north as possible. On the one
hand, certain influential Englishmen were appealing to the crown to
deprive Massachusetts Bay of her charter. When the Plymouth Company
collapsed, whatever rights it claimed to part of the area fell into

the hands of the former governor of the company, Sir Ferdinando

Gorges, and his associates. In the early and middle 1630's, Gorges

and John Mason instituted at least two appeals for the recognition of

their claim to the land and the introduction of royal government in

the colony. To strengthen its own claim to the disputed territory,

the General Court attempted to encourage settlers to take possession

of the good grazing land to the north.[1]

The Court was able to resist the legal claims of those in

England, even if it had to do so high-handedly. But a second and

potentially more dangerous threat was even more ominous. The French,

already in Canada, had established a military base and a Jesuit

mission on Nova Scotia. Hence, Massachusetts elected to expand its

physical jurisdiction northward, both to establish a claim to the

area and to create outposts against the danger of a French invasion.[2]

Successful efforts were successfully made to plant a settlement at

Agawam (Ipswich), and, by 1634, the General Court was actively looking

beyond Ipswich toward the Merrimack.[3]

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[1]James Truslow Adams, The Founding of New England, An Atlantic Monthly Press Book (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1921, 1949), 156-58; Thomas Hutchinson, The History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, ed. by Lawrence S. Mayo (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), I, 29-30; Charles E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1631-1763 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 19; and John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902 (Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1902), pp. 31-32.

[2]Which Hutchinson (History, I, 28) argues was a fear "not ill-founded."

[3]Hutchinson, History, I, pp. 27-28; Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, from 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845), 10-11; and John Winthrop, Journal, ed. by James Kendall Hosmer, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), I, pp. 97-98.

At least two fruitless attempts were made to attract settlers
to the area. At one time, the southern bank of the Merrimack had been
granted to a group of Scottish Presbyterians, whose letters of inquiry
were answered by the General Court with encouragements to settle and
assurances that they would be able to practice their religion without
interference. Hopes of a Scottish settlement were dashed, however.
When the ships transporting the Presbyterians were forced to turn back
in mid-Atlantic,[4] the Court turned to other groups. In May, 1634,
several inhabitants of Newtown complained of a shortage of land and
sought liberty to expand or to remove. The Court responded by grant-
ing them liberty to remove to any other place within the patent, and
encouraged them to consider the Merrimack area. Newtown went so far
as to depute agents to the river before the town decided that Connec-
ticut held out greater promise.[5] By 1635, then, the area between
Ipswich and the Merrimack River remained an undeveloped stretch of
land, only occasionally visited by transient fishermen and ware-
keepers plying their callings.

When, therefore, a new group expressed its interest in set-
tling along the Merrimack in 1635, the Court was eager to grant the
request. But, to whom? Although the magistrates wanted to develop
the area, the simple request of a collection of families to dwell
there was not a sufficient reason for the Court to accede to their
wishes. The quality of these families was equally important. As

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[4]Coffin, History of Newbury, pp. 12-13.

[5]Winthrop, Journal, I, pp. 124, 126, 133.

early as 1630, the General Court had asserted its right to pass judg-
ment on those who desired admission to its jurisdiction. Three years
later, when concern had already been expressed about the safety of the
northern boundaries of the colony, the General Court had reaffirmed
this right. In April, 1633, after several families had already settled
at Agawam, the Court forbade all subsequent habitation there without
its expressed approval.[6] Its concern was not that settlement had
occurred, for among those who had removed to Agawam was John Winthrop,
Jr. Rather, the Court was determined that if Agawam were to be a town,
it would be inhabited only by the right kind of family.

The restriction of settlement to approved candidates repre-
sented, in part, an attempt to ensure that Massachusetts would be, as
towns and as a colony, a pure society. The General Court sought to
make certain that the local settlements would be run by godly men.
Because Federal Theology, traditional ways of life, and medieval social
theory all combined to make inevitable settlement on a town basis,
practically dictated that the Court, at least in these early years,
maintain some form of control over those who would develop new areas.
As a matter of course, the process of developing the land would become
a process of supervised town planting, dependent upon the availability
of godly people to constitute those towns.

But it was not exclusively a question of finding good people
willing to commit their energies to a new settlement. The community
was to be more than a collection of faithful souls gathered for the

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[6]Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and
Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 5 vols. in 6
(Boston: William White, 1853-54), I, pp. 76, 103.

glory of God. It was also to be a home, an agency of local administration, and, indeed, a geographic organization of people into a coherent and productive unit. When the Court asserted its right to supervise the character of the settlers of new towns, it took partially unto itself the responsibility to ensure that the towns would prove to be capable of performing their expected, secular functions as well.[7] In providing for the settlement of Newbury, as it did at so many other times, the General Court reserved for itself the right "to take order that the said plantation shall receive a sufficient company of people to make a competent town."[8]

The Court never defined these terms. "Sufficient company," and "competent town," are vague phrases, perhaps intentionally employed to preserve the options at the disposal of the Court. At times the intention was clear: the standard was set with reference to numbers. A town needed an adequate population size if it were to function in the ancitipated manner. But the Court recognized that numbers alone did not ensure that the town would perform successfully. Consciously, the Court recognized that insufficient size was not the only cause of communal failure. Fundamental to the survival of any community was the harmony and unity of its inhabitants, recognized by the

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[7]George Lee Haskins, Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts: A Study in Tradition and Design (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1960), pp. 66-75; Melville Egleston, The Land System of the New England Colonies, Vol. IV of Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1886), pp. 27-30; and Edward Channing, Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America, Vol. II of Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1884), p. 11.

[8]Shurtleff, I, 146.

seventeenth century to be the necessary component of human organization. "To do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God," John Winthrop argued,

> we must be knit together in this work as one man, we must entertain each other in brotherly affection, we must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of others necessities, we must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience and liberality, we must delight in each other, make others conditions our own [,] rejoice together, mourn together, labor, and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work . . . [S]o shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace . . .[9]

In a word, Winthrop recognized that cooperation among all the inhabitants would be necessary if his hopes of harmony and unity were to be realized. If Massachusetts were thus constructed, she would continue to earn God's approbation, and His children would thrive together in single-minded dedication. But cooperation was an act of personal commitment, and continuing cooperation required a continual reaffirmation of consent. As an act of volition, the agreement to cooperate was beyond the competence of a specific legislative act. Political or social theorists may have assumed consent to be the basis of the Commonwealth,[10] but no amount of theory could have guaranteed the subordination of the individual to the common good in fact.

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[9]"A Model of Christian Charity," in The Puritans: A Sourcehood of Their Writings, Harper Torchbooks, ed. by Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson (2 vols.; New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 198. An example of the normative application of these precepts can be found in Kenneth Lockridge's discussion of the Dedham covenant, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 4-8, passim.

[10]See, for example, Winthrop's "Defense of An Order of Court Made in the Year 1637," in The Puritans, ed. by Miller and Johnson, pp. 199-202, esp. 200.

A secular adaptation of Federal Theology, it was thought, would provide for this cooperation. If society were founded on the same voluntary basis as the church--and the Puritan never doubted this--then the covenant which established the church could be converted to civil purposes.[11] So it seemed in Dedham, at any rate. Embodying, as Kenneth Lockridge notes, a "coherent social vision," the Dedham covenant illustrates how this federalism was applied to social organization in order to inculcate personnel and perpetual cooperation. Signatories agreed to live by the rule of brotherly love; to weed out of the community all who threatened the harmony of the group; to resolve interpersonal difficulties as peacefully as possible; and to share equally in the expenses and responsibilities of the town. "And for the better manifestation of our true resolution herein," the agreement concluded, every new inhabitant of the town was required to own the covenant as well, "thereby obliging both himself and his successors after him for ever, as we have done."[12] Newbury had its covenant, although the original document has not survived. Like Dedham, the town expected new admissions also to own the substance

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[11]See the extended discussions in Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961 [1939, 1954]), pp. 391-431; Miller and Johnson, The Puritans, 181-94; Perry Miller, "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity," in idem., Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), 48-98, esp. 90; Perry Miller, Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959 [1933]), 169-70; and passim; Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion & Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England (rev. ed.; New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966 [1944]), 6-12.

[12]Lockridge, New England Town, 4-7.

of the agreement.[13] So long as the social perfectionism which motivated the early settlers was shared by the newcomers, the covenant would hopefully provide the basis for continuing, voluntary, social collaboration.

But if zeal faded, the written covenant was more than a piece of paper undergirded only by moral obligation. Because it was a contractual promise, whether implicit or explicit, obedience to its terms became legally enforceable. If idealism waned and failed to secure on-going commitments, if the individual "forgot" his duties to man and to God, the civil and religious authorities had a responsibility to remind him, gently if his dereliction were the result of man's natural imperfections, or otherwise if he compounded his transgression with contumacy. Established practices and the National Covenant between God and Massachusetts invested the magistrates and the clergy with an obligation to act when any covenant was neglected.[14] The magistrate's responsibility to enforce Winthrop's "civil liberty" demanded no less.[15] From this perspective, the extent to which this duty was performed is not important. What must be emphasized, however, is the intensity with which the Puritan expected that the covenant could be used as the physical bond of society.

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[13]See, for example, the 1637 individual statements of Abraham Toppan, Richard Singletary et al., certifying their agreement to abide by all decisions and orders of the town as a condition of their admissions, Town Recs. Book I.

[14]Cf., note 11. See also, Haskins, Law and Authority, 43-52, and passim. Specific instances where the local covenant was enforced will be found below in the context of individual events.

[15]Winthrop, "Speech to the General Court, July 3, 1645," in Miller and Johnson, The Puritans, 206-7.

The intervention of the authorities would have been an extreme measure, for the Puritan was well aware that man's moral condition made him virtually unable to keep the terms of his agreement. Accordingly, he recognized the necessity to allow his neighbor a degree of latitude. The optimism which accompanied his idealism was tempered by the realism of his worldly existence. To the Puritan, the universe was an ordered and rational construction, divine in origin. But he also recognized that objective and subjective realities did not always correspond one to another. Admitting the weaknesses of human reason, and its tendencies to succumb to human passion,[16] the Puritan, along with many of his contemporaries, implicitly realized that it would take more than a covenant to bind a community together harmoniously. The genius of Puritan communal thought lay, at least in part, in its frank acknowledgment that a successful community required more than a man's word that he would support the common good, even if that man were Christian in appearance.

Other things being equal, then, the Puritan could ill-afford to be overconfident. Adam had proved incapable of keeping his agreement with God. How could his post-lapsarian descendant do otherwise in his relations with other men? Neither his memories of life in England nor the news he heard from abroad gave the Puritan any

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[16] Miller, New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century, 111-235, esp. chs. VIII and IX; Morgan, Puritan Family, 12-17, ff; Darrett B. Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice, Pilotbooks (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970), 52-57; Stephen Foster, Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 11-40, and passim. For a broader context, see E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, Vintage Books (New York: Random House, n.d.), passim.

assurances that men, as men, could cooperate for the sake of coopera-
tion. Reflecting for a moment on New England, he could see that even
the City upon a Hill contained its share of the reprobate. So long
as the magistracy was pure and continued to enforce God's ways,
threats to local unity could be eliminated by official sanction.[17]
But this would have been a poor alternative. Society might be held
together by dint of authority, but it could be knit together only
through voluntary cooperation.

The covenant, therefore, embodied only ideal standards. It
was not necessarily a working model of the good society. Submission
of the individual to it did not guarantee that the ideal and the real
would even coincide. Nevertheless, covenants continued to be signed
or renewed, even when they had become perfunctory, formal exercises.
Their repeated use testified to the Puritan's expectation that the
covenant could work. He anticipated success because he could imagine
no other basis of social organization, because voluntary consent was
part of the only Weltanschauung he had ever known, because he could
not imagine the covenant not working.

He could be optimistic, for his application of the covenant
was grounded in the social potential of the godly society. Buried
beneath the language of the agreement was the unwritten but normative
standard of compatibility, now finally applicable in social organiza-
tion. The desire to preserve a unified and peaceful community rested
on the assumption that settlers and newcomers alike would be able to

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[17]Cf., for example, Miller and Johnson, The Puritans, 191-92.

show their compatibility with the covenant and with each other before
they could join the mutual fellowship of the town. Like the
seventeenth-century church, which sought evidence that the prospec-
tive member was judged favorably by God, the Puritan town sought to
determine that the individual would be judged favorably with reference
to his agreement with his fellow inhabitants. It is no coincidence
that many a town, within one or two years of its settlement, asserted
the right to regulate the admission of new members into its frater-
nity.[18] When Newbury, in 1637, voted that its freemen would have the
sole power to admit new inhabitants,[19] the town was acting to provide
that those whom it accepted would be both pure and compatible.[20]

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[18]See David Flaherty, Privacy in Colonial New England (Char-
lottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), pp. 170-75.
Restriction was begun almost immediately at Dedham. See Lockridge,
New England Town, 8.

[19]Town Recs., Book I. See, also, the letter written by
Edward Rawson to John Winthrop, February 7, 1939, in Massachusetts
Historical Society, The Winthrop Papers (5 vols.; Boston: Massachu-
setts Historical Society, 1929-1947), IV (1944), 97-98.

[20]In the established towns, the admission of new members became
a procedural matter. The responsible agency, whether freemen, town
meeting, or selectmen, evaluated the individual merits of each new
applicant in terms only of the probability that he would prove com-
patible. What is important to emphasize is the insufficiency of the
newcomer's expression of desire to join the community as the exclusive
criterion of admission.
  How long this conscious process continued to regulate ad-
missions to the town is unknown. The extant evidence, indeed, pro-
vides only few clues. As noted above (p. 16, and note 13), candidates
were required to affirm their willingness to abide by town orders.
Virtually all of the remaining statements are dated prior to 1640.
Moreover, none of the pertinent deeds of sale which I have seen are
at all conditional upon admission into the town. Nor did the town at
any subsequent time reassert its right to evaluate new members.
  Beyond the logical questions posed by the above assertions,
however, other, indirect indications suggest that the town's claim
to judge admissions was not abandoned. Edward Rawson's letter to

But how could the settlers of a new town be so careful? How
were they able to apply such a formalized procedure to the application
of potential colleagues? Dedham might have been able to take whatever
time was necessary to find the best combination of pillars and members
for its new church,[21] but no group of settlers could permit the
development of their town to extend over such a lengthy period. Insti-
tutions and relationships had to be created at the outset, and settlers
had but a few months in which to erect their houses and harvest the
crop that would feed their families the next winter. Practical con-
cerns meant that necessary activities could not be postponed while the
community carefully chose its members.

John Winthrop (note 19) is quite explicit that individuals did purchase
land before they were admitted to the town. Moreover, as late as the
1660s, 1670s, and 1680s, the town took care to ensure that certain
"undesirables" either did not remain in the town or else were placed
in the custody of specific inhabitants, some of whom were bonded to
guarantee that the individual would be no burden upon the town. Even
more suggestive is the practice of Woodbridge, East Jersey, a town
settled largely by Newbury families, where, from the 1660s to the
1680s, the town continued to vote on the admission of individuals, many
of whom had already purchased land within the town. These deeds, also,
contained no terms making the completion of the sale contingent upon
admission.
    There is no reason to believe that the town abandoned the right
to control its membership. Indeed, evidence from New England towns in
the eighteenth century suggests that the practice was continued with-
out interruption. In Kent, Connecticut, for example, the town in-
sisted, even up to the Revolution, that "undesirables" would be warned
out. (Charles S. Grant, Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town
of Kent [New York: Columbia University Press, 1961], 93.) In a more
generalized fashion, Michael Zuckerman has chronicled the almost
universal application of the right of control in eighteenth-century
Massachusetts towns. (Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the
Eighteenth Century, Vintage Books [New York: Random House, 1972
(1970)], 110-12, and passim.)

    [21]Ola Elizabeth Winslow, Meetinghouse Hill, 1630-1783, The
Norton Library (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1972 [1952]),
37-49; Lockridge, New England Town, 24-30; and Kenneth A. Lockridge,
"The History of a Puritan Church," NEQ, XL (1967), 401-408.

Many towns, however, did not face this source of potential dis-
organization. Unity was inculcated within the group, and the inhabi-
tants were able successfully to implement the utopian communitarianism
sought by both General Court and settler alike. The Puritan theorist
would have attributed this success to the covenant which bound everyone
willingly to the well-being of the town. But, in practical terms, it
was the result of a cooperative spirit which antedated the settlement.
Post-incorporation attempts to ensure the quality and compatibility of
newcomers to the town make clear that the town was a cooperative
organism at the outset, for post-settlement controls would otherwise
have been vain exercises of exclusivism. The covenant only served to
highlight the desired agreement of theory and reality. Communities
proved competent units, not because strangers agreed among themselves
to join hands, but, in fact, because the settlers were probably not
strangers to one another and because the agreements to cooperate were
implicit well before the decision was made to found a new town.

Indeed, towns were successfully planted precisely because the
gathering of families into a cooperative body was not a random process.
Even to the spatially mobile population of the seventeenth century,
absolute freedom of association was unthinkable. Those who settled
Newbury, and in all likelihood those who settled other towns as well,
were able to form a coherent organism because they did not have to rely
on the covenant alone as the foundation of their cooperation and com-
patibility. Events preliminary to the creation of the town suggest
very strongly that they formed a community of sorts before they formed
a settlement.

The origins of this fellowship may not be found in New England. To discover the "glue" that gave coherence to individual families, it is necessary to inquire into the experiences of these settlers even before they decided, either individually or as groups, to participate in the founding of a new society. With the exception of Sumner C. Powell's excellent study of Sudbury[22] and a handful of general essays on migration,[23] most treatments of early Massachusetts towns have ignored this aspect of the settlement process or else given it only casual attention. Yet, if Newbury is at all "representative," the early settlements cannot fully be understood without at least a partial examination of the English backgrounds of these settlers.

Although extensive work in English sources has not been attempted, it is clear that the migration to Newbury was strongly influenced by the English origins of the earliest settlers of the town. Admittedly, many questions remain unanswered, for the kinds of information needed are not the kinds of information which find their way into very many of the documents used by historians. Many of the conclusions of this and the next section, therefore, are probabilistic and conjectural, pending further research which still may not supply irrefutable evidence.

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[22]Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town, Anchor Books (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965 [1963]).

[23]For example, see Norman C. P. Tyack, "Migration from East Anglia to New England before 1660" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1951); Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); and T. H. Breen and Stephen Foster, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration," WMQ, 3d Ser., XXX (1973), 189-222.

What follows, accordingly, is largely a study of likelihoods.
Many of the settlers undoubtedly knew one another. But even if no
mutual knowledge existed among the immigrants, there is every reason to
believe they formed a community of spirit which bound them together in
like-mindedness and helped lessen the hardships of transplantation. And
if they were not consciously organized when separately they left their
homes in England, they had sufficient opportunity to form mutual affil-
iations prior to the settlement of Newbury. These associations, in
turn, helped to make the town an ordered, coherent, and "competent"
plantation.

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John Winthrop may well have viewed the question of migration to
the new world in a completely rational manner. He was able to draw up
a balance sheet pro and con, to evaluate it in a calculated fashion,
and to decide upon his course only after debits and credits had been
tallied. His collected "Arguments for the Plantation of New England"[24]
suggest that the educated Englishman of the seventeenth century, or at
least the educated Puritan, had a gifted ability to apply perfectly
logical and methodical mental processes to the thorny social problems
of his times. But neither Winthrop nor his balance sheet were very
honest. If rational considerations were all that mattered, then Puri-
tanism should be accounted an insignificant force indeed, for only a
relative handful of families were actually convinced to undertake the
transatlantic passage.

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[24]Winthrop Papers, II (1931), 106-49.

Quite clearly, rational considerations alone were not responsible for an individual's decision to start life over as a settler. Emotional concerns weighed equally as heavy. The village in which the emigrant lived was not simply a residence. It was a social organism, embodying the same common concerns and responsibilities that turned transplanted villages in Massachusetts into unified entities, at least at the outset. "The more important the common responsibilities of any community, presumably, the stronger the association between its members, because each one's interest is engaged,"[25] and the greater the difficulty to break the bonds of interpersonal relations. Propaganda emanating from proponents of settlement in North America may have described an idyllic new world in contrast to a corrupt and sinful old,[26] but such good news did not help the individual make the very personal decision to leave behind all that was familiar.

Some segments of society, of course, had less emotional attachment to place. Recent research has, in fact, shown that a sizable portion of English society was already highly mobile, at least at the local level. Peter Laslett and John Harrison, for example, found that the very high rates of population turnover in Clayworth, Notts. between 1676 and 1688 (61.8% of those living in the village in 1688 had arrived

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[25]Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), 60. See also Alan Everitt's discussion of "The County Community," in The English Revolution, 1600-1660, ed. by E. W. Ives, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971 [1968]), 48-63.

[26]See, for example, Howard Mumford Jones, O Strange New World, American Culture: The Formative Years (New York: The Viking Press, 1968 [second printing date]), 162-93; and Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 441-52.

since 1676) and in Cogenhoe, Northampton between 1616 and 1628 (52%
of the population had changed between the two dates) were no more the
result of natural change than of in- and out-migration.[27] Even more
to the point, E. E. Rich used Muster Rolls to determine that the turn-
over rate of population in certain areas of Surrey was as high as 50
percent over a ten-year period. Data from Visitation Records and Lay
Subsidy Rolls confirmed his conclusion that a significant proportion
of the population had established almost constant migratory patterns
as early as the sixteenth century.[28] Similarly, Julian Cornwall dis-
covered even more detailed evidence of geographic mobility in the
seventeenth century. Using depositions in Archdeacon Court Records
from 1580 to 1640 in an attempt to study actual movements as opposed
to gross turnover, he determined that only 37.5 percent of men over
the age of 20 had lived all or even most of their lives in one parish.[29]

The use of numbers alone, however, does not permit a true
evaluation of localism. A critical gauge of local attachment is the
distance over which migration occurred. The Laslett and Harrison
study, because it is based on village totals, could only point to
changes in the populations of the towns. Whether migrants came from
or left for parts near or far, or whether they left and returned, was

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[27]"Clayworth and Cogenhoe," in Historical Essays 1600-1750
Presented to David Ogg, ed. by H. E. Bell and R. L. Ollard (London:
Adam and Charles Black, 1963), 157-84, passim.

[28]"The Population of England," Econ. Hist. Rev., 2d Ser., II
(1949-50), 247-65, passim.

[29]"Evidence of Population Mobility in the Seventeenth Century,"
Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XL (1967), 143-52,
passim.

impossible to establish.[30] Rich, by concentrating on a wider geo-

graphical region, suggested that many moved over large distances,[31]

but at the same time he observed that variations in the size of the

hundred, which was the base region of the Muster Rolls, was often

paralleled by a relatively constant shire size.[32] This finding at

least implies that migration in general was more characterized by

movements over short distances. Only Cornwall attempted to analyze

the length of migration, and his study supports the conclusion that

the average migrant did not move very far. Fully 83 percent of his

mobile group lived in no more than two parishes,[33] and almost half of

the moves involved distances of less than five miles. Of those

migrating more than once, furthermore, most made only one long move,

and many of these ultimately returned to their areas of origin.[34]

Probably nine out of ten men died within ten miles of their places of

birth. In short, aggregate figures tend to obscure the deep local

loyalties that were felt even within the transient population.[35]

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[30]Laslett and Harrison admit this limitation.

[31]Rich, "Population of England," 260.

[32]Ibid., 255.

[33]Cornwall, "Evidence of Population Mobility," 149 and Table I.

[34]Ibid., 151.

[35]We do not know the relationship between these local migrants and the early settlers of New England. Without documentation, Rich argues that the groups which made up the internally transient sector of English society were the same groups who migrated to New England (p. 264). At the same time, he suggests that the transient element of the population was the laboring class (p. 262). It would follow

The presence of widespread mobility, then, did not mean that localism was on the wane. Indeed, if anything, the examination of population movements only supports the assertion that the seventeenth-century Englishman was tied strongly to the area in which he lived, if not to the village in which he resided. The region constituted the arena in which the average Englishman lived most of his life and the geographic reference point of most of his vital experiences. It was here that he grew up, found his mate, and in turn contracted the marriages of his children. His kin lived nearby, for the most part, as

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that the migration to New England drew its largest numbers from the poorer, laboring class. Subsequent research, however, has indicated that this is a false syllogism. Cornwall's research challenges the second premise. Despite his admittedly biased source material, Cornwall found that the greatest movement occurred, not among the laboring class, but among the gentry and yeomen (144-45). A recent essay by Timothy Breen and Stephen Foster (see note 23) questions Rich's conclusion. Their intensive examination of 300 names drawn from the ships lists of vessels departing Yarmouth and Sandwich in 1637 revealed that most of the emigrants to New England were the families of "urban tradesmen somewhere in mid-career who apparently chose to exchange their settled English vocations for life in a pioneer agricultural community of uncertain prospects" (199). Only Rich's first premise remains as yet unexamined.

Unfortunately, none of the English studies enables us fully to come to terms with the nature of the migration process. Both Rich and Laslett and Harrison deal in absolute numbers without looking at the behavior of the migrants themselves. Each takes for granted that movement occurred among individuals. By implication, the absence of entire families from Clayworth and Cogenhoe at the times of the second tabulations evinces the movement of families. But the extent to which these families moved together is impossible to answer. The limited sources available to these scholars do not permit them to inquire into any inner dynamic that might characterize the migration patterns. Until the internal movement is subjected to even greater, detailed and methodical examination, certain fundamental questions about sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English society will remain unanswered. Of primary interest to the student of colonial America is the degree to which this intranational population movement resembled the transatlantic migration. We will not know the validity of Rich's assertion that very little difference existed between migration and emigration (264) until we know much more about both of these phenomena.

did his friends. The region provided him with the market for his crops
or his services and the source of his supply. Mobility did not detract
significantly from his sense of community.

It was, in short, his village and his region that comprised most
of what was familiar to the seventeenth-century Englishman. The two
combined to form a geographic unit, an interlinkage of villages into
a community which could command the loyalties of all within it. "The
whole pattern must therefore be thought of as a reticulation rather
than as a particulation, a web spread over the whole geography," com-
posed of independent, settled villages, sparsely populated areas, and
larger "centres of exchange as well as of communication."[36]

It is hardly surprising that this generalized form of social
organization was transplanted to New England by the early settlers.
It embodied the only experiences with which they were familiar. More-
over, contemporary social thought recognized the practical utility of
such arrangements. Organicism dictated that the social and political
hierarchy be maintained with single-minded cooperation. The common
goals and responsibilities shared by members of the community worked
to create strong attachments between men. These bonds produced co-
operation which, in turn, augmented and internalized the feelings of
community.[37] Even the daily, incidental opportunities for contact and
communication led to friendships, marriages, and acquaintances, and

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[36]Laslett, World We Have Lost, 57-58.

[37]For a general treatment of the effects of cooperation on
interpersonal allegiances and group identities, see Ellen Berscheid
and Elaine Hatfield Walster, Interpersonal Attraction, Topics in
Social Psychology Series (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing
Company, 1969), 92-97.

engendered reciprocal bonds of personal obligation and alliance among individuals.[38]

Strengthened in many areas by the anxieties of the early and middle seventeenth century,[39] these local attachments exerted profound demands on the allegiances of the inhabitants.[40] Those contemplating settlement in the new world must have found them difficult to ignore. In the 1620s and 1630s, when the new world was known as little more than a desolate and barbaric wilderness, the decision to turn his back on the familiar and to relocate in an unknown and potentially

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[38]The supportive and influential effects of both friendship and kinship are so common as to be taken for granted in social science literature. An excellent but dated bibliography of friendship in general is George V. Coelho, "A Guide to Literature on Friendship: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography," Psychological Newsletter, X (1959), 365-94. See also the pertinent sections in Berscheid and Walster, Interpersonal Attraction; Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957); Robert S. Albert and Thomas R. Brigante, "The Psychology of Friendship Relations: Social Factors," Journal of Social Psychology, LVI (1962), 33-47; Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive Inquiry," in Freedom and Control in Modern Society, ed. by Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1964), 18-66; and, indeed, almost any discussion of friendship and acquaintance in general.

[39]For the relationship between anxiety and association, see Leon Festinger, Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, esp. chs. VIII and IX; Festinger, "Informal Social Communications," Psychological Review, LVII (1950), 271-82, passim; Theodore M. Newcomb, Ralph H. Turner, and Philip E. Converse, Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), passim; and Berscheid and Walster, Interpersonal Attraction, 31-36.

[40]For historical discussions of the local community during the Civil War period, see Laslett, World We Have Lost, Ch. III; and E. W. Ives, The English Revolution, particularly the essays by Everitt, "The County Community," 48-63, Ivan Roots, "The Central Government and the Local Community," 33-47, and D. H. Pennington, "The County Community at War," 64-75.

hostile environment must have been most difficult for the individual Englishman to make.

Of course, people did choose to emigrate, to bid farewell to the locale that commanded their loyalties and to risk life and estate in the untested American environment. Their motives cannot be established with certainty.[41] Certainly, most, if not all, of those who consciously chose to settle Massachusetts were predisposed to do so. But this was not enough. Predisposition, even supported by Winthropian logic, may have made the new world seem attractive, but something more was needed to make emigration a realistic option. For many an emigrant, the determining factor was the coincidence of his disposition with the inclinations of others in his community.

Indeed, the de facto collusion of local, like-minded folk-- acquaintances, friends, and kin--acted as a catalyst of migration because it forged the bonds of group identity. Friendship, as a social phenomenon (and including the affiliative aspects of kinship), is more than a positive, volitional and emotional relationship between individuals. Once the relationship is established, it serves a number of other, more identifiable purposes. In particular, friendship has, as one of its attributes, a generative and supportive dimension. On the one hand, the attitudes and opinions of an individual are in- fluenced by the attitudes and opinions of his friends. Accordingly, an individual may find his cognitions shaped or changed by the

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[41]See the cautious discussion of motives for migration in Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 199-205, and passim.

pressures brought upon him by his close acquaintances.[42] Once con-

sonant opinions are formed, friendship relationships operate to re-

inforce and confirm those cognitions. Indeed,

> friends help to verify and objectify an individual's
> personal cognition of the world. . . . The structure, form
> and significance of friendships becomes the structure, form
> and source of significance for many of our perceptions,
> opinions, attitudes, thoughts and feelings about oneself
> [sic] and our world.[43]

For the individual contemplating migration, the similar considerations

of his acquaintances presumably justified his own disposition, and

his opinions reinforced theirs.

These associated acquaintances lent more than mutual support

to the group. Their common origins meant also that the emigrants

would not leave the familiar entirely behind. To the extent that

seventeenth-century England remained a traditional society,[44] con-

tinuity, not change, was taken for granted, and the "postfigurative"

implications could not be ignored.[45] Familiar faces and shared

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[42]Festinger, Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, esp. Chs. VIII
and IX. Lazarsfeld and Merton, "Friendship as a Social Process,"
discusses the relationship between friendship formation and mainten-
ance through the perspective of shared values ("value homophily").

[43]Albert and Brigante, "Psychology of Friendship Relations,"
33-34.

[44]Laslett, World We Have Lost, passim, for example.

[45]Margaret Mead, in Culture and Commitment: A Study of the
Generation Gap, Natural History Press (New York: Doubleday &
Company, Inc., 1970) defines a "postfigurative culture" as "one
in which change is so slow and imperceptible that grandparents,
holding newborn grandchildren in their arms, cannot conceive of
any other future for the children than their own past lives. The
past of the adults is the future of each new generation . . . [For
the children,] what has come after childhood for their forebears
is what they, too, will experience after they are grown [p. 1]."

backgrounds promised that the bonds associated with localism would

be carried with the travelers. As far as new world conditions would

allow, the accustomed patterns of life would be recreated when the

settlers were able to form their own communities.[46]

It follows, therefore, that a major characteristic of the

early migration was its group nature. The confluence of individuals

from the same areas gave to the separate local groups a common goal

and the confidence that the goal could be attained.[47] In turn, this

commonality within the groups lent shape not only to the ideology and

cognition of the migration, but to its physical characteristics as

well. Those who sailed in the 1630s did so as distinct companies,

not as chance collections of otherwise unassociated individuals.

Even if they were not mutually acquainted, similarity within the

group enabled the members to overcome whatever unfamiliarities

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[46]Not entirely, of course, for improvisation was necessary
and change practically inevitable. But a distinction must be made
between institutional change and cultural development. Peter Gay,
in his provocative study of Puritan historians, concluded that the
historiographical developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries were ignored by the Puritans of New England (A Loss of
Mastery: Puritan Historians in Colonial America, Vintage Books
[New York: Random House, 1968 (1966)], 25, and passim). Even more
to the point, Kenneth Lockridge's examination of Dedham led him to
argue that before Americanization could occur, New England had to
return even more completely to an English-style society, or, in his
words, a "resumed normalcy" (A New England Town, 178 and passim). See
also Laslett, World We Have Lost, 60-61.

[47]Studies on goal attainment in groups are legion. For a
recent synthetic approach to group behavior, see Theodore M. Mills,
The Sociology of Small Groups, Foundations of Modern Sociology Series
(Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967). The behavioralist
tendencies of this study (as well as of much of the other literature
on group behavior) may, with good reason, offend the sensibilities
of the historian, but it is not necessary to accept the models pro-
posed by Mills to sense the nature of groups and their goal-attainment
"processes." See, in particular, Ch. V, esp. 80-85.

existed, and generated the feelings of brotherhood that would carry over to the new world.

(Ironically, it has largely been historians, not sociologists, who have perceived the significance of this group migration. As early as 1918, Charles Edwards Park wrote that the distinctive group nature of the settlement offered "a hint of some real bond of friendship and mutual support." He went on to suggest that

> it means something surely that in many instances these companies were amalgamated by more than a common Puritanism. They were composed of persons who had lived in the same town or shire, had perhaps worshipped in the same parish church, had become accustomed to the ministrations of the same non-conforming Puritan divine, and had found encouragement and moral support for the unknown hardships of their migration in the comfortable prospect of making the journey together.[48])

These bonds of friendship and prior acquaintance did not end with arrival in Massachusetts. Frequently, the groups remained at least partially intact, moving as a unit to a chosen, group destination. Between 1633 and 1637, for example, groups of settlers from East Anglia came to New England and settled in both Salem and Hingham, where groups from the West Country had established dominance.[49] The resultant clashes of interest in each of these towns resulted from the unity that

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[48]"Friendship as a Factor in the Settlement of Massachusetts," American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, XXVIII (1918), 57.

[49]Richard Peter Gildrie, "Salem, 1626-1668: History of a Covenanted Community" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1971), esp. Ch. II; John J. Waters, "Hingham, Massachusetts, 1631-1661: An East Anglian Oligarchy in the New World," Journal of Social History, I (1968), 351-70. I have used the version of this article reprinted in Stanley N. Katz, ed., Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), 50-69. All further citations of this essay will refer to the reprinted edition.

existed within the groups and the seriousness with which they intended to replicate their past ways of life. Likewise, between 1639 and 1641, the Wiltshire-Hampshire area supplied the largest single group to the new town of Sudbury, where the presence of large numbers of East Anglians also led to conflict.[50] When Thomas Parker and his traveling companions disembarked in 1634, John Winthrop recorded that "Mr. Parker, a minister, and a company with him, being about one hundred, went to sit down at Agawam."[51] A year later, many of this group left Ipswich in order to join Parker in the creation of Newbury.

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When Mary and John sailed from London in 1634, she carried a total of thirty-three passengers, of whom at least twenty-five eventually settled in Newbury for some length of time.[52] The original residences of twelve of these twenty-five have been determined without ambiguity. No town supplied more than three families to this group, but at least ten hailed from one or possibly two separate but proximate areas of Wiltshire and Hampshire. With the possible exception of Nicholas Easton, from Lymington, Hants. adjacent to the Isle of Wight, the entire group seems to have been spiritually bound together around

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[50]Powell, Puritan Village, 206-12.

[51]Winthrop, Journal, I, 125-26. Presumably, Winthrop's addition included wives and children.

[52]The ships list for Mary and John, which does not record the residences of the passengers, can be found in NEHGR, IX (1855), 267; and in Samuel G. Drake, The Founders of New England, reprint ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969), 70-71.

Thomas Parker, who was then at Newbury, Berks. but who had been born

in Wiltshire, and around Parker's cousin, James Noyes, who was also

residing in Newbury but who had spent most of his life in Choulderton,

Wilts., nine miles northeast of Salisbury.[53]

How many of these shipmates were among the first settlers of

Newbury cannot be determined. Presumably many of them were aboard the

small vessels that sailed up the Quascacunquen in late spring or early

summer, 1635. Of the twenty surviving names of the original planters,

at least twelve had arrived in New England with Thomas Parker.

Whether they had traveled on Mary and John or not, most of this company

had come out of the same Wiltshire-Hampshire area. From the Romsey-

Andover area of Hampshire came William Moody, and the two Kent brothers,

Richard Sr. and Stephen. They were joined by their neighbor, James

Browne from Southampton, and by Nicholas Easton from Lymington. James

and Nicholas Noyes came from Choulderton, Wilts., near the Wiltshire-

Hampshire border, Parker from Newbury, Berks., and John Woodbridge

from Stanton, Wilts., about fifteen miles north-northwest of Choulder-

ton. From Malford Christian, to the west of Stanton, came Thomas

Browne and Thomas Coleman. John Spencer, from London, and Henry

Sewall, from Coventry, Warwickshire, were the only settlers not identi-

fiably associated with the regional group. (Their relationship to the

Wiltshire-Hampshire contingent will be noted shortly.) The prior

residences of Henry and Anthony Short, Richard Kent, Jr. and his

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[53]For brief biographies of Parker and Noyes, see Cotton
Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana . . ., 2 vols. (Hartford:
Silas Andrus and Son, 1855), I, 480-89. The origins of other Newbury
settlers can be found in Appendix I.

brother James, George and Richard Browne, and Francis Plummer are not known. The coincidence of four of these names with others above, however, may not have been purely the result of chance.[54]

At least in its early years, Newbury may have been slightly more homogeneous than many of her sister towns. Before 1635, a number of prominent Massachusetts gentry had drawn up plans to create a speculative, stock-raising enterprise. Apparently formalizing these plans while still in London, Richard Saltonstall, John Clarke, Henry Sewall, and Richard and Stephen Dummer approached Thomas Parker and others who were to travel with him on Mary and John,[55] offering them partnerships in the enterprise. Evidently, some solicitations were offered in advance to others in England, for when James arrived in June, 1635, fourteen passengers from the Wiltshire-Hampshire area dis-embarked for Newbury, including Thomas Coleman, who had already con-tracted with the company to tend their herd.[56] On the same day, two Dutch ships arrived with holds full of Flemish cattle purchased by the company. In July or August, 1635, under orders from the General

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[54]The list of the names of the earliest settlers of Newbury can be found in Coffin, History of Newbury, 15.

[55]Including John Spencer, Henry Short, and one of the Richard Kents, as well as others who have not been identified.

[56]Including Archelaus Woodman of Cowsham and Malford; Thomas Browne; Anthony and William Morse of Marlborough; Nicholas Batt of Devizes; John Pike and John Musselwhite from Landford or Langford; all in Wiltshire; and John and Richard Knight, John and Anthony Emery, Thomas Smith, and Nicholas Holt, all from Romsey, Hants.

Court, more than 1,200 acres was laid out at the falls of the Quas-
cacunquen, renamed Newbury, River for the use of the company.[57]

As an organized venture, however, the stock-raising company
was an utter failure. By November, 1635, it was apparent that Thomas
Coleman had not been a good choice as herdsman, so the General Court
ordered that the provisions of the company be divided and that each
proprietor provide for his own stock. Shortly thereafter, John
Clarke, for himself and for his brother-in-law, Richard Saltonstall,
along with Henry Sewall, Sr. and Jr., decided to abandon the pastures
of Newbury for greener fields in Plymouth Colony, putting an end to
the organized, corporate breeding venture in Newbury.[58]

The failure of this corporate economic enterprise, however,
did not deter the on-going migration to Newbury. Partly, new arrivals
were attracted to the town because of the presence there of people
they had known in England, or people they had known of. The attrac-
tion was also one of style, as men sought out those settlements which
reproduced the social or cultural arrangements of the areas they had
left. In Newbury, and presumably in most other towns as well, settlers
continued to arrive from the same areas the founders of the town had
left.[59]

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[57]Shurtleff, I, 149, and passim; John J. Currier, "Ould
Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches (Boston: Damrell and
Upham, 1896), 9, 245; Coffin, History of Newbury, 18-19; Drake,
Founders of New England, 55-56; NEHGR, XIV (1860), 333. John Coffin
Jones Brown, "Newbury and the Bartlet Family," NEHGR, XL (1886), 192-
93, is quite emphatic, for reasons that lack documentation, that the
settlers were solicited in England.

[58]Coffin, History of Newbury, 18; Brown, "Newbury and the
Bartlet Family," 194.

[59]See below, Table I-1 and Appendix I.

It is apparent, also, that settlers from other counties tended to avoid this Wiltshire-Hampshire dominated area. Information has been obtained for the English residences of 113 settlers of Newbury between 1635 and 1650 (Table I-1 and Appendix I, map 1). Although families came from a total of 22 English counties (including London), migration can be accounted significant for only 4, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and, oddly, Norfolk. With the exception of East Anglia, the area which produced heavy settlement in Newbury was generally located along an axis connecting the West Country port of Bristol and the Hampshire port of Southampton, and following the paths of the Rivers Avon and Test. Together, these three southern counties supplied a total of 61 families (54%) out of the 113 for whom information exists. Adding to these the contiguous area of Berkshire (justified by the prior residence there of both Parker and Noyes), the number becomes 65 families, or 58 percent of the total. The sprawling London area, encompassing the city itself and parts of Kent, Essex, and Hertford-shire, sent 10 families to Newbury, or 9 percent of the total. Norfolk in East Anglia had been the home of 14 individuals, of whom 7 members of 2 families alone came from Great Ormsby. All of these 7, and

TABLE I-1

ENGLISH ORIGINS OF NEWBURY SETTLERS, 1635-1650

	County					
	Wiltshire	Hampshire	Gloucester-shire	Berkshire	18 Others	Total
Immigrants	29	22	10	4	48	113
Persisters	19	10	7	2	20	58

4 other Norfolk immigrants as well, departed Newbury immediately, most for the "Old" Norfolk County towns of Hampton and Exeter.[60] A full 79 percent of these Norfolk immigrants, then, did not stay in Newbury.[61]

The exodus of these Norfolk families underlines a more general pattern of social arrangement. Though the southern counties provided the town with a bare majority of immigrants, they supplied a slightly larger proportion of the permanent population. Many of those who had not lived in the Bristol-Southampton area found that they either could not, or did not wish to, penetrate into its membership. Perhaps their own groups envisioned a slightly different form of social arrangement, perhaps they had arrived in Massachusetts with different expectations of land usage, perhaps they were simply awaiting better opportunities. Whatever the reason, Newbury remained dominated by families from the four southern counties up to 1650, if not beyond. Those who could not blend into the patterns established by the original settlers left the town for other parts.

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[60]The departure of the Norfolk group presents interesting grounds for speculation. Perhaps the reason Newbury did not exper- ience the same types of conflict that disrupted Sudbury, Salem, and Hingham was the absence of large groups, such as East Anglians, with markedly different experiences behind them. The proximity of Old Norfolk County and other East Anglian areas in Essex County (Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 209) may have enabled this group to recreate their closed-field experiences by transplantation rather than confrontation. Similarly, the possibility must not be dismissed that Newbury refused to tolerate these East Anglians within her bounds.

[61]In this section, it is assumed that genealogical gaps are distributed at random.

Table I-1 also examines persistence among the 113 immigrants,[62] and reveals that those who came from the same areas as the original settlers tended, to an approximately similar degree, to remain in the town. Of the 58 immigrants who were disposed to stay in 36, or 62 percent, came originally from one of the four southern counties. The largest alternate group originated in Suffolk, but this comprised only 4 families, or 7 percent of the persisters.[63]

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[62]Because the original dates of admission of most of these families cannot be determined accurately, no time criterion can be applied in the evaluation of persistence. Moreover, events which occurred in the town prior to 1650 stimulated the out-migration of several families for reasons other than discomfort with the social arrangements. Therefore, I have been forced to attribute persistence arbitrarily. In the process of judging each settler individually, I have attempted to estimate his willingness to remain in the town, other things being equal. Most settlers did remain in the town, so ambiguity does not affect an overly large number of judgments.

With this in mind, Henry Sewall, Sr., who removed to Rowley in reaction to the movement of the meeting house some distance from his farm, is included as a persister, as is his son, Henry, Jr., who returned to England with his in-laws but later came back to Newbury. On the other hand, Thomas Macy, who made three or four removes before settling permanently on Nantucket (to be eulogized for posterity by John Greenleaf Whittier), is not. Some of my judgments may be in error, but the overall results are so markedly consistent that even the allowance for considerable error would not affect their general validity.

[63]I can offer no concrete explanation for the internal differences within the Bristol-Southampton area. Only 50 percent of the Berkshire group remained, and 45 percent of the Hampshire group. In contrast, 65 percent of the Wiltshire families persisted, and 70 percent of the Gloucester group. The individual destinations of out-movers may supply some clues. Some, like Henry Monday and Nicholas Holt, traveled only across the Merrimack to help found Salisbury or Andover. But others, such as Nicholas Easton, departed for Rhode Island and other distant parts. Still others, like John Spencer, returned to England. Both Easton and Spencer were disenfranchised and disarmed as a result of their sympathies during the Antinomian controversy. Presumably, many others simply saw migration as an opportunity for social advancement, or as a chance to remain with kin or close friends. Their reasons may be approximated circumstantially, but ultimately they are in the realm of private considerations and, accordingly, will remain largely unknown.

The relative permanence of the Bristol-Southampton group produced a homogeneity that influenced more than residency. Indeed, it continued at least to 1650 to affect the shape of the central core of the town's leadership. The outflow of non-southern county inhabitants is symptomatic of the basic unwillingness or inability of the original group to open its doors to new members. Whether because of a predisposition within the group to favor familiar and proven leaders, or because of an intention to preserve accustomed patterns, or because of outright hostility toward "interlopers," the town continued to elect to the important offices men who had come from the same counties of southern England. Disparate elements in the town, both individuals and groups, found that their position in the leadership structure was almost completely subservient. Their small numbers, furthermore, gave them little hope of entering the decision-making process through the town meeting. Unless these inhabitants were willing to accept their second-class status, they had little recourse but to leave.

The dominance of the southern county group over the "power structure" of the town to 1650 is displayed in Table I-2. The most influential and important offices at the town level were Selectman and Commissioner for Small Causes, and, in the case of Newbury, Commissioner for the Affairs of the New Town, a standing position necessitated by the town's decision to remove from the Newbury to the Merrimack River in 1642. Although information does not exist for all the years between 1635 and 1650, twenty-six holders of sixty positions have been identified. For three individuals, all of whom were early

TABLE I-2

NEWBURY OFFICE HOLDING, BY COUNTY OF PRIOR RESIDENCE*

| County | Number of Office Holders | | Number of Positions | | | | | | | |
| | | | Selectman | | Commissioner for Small Causes | | New Town Commissioner | | Total | |
	Imm.	Pers.	Imm.	Pers.	Imm.	Pers.	Imm.	Pers.	Imm.	Pers.
Wiltshire	8	7	16	15	1	1	4	4	21	20
Hants.	4	3	6	5	1	0	0	0	7	5
Gloucestershire	2	2	0	0	3	3	1	1	4	4
Berkshire	1	1	3	3	2	2	0	0	5	5
Subtotal	15	13	25	23	7	6	5	5	37	34
18 Others	8	4	9	7	1	0	3	0	13	7
Total	23	17	34	30	8	6	8	5	50	41

*Imm. and pers. stand for immigrants and persisters.

settlers,[64] the places of origin cannot be established. Of the re-

maining fifty positions, thirty-seven, or a full 74 percent, were held

by fifteen men from the southern counties. Eight Wiltshire men alone,

in fact, held down twenty-one of these thirty-seven positions. The

thirteen positions held by those from other counties were divided

among eight men from six different areas.

When persistence is introduced into this analysis, the domi-

nance of the southern county group becomes even more striking. Thir-

teen of the fifteen leaders from this area remained in Newbury and

accounted for thirty-four positions. Of the other eight officers,

four men, who had held six of the positions, removed from the town,

leaving only four office holders to divide seven positions.[65] In

short, of the forty-one positions held by the seventeen "permanent"

office holders between 1635 and 1650, 83 percent were filled by men

originally from the Bristol-Southampton counties. Alternately, 77

percent of these office holders, or thirteen out of seventeen, came

originally from one of the four southern counties which supplied 58

percent of the permanent population.

This dominance did not end at the political level. It seems

also to have pervaded the patterns of land usage. Unfortunately, land

holding arrangements cannot be reconstructed from extant records. The

original land grants were recorded in the <u>Town Book</u> which is no longer

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[64]Richard Browne, Henry Lunt, and Henry Short.

[65]Those remaining were Abraham Toppan (Norfolk), who was
twice a Selectman; Edward Rawson (Dorsetshire, adjacent to Wiltshire),
the town clerk and later colony secretary who was a Selectman two
times and a New Town Commissioner; and Anthony Somerby (Lincolnshire),
who was a Selectman once. William Moody, from either Suffolk or
Wales, was also a Selectman twice.

perfectly intact. Although land records were transcribed into a
separate volume of <u>Proprietors' Records</u>, the dates of the grants
were not. Even if it could be established that these records were
complete, it would be necessary to know when land was laid out in
order to differentiate between land granted as accommodations and
land granted as payment for service, reward, compensation, or en-
couragement. However, in preparation for the removal of the town
to the Merrimack, an official list of freeholders was tabulated. This
list can be used to examine the original allocations of freehold
rights. The freehold itself was no idle embellishment, for it pro-
vided the owner with a claim on all subsequent land divisions and
land dividents. Accordingly, possession of freeholds can be used to
evaluate the distribution of preferred positions among the inhabi-
tants. Because freeholds continued to be granted as late as 1640,
if not later, the list of freeholders will not reflect only the names
of those who arrived first. It will partially summarize patterns
over time as well.

Table I-3 summarizes the distribution of freeholds among the
early settlers. Once again, the influence of the localism of prior
residence patterns is immediately apparent. Ninety-one freeholders
were included on the original list. Of these, information has been
found for sixty-six. Forty-four of these sixty-six, or 67 percent,
came out of one of the southern counties. Most of the other county
groups are too small for meaningful comparison, but the small pro-
portion of Norfolk immigrants who became freeholders stands out as a
significant exception. Of the sixteen immigrants from Norfolk, only

three obtained freehold rights.[66] Curiously, one of these was

Abraham Toppan, the only Norfolk man to attain political office prior

to 1650.[67] Toppan, who may have been an East Anglian only by coinci-

dence, was one of the few immigrants from Norfolk who was accepted to

any degree into participation in town affairs.[68]

TABLE I-3

NEWBURY FREEHOLDERS, 1635-1650 BY COUNTY
OF PRIOR RESIDENCE

County	Number of Immigrants	Number of Persisters
Wiltshire	19	15
Hants.	15	9
Gloucester	8	5
Berkshire	2	2
Subtotal	44	31
18 Others	22	12
Total	66	43

[66]Whether these East Anglians departed the town because they
could not obtain freehold rights, or whether they left before they
were offered freeholds, cannot be determined from the available infor-
mation. What must be emphasized, however, is the homogeneity of
Newbury's population.

[67]To a large degree, of course, the exclusion of Norfolk
immigrants can be attributed to the 75 percent rate of emigration among
this group. But, in the light of the broader patterns, it is also pos-
sible that Newbury would not accept most of these East Anglians.

[68]Toppan, a cooper by trade, may well have been less East
Anglian in spirit than in origin. One genealogist of the Toppan family
says he grew up in Yorkshire, an assertion seconded (indirectly) by

Toppan was an exception to a more general rule. The social development of Newbury left little room for the inclusion of anyone who had not come from the West Country county of Gloucestershire or the southern counties of Wiltshire, Hampshire, or Berkshire. The settlers of the town could have been certain that they would not witness the dissolution of their competent community because of a diversified population.[69] Whether the town maintained its homogeneity intentionally, or whether the coherence was produced when dissonant elements selected themselves out of the picture, the conflicts which emerged in Newbury were not attributable to factions centered around different concepts of social relationships or land usage. Potential compatibility was generated not by the negative majoritarianism of group pitted against group, but by the positive interaction of like-minded families with shared traditions and common goals.

Banks. Moreover, his commercial ventures launched from Newbury suggest that his residence in Yarmouth, Norfolk may have been the result of his mercantile interests, not a fondness for closed-field farming. He married one of the Yarmouth Goodales, a family with clearly established mercantile connections. Toppan's three brothers-in-law, all Newbury residents by 1640, were also involved in commercial endeavors, and at least two of them were prominent in Newbury affairs. Although one of his brothers-in-law, Thomas Milward, had come from Yarmouth, the other two, John Oliver and John Lowle, had come from Bristol, Gloucestershire, as had the prominent Essex County gentry, William Gerrish, who married Joanna, the widow of John Oliver.

[69]Contrast Newbury's experience to the developments in Salem, Hingham, and Sudbury during the same period. See notes 51 and 62. Cf, also, the discussion of population diversification in Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston: A Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649, The Norton Library (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1972 [1965]), passim, but esp. Ch. VII.

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Like-mindedness, however, could exist in a social vacuum. The common origins and traditions of these settlers did not necessarily bring them together into an organized group. Moreover, although shared characteristics might have emphasized their similarities to these immigrants, perceived similarity alone was not inevitably a producer of groups. Indeed, many who came from the same areas of southern and western England did not choose to settle in Newbury, and, as Table I-1 indicates, many of those who did settle ultimately chose to seek their welfare elsewhere. To explain the association of separate families and groups in a coherent and planned enterprise, it is necessary to look beyond the simple cross-tabulation of perhaps coincidental names and origins.

Because standards of compatibility were applied to the membership of the group at the outset of settlement,[70] and because there is no evidence that the individual families from the key counties had collective and inclusive mutual knowledge of one another prior to the migration, some centripetal influences must have operated to bring these settlers together. Hard documentary evidence of these unifying forces is lacking, but circumstantial evidence is not. Indeed, characteristics of the migration process itself offer imaginative hints as to the process by which individual immigrants and immigrant groups gathered themselves into coherent social bodies. Those who were not mutually acquainted when they left Old England had ample

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[70]See above, pp. 19-20.

opportunity to become familiar with one another both before and after the town was created.

Particularly during the great migration, ships departed England for the new world with seasonal regularity. How many were these vessels and how bookings were arranged cannot be answered, but it is fairly clear that nearly everyone in England had reasonably close access to a port from which emigrants could depart. Consistently, though not without exception, individual ships bound for Boston and New England tended to transport passengers with moderate geographic homogeneity. It is entirely possible, therefore, that many of the passengers on any given ship had some non-incidental relationships among themselves.[71]

Even if they had none, the long voyage from England to Massachusetts provided these immigrants with the opportunity, if not the necessity, to become acquainted. On the four to six week journey, tedious even in fair weather, individuals must have found companionship welcomed. In their cramped quarters, few settlers could have completed the transoceanic voyage without becoming familiar with nearly everyone on board. Deprived of entertainment, these travelers must have taken extra delight in extended contacts, comparing

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[71]Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 195-96. These authors also suggest the possibility that certain ships may have been chartered by specific groups (196). If this was the case, then the possibility of mutual acquaintance is considerably increased.

experiences and expectations, and perhaps even creating new friend-
ships to continue in New England.[72]

But it is hardly likely that the typical immigrant recognized
no one on board. Indeed, many future Newbury-area settlers on indi-
vidual ships listed their residences as the same towns. For example,
when Bevis sailed from Southampton in 1638, she carried Christopher
Batt and his family from Salisbury, Wilts., as well as Henry, Mary,
and John Byley, also of Salisbury, to the Newbury-Salisbury area of
Massachusetts. Likewise, aboard James in 1635 were John and Richard
Knight, Thomas Smith, Nicholas Holt, and the Emery brothers, John and
Anthony, all from Romsey, Hants., and all bound for Newbury. And on
Confidence traveled John and William Stevens, from Gowsham, Oxon.,
and their fellow townsman, Thomas Jones.[73]

At the same time, individuals from proximate towns often
booked passages on the same vessels. Whatever the source of their
mutual affiliations, if any, families from specific local regions
within counties frequently became fellow travelers. Joining the
Romsey, Hants. group on James in the migration to Newbury, for
example, were Anthony and William Morse, from Marlborough, Wilts.,
and their neighbor, Thomas Coleman; Nicholas Batt, from Devizes,
about eight miles to the southwest; and Archelaus Woodman (and possi-
bly his brother Edward) and Thomas Browne, from nearby Malford

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[72]See the absorbing discussion of this and other aspects
of the town-planting process in Philip J. Greven, Jr., "Four
Generations: A Study of Family Structure, Inheritance, and
Mobility in Andover, Massachusetts, 1630-1750" (unpublished Ph.D.
dissertation, Harvard University, 1964), Ch. I.

[73]NEHGR, II, 109, XIV, 333, 336; Drake, Founders, 55-61.

Christian. Aboard Confidence, which sailed from London in 1638, were: Stephen Kent, from either Tytherly or neighboring Nether Wallop, Hants., and his servants, Nicholas Wallington from Nether Wallop, and Hugh March and Anthony Sadler, both from Tytherly; William and John Ilsley, from Nether Wallop; and John Sanders, from Langford, Wilts., ten miles to the south.[74]

Even after the first boatloads of immigrants arrived in New England, migration continued from the same towns and regions. The influence of friendship and localism, in other words, did not stop at the shoreline. From the Stanton-Marlborough-Devizes-Pewsey area of Wiltshire came Thomas Coleman, the Morse brothers, Thomas Davis, Nicholas Batt, John and Benjamin Woodbridge, Henry and Hugh Monday, and Henry Jaques. John Bailey, Sr. and Jr., Edward and Archelaus Woodman, and Thomas Browne all had resided in the Corsham-Chippenham-Malford Christian neighborhood of Wiltshire. The Whiteparish-Langford area of southeastern Wiltshire sent John Pike, Sr. and Jr., John Musselwhite, John Sanders, and both Henry and John Rolfe to Newbury and Essex County. Similarly the Bishop Stoke-Romsey-Littleton-King's Somborne area of Hampshire had been the homes of Richard, Stephen, and Thomas Dummer, Thomas Nelson (who settled in Rowley and married Joane Dummer), William Moody, William Fifield, Nicholas Holt, Thomas Smith, the Knight brothers, and the Emery brothers. Only a few miles away, the Andover-Wallop-Tytherly triangle had been the residences of Stephen and Richard Kent, Hugh

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[74]NEHGR, II, 108-110, XIV, 330-33; Drake, Founders, 55-59.

March, Anthony Sadler, Nicholas Wallington, John and William Ilsley, and John Osgood. And William Gerrish, John Oliver, Richard Dole, John Poore, Daniel Thurston, the Lowle family, and the three Badger brothers all had come from Bristol, Gloucester, or from Thornbury, about ten miles to the northeast.[75]

Perhaps these men had been planning their trip for some time prior to departure. Perhaps they had received communications from former friends now in New England. Perhaps they were recruited, as the Newbury settlers may have been. Or, perhaps they were following a minister. In some areas, dissenting preachers were hard to find, so they often attracted flocks from the surrounding areas. Some congregations were quite loyal. John Cotton, Thomas Shepherd, Peter Hobart, and Ezekiel Rogers all had been accompanied to New England by their English congregations. Thomas Hooker's followers proved particularly dedicated to their pastor. After migrating themselves, many wrote back to Hooker, still in England, urging him to follow.[76] Once in Massachusetts, when Hooker found that he and Cotton could not fit into the same colony, many of the same families followed him to Connecticut. Thomas Parker had done little or no public preaching in Newbury, Berks., but it is quite clear that many brethren aboard Mary and John had already forged spiritual bonds with Parker and James Noyes.[77]

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[75]See Appendix II and Map 1.

[76]Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 462; Larzer Ziff, The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 69, 116-17.

[77]See below, pp. 119-20.

Still others migrated as family groups. A recent study has noted the predominance of nuclear families among the early immigrant groups.[78] The patriarchal nature of the seventeenth-century family meant that entire families would frequently be counted among the migrants to New England. In most cases, these families were composed of men "in mid-career," with their wives and, normally, young or adolescent children.[79] Some of the families which sailed to New England, however, contained children who had already reached their majority. Percival Lowle, for example, went from Bristol to Newbury with his two married sons, John and Richard. Likewise, when Richard Bartlet came out of Wiltshire, he brought with him his three adult and near-adult sons, Richard, John, and Christopher, of whom John was probably already married.

At other times, more extended family relationships characterized the migration. When Thomas Parker sailed for New England in 1634, he was accompanied by his two cousins, James and Nicholas Noyes, and his nephew, John Woodbridge, as well as Richard Kent, Sr., and Stephen Kent, brothers who were probably related to the Noyes family in some way,[80] and James Browne, a brother-in-law of James Noyes. Also on board were Richard Kent, Jr. and his brother, James,

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[78] Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 194.

[79] Ibid., 194.

[80] The precise relationship is not clear. However, Richard Kent was from Over or Nether Wallop, Hants, where a Thomas Kent, probably his brother or cousin, had married a daughter of William Noyes, of Choulderton, Wilts., the father of James and Nicholas.

who may have been distantly related to the other Kent brothers. In 1640, Benjamin Woodbridge, the brother of John, joined his kinsmen in Newbury, bringing with him from Stanton his close friend, Henry Jaques. Four Brownes also settled in the town, at least two of whom, Richard and George, were siblings. And when Richard Dummer returned to New England in 1638, he brought with him his brother Stephen and three of his brother Thomas' children from Bishop-Stoke.

These examples do not begin to exhaust the extended family relationships among the settlers of Newbury. No less than twenty sets of brothers alone settled in Newbury for some period of time between 1635 and 1650, and mostly in the first five years.[81] Although extensive genealogical research in English records has not been attempted, it is clear that this may be a conservatige gauge of the magnetism of kinship, for even in-law relationships generated settlement. Abraham Toppan brought his wife, Susanna, and his mother-in-law, Mrs. Elizabeth Goodale, to Newbury in 1637. He had been preceded to the town by his sister-in-law and her husband, Thomas Milward. Similarly Samuel Scullard (who may also have been related to the Noyes family) married the daughter of Richard Kent, Sr. in England and joined his parents-in-law in Newbury shortly thereafter. And John Emery Sr. was already a Newbury freeholder when his sister and her

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[81]Three Badgers, at least two Brownes, three Dummers, two Emerys, two Ilsleys, two sets of Kents, two Knights, four Marstons, two Merrills, two Mondays, two Morses, three Moultons, two Noyeses, two Rolfes, two Shorts, two Somerbys, two Stevenses, two Woodbridges, and two Woodmans. This list does not include those siblings who came to Newbury with parents.

husband, John Bailey, Sr. arrived in New England and settled in Salisbury.[82]

It is not unlikely, therefore, that a good many of the settlers of Newbury had become acquainted with those who would join them in the creation of the new town. Presumably, many other towns as well benefited from a comparable degree of familiarity. In at least one respect, however, the Newbury group was better able to take advantage of this similarity. Not only had they migrated as friends and acquaintances, fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, but they were also given a year's grace in which to work out the details of their settlement and choose their members carefully. As soon as he disembarked, Thomas Parker and his company, along with "diverse others of the new comers," settled in Ipswich.[83] From that time, late in the spring of 1634, until they were granted the land for their plantation, they had whatever opportunity they needed to become familiar with New

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[82]Shortly thereafter, John Bailey, Jr., son of John, Sr., married Eleanor, the daughter of John Emery, Sr.

In-law relations did not, however, guarantee admission. When Walter Allen asked to be admitted to Newbury in 1638, the town could not immediately come to a decision on his fate, even though Allen was a brother-in-law of Mr. John Cutting, a trusted friend of the Winthrops. Allen, it seems, was not the most virtuous of men. He admitted that the rumor charging him with fathering one bastard was true, but he denied the second allegation that he had, in fact, sired two. For information about Allen, Edward Rawson wrote John Winthrop, who had admitted Allen to Massachusetts in the first place. Apparently, Allen was finally admitted, for his name appears on the 1642 freeholders list. Around this time, however, he removed to Salisbury (where, several years later, his son, John, was also accused of fornication). Rawson's letter to Winthrop is in The Winthrop Papers, IV (1944), 97-98.

[83]Winthrop, Journal, I, 125-26.

England and with one another.[84] Certainly they planned their future, for there was little doubt that they would one day seek their own town. A year later, when the General Court authorized them to begin work on their own settlement, the tempting security and stability of consonant and familiar faces must have seemed reason enough to remove to the new location. To Parker, as indeed to many of the others, Newbury promised to become a new home in the comfortable image of the old. Weighing the alternatives of removing or accepting his recent call to the church at Ipswich, he chose "to accompany some of his countrymen that came out of Wiltshire in England, to that new place, than to be engaged with such as he had not been acquainted withal before."[85]

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[84]Compare this experience to that of the families which joined to form Sudbury in 1639. Their common residence in Watertown provided them with the same opportunity to become mutually acquainted. Recognizing their common plight in the landless town, they too were able to find a common basis on which to unite and cooperate. See Powell, Puritan Village, Ch. V.

[85]William Hubbard, A General History of New England . . . , Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, V (1815), 193.

CHAPTER II

THE KNITTING OF A COMMUNITY

The founders of Newbury in 1635 were not mutual strangers.
Many of the first settlers were kinsmen, others had hailed from the
same town or area in England, still others had sailed on the same
vessels. Those not mutually acquainted before landing in Massachusetts
Bay found ample time to get to know their future neighbors while re-
siding for a year in Ipswich. By the time they removed to the Parker
River, this group of early settlers resembled, in effect, a fraternity
of like-minded acquaintances. Those who planted the town did so know-
ing fairly well the personalities and peculiarities of their fellow
settlers.

These first inhabitants were a self-defined group before they
became a settlement. Those admitted to the group subsequently were
endowed neither with the same set of experiences nor with the same
sense of belongingness. Though the town continued to choose its new
members, many of whom probably knew some of the townsmen, new settlers
after the first wave of in-migration did not possess the same general
sense of camaraderie that had been shared by the earliest arrivals.
Success in preserving the appropriateness of the Puritan blueprint
for harmonious cooperation would, in part, be dependent upon the

ability of the town to integrate these new settlers into the
brotherhood.

This challenge, though it certainly was recognized explicitly
by very few, was more easily surmounted because of the demands imposed
by the wilderness, because of the common English backgrounds of most
of the settlers, and because of the zeal with which the goals were
pursued. To the extent that the townsmen can be called "Puritan,"
they were embued with a religiosity that gave each a common goal to
create a godly (and affluent) society.[1] Reverent fear of the Al-
mighty, therefore, was one shared, cultural unifier. For a time,
awe of the Divine gave the settlement a profound single-mindedness.
In 1638, the townsmen provided a singular example of their common,
spiritual unity. While "assembled to treat and consult about the
well ordering of the affairs of the town, about one of the clock in
the afternoon, the sun shining fair," the townsmen instructed the
clerk to record that

> it pleased God suddenly to raise a vehement earthquake,
> coming with a shrill clap of thunder issuing as is supposed
> out of the east, which shook the earth and the foundations
> of the house in a very violent manner, to our great amaze-
> ment and wonder[.] Wherefore taking notice of so great and
> strange a hand of God's providence, we were desirous of
> leaving it on record to the view of after ages, to the intent
> that all might take notice of Almighty God and fear His name.[2]

Although other examples of God's providence worked greater
havoc on Newbury's population, no similar entries appear anywhere

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[1] I recognize here the distinction made by Darrett B. Rutman
between the preacher and his audience, a distinction that students
of early Massachusetts have only recently begun to appreciate.
See his American Puritanism, passim.

[2] Town Recs., June 1, 1638.

else in the town records. Like all utopian movements, the zeal

which these settlers brought to the new world flagged. As settled

ways replaced wilderness hardships, Newbury discovered that the

harmony and cooperation demanded by the traditional, organic view of

society could not be obtained by spiritual commitment alone. Like

Boston, Newbury soon learned that the preservation of unity was

ultimately a social problem.[3]

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Before the relationship between unity and society can be

discussed, it is necessary to say a few words about methodology.

Students of human society have long noticed that patterns exist in

the ways people interact. For at least two decades, these patterns

have been studied with frequency and intensity, and the results of

these examinations have significantly broadened our understanding

of man's social character. Sociologists and anthropologists, as well

as students of social psychology and human communications, have in-

creasingly described these collective patterns of intercourse as the

networks of the social environment.[4] Elizabeth Bott, a pioneer in

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[3]Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, viii and passim.

[4]Analytic bibliographies of these works can be found in:
J. A. Barnes, Social Networks, Addison-Wesley Modular Publications,
No. 26 (1972); G. Lindzey and Donn Byrne, "Measurement of Social
Choice and Interpersonal Attractivenes,," in The Handbook of Social
Psychology, ed. by G. Lindzey and E. Aronson, 5 vols. (2d ed.;
Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969), II, 452-525; B. E. Collins
and B. H. Raven, "Group Structure: Attraction, Coalitions, Communica-
tion, and Power," Ibid., IV, 102-214; J. Clyde Mitchell, ed., Social
Networks in Urban Situations: Analyses of Personal Relationships in
Central African Towns (Manchester: Manchester University Press,

the study of human networks, writing in retrospect of her book, Family
and Social Network, affirmed the generalization that lies behind most
of these network studies. "The internal functioning of a group," she
wrote,

> is affected not only by its relationship with the people and
> organizations of its environment, but also by the relationships
> among those people and organizations.[5]

Historians as well as social scientists have discovered net-
works among the individuals they have studied. Students of seventeenth-
century Massachusetts alone, in fact, have identified networks--
particularly kinship networks--as important modes of collective
organization. Bernard Bailyn has discovered that the seventeenth-
century merchants formed a distinct and partially unified "interest
group" precisely because they formed a network of interlinked families.[6]
Similarly, Robert Wall has demonstrated that distinct types of politi-
cal behavior in early Massachusetts Bay were not unrelated to specific
kinship groupings. Family ties not only conferred essential social
prestige upon political aspirants, but they also constituted one
group-defining characteristic of both the magistracy and the Lesser

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1969), 1-76, and passim; Elizabeth Bott, Family and Social Network:
Roles, Norms, and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families
(2d ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1971), especially 241-343; and
Richard V. Farace et al., "Analysis of Human Communications Networks
in Large Social Systems" (unpublished, 1973), passim.

[5]Bott, Family and Social Network, p. 249.

[6]The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century,
Paperbound ed. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964 [1955]),
135ff.

Gentry.[7] Other studies of seventeenth-century society have likewise implied the presence of extended kinship networks which served to maintain the identity and unity of the family group.[8]

For a variety of reasons, however, these historical networks have been described only metaphorically. These qualitative networks are useful as conceptual frameworks, but because they lack precise definition, they are limited in their empirical utility. The separation of qualitative and quantitative makes these networks inadequate as foundations for the answers to those broader social questions historians are increasingly asking.

Networks need not remain only heuristic analogies. They can also be used to combine the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of

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[7]Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade, 1640-1650 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 130ff, and Chapter I, "The Rise of the Lesser Gentry," passim.

[8]See, inter alia, John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony, paperbound ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 118-25, and 62-81, passim; Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts, paperbound ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970), 72-99, and passim; Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society, paperbound ed. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [for the Institute of Early American History and Culture], 1960), 15-17; Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England, Torchbook ed. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966 [1944 and 1956]), 150-60, and passim; Stephen Foster, Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), especially 187-89. Bernard Farber has discovered explicit kinship organization in Salem around 1800. See his Guardians of Virtue: Salem Families in 1800 (New York: Basic Books, 1972), 116-17 and passim. On the other hand, for the English picture, see Alan MacFarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), passim, and his Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England, Torchbook ed. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1970), passim, for conclusions which both support and contradict this assertion.

historical research. If a set of specific relationships among the individuals of a finite population can be identified, an empirical network can be generated. Once described, such a network can be used as the basis for an intensive examination of the interrelationships among the various elements of the population.

An identifiable population and a clearly defined mode of relationship were the only two components necessary to construct an analytic network of seventeenth-century Newbury. In the interest of continuity, I shall refer to these components as nodes and links. The nodes of this network, or the universe of individuals to be examined, are specific inhabitants of Newbury between 1635 and 1685. The links of the network, or the relationships binding the nodes together, are the kinship and friendship bonds established among these inhabitants.

The population of nodes was defined rather rigorously. For the purposes of this analysis, it was not sufficient that an individual have lived in Newbury at some time during the fifty years studied. Rather, because I am seeking to explore the significance of kinship and friendship as they affect the communalism of the town, I limited the nodes to those individuals whose behavior could be determined for specific categories of transactions. An individual must either have held an elective position in the town or have participated in the church quarrel of the 1660s and 1670s to be included as a node of the network. Because women were largely excluded from legal and civic activity in the seventeenth century, extant records permit only the inclusion of males in this network.

The criteria used to determine links are somewhat more complicated, for relationships are far more complex than identities.

To assign kinship linkages, I have used family reconstitution pro-
cedures based on the published and unpublished vital records of
Newbury[9] and cautiously augmented by collateral material to be found
in Coffin's History of Newbury, in Currier's History of Newbury and
his "Ould Newbury," in Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, and in the
published probate records for Essex County.[10] Information obtained
from these sources was consolidated on family reconstitution forms
adapted to this purpose from E. A. Wrigley, ed., An Introduction to
English Historical Demography.[11] In most cases, I considered only
one-step kinship relations sufficiently unambiguous for inclusion.
Links therefore were assigned only to all sets of males identified as
fathers, sons, or brothers. In addition, these links were supplemented
by the specific in-law relationships of father-in-law, son-in-law, and
brother-in-law.[12]

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[9]Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter
Day Saints, Film Number 886202, Vital Records of Newbury, Massa-
chusetts; Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts to the End of the
Year 1849 (2 vols.; Salem: The Essex Institute, 1911).

[10]Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newbury-
port, and West Newbury, from 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake,
1845); John J. Currier, History of Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635-1901
(Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1902); Idem., "Ould Newbury": Historical
and Biographical Sketches (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1896); James
Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England,
reprinted ed. (4 vols.; Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing
Company, 1965); and The Probate Records of Essex County Massachusetts,
1635-1681 (3 vols.; Salem: The Essex Institute, 1916-1920).

[11]An Introduction to English Historical Demography from the
Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century (London: Weldenfeld and Nicolson,
1966), especially Chapter IV, "Family Reconstitution."

[12]The inclusion of these in-law relations needs little justi-
fication beyond that provided by the works listed in note 5, all of
which include, as part of the extended family, those kin formed by
marriage. Matrimony was a negotiated relationship, but this does not

I have omitted other, more "extended" kinship relations for several reasons. Too many assumptions must be made in order to include other categorical kinship relations as links. There is little indication, for example, that meaningful kinship sentiments were shared by relatives as close as cousins or uncles and nephews, and I have found only ambiguous evidence that they existed between grandparents and grandchildren.[13] In addition, I have examined patterns of probate bequests in Newbury from 1635 to 1681. Although bequest patterns are influenced by more than kinship sentiment alone, if provision for kin even approximates the range of significant kinship relationships, then the results of this examination (Table II-1) lend support to the limitation of kinship links to the specified categories. While extended kin relations could be important at certain times for certain families, the most consistently mentioned categories of relatives were those linked to the testator by one-step paths, namely, spouses and children (with their spouses).[14]

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mean that it was less "meaningful." Indeed, if anything, successful negotiations in a patriarchal society would indicate that the families so joined were not mutually indisposed. The paternal dominance depicted by virtually all students of the colonial family, moreover, would imply that the approval given by the father to a marriage was imposed, if necessary, upon his sons. The appelations "brother," "father," and "son" commonly given to in-laws suggests strongly that the relationship was both recognized and respected by members of both families. As Edmund Morgan has pointed out, kinships formed by marriage were considered equal to those formed by birth, both in the eyes of the law and in the eyes of God (The Puritan Family, 150ff).

[13]John Demos has come to slightly different conclusions with regard to family priorities in Plymouth Colony. See A Little Commonwealth, 124.

[14]Presumably, most testators left no surviving parents who might have been mentioned. I have not attempted to ascertain that

TABLE II-1

BEQUESTS TO KIN, NEWBURY WILLS, 1635-1681

Relationship	Number	Percent
Daughter and/or son-in-law	48	28.9
Son and/or daughter-in-law	39	23.2
Wife	39	23.2
Grandchild	14	8.3
Niece or Nephew	11	6.5
Brother	4	2.4
Sister	3	1.7
Stepchild	3	1.7
Father	1	0.6
Mother	1	0.6
Cousin	0	0.0
Other kin	5	3.0
Total	168	100.1

Fewer clear indications of friendship have survived, so the

identification of these links becomes more tentative. In part,

friendship has been inferred from various actions that seem likely

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this was in fact the case, for the large number of bequests to
children establishes the presence of the relationship.

On the other hand, the few gifts to brothers and sisters may
give cause to hesitate. However, it should be noted that this is an
area where an obligation to provide for one's own could very well
have taken precedence over any concern to reaffirm a recognition of
close kin. In addition, although entail and primogeniture were not
common in colonial New England, the strong tendency to pass estates
along to spouses and children would suggest that keeping the estate
in the immediate family may have been a cultural norm which had been
part of an English value system. Whatever the case, the few in-
stances of bequests to siblings is not by itself evidence that kin-
ship sentiments were not shared by brothers and sisters. As John
Demos observed of Plymouth wills, "the chief beneficiaries [of
testators without direct heirs] were brothers and sisters, nephews
and nieces" (A Little Commonwealth, 123). This is strong evidence
to support the notion that kinship sentiments did indeed exist
between siblings, but that other considerations frequently influenced
patterns of probate bequests.

to have occurred only in the context of friendship.[15] Much of my

information was found in the Essex County Quarterly Court Records,[16]

a lucrative source on possible friendship patterns. Although little

explicit evidence can be found here, Newbury was moderately large

and moderately contentious. Hence, these records contain material

on a large number of litigations involving Newbury inhabitants. For

these cases, witnesses and deponents were listed under the principals

on the basis of the content of their testimonies. After ambiguous

deponents, such as the lotlayers, ordinary keepers, and witnesses for

the town or the Selectmen were eliminated, the list contained only

plaintiffs and defendants and their respective witnesses. On the

assumption that intimate knowledge of an individual's activities is

reserved for those in some friendly relationship with the individual,

friendship links were assigned between the principals and their

witnesses in each case.[17]

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[15]With one major exception. I have not used consistent
ideological agreement to indicate friendship, even though such
agreement would be one of the most expected manifestations of the
relationship. Both for methodological and philosophical reasons,
this was an intentional omission.

[16]George F. Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly
Courts of Essex County Massachusetts (8 vols.; Salem: The Essex
Institute, 1911-1921), hereafter cited as QCR.

[17]It might have been only slightly less reasonable to assign
friendship links among witnesses as well, for recent research has
indicated that remaining friends with two people who hate each
other is no easy task (Barnes, Social Networks, 12). Moreover,
students of friendship have long been aware that there is a strong
correlation between friendship and homophily." (Cf., for example,
Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Friendship as Social
Process: A Substantive Inquiry," in Freedom and Control in Modern
Society, ed. by Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page
[New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1964], 18-66.) However, not enough

Probate records supply a second and more definitive source of friendship information.[18] Newbury wills from 1635 to 1681 have been examined for friendship indicators. While few wills contained bequests to non-creditor, non-kin, virtually all wills named executors and overseers. Each of these nominees was assigned a friendship link with the testator on the assumption that an individual entrusted the administration of his estate only to those in whom he placed great trust and confidence.

These link categories are not mutually exclusive, for a number of individuals were linked by both friendship and kinship bonds. These relationships have been permitted to overlap. Not only do they supply more nearly independent evidence that the assumptions behind the method of link assignments are valid, but they also serve as the only measures of link intensity used in this study.[19]

Once nodes were identified and links defined, six separate networks were generated, one for kinship and one for kinship and friendship during each of three critical periods in the development of

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work has been directed at the issue raised by Barnes, and some recent work has indicated that mutual friends are attitudinally homogeneous only under certain circumstances. (For example, see Edward O. Laumann, "Interlocking and Radial Friendship Nets: A Formal Feature with Important Consequences," Paper Number 65, The Center for Research on Social Organization, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1971.) I have chosen, therefore, not to make the assumptions this act would require.

[18]Probate Records of Essex County Massachusetts, passim, hereafter cited as Probate Recs.

[19]An internal analysis of link categories can be found in Appendix II.

Newbury. From 1635 to 1665, the town went through a phase of social formation and development in anticipation of the church quarrel (1666-1672) which divided the town religiously and politically, paralyzing town administration. This dispute had ended by 1673, whereupon the town began a period of readjustment which extended to at least 1685, when a new dispute over land distribution may have begun to realign the effective link patterns in the town.

The construction of the networks was performed in August, 1973 utilizing a network program designed and written under the auspices of Richard Farace and in the possession of the Department of Communications, Michigan State University. Data summarizing frequency of relationship between nodes for each category was read from punched cards and transformed by the program according to parametric specifications.[20]

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An extended discussion of networks is beyond the scope of this essay. Nevertheless, because many of the assumptions used in this study have implications for the precise understanding of this network, a few general comments are in order. Moreover, because this method has not previously been used historiographically, a discussion of the network in general and this network in particular

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[20]I am grateful to Professor Farace for permission to use this program, and to him, William Richards, and James Danowski for their interest and assistance in this project. A brief discussion of the program and its parameters will be found in Appendix II. Further information about the program and its subsequent revisions can be obtained from Professor Farace.

will also serve as an introduction to what seems to be a promising research technique.

Theoretically, a network is limited only by the number of nodes eligible for inclusion and by the number of different types of links that can be determined. Hence, a "total" social network will be "bounded" only by the number of people alive and by the number of different relationships that exist among them.[21] Human abilities and technology, however, are not able to deal with such an effectively unbounded network. It is necessary, therefore, to draw limits around the network in order to make the analysis manageable.

Whenever a social network is composed of a limited number of elements (in contrast to a "total" network whose range is essentially infinite) it becomes, by definition, a "bounded" or "partial" network. The precise bounds are determined by the categorical limitations imposed upon the nodes and links. Because the "total" social network cannot be examined, the validity of the partial social network is directly related to the accuracy with which it approximates the "total" network. In other words, the representativeness of a partial network depends on the significance of the interrelationships studied and on the ability of the researcher to identify as many appropriate nodes as possible. A social network is no stronger, so to speak, than its weakest link.

The network used in this study of Newbury is a partial network. On the one hand, the universe of nodes is a bounded universe.

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[21]See, for example, Barnes, Social Networks, passim; and Idem., "Networks and Political Processes," in Social Networks in Urban Situations, ed. by Mitchell, 55-56.

Nodes are restricted to Newbury residents despite the considerable kinship and friendship relationships established between Newbury inhabitants and individuals who lived elsewhere. Moreover, only a specific part of the population of Newbury is included. Males who held no elected office and who were not eligible to participate in the church split are omitted, even though their behavior may have had some influence on town affairs.

Nor do the links exhaust the full range of relationships which existed in seventeenth-century Newbury. Confined to two relation-ships, they do not recognize any of the other types of interpersonal channels a given individual might have exploited. Moreover, links are determined through transactions only. They are not supplemented by links drawn on the basis of attitudes or "roles." Any evaluation of attitudinal or "role" relationships must be made in part from the perspective of transactional connections.[22]

Furthermore, these are recorded transactions only. Hence, they do not reveal all the kinship and friendship relationships in Newbury. They are useful only to the extent that the assumptions made to extract data from the surviving records are valid. It is not even possible to assume that these links constitute a totally repre-sentative sample of all the links, unless one is willing to make the additional and dangerous assumption that no peculiarities in the records distort the patterns of relationships.

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[22]This link typology is borrowed from Barnes, Social Networks, 16-18.

Finally, the criteria used to identify links and nodes inject a certain bias of their own into the network. Because nodes are included on the basis of political office holding and church membership, the more visible members of the community--and, presumably, those of higher "station"--are favored for inclusion. Moreover, the criteria also slant the network toward members of the permanent and multigenerational families whose records are probably more nearly complete, who probably established a greater number of lengthy friendships which were more likely to appear in the records, and whose longer residence in the town may have been manifested in church membership. The effect of these latter biases would be partially to limit the extent to which various conclusions posited here can be generalized to colonial Massachusetts as a whole.

On the other hand, these biases also have certain advantages. Behavior can only be evaluated through actors whose actions are at least partly identifiable, and the level of evaluation determines the requisite level of identification. The prominence and permanence of the individuals favored by these criteria permit the Newbury church split and its social ramifications to be examined with considerably greater precision. Moreover, as used here, the network methodology is partly exploratory. The analytic conclusions of this approach, in many ways, are less significant than the context of the application. Therefore, where possible, I shall use the network not as a measure of all social relationships but as an ideal representation which can be compared to actual, documentable behavior. If the network can illuminate aspects of Newbury behavioral patterns, any unavoidable biases become nagging but minor imperfections.

If a network is to explain a social situation, however, it must indicate consistencies of interrelationships within the population. Because all networks are constructed from superimposed and interlinked dyadic relationships, it is the interaction of these dyads that is of concern. These cumulative dyads must form non-independent patterns of behavioral options, at least, if the network is to be an appropriate medium for viewing collective interpersonal behavior.

Many of these patterns are predictable because of concepts implicit in the method. Fundamentally, all networks are predicated upon one basic assumption: the events occurring in one part of a system exert an implicit or explicit influence on the rest of the system.[23] A proper stimulus in one part of the nervous system, for example, causes a series of reactions throughout the rest of the system. Or, the movement of one train in a subway system influences the scheduling, energy supply, and possible routes of other trains. For these reactions to occur, the nodes must be related to each other systematically. This is no less true for social networks. Behind any social network, states J. A. Barnes, lies the assumption

> that the configuration of cross-cutting interpersonal bonds is in some unspecified way causally connected with the actions of these [sic] persons and with the institutions of their society.[24]

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[23]This assumes, of course, that nodes and links are appropriately defined and germane to the question asked.

[24]Social Networks, 2.

This notion of a "chain-reaction" within the network--which suggests that something is flowing through the system--is based on the assumption that the links are <u>transitive</u> in operation. In order for an influence to have an effect throughout the network, some means must exist for a reaction to proceed in sequence from one node to another. This avenue is a path or paths formed along the links of the interconnected dyads. The precise links a given reaction will follow can only be approximated under ideal situations, but the assumption of transitivity must hold if a reaction is to spread through the network.[25]

Depending on the context of the inquiry, however, transitivity may be selective. A given reaction need not affect all the nodes in a network nor affect equally all the nodes it touches. In a social network, the "autonomy" of the individual is not compromised by any requirement that a given stimulus be passed on along <u>all</u> his links. Indeed, transitivity does not affect any individual's capacity to discriminate among his associates, to pass on only those stimuli he chooses and to pass them on to whichever associate he chooses.[26] Transitivity therefore is a <u>potential</u> characteristic only.

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[25]For examples of transitivity as it has been used as a research concept, see J. S. Coleman et al., Medical Innovation: A Diffusion Study (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966). See also the "small world" phenomenon, discussed in Barnes, <u>Social Networks</u>, 10.

[26]This "selective transitivity" is central to Adrian Mayer's discussion of "Quasi-Groups" ("The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Study of Complex Societies," in Michael Banton, ed., <u>The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies</u> [New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966], 97-122), and to Barry Kapferer's study of "Norms and the Manipulation of Relationships in a Work Context," in <u>Social Networks in Urban Situations</u>, ed. by Mitchell, 181-244.

Transitive potential is a necessary prerequisite for the concept of reachability. In order for a series of nodes and links to form a working network, any given individual must be able to "reach" any other individual in the same group (and, ideally, any individual in any other group) through the link paths available to him. Like transitivity, reachability is not absolute. Rather it is measured with reference to "distance," which is defined as the minimum number of links a stimulus must traverse in order to reach from node A to node B. The significance of reachability lies in the theoretical quality that the "greater" the reachability (i.e., the shorter the distance), the "more" the relationship can be exploited.

Collectively, the dyads within a network have other attributes as well. Unfortunately, these qualities cannot be examined here, for the records used to determine links and nodes provide only a minimum amount of information. Accordingly a number of simplifying assumptions have been made.

For example, the direction of a link may be an important characteristic of the dyadic relationship, for it permits the initiator and the contactee of the association to be distinguished. Unfortunately, the nature of the data does not permit direction to be established for the links of the networks employed here. Hence, I have assumed that all friendship and kinship relationships are reciprocal and symmetrical.[27] For kinship links, this poses only

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[27]In this discussion, these terms are used almost interchangeably. Technically, however, they are related but different concepts. Symmetry is an attribute of a relationship. It simply

minor problems. Primary kinship relations are, by definition, symmetrical, and the negotiative aspects of marriage imply further that kinship formed by marriage is likewise accepted mutually.[28] Friendship reciprocation is not so easily dismissed. Although the definition of a friendship link requires that at least some reciprocity be implicit in the relationship, the aggregate data is not sensitive enough to recognize different degrees of reciprocation. The extent to which a relationship is symmetrical, however, may have important consequences for any understanding of a social network. It is regrettable, therefore, that not enough information exists for these qualities to be established.

Because directionality cannot be evaluated, it is impossible to distinguish relationships according to <u>intensity</u>. There is no evidence that the same relationship was equally important to both participants. Likewise, nothing in one relationship says anything about the intensity of any other relationship. Nevertheless, all links are regarded as equipotent and equivalent. The intensity of a relationship for one person is therefore assumed to equal the intensity for the other, and a relationship between one pair of individuals is assumed to be as intense as a relationship between any other dyad.

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means that a non-directed, shared link connects nodes A and B. Reciprocity, on the other hand, is a procedural term. A link is reciprocal only if both node A and node B perceive the relationship. The friendship criteria used here, for example, can seldom comprehend reciprocity and assume that all links are symmetrical.

[28]For example, see Morgan, <u>Puritan Family</u>, 81-83. Marriages, Morgan notes, frequently were contracted in writing. For an extant contract, see the unusual matrimonial contract between Thomas Nelson of Rowley and Joane Dummer of Newbury, in <u>Probate Recs.</u>, I, 113-14.

Moreover, I have found no way to differentiate between kinship and friendship intensities short of imposing arbitrary, categorical standards upon the data. Accordingly, kinship and friendship links are not given different weights to account for their characteristically different intensities. Rather, they are both accorded the same significance as relationships.

In short, the importance of any given relationship or type of relationship cannot be examined. Except for a handful cases where, for example, links are either "multiplex" or "multistranded," the analysis can only deal with the presence of a relationship. It can evaluate broader phenomena only by allowing ample room for exceptions.[29]

The absence of many comparable historical studies creates the necessity for a final series of assumptions. All qualities which are attributed to networks in general are the products of philosophical inferences about networks and conclusions based upon empirical network research. Because virtually all of these investigations have occurred under modern circumstances, the use of these studies as "models" for a network analysis of seventeenth-century social relationships requires the assumption that human psychology at all times produces limited behavioral manifestations. If the seventeenth century was a

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[29]For that matter, the network analysis is also unable to treat negative relationships, such as disliking, which can also have profound influences on the social life of a community. See, for example, the Woodman-Gerrish dispute in Chapter 5, which, as part of the church split, may have also been a preliminary skirmish in an interpersonal war which cost Gerrish dearly in the end. It seems to have culminated in April, 1678, when Gerrish was accused and convicted of peculation while a Captain in the Militia (QCR, VI, 441-56).

psychological and emotional world similar to the twentieth century,

and if personal reactions and responses took their shapes within the

same general psychological and emotional contexts, then this study

should produce results which are compatible with more recent studies.

Although the extent to which human nature (as opposed to the human

environment) has remained relatively constant remains to be estab-

lished, some reason does exist to believe that men and women may not

have changed significantly in the transition to modern society. Such,

at least, is the inference to be drawn from the psycho-historical and

demographic literature as well as many of the conclusions to be found

below.[30]

Taken too far, however, this logic begins to border on tauto-

logy and false contemporaneousness. Although the "scientific method"

may produce results which accord with expectation, no study can

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[30]See, for example, Demos, Little Commonwealth, 131-70; David
Hunt, Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life
in Early Modern France, Torchbook ed. (New York: Harper and Row,
Publishers, 1972 [1970]); or Bruce Mazlish, ed., Psychoanalysis and
History, Paperbound ed. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1971 [1963]),
all of which are part of a larger body of literature which examines
pre-industrial civilization from a perspective rooted in twentieth-
century psychology.
        Demographically, the application of U.N. Model Life Tables,
for example, to seventeenth-century society implies a certain, basic
human consistency, modified only by environment. In a more general
sense, the Parsonian terms in which much of the demographic historio-
graphy is expressed imply that, ceteris paribus, biological functions
are related to the equilibrium of the social situation. In turn,
this suggests an environmentalism that determines demographic charac-
teristics in the same way it determines genetic manifestations.
Demographic potentials, in other words, are narrowed by the social and
physical environment. If this is true, then the specific demographic
characteristics of a society are simply reactions to the demands
imposed by the milieu of the society. In this context, see Orest and
Patricia Ranum, eds., Popular Attitudes toward Birth Control in Pre-
Industrial France and England, Torchbook ed. (New York: Harper and
Row, Publishers, 1972); and the even more suggestive, Anthony Allison,
ed., Population Control (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1970).

validate the assumptions which are used to derive its conclusions.
Indeed, there is no evidence one way or another that the applicability
to this study of certain modern conceptualizations is anything more
than a coincidence. Much more work needs to be done in areas like
historical psychology and historical sociology before students can
confidentally evaluate the past from a present-minded perspective.[31]
Until this work has been accomplished, therefore, many of the conclu-
sions that follow must be considered conditional probabilities pending
future confirmation of the assumptions from which they are derived.

Finally, one point must be re-emphasized. If the assumptions
made here and elsewhere are justifiable, and if kinship and friendship
constitute a sufficient partial network as they have been defined, the
resultant social network should represent a reasonable if incomplete
sketch of Newbury's social structure. Given the limitations of the
data, the biases in the node and link criteria, and the designedly

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[31]On the other hand, this sword has a second edge. Just as
there is no proof that human nature has not changed, there is little
evidence to suggest that it has. To refute conclusions about pre-
industrial society which imply a consistent human psyche requires that
similarities between pre-industrial and post-industrial civilization
be shown to be coincidental. The objection that no support exists
for the attribution of modern characteristics to pre-modern society is
not prima facie proof that the attribution is invalid.
     Nevertheless, an innate and cautious conservatism prevents
me from assuming too many similarities. Thus, I have not attempted
to make as many comparative inquiries as I would like in more specu-
lative moments. For example, it would be interesting to evaluate
the seventeenth-century appropriateness of Elizabeth Bott's conjugal-
role hypothesis (Family and Social Network) or to describe similarities
between the colonial farmer and the Irish farm family examined by
Conrad Arensberg and Solon Kimball (Family and Community in Ireland
[2nd ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968]). Both of
these studies speak of phenomena which, impressionalistically at
least, seem to have had analogies in seventeenth-century social
life.

partial nature of the network, it can only be considered an ideal representation to be compared to documentable aspects of reality. It is, accordingly, only an approximation of the full range of relationships which interconnected the inhabitants of Newbury. The validity of this network turns upon its ability to reproduce patterns of interpersonal choices which help explain events in the town. Where it fails to elucidate the relationship between behavior and social norms, the network will have to be refined or supplemented by alternate methodologies. But to the extent that it provides empirical insights into the social basis of behavior, the network may help to identify some of the dimensions of harmony, peace, and organicism in at least one seventeenth-century New England settlement.

3

Until the 1640s, the corporate unity of Newbury was encouraged by both residential patterns and civic activity. Those who settled the town took an active role in its daily business. Although Selectmen were chosen early, the town met frequently, choosing new "Prudentials" at first quarterly, confirming the acts of the Selectmen, and handling much of the business of the town. The general participation of the townsmen was made possible by the compactness of the settlement. Accommodations were laid out in all parts of the village, but house lots were mainly located on either bank of the Parker River and on "Kent's Island," at the confluence of the Parker and Little Rivers. While pasture and planting lots were placed outside the residential areas, most houses were built around the lower green on the north side of the Parker. As a result, few actually lived far from the

meeting house,[32] and virtually all in the town, even those with large

farm grants, were able to participate in the collective activities

of the town.

This pattern of land distribution was disrupted in the 1640s,

when the town voted to relocate on the south bank of the Merrimack.[33]

By that time, however, the townsmen had found new, social means to pre-

serve the corporate quality of their town. The "artificial" relation-

ships encouraged by compact settlement may have been terminated, but

they were replaced by more nearly permanent, personal associations

developed between individuals. Kinship and friendship had been impor-

tant influences in settling the town, and the same relationships kept

the town knit together, at least potentially, following the removal

to the Merrimack. Indeed, through kinship and friendship channels,

the town remained a potentially unified social organism to the 1660s.

A total of 126 persons constituted the nodes of Newbury's

social network between 1635 and 1665.[34] These inhabitants comprised

four groups,[35] three of which contained a total of 18 members. The

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[32]*Prop. Recs.*, *passim*; Coffin, 17.

[33]Lands in New Town were laid out in the same manner. But not
all residents of the town took up accommodations along the Merrimack,
and the compactness of the settlement was broken. A number of towns-
men, in fact, objected to the removal, particularly because the
meeting house was also relocated. See below pp. 92-98 and 175-77.

[34]One hundred and thirty-five people, in all, were in at least
one of the networks during the full 50-year period. For this earlier
period, however, nine had no links in the town.

[35]At least five criteria must be satisfied before a group can
be identified. On the one hand, all groups must contain at least
three members, otherwise only an isolated dyad exists. Second, in
order for an individual to be considered a member of the group, at

fourth group, containing 83 townsmen,[36] constituted the core of the

town and enabled the inhabitants to remain a potentially unified

social whole.

None of the three outlying groups was isolated from the

central group. Of the twelve adults in all of these three groups,

only four were not connected to the core of the town via "bridge

links." Moreover, no one in any of these three groups was separated

by more than one link from someone connected to the central group.

There was no indication that these external groups constituted a

distinct sub-stratum of the population. All extra-group links, or

relationships extending outside of the group, traveled to the central

group, leaving the fringe groups isolated from one another. In

effect, these were groups by definition but not by "function," for

they were broken off from the central group almost accidentally. Had

unmarried sons been eliminated, almost all of the remaining members

would have been placed in the core of the town.

Far more indicative of the interrelated quality of early

social life in Newbury was the core group of 83 members. These resi-

dents shared 484 links among them, or a mean of almost 6 links apiece.

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least half of his links must connect him with other members of the
same group. Third, all group members must be able to reach all other
group members at a distance of no more than 10 links. Fourth and
fifth, there can be no link and no node in the group, the removal
of which would cause any of the other criteria to be violated. See
Farace et al., "Analysis of Human Communications Networks," 15.

[36]The remaining 23 townsmen were assigned to some other
category. Connected to one group member and to an "isolate," was
one "tree-node." Connected to only one group member were 16
"isolates, type 2." The rest were "isolated dyads," not connected
to any group.

They were fairly closely interrelated among themselves. The connected-ness of a group is a measure of the extent to which all members of the group are linked to one another. The higher the connectedness, the greater the degree of interrelationship which exists among the population. It ranges from 0.00 to 1.00, and is calculated by dividing the number of possible links within the group (N[N-1], where N is the number of people in the group) into the number of actual links. This central group was connected at a level of .071. This figure alone does not indicate an overly-interrelated population, but it must be evaluated relative to other groups of a similar size. Because the connectedness of a group tends to be inversely related to the size of its membership, the larger the group becomes, the less likely it is for all within it to be linked to each other, and the smaller the connectedness. Compared to core groups of later periods, in fact, this was a relatively high figure. From 1666 to 1672, when the core group was only 63 persons, the connectedness was .063. Only in 1673-1685, when the core had shrunk to 43 persons, almost half its original size, did its connectedness exceed that of this earlier period. Even then, the .117 connectedness was not proportionately greater.

A more sensitive measure of the closeness of this group is the mean distance separating its members. Distance can be an important index of the extent to which people can influence other people. It is interpreted similarly to a road map. Just as it is easier to travel ten miles than one hundred, it is easier to communicate, in-fluence, or cooperate with someone closer in the network than someone more distant. As the path between two individuals becomes shorter,

the potential for personal contact between the two becomes greater. And increased contact enhances the potential for cooperation and interaction.[37]

The members of this central group were quite closely inter-meshed. The mean distance separating any individual from the rest of the group was only 2.9 links. Moreover, it was a fairly compact group. The standard deviation of the individual mean distances, a measure of the dispersion around the group mean, was a relatively small .47255, less than half a link, and the individual means ranged from 1.9 to 3.9. In sum, no member of the central group was more distant from the rest of the group than 4 links, on the average, and no one was separated from any other group member by more than 5 links.

The group was not only close in terms of distance. Those who were linked directly also tended to be mutual friends or kin. In effect, the ego-centric networks, or the personal sets of kin and friends that each individual maintained, tended to be "interlocking" as opposed to "radial."[38] This is an important distinction, for the two types of associations tend to be quite different characteristically. The greater the degree of interlocking association, the greater the

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[37]For an illustration, see Mayer, "The Significance of Quasi-Groups," in Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, ed. by Banton, 97-122; see, also, the two essays by Wheeldon and Kapferer, in Social Networks in Urban Situations, ed. by Mitchell, 128-80 and 181-244.

[38]An "interlocking" network is one where the friends of one person tend to be friends of one another. A "radial" network, on the other hand, is one where the friends of an individual tend not to be mutual friends. See Edward O. Laumann, "Interlocking and Radial Friendship Nets: A Formal Feature with Important Consequences," Paper #65, The Center for Research on Social Organization, Ann Arbor, Michigan (1971).

homogeneity of the network and the greater the commonality among

the members. Networks of mutual friends

> will be composed of people who are similar to one another
> in important social respects, while radial networks will
> be less likely to be socially homogeneous. . . . [I]nter-
> locking networks are more likely . . . to involve greater feel-
> ings of intimacy and emotional involvement, to involve greater
> frequencies of contact, and to have, on the average, existed
> for a longer proportion of one's life than radial networks.[39]

The interlocking quality of these relationships would later prove

detrimental to the unity of the town. But, in the early period, the

mutuality of associations contributed to the preservation of

communalism by imparting to each individual a feeling of belonging-

ness and commonality.

The interlocking nature of relationships can be measured in

two ways, at least. On the one hand, it is possible to examine the

extent to which the associates of one person were mutually related

by examining the "integratedness" of his kin and friends, or the

number of "2-step circuits" between him and those with whom he was

associated. For example, Joseph Plummer was directly linked to 7

individuals. A fully interlocked, egocentric network, in this case,

would have 42 additional links connecting those with whom Plummer

was linked, and a fully radial network would leave Plummer's asso-

ciates totally unconnected. The integratedness of Plummer's ego-

centric network, or the number of links connecting his associates

divided by the number of possible links, measures its interlocking

quality. Because the number of 2-step circuits (which is another

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[39]Ibid., 23, 25.

way of saying the number of links connecting his associates) in
Plummer's personal network was 14, the integratedness of his network
was 0.33.

But integratedness can be unwieldy, for it is not readily
calculable for more than one person at one time.[40] For specific
analytic purposes, the "integratedness ratio" seems a much more
useful measure. This ratio is the number of 2-step circuits connect-
ing an individual to his associates, divided by the total number of
links possessed by the individual. The interpretation of this measure
is slightly more ambiguous, and the ratio does not have the analytic
power of the integratedness measure. But it is both simpler and more
versatile, and it can be calculated for a group, for part of a group,
for a set of individuals, or for a single person. Moreover, the
integratedness ratio seems much more valuable where comparisons are
required. Unlike both connectedness and integratedness, it is not
affected as greatly by the number of links an individual extends.
It is, finally, a different sort of measure of central tendency,
indicating not the proportion of a person's associates who are them-
selves linked but the mean number of 2-step links connecting an
individual with those to whom he is connected. In the example above,
the integratedness ratio of Joseph Plummer's network was 2.0. Each
of his associates, on the average, was connected to two others. By

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[40]The integratedness of a group would be the number of 2-step
circuits connecting all group members, divided by the number of
possible 2-step links. (N, 2-step circuits/N [N-1][N-2]). For this
central group, the denominator of 551,286 would make the integrated-
ness incomparably small.

way of contrast, Abraham Toppan, with 10 links, was integrated with
his kin and friends at a level of 0.24. However, his 22, 2-step
circuits provided him with an integratedness ratio of 2.2. Though
the integratedness of his network was lower than that of Plummer's,
his associates tended to be slightly more "interlocked" at the
individual level.[41] Figure 1 depicts these relationships between
radial and interlocking networks, and shows the difference between
integratedness and the integratedness ratio.

Virtually everyone in the central group had some mutual
associates. The ratio for the core was 1.75, which means that an
individual with four links would have a total of seven, indirect
2-step circuits connecting him to his associates, on the average.
Even this measure, however, underestimates the degree of mutuality
among those who were in interlocking relationships, for it includes
a number of people who were linked only directly. Integratedness
ratios, therefore, represent the minimum degree to which group
relationships tended to be interlocking.

It is apparent that the core group was a fairly dense group.
Clusters of mutual friends, all interlinked together, made up a
potentially homogeneous town network, one which could work to preserve
the harmony and single-mindedness of the town through natural, social
processes. Moreover, the entire group was fairly cohesive. Virtually
everyone was moderately "close" to those with whom he was not directly
associated. And, compared even to groups significantly smaller, the

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[41]Henceforth, the words integrated or integratedness will be
used to mean the integratedness ratio.

FIGURE I

Radial and Interlocking Networks and Integratedness Measures
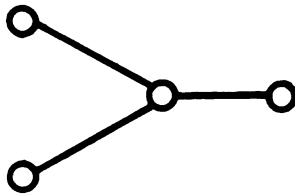
"Radial" Network   "Interlocking" Network
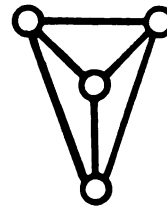
Integratedness and Integratedness Ratio

of Ego—centric network A
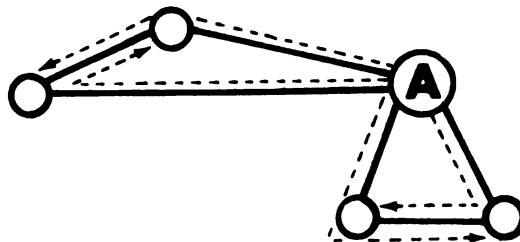
1. N links=4
2. N 2—steplinks=4
3. Max N 2—step links=
   N(N-11)=12
4. Integratedness=
   2 ÷ 3=.33
5. Integratedness Ratio=
   2 ÷ 1=1.00

Figure 1.--Radial and Interlocking Networks and Integratedness
Measures.

core group was relatively connected. In short, the ebb of religious zeal, when it occurred, did not necessarily disrupt the harmony of the town. Through the bonds and obligations of kinship and friendship, Newbury was able to preserve its fundamentally unified social structure.

The importance of these relationships was not missed by the townsmen. They chose, as leaders, those who were in the very center of the core group. Selectmen, Commissioners for Small Causes, Deputies, and, for Newbury, the Commissioners for the New Town were more than proxies for the town meeting. It was their responsibility to manage the town smoothly, to obtain the cooperation of the townsmen, and, where necessary, to mediate and settle disagreements within the town before they disrupted the social network. They were successful--though they would not always be--for a number of reasons, not the least important of which was their position in the network.

All but 2 of the 30 major town officers between 1635 and 1665 were filled by members of the central group.[42] Maintaining communication with the rest of the core was fairly easy for these men. Though the mean distance separating core group members was 2.90 links, the 28 town leaders were connected to the whole group at an average of 2.52 links. As a subgroup, all 30 were even closer internally, linked to one another at a mean distance of only 2.18 links. They were thus not only closer to the town than the typical inhabitant,

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[42]Not all of the officers for this period have been identified, for damage to the first town book has destroyed the records of a number of elections. These figures are based, therefore, on the partial or complete returns from 21 of the 31 years.

but they were also closer to one another than they were to the town.
Moreover, where the town was integrated at 1.75, they, as a group,
had a ratio of 2.81. Chosen by the townsmen perhaps for these very
reasons, they were in a favorable position to cooperate in preserving
the corporate character of the town.

<div align="center">4</div>

In its earliest years, Newbury should have been a peaceful
and harmonious community. Even though the principle of compact
settlement had been abandoned within ten years of the founding of
the town, the inhabitants shared an interest in the peace and success
of the town that bode well for the future. Through the agencies of
kinship and friendship, each townsman was part of a closely-knit
fraternity that seemed to discourage the appearance of any general
rift in the fabric of the society. Not everyone contributed equally
to the web of social relations, to be sure, but everyone was a fellow
traveler on a utopian voyage with a schedule seemingly conducive to
success.

If society were as simple as kinship and friendship, they
might have reached their destination. But no social organism can be
totally described by two variables, particularly when the variables
measure tendencies alone. Despite the apparent closeness and mutuality
of the population, despite the potentially mediating positions of the
leaders, despite the similar English experiences of the townsmen, and
despite their common interest in the success of the settlement, serious

flaws in the social structure of the town threatened to undo the threads. Ironically, many of these flaws stemmed from the same social relationships which made success such a reasonable expectation. Kinship and friendship had their less-than-obvious implications as well. Though they could infuse the town with the potential for on-going, corporate agreement, they could also provide, in part, for the social paralysis of the town. As long as the inhabitants continued to comprise a harmonious, symmetrically-shaped network, peace and cooperation remained possible. But if the shape of the network were to become skewed, or if a single issue or series of issues were to divide the network into several networks, cooperation and interrelatedness would become threatened, and the unity of the town would be lost.

This is, in fact, what happened to the network of social relationships in Newbury. Buried beneath the surface was the seed of social differentiation. Given the proper stimulus, this seed would grow. Hidden behind phenomena like distance and integratedness were nascent patterns of biased association. Indeed, these patterns had begun to crystallize shortly after the town was founded.

CHAPTER III

"What Unquietness is Amongst Us Already"

Until 1665, the structure of kinship and friendship relation-
ships in Newbury was conducive to social harmony and civil peace. But
the townsmen were not able to make use of the potential advantages.
Both before and after 1665, the town became divided over a variety
of seemingly unrelated issues. Appearances belied reality, however,
for none of these contentions was isolated or independent. Conflict
over land usage in the 1640s, militia affairs in the 1650s and 1660s,
and town politics in the 1660s and 1670s all were interrelated along
ideological and social dimensions as two separate groups emerged in
competition for dominance of the town.

These controversies proved to be only preludes to the cata-
clysmic church split of the 1660s and 1670s, which is discussed in
greater detail in Chapters IV and V. From outward appearances, this
was a theological controversy between the Pastor, Thomas Parker, and
part of the congregation, led by Edward Woodman, Sr. In reality,
however, the church dispute epitomized the factionalized development
of the town. Together with the church split, the three earlier
social and ideological divisions challenged not only the New England
way of life but also the unified social network that characterized
Newbury in its earliest years.

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Amid the church split crisis, Edward Woodman lamented to a council called by his opponents that twenty-five years of "Unprofitable contention and division" had given Newbury the reputation of "an unquiet people and unreconcilable."[1] No less ruefully, the supporters of Thomas Parker spoke of "sundry years" of "continual grief," charging that the Woodman faction had attempted "to rake up what they could for thirty years."[2] Both statements dated the inception of the disagreement with the decision of the townsmen to abandon their homes along the Parker River and to move, en masse, to a new location at the mouth of the Merrimack.

This removal was not implemented smoothly, for not everyone in the town was equally dissatisfied with his Old Town land holdings. Indeed, a sizable proportion of the inhabitants refused to abandon their homes along the Parker River and, in 1644, appealed to the General Court for assistance against the rest of the town. The Court refused to intervene as fully as the Old Towners wanted, requiring only that the petitioners be given satisfactory answers to their objections before a new village could be established.[3] Consequently, the town meeting made a number of concessions to the Old Towners in exchange for their consent to the removal. But approval and compromise did not resolve Newbury's difficulties. The resumption of

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[1]QCR, IV, 363; Coffin, 86. See, also, Coffin, 78, to the point that it had been Woodman, consistently, who had led the opposition to Parker.

[2]QCR, IV, 353-54; Coffin, 92, 95.

[3]Shurtleff, III, 8.

relocation engendered a new problem which was not so easily settled--
where to situate the meeting house.

Though the special commissioners to manage the business of
the New Town had begun their work in 1642, no resolution of the
church site was forthcoming. Only in January, 1646 did the com-
missioners take the problem into their own hands.

> For the settling the disturbances that yet remain about
> the planting and settling the meeting house that all men
> may cheerfully go on to improve their lands at the New
> Town [, the eight men ordered] that the meeting house
> shall be placed and set up . . . in or upon a knoll of
> land by Abraham Toppan's barn . . .[4]

Subsequent town approval, however, did not assuage the complaints of
those remaining at Old Town. Encouraged, perhaps, by their former,
limited success in obtaining General Court intervention, several
Old Towners submitted a new petition to the Court, protesting the
duplicitous "policy" of the rest of the town ("their whole carriage
being full of it.").[5]

The Old Town petitioners stated explicitly that their second
appeal was founded on the same complaints that had precipitated the
first. But the church business occupied much of their attention,
for it was one of "the last passages which stir and set on the great
burden of our sorrows." Few of those who had paid for building the
first meeting house, they complained, had approved of its destruction.

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[4]Town Recs., January 2, 1646.

[5]Mass. Archs., X, leaves 28-30; Coffin, 44-46. For a dis-
cussion of Puritan hostility to "policy," see George L. Mosse,
The Holy Pretense: A Study in Christianity and Reason of State
from William Perkins to John Winthrop (Oxford: Basil Blackwell,
1957), Chapter 10.

Rather, the decision to move the meeting house, they claimed, was the result of secrecy, scandal, and sacrilege.

> The voices of many that were then servants and never paid
> a penny to it prevailed, down it is taken without any
> satisfaction given us and besides [,] the highway in part,
> that served both town and country and the very places
> assigned to bury the dead, and where many dead bodies lie
> [,] are sold away (as we are informed, though all things
> are secretly carried) . . .

They asserted that the new location was inconvenient for both sides of the town, and particularly for the Old Towners. But it was not only inconvenience they dreaded. It was their own religious welfare and that of their children, for they had crossed the Atlantic specifically to enjoy the proper ordinances of God. "The town being continued and stretched out near five miles if not upwards besides the inconveniences of a great river at the old town . . . it cannot be imagined that we old, feeble men, women, and children of all sorts can possibly many of them go above three miles to meeting."[6]

Again, they asked the Court to ameliorate their condition by directing that one elder live with them, that a second meeting house be erected for the benefit of Old Town, or that Old Town be permitted to form its own, independent church. Their hopes were discomfitted, however, when both houses rejected their appeal in May, 1647, stating that the petitioners had "failed in not submitting to their own covenant" and had acted irregularly "in regard of their acceptance of the recompense ordered for satisfaction."[7] The decision

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[6]Mass. Archs., X, leaves 28-30; Coffin, 44-46.

[7]Shurtleff, II, 196.

of the Court was clear--the petitioners had simply acted illegally.
The Court refused to do more than explicate right and wrong in narrow,
legal terms. But the disagreement was not one that could be resolved
in legal terms alone. The decision of the Court addressed only the
manifestations of a deeper problem.

Perhaps the Court had taken the petition as simple verbiage
in justification of a general irritation, or perhaps it recognized
that it was incompetent to deal with the real problem, as the New
Towners maintained.[8] By its decision, it permitted a budding contro-
versy within the church to sprout. A more perspicuous or energetic
Court might have foreseen the storm, for events surrounding the peti-
tion had already made clear that the affairs of the church could not
be separated from the affairs of the town. In December, 1646, the
Commissioners had voted that all land between the Parker River and
Stephen Dummer's farm--both in the Old Town area--was granted only
upon the explicit condition that recipients neither "go to divide the
church or oppose the first order or agreement about the removal of
the town."[9] Only six days earlier, Thomas Parker, an original
Commissioner for the New Town, had given notice to the town meeting
that he was "unwilling to act any longer in matters concerning the
new town."[10]

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[8]Mass. Archs., X, leaf 30.

[9]Town Recs., December 16, 1646; Prop. Recs., Fol. 59, 152.

[10]Town Recs., December 10, 1646; Prop. Recs., Fol. 58, 151.

There is no evidence that behind Parker's actions lay his failing eyesight.[11] Indeed, the words used to record his resignation suggest that he was reacting in frustration to criticism of his behavior. To the Old Towners, Parker was at least partially responsible for their disappointments. The petitioners had, they claimed, looked to Parker and Noyes for support which never came. At the outset of the difficulties, they had promised to maintain Parker and Noyes at their own expense "if they would engage themselves to abide with us." Despite the refusal of the elders, the petitioners continued to make known their protests, "all which . . . with dutiful expressions and sufficient reason we have rendered to the church in writing." Nevertheless, they claimed, no satisfaction had been given by the elders.

> Yet can we receive no answers of our desires and we
> suppose they cannot answer otherwise if they deny us these
> but that we must live at home and turn ignorant atheists
> we and ours, or attend on the ordinances be our conditions
> what it will with such extraordinary inconveniences as are
> not to be borne . . .[12]

Parker had made clear that his sympathies were with the majority of the town. As commissioner, he had voted to locate the meeting house at a site deemed inconvenient to the Old Towners, and as the preacher, he had refused to ameliorate their discontent. Many of the offended petitioners to the General Court would remember Parker's actions when Parker himself was later assailed. John Poore, Sr., who signed the 1647 petition, supported Edward Woodman in the

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[11]See below, p. 126.

[12]Mass. Archs., X, leaf 29.

later church dispute. Although the names of only three other signatories are known, it is not surprising that considerable opposition to Parker came from Old Towners like Poore, John Emery, Sr., Richard Dummer, and the Thorlas, many of whom may also have been frustrated petitioners to the General Court.

But Parker was not the only "offender," and the impending church dispute was not simply a battle of geographical sections. Many of the Old Towners in 1647 had left Newbury by the time of the church controversy. Of the four signatories whose names were not torn from the petition, two had departed by 1650. Edmund Greenleaf, whose son Stephen was a future opponent of Parker, left for Boston, and Stephen Kent, who joined others from Newbury in the migration to Woodbridge, New Jersey in the 1660s, made Haverhill his home in the interim. Similarly, the deranged Henry Sewall, Sr., whose son Henry, Jr. supported Parker, moved to Rowley in reaction to the movement of the church.[13] Other Old Towners, however, such as Richard Kent, Jr. and Richard Dole, were leaders in the defense of Parker against Edward Woodman. And many opponents of the minister were probably not among the Old Town petitioners. Richard Bartlet, for example, and possibly other Bartlets as well, lived at Bartlet's Cove on the Merrimack. And John Emery, Jr., as well as both Edward Woodmans, lived along Artichoke River, a tributary of the Merrimack at the northwest corner of the town.

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[13]MHS _Colls._, 5th Ser., V, xiv. If Sewall also signed the petition, his _signature_ was torn from the page before 1845.

Other events and other relationships were necessary to crystallize additional hostilities. The land controversy of the 1640s was only one of several related episodes which rent the town. Even though it gave Woodman and his followers various accusations to "rake up," the land disagreement had at least one more enduring result. It was a precedent for the town to recall whenever conflict flared, and it underscored a weakness in the fabric of consensual voluntarism as it was understood in Puritan Massachusetts. For the first--but not the last--time, the issue of majoritarianism was raised. The Old Towners had no alternative but to submit to the decision of the majority if they wished to remain in Newbury, for, as the General Court reminded them, they had agreed to adhere to their covenant. By compelling the dissidents to submit to the actions of the larger number, the town and the Court declared consensus to be majoritarian rule. Submission to the good of the whole became coerced, not voluntary, corporatism.[14] To seventeenth-century Newbury, the experiences of the 1640s would be recalled as lessons in the politics of reality.

2

Less than two years had passed before Newbury was once again divided. In 1648, the General Court received a petition from Newbury seeking its intervention for a second time. The scant, extant evidence of this militia controversy reveals little about the issues involved. But, like the former controversy, it was not to be solved

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[14]For a discussion of the way things were supposed to work, see Lockridge, New England Town, 49-56.

by the actions of the Court. A social controversy as well, the militia quarrel continued to reappear periodically from the 1640s to at least 1670, and possibly to 1676.

By 1648, the town had divided into two contending factions over "the choice of their captain." Evidentally, the prior election of a townsman to that office had not been received with universal approval in the town. Upon receiving a petition from some of the town's dissatisfied, the Court seemed quite willing to intervene, for not entirely selfless reasons. "For preventing of further debate in court (which will occasion expense of much precious time,)" said the Assistants, the Court authorized a new election. "To help on a reconciliation between the now differing parties of the town," both houses stipulated that the town should propose two nominees, from whom the Court would appoint the new Captain. To prevent further disorder, finally, the Court ordered that "Major Denison is hereby desired to be present at the election . . .."[15]

The new election, however, did not resolve the difficulty. A year later, the town submitted its militia nominations to the Court, seeking their confirmation. But the Court refused. Newbury had not followed the Court's previous instructions regarding the election. Hence, the Court directed the town "to proceed to a new election, according to order of court," and to submit the new list of names to the Quarterly Court. Upon town petition two years later, the General Court, not the Quarterly Court, finally confirmed William Gerrish as

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[15]Shurtleff, II, 240; III, 122.

Captain and John Pike as Lieutenant. Five months later, Benjamin

Swett was confirmed as Ensign following yet another special election.[16]

The long-awaited selection of officers, however, did not end

the matter. In October, 1652, the Court again was forced to inter-

vene, instructing that Gerrish, "who stands charged with the command

of a troop of horse and a foot company," was to supervise the horsemen

only, and to continue exercising the infantry only "until the company

shall otherwise provide, and present another to take command thereof,

as a town company."[17] Any action taken by the town, however, seems

not to have deprived Gerrish of his dual command. In May, 1658, the

Court received a new petition from John Emery, Sr. and Jr., Emery's

step-son, John Webster, Solomon Keyes, and sixty-four others, "humbly

craving that they might have the benefit of a law that no man should

have command of the horse and foot both," and requesting that Gerrish

be instructed to give up command of one or the other, "so that they

may be exercised by him, upon whom they must depend in time of need,

i.e., their leftnnt [John Pike] allowed and approved of by court."[18]

Voting to confirm the request, the Court reversed itself

immediately. In receipt of a counter-petition from Henry Short,

Richard Kent, Jr., Richard Knight, and Anthony Somerby alleging

irregularities in Emery's petition, the Court suspended its former

order and authorized warrants summoning Emery, Webster, and others

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[16] Ibid., III, 229, 254; IV, part 1, 47, 67.

[17] Ibid., III, 286; IV, part 1, 107.

[18] Ibid., IV, part 1, 341.

to appear before the October Court and "answer what is laid against them, for abusing carriages in that petition." At the same time, warrants were also issued to the authors of the counter-petition, summoning them to appear simultaneously to "make good what they charge against the other persons."[19]

The counter-petition raised anew the question of competent majority, an issue which would continue to divide the inhabitants of Newbury. Emery's opponents stressed that many of his co-signers were ineligible to petition the Court on militia matters. Of the sixty-eight who signed the first document, they claimed, eight had never taken the Oath of Fidelity. Others "are sons and servants under their parents and masters." Six more paid no rates to the colony. And at least seven others either denied having signed Emery's petition or claimed to have been deluded into signing. "Of the sixty-eight petitioners," they concluded, "there is but forty two [sic] that pays rates, and they also to a forty pound rate pays but £15-0-9, and we that petition contrary pays £19-6-8." In short, they repudiated more than one-third of the signatures on the Emery petition, and listed fifty-seven inhabitants who supported the counter-petition. Of the signatories of this second petition, moreover, twenty-two later supported Thomas Parker during the church split, and only nine became Woodmanites.[20]

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[19] Ibid., IV, part 1, 341.

[20] NEHGR, VIII (1854), 274. This petition, though not dated, specifically stated that it was written to refute a petition from Emery. Internal evidence provides fairly conclusive reason to believe that the petition could not have been written before 1657 and

In October, both groups appeared in Boston to plead their cases. In the end, the Court accepted the complaint of the counter-petitioners, finding both Emerys, Webster, and Keyes stubbornly wrong. They had "been so busy and forward to disturb the peace of the place by their actings in several respects," that the Court ordered them to pay all fees as well as the four pounds and eight shillings that their opposition had spent in costs. In addition, they admonished the four petitioners severely, warning them "to beware of the like sinful practices for time to come."[21]

Whether the firm action of the Court silenced the disturbance in the militia company even temporarily is unknown. Nevertheless, the government had not heard the end of the dispute. William Gerrish, John Pike, and Benjamin Swett remained the officers as a result of the Court's action. But Swett removed to Hampton in 1663 or 1664, and Pike departed for Woodbridge between 1667 and 1669. It is doubtful that the town was able to choose replacements for the Lieutenant and the Ensign, because the 1660s was a decade of conflict between the supporters and opponents of Thomas Parker. As a result, the militia officers once again became objects of contention in the 1660s, coincident to the burgeoning church controversy.

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certainly no later than 1659. Moreover, it addressed the very issues raised by Emery: "Lancelot Granger saith . . . he knew nothing of it, to have the lieutenant have the full power he desires that it may abide as it is rather." For various reasons, therefore, I am satisfied that this is the counter-petition submitted by Short, Kent, Knight, and Somerby.

[21]Shurtleff, V, part 1, 362. Emery was none too wary. Five years later, he was convicted for entertaining several Quakers, as well as the insufferably haughty Henry Greenland. (QCR, III, 66-68, 74. See also Emery's behavior toward Greenland in the latter's "soliciting" of Mary Rolfe, Ibid., 47-55.)

Thus, the General Court was called upon to provide the company with officers for a final time in May, 1669. "In consideration of the distractions of the militia company at Newbury, for the better composure and prevention of the increase thereof," the Court instructed Major-General Leverett and Major Denison of the Essex County militia to mediate and settle the disagreement.[22] Five months later, it became clear that the contest involved the selection of officers. No doubt impatient with the Newbury company, the Court referred the choice to the Major-General.[23] The next Court of Election, in May, 1670, confirmed as Lieutenant and Ensign his choices of Archelaus Woodman and Stephen Greenleaf, both supporters of Edward Woodman in his dispute with the Pastor.[24] It was perhaps significant that the Court did not authorize Daniel Denison to join with Leverett in settling the officers, for Denison was the brother-in-law of Parker's nephew, John Woodbridge. The omission would be fresh in Edward Woodman's mind a few months later.[25]

3

Even more obscured than the militia controversy was the competition between the two contending factions in the church split to gain control of political leadership in the town. Unfortunately, little information about this power struggle has survived.

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[22]Shurtleff, IV, part 2, 425.

[23]Ibid., 440.   [24]Ibid., 454.

[25]See below, p. 165.

Practically all germane entries in the town records have disappeared, and those which remain tend to be matter-of-fact statements lacking explanation. Moreover, the competition for power became enmeshed with the non-conflict related attempt by the town to limit the power of the Selectmen generally in response to their exercise of power on questions of land, an exercise the townsmen came to regard as exorbitant.[26] In the context of the majoritarian arguments propounded during the church split, however, the perceived excesses of the Selectmen and the Commissioners for Small Causes came to be seen as the excesses of whichever group was in power at the time.

In September, 1667, Nicholas Noyes, William Gerrish, and Joseph Hills, the Commissioners of Newbury, heard a complaint by John Atkinson, alleging that the Constable, John Webster, had unfairly molested him "about a keg of fish." The Commissioners found in favor of Atkinson, precipitating a mild storm in the town. Webster was incensed, claiming he had been grossly abused by the Commissioners who had used the occasion to wage a private vendetta against him. In March of the next year, after Webster had pledged his opposition to the re-election of both Gerrish and Hills, three arbitrators were appointed to settle the difference between the Commissioners and the Constable. The results of the arbitration are not important, for the surface issues were minor and unenduring. However, beneath the surface lay ominous developments. While the arbitration was in progress, Gerrish and Hills "excepted the matters before the church . . . and referred nothing but personal matters to themselves."[27]

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[26]See below, pp. 178-79. [27]QCR, IV, 11-14, passim.

The words of the Commissioners constituted an admission that the town was already sharply divided over the church. But they were more. Gerrish, Hills, and Noyes were all prominent town leaders who were committed to the defense of Thomas Parker. Noyes, in fact, was Parker's cousin and both he and Gerrish were named executors of Parker's will. Hills may have been less articulate in his support of the minister but he was no less convinced that Parker's supporters were correct. Webster, on the other hand, was the step-son and consistent defender of John Emery, Sr. and a vociferous opponent of the minister. None of the four, then, was a casual participant in the church controversy. The complaints of Webster and the defense of the Commissioners revealed that even the town leaders were dividing over the church, if they were not already divided. The very perception that their disagreement might have stemmed from the "matters before the church" implied quite clearly that the respective factions in the church split were already grappling for power. Once the association between the two disputes was perceived, the antagonisms generated in one would inevitably be transferred to the other.

In 1668, the power struggle became public, when John Woolcott and Peter Toppan, both kinsmen of opponents of the minister, were presented for "disorderly going and sitting in a seat belonging to others."[28] It was not the first time the tranquility of the meeting house had been disturbed over the arrangement of seats. Indeed, in 1662, Woolcott, along with James Ordway, Peter Godfrey, and Joshua Woodman, all four of whom, likewise, were opponents of Parker or

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[28]Ibid., 137-40.

kinsmen of his opponents, had protested their disapproval of the seating order in the same way. Both episodes were similar, for in each case the defendants had acted to protest what they regarded as illegal assignments of seats by the Selectmen. But in 1668, the affair was much more closely connected to the partisanship of the church dispute.

In defense of Woolcott and Toppan, a petition to the Court presented two objections to the actions of the pro-minister Selectmen. On the one hand, it was denied that the Selectmen had any power to build the new seats in question. Implying an underlying majoritarianism, the complainers argued that the instructions to the Selectmen, which had been voted by the town, gave them no authority to do "anything of that nature in the meeting house." Indeed, the petitioners alleged that the Selectmen "took upon themselves to build three seats without consulting with the town as to have their approbation." Sensitive already to the rights of the major part,[29] the defenders of Woolcott and Toppan were of no mind to tolerate arbitrary violations of their majoritarian precepts, particularly by Selectmen who supported Thomas Parker.

Second, the petitioners alleged that the motivation of the Selectmen was disreputable. One of the new seats had been placed in front of the gallery. But in their assignment of seats, the Selectmen had not recognized the status of those who had formerly been placed in the front bench. They "have placed some behind, who were placed in the foreseat and such as paid considerable sums to the building

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[29]See below, pp. 131-32.

both of the meeting house and galleries and before them have placed such as paid nothing to either." They had violated standards out of personal interest. "In the chief rooms, [they] have placed their own children and relations."[30]

The petitioners recognized that the problem of seating--a problem they claimed to have been caused by the Selectmen--was not separable from the church dispute. All the actions of the Selectmen, in fact, "have occasioned much discontent in the town helping forward what unquietness is amongst us already to a greater height." Therefore, they asked the Court to "prevent great heartburning and discontent" in Newbury by entrusting the town with seating arrangement responsibilities. In blaming the Selectmen, however, they revealed the self-righteousness characteristic of both sides of the church dispute. The indignant petition was not representative of the town. Indeed, of the fifty-five signatories, only five were supporters of Parker. Twenty-eight were Woodmanites, and sixteen more were kinsmen of the minister's opponents.

By 1668, then, the church dispute had meshed with two other phenomena. On the one hand, the town attempt to reduce the power of the Selectmen had become, imperceptibly, a contest between the two contending parties to dominate the town or, to those outside public office, to stifle the authority of the group in power. On the other hand, both groups--and particularly the Woodmanites--struggled to control the local agency of grievances, the Commission for Small

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[30]Parker seems to have favored many of the same "children and relations" in his admission policies. See below, pp. 149-53.

Causes. It is impossible to identify when these separate strands

converged, for the records are noticeably quiet until after the

political lines had been drawn. Whatever the case, however, a glance

at office holding patterns (Table III-1) shows that the year 1670, when

the failure of a council to settle the grievances pushed the church

dispute beyond compromise,[31] witnessed the political ascendency of

the supporters of Edward Woodman.

TABLE III-1

DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTMAN AND COMMISSIONER
POSITIONS, 1665-1675

Supporters of:	Year										
	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
Parker	3	4	3	7	5	1	1	1	5	5	6
Woodman	4	3	5	0	2	7	7	7	3	3	2
Other	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

It is possible to read too much into these office holding

patterns, for no information is known about the method employed by the

town to choose Selectmen or Commissioners. Obviously, it makes a dif-

ference, for example, whether the townsmen voted for one person, with

those receiving the most votes being elected, or whether they cast as

many votes as there were offices to be filled. Likewise, there is no

record of the number or names of those nominated. Nevertheless, the

aggregate totals of office holders does suggest that town leadership

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[31]See below, pp. 138-45.

see-sawed precariously as the church split approached a crisis. Sup-
porters of Parker dominated the Commission throughout the 1660s, sug-
gesting that the adjudication of small claims, despite the complaints
of John Webster, was not the subject of general discontent. In turn,
this implies that there were few complaints about the performance of
the Commissioners until 1670. Competition for power seems to have
focused on election of the Selectmen who, entrusted with the business
of the town when town meetings were not sitting, wielded far more
authority over the operation of daily town affairs.

The record of election to Selectman positions suggests vacilla-
tion within the town. Until 1670, neither group was able to preserve
any long-term advantage in the competition. From 1665 through 1667,
the opponents of Thomas Parker held a tenuous dominance among the
Selectmen. But their advantage here was offset by the hegemony main-
tained by the supporters of Parker on the Commission. In 1668, how-
ever, a temporary resurgence of the minister's supporters gave them
four positions on the board of Selectmen, which, coupled with their
dominance of the Commission, placed them in nearly complete control of
the town. But in 1669, the Woodmanites evened the Selectman ratio,
dividing the daily authority with the Parker faction.

In 1670, however, the Woodmanites finally wrested control
from their opposites, obtaining a four-to-one majority of the Select-
men. The election of Commissioners proved much more indicative of the
turn-over, for the consistency with which Parker supporters had been
elected was finally upset. The Woodman faction had not held a commis-
sion office since 1665, when Woodman himself held the position, and

they had not held a majority on the Commission since 1658. In 1670, they elected all three Commissioners, ousting Noyes, Hills, and Gerrish who had been elected consecutively since 1666. Woodmanites continued to hold all three Commission offices until 1673, and maintained their four-to-one Selectman majority in both 1671 and 1672.

Those chosen to office during this period of Woodmanite dominance, moreover, were not simply coincidental opponents of Parker. In 1671, the Quarterly Court found the Woodman party guilty of irregularities in their dealings with Parker, assessing fines of varying amounts on all but one of the faction.[32] The Court was in a position to evaluate the relative guilt of each Woodmanite, and the fines it levied presumably reflected its assessment of culpability. On the basis of these fines, it is clear that the elected Woodmanites were among the leaders of the opposition to Parker.

Woodman himself, elected Commissioner three times and propounded by the town to have power to act as a magistrate in Newbury,[33] received a fine of twenty nobles (6:13:04), five times greater than any other single penalty. Seven opponents of Parker were fined four nobles (1:06:08). Of these, five were elected to office. Richard Dummer was chosen Commissioner three times and Selectman in 1671 and 1672; and Richard Bartlet was elected Selectman in 1672. Five supporters were

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[32]QCR, IV, 365-67; Coffin, 99-100. The two lists do not agree on who was fined or how much the fines were. I have combined the lists of names from the Court records with the fines listed in Coffin, a combination which, under the circumstances, seems most likely to be accurate.

[33]Mass. Archs., XXXIX, 376. Although the Deputies agreed to the Newbury petition, the Magistrates refused to grant their approval.

penalized one mark (0:13:04). One of these, John Emery, Jr., was chosen Selectman in 1671. The twenty-seven remaining supporters were fined one noble each (0:06:08). Only four of these Woodmanites were elected Selectman: John Bartlet, Sr. (1670); Edmund Moores (1670); Caleb Moody (1670 and 1671); and John Bailey (1672).[34] Of the 28:06:08 in fines assessed by the Court, these eleven men, who comprised slightly more than a quarter of the entire faction, paid 15:06:08.

The relationship between leadership in one area and leadership in another is, of course, not coincidental, for in a society which placed great emphasis on order and socially-determined qualifications for leadership, the correspondence of leadership roles should be expected. But that is not the point. The abrupt shift in town politics, particularly because of its limited duration, makes clear the extent to which the town voting patterns mirrored the church split partisanship, which reached a crescendo at the same time. The fact that it was the leaders of the Woodman faction who became Selectmen and Commissioners, furthermore, reflects the competitiveness of the church factions for dominance of the political offices. The case of Richard Dummer is illustrative. Dummer may have been considered too prominent to fill any local position. For whatever reason, however, the offices he held from 1670 through 1672 were the only town offices he had filled, with one early exception, during his entire residence in Newbury.

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[34]Coincidentally, Bailey was simultaneously the brother-in-law and first cousin of Emery, Jr., and Titcomb was the brother-in-law of both Bartlets.

Even the exceptions to the pattern confirm the totality of
the Woodmanite victory, for the three supporters of Thomas Parker who
gained election were hardly his most enthusiastic defenders. Little
is known about William Chandler, chosen Selectman in 1670. However,
Chandler may have supported Parker more out of principle than out of
concurrence. At some time between 1661 and 1681, he was amanuensis for
George Little (also a Parker supporter), who at least composed a
petition intended for the General Court seeking religious toleration in
the Bay.[35] In 1671, Samuel Moody was chosen Selectman. His defense
of Parker is inexplicable in terms of kinship, but his election is
less so, for both his father, William, and his brother, Caleb, were
Woodmanites. Moody's position was similar to that of Thomas Hale,
Sr., a Selectman in 1672. Hale, a resident of Old Town, had moved to
Salem in the 1650s, possibly in reaction to the movement of the town.
His son, Thomas, Jr., like Moody's kin, was a supporter of Edward
Woodman.

4

The hostilities within the town were not confined to the two
groups. They could also find expression in personal terms, as the
example of William Gerrish suggests. A close friend of Parker, he
was a prominent freeholder and a leading defender of the minister in
the church split. At the same time, he was a principal in at least

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[35]Coffin, 135-36. Little was an early Baptist, and a member
of the first congregation of that sect in Newbury. Joining Little
in 1681, coincidentally, were Edward Woodman and William Sawyer,
along with several kinsmen of other opponents of Parker. Cf. Coffin,
135.

two of the parallel controversies. On the one hand, he was a Captain in the militia, and it was his power to train both the horse and the foot that Emery tried to divide in 1657. On the other, he was one of the two Commissioners against whom John Webster complained in 1668, and one of the two whose re-election Webster protested.

In 1669, Gerrish added a more prominent enemy to his list. Publically acknowledging his commitment to the pastorship of Thomas Parker, he challenged Edward Woodman personally. When Woodman rose on March 1 to rail against the practices of the minister, Gerrish rose to Parker's defense, precipitating a vitriolic exchange of words with his opponent. With insight into the disagreement, Gerrish "interrupted" Woodman's complaints with words about the aging Woodman's "gray hairs."[36] Woodman's retort indicated the extent to which the general hostilities could be transplanted to individual personalities. Calling Gerrish "no lover of the truth," he added, "Captain Gerrish, my gray hairs will stand in any place where your bald head will stand."[37]

Gerrish's words were not designed to palliate the hostilities of the Woodmanites. But the abrupt decline of his position in the town began, not with an assault by the opponents of Parker, but with his own loss of support among some of the minister's friends. In particular, his lengthy disagreement with Thomas Woodbridge, the son of the former assistant minister whose tenure Gerrish defended, opened the door to his embarrassed removal to Boston.

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[36]Coffin, 74.

[37]QCR, IV, 173; Coffin, 74.

The dispute between Gerrish and Woodbridge stemmed from their participation in the town's emerging commercial enterprise in the 1670s. Though both were merchants, their personal interests proved impediments to the emergence of any mutual sense of occupational unity. A disagreement over some cloth mushroomed into a personal war between the two, with Woodbridge the aggressor. In the end, Woodbridge accused Gerrish of cheating him of 180 pounds and insisted that only 5 men in the town had not been bilked by the Captain. When both Tristram Coffin and Daniel Lunt told Woodbridge that Gerrish had never cheated them, Woodbridge replied that Lunt, Coffin, and Richard Dole were "three of the five." Swearing to make Gerrish's house "a dung hill," Woodbridge promised to prove his allegations and make Gerrish "fly the town" within eight months.[38]

Woodbridge's timetable was wrong, and it was not he who drove Gerrish to Boston. He had, however, defined the context which would finally humiliate Gerrish. It was his capacity as Captain that brought about Gerrish's downfall. He remained a militia officer through King Philip's War, when he directed the allocation of Newbury's manpower and supplies, and supervised the accounts of the militia. In 1678, he was convicted on the charge that he "had wittingly or carelessly defrauded the country."[39] Presented by Joseph Pike, whose father, John, had testified in support of Edward Woodman, Gerrish's fate was sealed by the testimony of Pike, James Ordway, Sr., John Webster, and Thomas

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[38]_QCR_, VI, 125-26, and _passim_.   [39]_Ibid._, 44.

Hale, Jr., all Woodmanites during the church split. The only testimony
in his support was offered by his son Moses and by Richard Dole, a
former defender of Thomas Parker.

CHAPTER IV

"Our Poor Distracted Condition"

In 1671, from his pastorate in Killingworth, Connecticut, John
Woodbridge, Jr. sent a series of letters to Richard Baxter, the English
Presbyterian. The son of the assistant minister in the Newbury church,
Woodbridge had never met the English divine. Nevertheless, he was not
unknown to Baxter, who was a friend of John Woodbridge, Sr. and not an
infrequent correspondent of Benjamin Woodbridge. With the challenges
to his father's ministry in mind, Woodbridge offered Baxter his des-
cription of New England religion. In Massachusetts, said Woodbridge,
there were "three forms of disciplinarians [,] each one step higher
than his fellow: rigid independents, moderate ones, and those that
are Presbyterianly addicted, though their numbers are few and their
horns kept short."[1] His sense of order was outraged, but not alone by
the events in Newbury. Indeed, everywhere he looked in the Bay, he
could see arms and legs commanding heads. The result was a threat to
the continuing reformation. "The true reason why Independency has kept

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[1]Raymond Phineas Stearns, ed., "The Correspondence of John
Woodbridge, Jr., and Richard Baxter," New England Quarterly, X (1937),
574.

its own so long," he wrote, "is because the churches are such a heavy stone at the ministers legs that they cannot fly their own course."[2]

Woodbridge's uncle, Simon Bradstreet, sent much the same message to Baxter the next year. Lamenting the religious confusion among the churches of Massachusetts, he wrote of the "trials and troubles" which raged throughout the Bay. To the Andover magistrate, the problem was one of order and rule. He bewailed the presence of Quakers, "which neither lenity nor severity will prevail to keep in order," and Anabaptists, who were "as hardly to be ruled as they and in several respects more dangerous to our peace and welfare." Bradstreet, too, was well-acquainted with the afflictions suffered by his brother-in-law, John Woodbridge, Sr. Hence, he could confirm the younger Woodbridge's observations.

> A great part of the country inclining to Morellianism, or rigid independency: those that profess the Congregational way are not at all alike minded in some necessary and essential points of church government. And those that go under the name of Presbyterians who plead for order and that rule and government in the church should reside in the officers are by very many accounted no friends to the government of Christ.[3]

The Newbury church split cast a shadow over yet a third concurrence, Urian Oakes' Election Sermon, New England Pleaded With.[4]

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[2]Ibid., 574. See also Hall, Faithful Shepherd, passim; Middlekauff, The Mathers, Book II, passim; Miller, New England Mind: From Colony to Province, 19-39, and passim; and Robert G. Pope, The Half-Way Covenant: Church Membership in Puritan New England (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), passim.

[3]"Woodbridge-Baxter Correspondence," 582-83.

[4]Cambridge, 1673.

Oakes, the pastor at Cambridge, may have been a member of the council sent to Newbury in 1672 by the General Court. Though he was neither a "Morellian" nor a Presbyterian, Oakes, too, was unsettled by the liberties claimed by the brethren of Massachusetts. His Jeremiad agreed in part with the lamentations of his Presbyterian counterparts-- popular rule in the church threatened, through excess, to turn the churches themselves into agencies of apostasy.[5]

The complaints penned by these three critics pertained to Massachusetts as a whole. Yet they also could have been used to describe the situation arising in Newbury from the middle of the 1660s to the early 1670s, particularly because at least two of the authors stood in some relationship to the personalities in the Newbury church quarrel. Indeed, to a significant degree, this church split summarized the cross-currents of controversy throughout the colony, for it laid bare two troublesome ambiguities of New England church and state: what constituted an organic society and by what means did the society act?

In Newbury, only a clear statement of the differences between a majority of the church and the church itself could have resolved these ambiguities. For Thomas Parker, John Woodbridge, Sr., and their followers, church government was not analogous to the town meeting and was more than the rule of the larger number. On the other hand, the followers of Parker's antagonist, Edward Woodman, consistently asserted that "the major part" not only decided church business but also was, by virtue of numbers, fully competent to be the church. The issue of

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[5]Ibid., 47-48, for example. Oakes sermon, however, was also more general, for he was no less offended by the ungodly anarchy he saw cutting across all levels of society.

majoritarianism was clearly "artificial," but it was hardly contrived.[6]
For the participants of the Newbury controversy, it was all the issue
they needed.

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In March, 1669, John Pike recalled the gathering of the
Newbury church. He remembered that Thomas Parker had delivered an
open air sermon in 1635 based on Matthew 18:17--"And if he shall neg-
lect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to
hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."
With these words, "the brethren joined together by express covenant,
and being joined they chose their pastor, Mr. Parker," and their
teacher, James Noyes.[7] The congregation had not chosen strangers, and
there was little doubt that Parker and Noyes would be called. Both
had journeyed from England with many of their new flock, and both were
among the first settlers of the town. Noyes, in fact, "being lothe to
be separated from Mr. Parker and the brethren . . ." rejected a call
from the Watertown church in order to join Parker in tending to the
spiritual needs of Newbury.[8]

Nor was the congregation surprised to hear their Presbyterian
ideas preached from the pulpit. Many of the flock had listened to the

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[6]Hall, Faithful Shepherd, 214.

[7]QCR, IV, 123-24; Coffin, 16-17.

[8]Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, The Eccles-
iastical History of New England (Hartford, Conn.: Silas Andrus,
1855), I, 484.

cousins' prayers in England and aboard <u>Mary and John</u>. "Mr. Parker and Mr. James Noyes, and others that came over with them," wrote Noyes' nephew, "fasted and prayed together many times before they undertook this voyage; and on the sea Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes preached or expounded, one in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon, everyday during the voyage . . ."[9] Pike, however, had not arrived with Parker and his flock. Although he insisted that Parker's sermon "did much instruct and confirm us in the way of church discipline which I understood he then preached for, namely, the Congregational way,"[10] at least those who "had so often fasted and prayed together, both in England and on the Atlantic sea"[11] knew fully well what to expect.

Earlier chroniclers than Pike, both sympathetic and otherwise, noted that the practices of the church were tinged with Presbyterian ideals. In 1642, for example, Thomas Lechford, who had departed the Bay in disillusionment, reported that "although some churches are of opinion, that any may be admitted to church fellowship that are not extremely ignorant or scandalous," only the Newbury church was "very forward to practice" this rule.[12] Five years later, in his attempt to "cast up" Bay colony indiscretions, John Child admitted that Parker and Noyes were "somewhat different" from other New England ministers

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[9]<u>Ibid.</u>, 484.

[10]<u>QCR</u>, IV, 123; Coffin, 17.

[11]Mather, <u>Magnalia</u>, I, 484.

[12]<u>Plain Dealing, or Newes from New England</u>, in M.H.S. <u>Colls.</u>, 3d Ser., III, 80.

because of their "Presbyterian principles."[13]   And in 1652, Edward

Johnson's friendly survey of the churches of Massachusetts repeated

Child's assertion that the Newbury church was "somewhat differing from

all the former, and aftermentioned churches in the preheminence of

their Presbytery."[14]

Ultimately, then, it was not Presbyterianism per se that was

at issue in the church controversy, although Edward Woodman and his

supporters insisted it was when they complained of their suspicion

that their refusal to become Presbyterians was the cause of "the

offenses against us."   But the theology of the minister became a con-

venient point of attack.   The original complaint against Parker charged

him with apostasy, and linked his Presbyterianism to his deviation.

Asserting that Parker had imposed his "change of opinion and practice"

regarding admission and discipline upon the congregation, Woodman

accused him of seeking to "set up a prelacy [of one], and have more

power than the Pope."[15]

Woodman had overstated his case, but his fears were not

entirely groundless.   Parker had long advocated that the elders of

the church were the governors of the congregation and had the power to

govern without the consent of the brethren.   "Although we hold a

fundamental power of government in the people, in respect of election

of ministers, and of some acts in cases extraordinary, as in the want

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[13]New Englands Jonas Cast Up at London, in Ibid., 2d. Ser.,
IV, 120.

[14]Wonder Working Providence, in Ibid., 2d. Ser., III, 144.

[15]QCR, IV, 124, 264; Coffin, 74, 87.

of ministers," he wrote to a member of the Westminster Assembly, "yet
we judge, upon mature deliberation, that the ordinary exercise of
government must be so in the Presbyters, as not to depend upon the
express votes and suffrages of the people."[16]

These principles were shared by Noyes and Woodbridge. The
latter, for example, wrote around 1670 that God commanded the brethren
to obey and submit to the determination of the elders, who are the
undisputable "rulers of the church."[17] But it was James Noyes who
spelled out the powers of the elders most elaborately in both of his
major works, The Temple Measured and Moses and Aaron.[18] To Noyes,

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[16] The True Copy of a Letter: Written by Mr. Thomas Parker
. . . Declaring His Judgment Touching the Government Practiced in
the Churches of NEW ENGLAND (London, 1644), 3-4. The recipient
of this letter was unnamed.

[17] A Declaration of the Council at Newbury (unpublished ms.,
The Congregational Library), 3, 5. This is a most curious document,
possibly written as part of the report Woodbridge hoped the council
would issue. The transcriber, Joshua Coffin, affirmed that the
original tract was penned by Woodbridge, but why Woodbridge should
write the opinion of a council called to judge a controversy in which
he was a principal remains a mystery. It is possible that Woodbridge
had merely copied an unfinished report of the council. But this
seems unlikely, for the document is incomplete as an answer to the
"5 propositions" submitted to the council by the Woodman faction.
Moreover, there is no indication in the other extant documents that
the council was anything more than a mediating body. Indeed, to
Parker's chagrin, the council repeatedly refused to propound doc-
trine. Although it did find Woodman's behavior to be irregular, it
did not address the question of church government, either in its
report of November 5, 1669 or in its actions of April, 1670. Finally,
Woodbridge's own summary of the council's mediation, written for
presentation to the Quarterly Court, fails to mention any concilliar
action to resolve this particular issue. See below, pp. 138-45.

[18] The Temple Measured: Or, A Brief Survey of the Temple
Mystical, Which is the Instituted Church of Christ . . . (London,
1647), passim; and Moses and Aaron: Or the Rights of Church and
State (London, 1661), passim.

elders were empowered through their possession of the "keys of insti-
tuted power," handed down only to them in succession from the Apostles.
In The Temple Measured, he had argued that the elders received the
power to use these keys when ordained by the congregation, but by the
time of his death this concession to popular power was abandoned. Even
ordination devolved through "sacerdotal descent" from Christ and the
Apostles.[19] Scripture, common sense, political analogy, typology,
Aristotelian and Ramean syllogisms, all were marshalled by Noyes to
support his premise that

> the elders are rulers, governors, set over the church, and
> have power to command, to admonish as superior in authority
> judicial . . . The church is charged to obey their elders
> . . . The church is to be carried, not to carry, to obey not
> to command; to be subject, not to govern. . . . [The elders]
> are antitypes, the eyes, heads, fathers, princes of the
> congregation. . . . They are captains of the Lord's host.[20]

Noyes' principles left little room for lay participation in
church government, but they were applied less rigorously than they
were preached. Noyes claimed no "Lordlike power" for the elders.[21]
Precisionistic adherence to truth, he said, was less important than
"Peace unto edification," particularly where the truth was less than
essential. Expediency taught Noyes that concession of some principles
in the name of moderation was preferable to controversy, which could
only weaken the general authority of those who defended fundamental
truth. "It is a greater mercy," he said, "to enjoy peace, than

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[19]Temple Measured, 30-33; Moses and Aaron, 38-41.

[20]Temple Measured, 34, 37.

[21]Ibid., 46.

circumstantial truths." Just as God did not condemn Israel for its sinners, He would not withhold His grace from the churches of Massachusetts simply because of a few backsliders within their doors.[22]

Consequently, Noyes did not insist on total overlordship. While he lived, he and Parker allowed their congregation a voice "in a silential way," particularly on questions of admissions and discipline.[23] John Pike, whose testimony in 1669 supported the complaints of Edward Woodman, affirmed that "for a considerable number of years until other doctrine began to be preached amongst us," the congregation had been granted an explicit voice "by lifting up the hands" when applicants were propounded for admission.[24] Edward Johnson, who was not exactly uncritical of Parker and Noyes ("Though Christs Churchway you fully cannot reach") also recognized their moderation. Newbury's elders, he said, permitted the congregation "to assist in admitting of persons into church-society, and in church-censures, so long as they act regularly, but in cases of maladministration they assume the power wholly to themselves."[25]

In these dealings, the voice of compromise was that of Noyes. Although the laity was not unanimous in their support of their elders' Presbyterian ideas, the personal respect accorded to Noyes by the

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[22]Moses and Aaron, 94-95.

[23]Mather, Magnalia, I, 485.

[24]QCR, IV, 124; Coffin, 17.

[25]Wonder-Working Providence, 145.

congregation prevented theological differences from erupting into open contention.[26] The closeness between Noyes and Parker, in turn, helped insure that Parker, too, would moderate his principles in the interest of peace. Noyes father, William, had married Parker's aunt, but the cousins shared more than a common lineage. William Noyes had been the school master of Thomas Parker, and Parker reciprocated the personal attention he received by joining with William Twiss to convert the younger Noyes to Presbyterianism. Thereafter, Parker and Noyes proved virtually inseparable in both thought and deed. According to Nicholas Noyes, the nephew of James,

> there was the greatest amity, intimacy, unanimity, yea, unity imaginable between Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes. So unshaken was their friendship, nothing but death was able to part them. They taught in one school [in Newbury, Berks.]; came over in one ship; were pastor and teacher of one church; and Mr. Parker continuing always in celibacy, they lived in one house, till death separated them for a time . . . [, and] Mr. Parker continued in his house as long as he lived.[27]

But Noyes was not well. "That blessed light at Newbury,"[28] had suffered from a lengthy illness that finally consumed his life, at age 48, in the fall of 1656. His last six months, "a time of continual weakness and sickness,"[29] were spent writing Moses and Aaron, his unfinished, last testament to the Saints. Perhaps his most important bequest, however, went unappreciated in his absence.

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[26]Mather, Magnalia, I, 484.

[27]Ibid., 484-85.

[28]William B. Trask, comm., "Rev. Samuel Danforth's Records of the First Church in Roxbury, Mass.," NEHGR, XXXIV (1880), 86.

[29]Parker, "Preface" to Moses and Aaron, 1.

The passage of Noyes removed one moderating influence on Thomas Parker at a time when Parker might have profited from counsels of moderation.

In the year of his cousin's death, Parker observed his sixtieth birthday. By the time his disagreement with Edward Woodman entered adjudication, he was over seventy and quite possibly senile. Furthermore, for some time the progressive loss of his sight had weighed heavily on the man who "enjoyed the most varied academic education" of the early New England ministers.[30] Parker was quite conscious of his affliction as early as 1644, when he began a letter to an English Presbyterian with the words, "my eyes do yet serve me, though with much difficulty," and referred, almost jealously, to his friend's "sufficiency of parts."[31] A year later, Parker published a study of the revelations of Daniel, which he prefaced with an apology for its incompleteness, the result, he said, of "my weakness and occasions."[32] Within the next three years, he had lost one eye entirely. To his sister in 1649, he wrote that although he was "so defective and weak in sight," he had chosen "to put my one eye unto the work, and to write these lines unto you."[33]

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[30]Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Education of Thomas Parker of Newbury," in Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XXIII (1932), 261. The less-than-sympathetic Cotton Mather dubbed Parker with the title "Scholasticus" (Magnalia, I, 480). See, also, Richard Edward Kelly's extended discussion of Parker's intellectual output in "A Study of the Schoolmasters of Seventeenth Century Newbury, Massachusetts" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971).

[31]True Copy, 1, 2.

[32]The Visions and Prophesies of Daniel Expounded (London, 1646), 1.

[33]The Copy of a Letter . . . To His Sister (London, 1650).

Toward the end of his life, a second malady took from Parker his favorite pastime. Deprived already of his books, he lost his ability first to sing, then to speak. Although Parker was accustomed "to wash his mouth and rub his teeth" daily, a chronic toothache preceded the gradual loss of his teeth. Nicholas Noyes recalled that "he had all along an impulse upon his spirit, that he should have the palsey in his tongue before he died. . . . And about a year and a half before he died, that which he had long feared befell him, viz: the palsey in his tongue; and so he became speechless, and thus continued until death."[34]

His vision failing, his long-time companion prematurely dead, his voice silenced in the end, Parker had reason enough for self-pity. It comes as no surprise that he became a picture of austerity and asceticism. He had experienced his share of frustration, and more. Exiled to the Netherlands at the age of nineteen, his first major work, Theses Theolotical de Traductione hominis peccatoris ad vitam was originally credited to William Ames. Propounded to be a Presbyter in Leyden, he was opposed and defeated by an adversary of his mentor. After returning to England, he applied his labors to "school divinity," only to realize later that "all the use I now make of all my school learning is this: I have so much to deny for the sake of my Lord Jesus Christ." He dedicated his life to the worship and study of his God, and even here met disappointment. Despite his repeated attempts to convince the Massachusetts clergy that Presbyterianism, with its structure and predictability, was the true form of church government,

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[34]Mather, Magnalia, 486.

his efforts were consistently rejected by his own congregation. The

study of revelations to which he devoted his energies proved fruitless

for all but a handful, for the bishops refused to license its publi-

cation. Nicholas Noyes reflected on his pathos:

> his whole life, besides what was necessary for the support
> of it, by food and sleep, was prayer, study, preaching, and
> teaching school. I once heard him say, he felt the whole
> frame of his nature giving way, which threatened his
> dissolution to be at hand: but "he thanked God, he was not
> amazed at it."[35]

Parker's frustrations and disappointments made him all the

less secure, even in his assurance, and his life became dominated, not

by hope, but by fear and excessive humility. He remained celebate,

though the prospect of marriage was evidently not withheld from him.

According to Noyes, he had at least once considered marriage, but he

was dissuaded from it by his "violent temptations to infidelity."

He refused to claim authorship of De Traductione Peccatoris, not in

deference to Ames, but because "he was afraid he had not so fully

aimed at the glory of God as he ought to have done." He was a strict

sabbatarian, not by inclination, but "because he dare not depart from

the footsteps of the flock, for his private opinion." Near the end

of his life, when the forces of King Philip seemed to threaten New-

bury, he convinced himself that he would fall captive and, because he

was a minister, be tortured into repudiating Christ. Dreading the

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[35]Morison, "Education of Thomas Parker"; Mather, Magnalia, I,
480-88; Kelly, "Schoolmasters"; Williston Walker, The Creeds and
Platforms of Congregationalism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons,
1893); all passim. Quotation from Mather, Magnalia, I, 487.

possibility that he would not be able to resist, he spent at least one

sleepless night "on the very brink of desperation."[36]

Parker betrayed the "seamy" side of Puritanism that makes it

so unfamiliar today--the stark contrast of faith and fear, the prophetic

revelations that came to him in the form of dreams, the bombastic

assurance that bordered on condescension. "Cousin," he addressed

Nicholas Noyes, "I wonder you can be so merry, unless you are sure of

your salvation!" Parker knew pleasure, but little mirth, for he lived

his faith above all. He had little else. His estate bespoke few

material possessions. It was not small by comparison (611 Pounds),

but almost 75 percent (450 Pounds) was land in Old and New England

which he could not use. Another 11 percent (70 Pounds) was credit he

had extended, but a large portion of the domestic debt (60 Pounds)

was due in ministerial arrears and in rent from his cousin, Nicholas

Noyes, Sr. In his will, Parker cancelled this latter debt and con-

firmed an earlier deed-of-gift to Noyes. The remainder was books,

clothing, and a handful of household goods.[37] In short, Parker had

his religion, his one claim to self-esteem, a claim that he would

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[36]Mather, Magnalia, I, 485-88. This is from a communication
of James Noyes' nephew, Nicholas, the minister at Salem. With the
exception of Sewall's Diary, which says little of Parker's life, this
is the only account I have found written by someone who knew Parker
well. If I have taken interpretive liberties with his narration, it
is not out of disrespect for the spirit in which Noyes wrote, for
Noyes' generosity toward his former teacher was well-directed.
Rather, the inferences I have drawn seem to correspond with my overall
evaluation of Parker. I admit the possibility, however, that Noyes'
perspective, as a minister, may have encouraged him to select his
material to conform to his conception of proper ministerial demeanor,
and that therefore much of Parker's personality was neglected in the
sketch.

[37]Probate Recs., III, 133-35.

defend tenaciously when it was threatened. The return of John Wood-
bridge from England precipitated his defense.

<center>2</center>

Woodbridge had accompanied his uncle Parker to New England
in 1634 and to Newbury in 1635, where he was granted more than 200
acres in the first distribution of land. In 1639, while attending
Harvard, he married Mercy, the daughter of Thomas Dudley, and in
1646, he joined his brother-in-law, Simon Bradstreet, in the settle-
ment of Andover, where he conducted his first ministry until his
return to England following the execution of Charles I. With the
Restoration, Woodbridge was driven first from his pastorate at Bar-
ford St. Martins, Wilts. and second from his position as schoolmaster
in Newbury, Berks. His sizable farm in New England had not been sold
but only leased to Benjamin Swett and Nathaniel Weare. Woodbridge
returned to Newbury to resume possession of his land in 1663.

Newbury had but one elder when Woodbridge returned, Thomas
Parker, whose poor health hampered his pulpit abilities. Parker was
eager to obtain the assistance of his nephew, and Woodbridge, appar-
ently, was willing to join with Parker in the ministry. The congre-
gation was less enthusiastic. When he was proposed, the church
notified Parker by vote that it was "not ripe to call Mr. Jno.
Woodbridge to office for the present." However, "by verbal expres-
sions," the congregation agreed to permit Woodbridge to continue

preaching to the church, "many affirming and not one man expressing their dissent in our hearing."[38]

If the congregation evinced little opposition to Woodbridge, the town meeting seemed less willing to match its openness. In July, 1663, the town voted to levy a rate for the maintenance of Parker's new associate. But it was not willing to commit itself to support Woodbridge for an entire year. Emphasizing the provisional nature of the appointment, the town voted him thirty pounds for six months.[39]

Although Woodbridge's rate was renewed and eventually placed on an annual basis, it was clear that the town was not entirely pleased with his continuation. Only a year later, the town meeting was prepared to vent its hostilities on Parker, who evidently refused to yield his support of Woodbridge. At the same time, the actions of the town revealed that the townsmen were already becoming sensitive to the fateful issue of majoritarianism. For perhaps the first time, the clerk signified that the convenience of numbers, not the rule of compromise, was to guide Newbury for the future. In previous years, Parker's salary had been eighty pounds per year. But, in October, 1664, "it was voted <u>by the major part of the town that was present</u> that Mr. Parker should have but 60 £ for a year."[40] Factionalization was all the more evident when twelve of the attending townsmen insisted that their dissents be recorded.[41]

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[38] <u>QCR</u>, IV, 124.   [39] Coffin, 68.

[40] <u>Town Recs</u>., October 26, 1664. Emphasis has been added.

[41] Thomas Hale, Sr., James Jackman, Henry Jaques, Richard Kent, Jr., Richard Knight, Richard Lowle, Hugh March, Edmund Moores, Nicholas Noyes, Daniel Pierce, Sr., Henry Short, and Thomas Smith.

With the reduction of Parker's salary began a long series of town meeting actions culminating only in 1670 when payments to Woodbridge were finally terminated. With each year, both sides worked increasingly harder to obtain a majority of the members voting. By 1667, roll-call voting had replaced hand and voice ballots. Supporters of Parker quickly regained the majority. In March, 1665, Parker's rate was restored to eighty pounds. At the same meeting, a rate of sixth pounds per year was voted for Woodbridge, the biennial collection of which was confirmed eight months later. In April, 1666, Woodbridge's rate was continued "till the town take further order," and the Selectmen were authorized to collect the rate "till the town see cause respecting Mr. Woodbridge." A year later, Woodbridge's rate was renewed "man by man called over," and again in 1668, "counting man by man."[42]

These votes, however, were not compromises, and the declarations of the town meeting did not necessarily reflect any acknowledgment that the good of the whole was served. In theory, the minority was expected to accept the collective voice as superior to the individual interest. But in practice, the minority was obliged only voluntarily to obey the determinations of the town. If Woodbridge thought his position was firmly established because it was voted, he was quickly disappointed. His right to preach and his claim against the town for his rate was voted much more readily than it was recognized. As early as 1665, those who had voted against his tenure were expressing their continued discomfort by withholding their contributions

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[42]Town Recs., passim; Coffin, 68-89, passim.

toward his salary. Hence, the town meeting authorized the Selectmen

to sue those who had not paid "for the two years past" before the

Commissioners for Small Causes.[43] By this time or shortly thereafter,

however, the Commissioners had shown themselves, at least as far as

Parker's opponents were concerned, to be interested parties in the

church quarrel.[44] As a result, many of the arrears went uncollected.

After 1670, the Woodman faction dominated the Commission, and the

friends of Woodbridge were forced to seek assistance from the Ipswich

Court. Empowering Richard Kent and Daniel Pierce to distrain the

estates of those who were in arrears, the Court directed that the

Selectmen approve each distraint.[45] But the Selectmen as well were

Woodmanites. Thus, even as late as 1682, Woodbridge had not collected

all of his debts from the 1660s.[46]

Nor was the voice of the majority unambiguous. In November,

1665, immediately following the town vote to renew Woodbridge's rate,

> it was voted whether Mr. Woodbridge should be chosen to
> preach to the town for one year. To be chosen by papers--
> 35 votes for him; 4 of them voted, and 31 put in blanks.
> 31 and 4 are 35.[47]

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[43] Town Recs., November 1, 1665.

[44] See, for example, the case of William Gerrish and Joseph Hills v. John Webster, in QCR, IV, 11-14, especially the deposition of Tristram Coffin, 12; see, also, above, pp. 104-5.

[45] QCR, IV, 346.

[46] Town Recs., Book 2, January 5, 1682.

[47] Town Recs., November 1, 1665; Coffin, 69.

Although they conceded that the question might have been misunderstood, Parker's supporters used this vote to establish the legality of Woodbridge's election. "Of them that did vote by papers, the record saith, and Mr. Woodbridge acknowledgeth, that four of them were for Mr. Woodbridge's preaching. These things considered, we humbly conceive there will be no footing found for what Mr. Woodman and others labor to cloud the matter withal."[48]

In retrospect, Woodman and his followers maintained that the 1665 vote had accomplished precisely the opposite. During a town meeting in March, 1669, Woodman claimed "that Mr. Jno. Woodbridge was an intruder, brought in by craft and subtilty [sic] and so kept in."[49] Indeed, Woodman insisted that the town had voted Woodbridge out twice, only to be frustrated by a headstrong Parker. The first rejection of Woodbridge, he claimed, had occurred when the church refused to call him, and the second came when only four votes were cast in favor of his preaching.

Parker's "craft and subtilty" did not simply reflect his difference of opinion over the meaning of the former votes. Indeed, part of Woodman's complaint addressed his methods of gauging the intention of his congregation. For years Parker had conducted church votes by "speech and silence," a method which, his supporters claimed, had been approved by the Cambridge "Synod" of 1643 and by at least two councils called to adjudicate differences between Parker and Woodman prior to 1663.[50] The issue raised by Woodman questioned "the manner of

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[48]Coffin, 75.   [49]QCR, IV, 122; Coffin, 74.

[50]Coffin, 78.

testifying the assent or dissent of the church,"[51] for he and his supporters understood "speech and silence" to mean assent or silence. Four Woodmanites complained to the Ipswich Court that Parker had put the issue of Woodbridge's tenure to vote in such a way as to guarantee approval.

> Those that are for the discontinuance of my cousin Woodbridge in the way of preaching as formerly he hath done until further order be taken let them speak. Afterwards, Mr. Parker expressed thus, those that are for the continuance of my cousin Woodbridge . . . let them express themselves by their silence.[52]

Parker would decide if the speech was louder than the silence was quiet.

The pastor claimed more than the right to judge elections, however. Despite Woodman's protestations, Parker remained the elder and, from the pulpit, he did not need to be concerned with ambiguities. Woodman might complain of his machinations and his apostacy, but Parker could claim that his status as minister and governing elder enabled him to act as arbiter. Richard Bartlet, James Ordway, and John Emery, all Woodmanites, complained that Parker had declared himself master of church business. In a public meeting, they reported, Parker had proclaimed a new doctrine:

> for the time to come I am resolved nothing shall be brought in to the church but it shall be brought first to me; and if I approve of it: it shall be brought in: if I do not approve it it shall not be brought to the church.[53]

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[51]Ibid., 78.   [52]QCR, IV, 124; Coffin, 75.

[53]QCR, IV, 124; Coffin, 74. See also Noyes' theoretical justification of this position in Temple Measured, 44-46 and passim, and in Moses and Aaron, 42ff, and passim.

Parker would maintain this position in one form or another throughout the church dispute.

Supporters of the pastor could not understand the complaints of the Woodmanites. Though they admitted the events which Woodman's followers cited to buttress their case, Parker's friends denied that the interpretation of their opponents was correct. When Woodman claimed that the Newbury church was deprived of true congregational government, Parker's supporters "utterly denied" the allegation. When Woodman complained that Parker refused to permit the church to vote, his opponents proclaimed the assertion "so notoriously and evidentally 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 mean a nature to the churches' examination, and strangers have taken notice of the over much liberty of some in church actings.[54]

Neither side saw the issue through the same window, and neither, therefore, could find any common basis upon which a resolution of the disagreement could be founded.

Nor could the Ipswich Court, which heard the civil case propounded against Woodman. Parker's supporters were careful to leave congregational government out of their complaint, for none would have permitted civil authorities to arbitrate church disagreements. Indeed, James Noyes had written that the resolution of church differences was the responsibility of church councils alone.[55] But civil authorities

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[54]Coffin, 77.   [55]Moses and Aaron, 30.

were empowered to maintain civil and religious peace. Hence, they
complained to the court only about Woodman's behavior which, they
claimed, was detrimental to "our peace both civil and ecclesiastical."[56]

They had good reason to expect support, for sitting as magis-
trates were Simon Bradstreet and Daniel Denison, both brothers-in-law
of John Woodbridge. But their hopes were not fully realized. Brad-
street and Denison did find Woodman's demeanor "false and scandalous"
toward Parker and Woodbridge, and "reproachful and provoking and the
whole generally offensive" otherwise, and both ordered Woodman to
confess "his sinful expressions and just offenses" publically.[57]
But over the objections of Bradstreet and Denison, two other justices
dissented from the sentence of the court. Samuel Symonds and William
Hathorne refused to admonish Woodman, for they had been convinced
that Parker's "alteration" was a just cause of complaint. Though
they encouraged Woodman particularly to acknowledge his unbrotherly
behavior, they found both parties guilty of "errors and miscarriages
and actings or unbecoming words in their public agitations."[58]

The split decision made the issue all the more ambiguous,
for both sides claimed vindication. So uncertain had been the verdict
that Parker and his supporters submitted a rebuttal to the opinion of
Symonds and Hathorne, asserting that "we look not upon the paper as
the determination or sentence of the Court."[59] Without a definitive

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[56]QCR, IV, 122-23; Coffin, 74.

[57]QCR, IV, 122; Coffin, 75.

[58]QCR, IV, 123; Coffin, 75-76.   [59]Coffin, 76.

statement from the magistrates, however, the issue could not be re-
solved. Consequently, the church split continued. Indeed, it had
barely begun.

3

Woodman's opposition to Parker had taken only the form of
civil transgressions prior to the ambivalent decision of the Quarterly
Court. Buttressed by the refusal of the Court to pass on the validity
of his religious assertions, and perceiving only continued deviations
from true church government in the Newbury church, Woodman now re-
fused to partake in communion administered by Parker. At the same
time, he declined to answer the minister's charges against him before
the congregation. Instead, he extended his majoritarian principles
a further step. Over Parker's prohibition, Woodman's adherents,
claiming to be the major part of the church, met independently as the
church, attempted to administer their own church discipline, and voted
general church orders "as if they were the church."[60]

Parker was not quite ready to try his fortune again in the
Quarterly Court, although the actions of his opponents had given him
sufficient grounds. Moreover, Woodman's behavior added an urgency
to Parker's arguments, for now he was challenging the church govern-
ment accepted by most in Massachusetts. Hence, taking advantages of
the Woodmanites' absence from his own meeting, Parker and his party
voted to ask a council of neighboring churches to assemble in Newbury.

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[60]Ibid., 79.

Issued formal invitations, representatives of nine churches convened
in November, 1669 to consider the problems before Parker's congregation.

The assembly was stymied from the start. Objecting that it
was not a valid council and denying that they were subject to its
authority, the Woodmanites compounded their implicit threat by refusing
both to attend its sessions and to communicate their complaints. Hence,
the council acted on the basis of the allegations and evidences pro-
vided by Parker and his supporters. Shown only one side of the contro-
versy, it found Woodman's actions to be "breaches of church order,"
"reproachful," and "dishonorable."

> In an organic body . . . that there should be any regular
> orderly church, consisting of the major part of the brethren,
> severed from others of their brethren, yea of their pastor,
> or persons without, and not within the church, and such a
> company acting as a church being no regular church, all their
> actings as a church are to be accounted irregular. . . . It
> will be all the more offensive in the dissenting brethren to
> act in any such way for time to come.[61]

Before suspending "any further counsel" the assembly urged
Parker and his supporters to endeavor to convince the Woodmanites of
their errors, to restore peace and harmony in Newbury, and to "improve
also any other helps for that end."[62] Thus calling for rational
persuasions, the council adjourned until the next April. But rational
discourse was not to be had, for each side was too deeply convinced
of its own sanctity to be swayed by impassioned or unimpassioned
debate. Neither was prepared to compromise or yield on the basic
points of difference. The "Declaration of the pastor and several of
the brethren of the Church of Newbury," submitted to the Ipswich Court

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[61]Ibid., 78-80.   [62]Ibid., 79.

in 1671, indicated the inelastic spirit with which the Parker faction

approached rationality. Following the adjournment of the council,

> we endeavored . . . to see what composition we could bring
> our brethren to, and accordingly by public and private
> agitations we labored to reduce our brethren to a right and
> sober mind, that . . . they might be brought to a right
> understanding of the congregational way . . ., which, if
> our brethren had consented to, there might have been
> hopes to have proceeded peaceably . . .[63]

When his attempts to convince his opponents of their error proved

unsuccessful, Parker recognized only one alternative. He censured

the Woodmanites, insisting that only the confession of their errors

could effect a reconciliation.[64]

Woodman and his followers were no less instransigent. In

February, 1670, for example, John Webster, a Woodmanite, read to the

congregation a complaint against Parker. Recounting the charges

against "the major part of the church," Webster denied that any were

just complaints. His standard of truth, however, was dubious, par-

ticularly to Parker. Speaking for the majority, he affirmed that

> we do not judge ourselves guilty of those sins you have
> publically charged upon us, having duly examined our
> consciences and actions by the word of God, and therefore
> cannot approve of your proceedings therein, but do conceive
> that you have proceeded therein beside the rule that Christ
> hath given his church to walk by.

Denying that any rational persuasion had been attempted by Parker or

his supporters, Webster accused the minister of a "distemper of

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[63]Ibid., 93. This document, in QCR, IV, 353-54, has been
abstracted ineptly. Unfortunately, this is the only chronological
account of the events between November, 1669 and the suspension
of Parker in 1671.

[64]QCR, IV, 232-33.

spirits" and asserted that his complaints against the Woodmanites were, themselves, irregular and offensive.[65]

Despite the hopes of the 1669 council, then, the differences between Parker and Woodman proved impossible to solve so long as both sides saw no grounds for compromise. Accordingly, the council re-assembled in April, 1670. Both adversaries, made more determined by the events of the preceding half-year, anticipated vindication. Recognizing that a "slight plaster" would not heal Newbury's wounds, the Woodmanites, who had refused to meet with the council the previous November, informed the assembly that "we do heartily wish that God would make [the messengers] instruments for the settling of peace and truth amongst us and so throw down the strong hold that Satan hath erected against us." But their attendance would not be without conditions. They remained adamant that, because they "had no hand in your call," they would not be obliged to abide by the decision of the council. Nevertheless, they would be willing, they said, to hear the friendly advice tendered by the "honored and reverend brethren."[66]

While maintaining it was a true council, the assembly agreed to Woodman's conditions if, in turn, he would promise "to submit actively or passively" to their advice.[67] Agreeing without promising

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[65]QCR, IV, 232-33; Coffin, 81-82.

[66]QCR, IV, 363-65; Coffin, 86-87.

[67]Coffin, 87-88.

adherence,[68] Woodman's supporters catalogued their griefs, and, in the process, revealed the gulf separating their perspective from Parker's. They could not understand why they should have fallen into such widespread disfavor, for they claimed to be orthodox in both faith and government. Indeed, seeking to bias the council against Parker, they suggested that their orthodoxy itself made them martyrs. "We have cause to doubt that the offenses here against us at home is because we abide constantly to those principles and will not turn presbyterians." Even if simplistically, they recognized that the church disagreement touched the roots of congregationalism.

> As for our controversy, it is whether God hath placed the
> power in the elder, or in the whole church, to judge
> between truth and error, right and wrong, brother and
> brother, and all things of church concernment. It is denied
> that the fraternity have anything to do with it, but the
> minister only, and if his determination be not approved of,
> the persons aggrieved may appeal to all the ministers in
> the country.

Finally, they blamed the malicious and unyielding spirit of Parker's adherents for the miseries before the town.

> And it is come to pass that such as do not consent hereto
> are Corathites, and like the sons of Eli, that make the
> holy things of God to be despised, and upon this ground is our
> division. Principles preached and endeavored to be practiced,
> one contrary to another, have made two sorts of professions,
> contrary to one another . . . And yet we that to this day
> have stood unmoveable to those principles proved by the
> scriptures in books of controversy, in catechisms by the
> synod, by ecclesiastical laws confirmed, and approved of by
> the practice of all churches in general, are tossed up and

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[68]"We . . . do solemnly engage to the utmost ability to receive with all readiness, and attend with all diligence whatsoever scriptural light you may impart unto us according to the best of our understanding and consciences [Coffin, 88]."

down by the mouths of some unworthy persons as decliners
to levellism, to Morellianism and are a people that nothing
will satisfy.[69]

With possibly one exception, any written communication passed

between the Parker group and the council has not survived. Neverthe-

less, there is no reason to doubt that Woodman had described at least

the theological basis of the dispute fairly accurately. If James

Noyes' theology reflected that of Parker, then both men gave few

governing rights to the congregation. "Common members are not to

govern by suffrage and coordinate authority with the elders," wrote

Noyes, for elders were bestowed upon election with the same keys of

instituted power that had first been granted to the apostles. Once

the elders were chosen, the power of the brethren therefore became

"consultative," not "authoritative." Tending more toward anarchy

than toward good government, majority rule was incompatible with the

order charged upon the church.[70] In the event of maladministration

by the elders, the only option available to the brethren was appeal to

other elders sitting as a council. Representative of the "catholick

power" inherent in the church, such councils must have transcendent

authority, Noyes argued prophetically, otherwise they could not bind

an offending majority to make amends to an aggrieved but justified

minority. "Suppose the minor part offended, and a council judging on

the innocent side, yet if the major part doth counterjudge the council,

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[69]QCR, IV, 363-65; Coffin, 86-87.

[70]Temple Measured, 10-16, 30-33, and passim; Moses and
Aaron, 20, 42ff, and passim. On the other hand, Parker may have
gone beyond his cousin's theology. See Moses and Aaron, 55-56.

it being not bound to active or passive obedience, the innocent still shall suffer, without redress from authority."[71] (The mysterious Declaration of the Council at Newbury, in the hand of John Woodbridge, expressed virtually the same ideas less extensively, though its authorship is uncertain.[72])

Although both sides hoped that the council would bring the controversy to resolution, progress came slowly. Whether or not the Woodmanites appeared "with such a spirit and carriage as ill befit them before such a reverend assembly," the council took four days to complete its business. After hearing Parker's arguments, the council lestened to more than a score of grievances proferred by the Woodman faction, complaints which, according to the supporters of the minister, the council deemed unjustified.[73] Apparently preparing to rule again in favor of Parker, the council was interrupted while writing its report by Woodman himself and several of his followers. With "tears of joy," Woodman spoke as agent for his party. Acknowledging their "personal offenses," Woodman declared that he and his supporters realized they had been in error, and that they now sought the "forgiveness of the council, Pastor, and brethren."[74]

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[71]Temple Measured, 5 and passim; Moses and Aaron, 21, 30, 32, and passim.

[72]4-5, 8. See note 17 above.

[73]Coffin, 93.

[74]QCR, IV, 355; Coffin, 93.

Encouraged by Woodman's contrition, the council set aside whatever report it was writing and undertook to compose articles of accommodation between Woodman and Parker. On April 22, 1670, the council completed its efforts. When the resulting "Covenant" was signed by Parker and all of the Woodman party, the council disbanded, confident that the disorder in the Newbury church had finally been healed. As earlier, however, their confidence proved unfounded.

4

The covenant failed to unite the Newbury church because it did not resolve the differences between the perspectives of Parker and Woodman. It was an agreement without an understanding, for it bound each side to terms which remained undefined. Accordingly, both Parker and Woodman could agree to the covenant, each confident that he had subscribed to propositions which he had maintained from the outset. Each could respond to subsequent events with assurance that his interpretation of the covenant was the one intended by the council. Hence, where deviation from the agreement was perceived, each could revile the other all the more vituperatively, for their respective understandings of the covenant could supplement the claims of correctness asserted by each. Moreover, each alleged deviation would also produce the charge that one faction or the other had broken its covenant, all the more serious an allegation because, by 1670, it was the only covenant Newbury had.

Central to the agreement and to its inadequacy was the first clause, which required that the Cambridge Platform be the standard by

which church affairs were conducted. Reference to the Platform, how-
ever, had always been made by both Parker and Woodman to support their
respective positions, and each had consistently maintained that it
was the other who deviated from its declarations. In March, 1669, for
example, the Parker group strenuously professed that Newbury was not
"a singular people contrary to the professed persuasion and practice
of all the churches . . . ."[75] Calling themselves "faithful to God and
lovers of truth and peace" two years later, they accused the Woodman-
ites of accepting the Platform only insofar as they could be its
interpreters and of acting "contrary to the platform of discipline
allowed by the general court and the received practice of all the
congregational churches in this country."[76] Before the council in
1670, the Woodman party likewise maintained that they adhered strictly
to "that which the General Court hath established for the synod book,"
and asserted that Parker opposed them precisely for that reason. And
in 1671, their "Defense of the Persons Accused" included a chapter-by-
chapter catalogue of Parker's deviation from the Platform.[77]

Part of the confusion stemmed from the ambiguities of the
Platform itself, which was propounded as a handbook of true church
government. Part, as well, was the result of the intensity with which
each side professed its ideas. The Platform spelled out relationships
among parts of the church, but seldom did it elaborate upon the

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[75]Coffin, 77.

[76]QCR, IV, 353; Coffin, 92, 95.

[77]QCR, IV, 363-64; Coffin, 86-87, 95-97.

intricacies of the relationships. For example, in the mixed consti-
tution of the Congregational church, the Platform maintained, "if the
church have power to choose their officers and ministers, then in
cases of manifest unworthiness, and delinquency they have power also
to depose them. . . ."[78] But the absence of a definition of mal-
feasance left its determination, in effect, in the hands of the
aggrieved. Thus, when the Woodmanites suspended Parker from office
in the spring of 1671, they could argue that the minister's offenses
had been "clearly proved by sufficient evidence." Consequently, they
could assert that "we cannot but judge you worthy of blame, and do
hereby blame you."[79] The platform had stated that the advice of
neighboring churches be solicited "where it may conveniently be done"
when a church officer was tried.[80] But what was convenient? And,
what recourse was there when the churches contacted either failed to
advise for censure or else opposed the act? Faced with this dilemma
when Samuel Philips of Rowley refused to sanction their suspension of
Parker, the Woodmanites proposed their own rationale. The advice of
other churches, they maintained, was not absolutely necessary. It
was, redundantly, only a convenience, "where [it] may be had." In
justification of their actions, they maintained that Philips' objec-
tions and the refusal of the Salisbury church to advise them gave them

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[78]Walker, Creeds and Platforms, 215.

[79]QCR, IV, 360; Coffin, 82-83.

[80]Walker, Creeds and Platforms, 215.

no alternative but "to take liberties as God hath given us to procede ourselves as the rule of the word doth lead us."[81]

As a result, the second article of the covenant, which applied the Platform to disagreements within the church, could not be implemented. "All matters of controversy being considerable and of moment, not issued before the pastor or elders to mutual satisfaction of parties concerned, shall be brought to the church according to the said platform," the clause specified.[82] Two additional issues hence became entwined in the dispute, and only the simultaneous resolution of both could make this clause workable. The question of who composed the church had to be determined if the will of the congregation was to be discoverable. Nor did the second clause resolve the long-standing problem that had afflicted the church since at least 1669--how were the intentions of the church to be ascertained?[83]

Closely related to the second article were the third and fourth, both of which concerned admissions to membership in the church. Both also were, on the surface at least, implicit criticisms of the minister. The third term provided that those who were propounded for membership should "stand some considerable time, at least a fortnight," prior to the vote of the congregation, and required, further, that a warning be issued to notify the members that a vote would occur. In combination with the fourth clause, which denied that membership

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[81]Coffin, 96, 104-105.

[82]QCR, IV, 361-62; Coffin, 88.

[83]See above, pp. 134-36, and passim.

could be made contingent upon "judgment as to the congregational way, pro or con," the agreement seemed to confirm that Parker had changed more than one of his ideas. In 1644, he made no claim that an entrant must adhere to presbyterianism before his admission. Indeed, he had asserted that admission criteria should be "so large, that the weakest Christian may be received,"[84] and contemporary observers had noted that he practiced what he preached.[85]

Nevertheless, if church membership at the time of the dispute is any indication, inclusiveness did not continue to characterize the Newbury church. Although extant records do not permit an accurate estimate of town size, the eighty-two men who were church members during the controversy were by no means the complete population. Indeed, they seem to have been largely older members of the first and second generations of settlers. For example, the mean determinable age of participants in the church dispute was 47.7 years, and the median was 51. Of the 68 persons for whom age is known, only 28 were younger than the mean. Table IV-1 summarizes the ages of church members in 1671, the year in which the church dispute became most vociferous.

The high mean age of members was not necessarily the result of declining interest among the younger generation. Nor was it wholly the product of a disproportionate absence of younger members, for a skewed age distribution should be expected where church

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[84] True Copy, 4. See also, Noyes, Temple Measured, 63-65; Moses and Aaron, 82-85.

[85] Lechford, Plain Dealing, 80, for example.

TABLE IV-1

AGE OF CHURCH MEMBERS, 1671

Age	Number
20-24	3
25-29	8
30-34	8
35-39	2
40-44	7
45-49	2
50-54	12
55-59	9
60-64	4
65-69	8
70-74	3
75-79	0
80-84	2

membership is concerned. However, the age distribution assumes meaning when the ages for the opposing groups are tabulated separately. Although the mean ages of both groups were about the same (47.0 for the Parker faction and 49.9 for the Woodmanites), the youngest member of the Parker group was 5 years younger than the youngest Woodmanite. Moreover, although both median ages were also higher than the respective mean ages (50.5 and 53.0), the same bias appears when the groups are divided by age relative to the median. Among the Parker supporters, the median age for the 16 members younger than the group median was 27, whereas for the 14 Woodmanites it was 36. Yet for both groups, the "older median" was 58 years. The relative absence of youth in the congregation, then, seems to be associated with articles three and four of the covenant. Parker was admitting only those younger inhabitants who seemed likely to support his position. (See Table IV-2.)

TABLE IV-2

AGES OF CHURCH MEMBERS, 1671
(PARKER AND WOODMAN GROUPS)

Age	Number	
	Parker Supporters	Woodman Supporters
20-24	3	0
25-29	5	3
30-34	4	4
35-39	0	2
40-44	2	5
45-49	2	0
50-54	6	6
55-59	4	5
60-64	1	3
65-69	4	3
70-74	2	1
75-79	0	0
80-84	1	1

This conclusion is strengthened by one more "piece" of evidence. The church records prior to 1674 are no longer extant, but the complete membership of the church is known for the year 1671.[86] Using the records kept after the ordination of John Richardson, a "Catalogue of Members, previous to 1816" was drawn up by the church.[87] Although the list of members prior to 1674 in this compilation is undoubtedly incomplete, a comparison of both sets of names was used to identify at least some of those who were members before 1674 but not

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[86]QCR, IV, 359-60, 361; Coffin, 83, 85-86.

[87]Covenant, Articles of Faith, and Rules of the First Church of Newbury, with a Catalogue of its Members and an Accounting of its Pastors (Newbury: Old Byfield Printing Co., 1896). Members before 1674 are listed on 10-11.

during the church split. After the names of those who died or left town prior to 1671, and those who participated in the church dispute, were eliminated, the list contained the names of many, if not most, of the admissions between March, 1671 and 1674. It is not possible to determine either the date an individual was propounded for admission or the position he would have taken in the church split. Nevertheless, on the surface at least, the list does suggest that Parker was admitting members on the basis of their theology.

Twenty-five people, at least, were admitted to the church between 1671 and 1674. For sixteen of these, kinship ties extended exclusively toward one group or the other, and the remaining admissions had no kinship links to either group. Moreover, the six whose kin were supporters of Parker were significantly younger, on the average, than those whose kin supported Woodman. John Sewall and Moses Gerrish, who were probably too young to have been admitted much before 1674, were "Parker kin" eliminated from consideration. Nevertheless, the 26.3 year mean age of these "predicted" Parker supporters was six full years younger than the mean age of their "predicted" opponents (32.4). Four fewer "Parker kin" were admitted between 1671 and 1674, but three Parker supporters were the only persons in the 20-24 bracket of the age distribution of church members in 1671. It is quite possible that the admissions of these youthful inhabitants during the dispute, if not others as well, were predicated upon their known support for Parker's theology.[88]

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[88]Among the six Parker kin, five were connected to either the Knight or the Noyes family. John Knight, Jr. (23) was the son of John, Sr., and, in 1672, married the daughter of the late Reverend

Thus, when Edward Woodman objected to the admission of James and John Smith,[89] he was objecting to a principle as well as to an event. Parker probably had admitted those who agreed with him before admitting others prior to the second council session, and he certainly did so after.[90] Moreover, it is not unlikely that he had also taken advantage of the periodic absence of some or all of his opponents to "railroad" into membership those he wished. Even while half the church was under suspension, he continued to administer the Sacrament, so he therefore had some subjective justification to continue the normal administration of church business.[91] For this reason, Woodman

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James Noyes. Thomas Noyes (23), the son of James, had married the daughter of Daniel Pierce, Sr., in 1669. Cutting Noyes (22), the son of Nicholas, Sr., became the son-in-law of John Knight, Sr., in 1674. John Noyes (25), the son of Nicholas, and John Knight's son-in-law, Joseph Downer (33) also became members prior to 1674. Finally, Abraham Adams (32), the son of Robert, had married the daughter of Richard Pettingall in 1670.

The Woodman kin betray the same pattern with more diffusion. Moses Pilsbury (age unknown) was the son of William, and Francis Browne (39) the son of Thomas. John Badger (28) was the son-in-law of Stephen Swett (whose wife was the daughter of John Merrill) and the nephew of Stephen Greenleaf. Elisha Ilsley (23) was the son of William and the son-in-law of John Poore, Sr. (In 1671, however, he was in Woodbridge, New Jersey.) In 1669, Joshua Browne (29) had married the daughter of William Sawyer, and in 1671, Samuel Bartlet (25), the son of Richard, had married the daughter of William Titcomb, his uncle through marriage. John Woolcott (39) had been Richard Thorla's son-in-law since 1653. Jonathan Woodman (28) was the son of Edward, Sr., and Samuel Poore (48) was probably the brother of John, Sr. Finally, Joseph Pike (33) was the son of John, who, though he was, like Elisha Ilsley, in Woodbridge in 1671, had given strong testimony in support of Edward Woodman previously and probably had been a church member.

[89] QCR, IV, 357.

[90] See the letter from Samuel Philips to John Woodbridge, January 16, 1672, in Coffin, 105.

[91] Philips to Woodbridge, April 3, 1672, in Ibid., 107-109.

probably revealed his distrust of Parker by insisting on the third provision of the covenant. And it is probably no coincidence that in his objection to the admission of the Smith brothers he complained that they had not stood in wait long enough. If Parker was to use his absence to admit supporters of his position, Woodman wanted to be warned in time to prepare for the vote.

The efforts of the council therefore produced only a truce between Parker and Woodman. Without clear definitions, the covenant could not heal the breach that had developed. The Council, however, had done as much as it could, and it left confident that future disagreements had been prevented. Anticipating the restoration of peace in the church, the council made no attempt to outline any explicit means to settle subsequent problems, short of the method provided by the Platform. Nor could it foresee that the document might mean different things to Parker and Woodman. It invoked, implicitly, a new spirit of compromise, yet neither Parker nor Woodman was capable of showing the self-restraint or moderation a peaceable settlement required. Controversy returned to Newbury well before the year was out.

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By December, 1670, it was clear that the church was even more completely divided. Woodman, who had, despite his "tears of joy," continued to abstain from communion, declared his disavowal of the covenant and soon renewed his agitations. Parker as well maintained his intransigence, refusing to put the covenant to the vote of his

supporters and rejecting a number of propositions offered by Woodman. As a result, "we could scarcely have any public occasion . . . but there was some public opposition from one or another, and nothing could be managed with peace." Matters came to a head on December 8, 1670, when Parker called a meeting of the church to deal again with the complaints before the congregation. After an exchange of accusations between Nicholas Noyes, against Woodman, and Woodman, against Parker, the meeting broke up without having resolved a single issue.[92]

At this meeting, Parker had offered to answer Woodman's complaints. Woodman, however, refused to hear Parker's reply, seeking a special church meeting to deal with the minister. Two weeks later, Woodman confronted Parker in private "to deal with him according to the rule in order to bring him to the church, if he refuses." Parker, recognizing that no public or private explanation would satisfy his opponent, offered instead to join Woodman in calling a new council. But Woodman rejected the offer, claiming "he would never call in the help of any elders as long as he lived." It is doubtful, however, that Woodman had approached Parker with the intention of settling the controversy. Instead, he probably had intended the meeting to conclude in a stalemate, for he informed the minister that "he would bring it to the church in order to depose him, and then they would desire the advice of other churches what they were to do in point of farther censure." With the failure to effect a resolution of their

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[92]QCR, IV, 354-55, 357; Coffin, 93, 96, 106.

differences at this time, Woodman set in motion his plans to carry out his threat.[93]

Claiming to possess a majority of the church members, Woodman's party met several times in December and January to plot their course and to resist the attempts by Parker to call them before the church. By the end of January, 1671, Woodman and his supporters initiated their formal move to oust Parker. On the twenty-ninth of the month, over the protests of the minister, Woodman "desired the church to stay" in order to schedule a meeting to hear his complaints against Parker. Eight days later, on February 6, the meeting called by Woodman convened and summoned Parker to appear in the name of the church. When the minister refused to answer, the brethren in attendance chose officers for the meeting and heard about forty objections tendered by Woodman alone.[94]

The results of this meeting are not known, but it is likely that the Woodman supporters at least considered deposing the minister at this time. However, the weighty implications of such an act caused them to pause. Hence, they continued to sit as the church in their own meetings, rejecting Parker's repeated urgings to summon a new council. By February 16, the Woodman group had decided upon its plan of attack. Writing the churches at Rowley and Salisbury, the leaders of Woodman's party requested these neighbors to send messengers for advice.[95]

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[93]Coffin, 94.

[94]QCR, IV, 352, 355; Coffin, 91, 93-94, 98.

[95]Coffin, 95, 103.

In reply, Samuel Philips wrote that his church thought it unwise to send emissaries, because Parker had not been asked to join in the call and because two churches was not a sufficient number under the circumstances.[96] On February 28, therefore, only the messengers from Salisbury conferred with the Woodmanites. They refused to consider the ouster of Parker, despite the complaints articulated to them by Woodman. Instead, they advised the Woodmanites "that the choice of officers either teaching or ruling elders, such as the church should most unanimously agree upon would most conduce to our peace and quiet." Woodman, however, was not to be diverted. The recommendations of the Salisbury church became, for Woodman, the tool to unseat Parker.[97]

Woodman had known when he requested their advice that the Rowley and Salisbury churches were not likely to lend their support to Parker. Hence, he probably knew that Parker would reject their recommendations. He was not mistaken. As expected, Parker refused to consent to the message from Salisbury. Armed with "proof" of Parker's unbrotherly stubbornness, Woodman was ready when his church reconvened. On March 16, 1671, "being forced thereunto to the great grief and trouble of our hearts and by an act laid Mr. Parker under blame, suspending him from all official acts . . ."[98]

After electing Richard Dummer and Edward Woodman as ruling elders, the Woodman church wrote to Parker, notifying him of their

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[96]Ibid., 104.   [97]Ibid., 92-104.

[98]QCR, IV, 360; Coffin, 82-83, 103, 104.

actions. Declaring him guilty with respect to Woodman's complaints "by sufficient evidences, and much of it known to our selves to be true," they asserted that Parker's "change of opinion and practice and several times breaking promises and covenants" were culpable offenses. Protesting their great grief, the forty-one brethren demoted Parker back to the congregation, allowing him only to preach "as a gifted brother" until he had given the church satisfaction.[99]

Parker first responded to the Woodman letter with patience and a threat. Setting the stage for future developments he wrote his opponents that he would have nothing to do with their actions. He denied any personal guilt and reminded them that it was not he who had broken "the unity and peace of the church." Nevertheless, he was willing to resolve the issue in a legal way. "Once more I entreat you to think of some way of reconciling our differences, which we think will only be by consenting with us to call a regular council, resolving to submit to their advice." At the same time, however, he issued a warning that his concern was matched by his resolution. If the Woodman faction did not join him in seeking assistance, "we shall be forced to consider what course shall be taken to defend ourselves, and blame us not for using any lawful means whereby we redress your sin and our distraction."[100]

After the Woodman brethren rejected Parker's request to call a council, the Parker church assumed the offensive. From March 22,

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[99]QCR, IV, 360; Coffin, 82-83.

[100]QCR, IV, 358-59; Coffin, 83-84.

Parker no longer sought reconciliation. Rather, he persisted in his assertions of righteousness, determined to drive the Woodmanites to their knees. There was no doubt, he maintained, as to the source of the disturbances. "What patience have been used toward them, yet what opposition have been made by them, how irreverently then have carried themselves . . ." The high-handed actions of the Woodmanites a week earlier had brought the crisis to a head from which there could be no compromise. Accordingly, Parker's church, without calling upon their errant brethren to repent, voted to "renounce communion with all those brethren that have so deeply violated the communion of Christ's church, nor shall we accept them as regular members . . . till God shall give them a mind to see and heart to acknowledge and confess their great offenses . . ."[101]

On March 23, Parker sent a second letter to the Woodman group, chastising them for preparing to ordain Dummer and Woodman. Gone from Parker's words was any hint of a willingness to compromise. Indeed, the minister affirmed that his words of warning were sent less out of genuine concern than out of his duty to provide "that there be nothing wanting in us to evidence that love and respect unto you, which brethren ought to have one towards another, and the duty we owe to God binds us to." He wrote not to urge moderation but to "intreat you not to despise the Lord Jesus Christ by making his ordinances contemptible." He then prepared to wash his hands of any further obligations to the Woodmanites. If, despite his advice, Woodman and his church continued along their errant path, Parker

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[101]Coffin, 84-85, 106.

wrote, then it would be no fault of his. "We have done our endeavor to prevent your sin," he concluded, and "[we] leave you to [H]is judgment, that will in [H]is time judge everything in truth."[102]

At the same time, Parker confirmed what the Woodmanites had been expecting. He would press a new complaint against Woodman before the Quarterly Court. Confident of a successful plea, he warned his adversaries not to "despise the civil authorities above us, we have cause abundantly to thank God that they will countenance and protect us."[103] In April, Richard Kent, Jr. and Daniel Pierce, Sr., on behalf of the Parker church, presented to the court at Ipswich a lengthy accusation, citing at least nine alleged violations committed by Woodman and his party against the peace and order of the town and the church. The Woodmanites, they charged, had slandered Parker's reputation and stubbornly persisted in their contempt. In addition, they had acted factiously by conspiring against their minister, defying his official pronouncements, calling irregular meetings, impeding church discipline, depriving the church of ordinances and Godly rule, illegally imposing ruling elders upon the church without the consent of the Pastor or the congregation, and acting schismatically. Having listed the offenses, Kent and Pierce asked the Court "at least to redress such

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[102]Ibid., 85.

[103]Ibid., 85. Parker also may have been reflecting on Woodman's stated intention to take the case to the General Court. See below, p. 165.

miscarriages as are contrary to the known laws of the country, and so, contrary to public peace."[104]

The Parker supporters were meticulous in their complaint, preferring, as earlier, to treat the issue in legal terms only. Indeed, they had little choice, for by their own admission they were outnumbered among the de facto voting members of the church.[105] Hence, they avoided questions of theological significance and largely invoked statutes pertaining to civil and ecclesiastical peace. Their conception of court responsibility remained constant--the civil authorities were not to be the arbiters of theology, which was properly the domain of church councils. Secular authority was only to be used "to see the peace, ordinances, and rules of Christ to be observed in every church . . . and our honored magistrates . . . do account themselves bound by all due means to countenance and protect the observers of the Congregational government."[106]

This reliance upon law, however, was not only the result of political considerations. It also reflected the profound sense of

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[104]QCR, IV, 350-53; Coffin, 90-92. This is a revealing political document as well, for it appeals to the emotions of magistrates who were faced with other, similar majoritarian challenges. Pierce and Kent, in the opening paragraph, made clear its political implications. They wrote that they held out little "hope of silencing, much less of curing, our difficulties and fearing lest such miscarriages may have an influence, not only to breed public disturbance in other churches, some sparks whereof already appear, but may break forth into open factions and mutinies . . ." (Emphasis has been added.)

[105]QCR, IV, 359-60; Coffin, 86.

[106]QCR, IV, 353; Coffin, 92.

order and regularity shared by Parker's supporters. Order, the organizer of society, was embodied in the law. Hence violations of order were violations of the law. Convinced of his own rectitude, Parker was no less certain that his concept of order was the only proper one. He could maintain throughout that Woodman's actions were disorderly, for he and his party had threatened to unleash anarchy upon the church. They had stepped out of place, he argued, and "will be content with nothing but their own will, to the subduing of all to their humors."[107] Parker felt amply justified in using legal channels to restore the order which he perceived had been violated by the irregularity of his opponents.

In contrast, the Woodmanite perspective was predicated on a different notion of order, one with which few first generation Puritan leaders would have agreed. Where Parker emphasized responsibility and submission to place, they based their arguments on rights and majoritarianism. In rebuttal to Parker, they posed two related lines of defense. On the one hand, they claimed to be the majority of the church and denied the membership of six Parker supporters. As the major part, they asserted that they had sufficient power to act in the name of the church when disciplinary action was put to a vote. They, too, made the invocation of law part of their defense. Deprived of their "lawful liberties," they insisted that it was Parker who should properly be called usurper. "Whether we are not a people that go about to set up a new government, because we act or allow the act of the major part of the church to be authentic, to us seemeth to be

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[107]QCR, IV, 354; Coffin, 95.

an objection new coined by such as might as well say a church hath
no power or privilege whether they be major, or minor, of the
whole."[108]

Establishing to their satisfaction that they were the major
part of the church, and claiming that they possessed "concluding
power" as a result, the Woodmanites argued that their actions were
therefore legal. They, too, posed political arguments before the
magistrates, citing custom and law in justification of their behavior.
From General Court to the election of way-wardens, they said, the
vote of the majority carried the issue. "How it is come to pass,"
they stated, "that the poor church of Newbury amongst all the thousands
in N. E. should be opposed in their lawful liberty in this kind we
cannot but a little wonder." Citing scripture, law, and the Platform,
they declared, defiantly, that all of their recent actions were, and
could only be, legal and regular.[109]

Asserting their own justification, they attempted no direct
answer to the charges leveled by Parker, for the accusations were
irrelevant to their own understanding of congregationalism. Instead,
they entered only one complaint of their own against the minister, a
complaint which reveals the true breadth of the gulf separating their
understanding and that of Parker.

> We . . . desire this court to consider whether it be not
> against all order, law or custom that complaint should be
> brought to a court against brethren, which from conscience
> of the rule of Christ do complain to a church against an

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[108]QCR, IV, 363; Coffin, 95-97.

[109]QCR, IV, 363; Coffin, 92, 97.

offending brother, merely because they have complained,
when the church hath heard the complaint and acquit the
complainer, by owning the complaint to be duly proved,
and sentenced the person complained against.[110]

The event which precipitated Parker's complaint was, to the Woodman
faction, the action of a self-evidently justified congregation. In the
light of Parker's accusations, the complaint offered by the Woodmanites
suggests that neither side was able to address, much less to understand,
the arguments of the other.

If Woodman hoped that the Court would accept his arguments,
he was to be disappointed, for the Court would not become involved in
a theological issue as complex as the Newbury controversy. Its May,
1671 decision, this time unanimous, found in favor of Parker, just as
the pastor had anticipated. Chastising the Woodmanites for their
"high and irregular practices unheard of in this country," the magis-
trates called Woodman's claims groundless and often false, and the
justification for his actions totally insufficient. "They have alleged
nothing but that they were the major part of the church, not charging,
much less proving, any offense given by their reverend pastor, Mr.
Parker, who for anything that doth yet appear is altogether innocent,
though exceedingly scandalized, reproached, and wronged by Mr. Woodman
and his parties [sic]." Accordingly, the Court found Woodman and his
supporters "guilty of very great misdemeanors, though in varying
degrees," and levied fines totalling more than twenty-eight pounds
against Parker's opponents.[111]

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[110]Coffin, 92.

[111]QCR, IV, 365-67; Coffin, 99-100.

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Both Parker and the Court were no less in error if they expected Woodman to return to the fold. Although he knew that Parker intended to present the controversy to the Quarterly Court, Woodman remembered the favorable intervention of the colonial government in the militia controversy. Hence, he wrote his opposite on March 23, notifying the minister that he would take the case to the General Court.[112] Presented the issue in May, shortly after the Quarterly Court had given its decision, the Court of Elections instructed the churches at Dedham, Roxbury, Charleston, and the first church of Boston to send messengers to Newbury "and offer them their best advice."[113]

Woodman hoped that the Court would be able to extricate Newbury from the morass of controversy in a manner which accorded more with his sympathies, and his hopes were undoubtedly buoyed by the haste with which the council set about its business. But the messengers were not successful in their charge. Indeed, ignoring most of the fundamental issues of the controversy, the council seems to have considered only the events stemming from the suspension of Parker, for its report to the Court in May, 1672 recommended specific actions to reverse only the events after March 16, 1671. By fall, 1671, though the council had finished its business in Newbury, matters had not improved. As early as September, Parker had sought to bring

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[112]QCR, IV, 359; Coffin, 84.

[113]Shurtleff, IV, part 2, 487; Mass. Archs., X, leaf 59.

the council back to take stronger action, but his request was rejected summarily by the council itself.[114]

As a result, the Parker church continued to sit and act without the Woodmanites, whose own actions have largely become obscured. Parker, in fact, proved particularly stubborn. Even when several Woodman supporters heeded the council's advice to acknowledge their offenses, Parker "told them . . . that let them go as far as they would in acknowledgement except they would come and join with him at the Lord's table, it would not be taken for satisfaction." Deprived of the Sacrament in their own church, at least two of the Woodmanites, Richard Dummer and Thomas Hale, Jr., both of whom had acknowledged their faults to Parker, shared communion with the Rowley Congregation.

When John Woodbridge complained that the practice of the neighboring church resembled Anglicanism, Samuel Philips, who had administered communion to Dummer and Hale, replied that "I wish there were nothing in Newbury that looks of a more episcopal countenance."[115] The Rowley pastor was not responding only to Woodbridge's accusation. Both Rowley and Newbury had been aroused in March, 1672, by rumors that Parker and his supporters were preparing to appeal their case to England. Robert Adams, who had not voted to suspend Parker, told several Woodmanites that the minister had indeed sent communications to England.[116] Agitation was even more pronounced in Rowley, where

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[114]Mass. Archs., X, 107; Currier, History of Newbury, 321.

[115]Philips to Woodbridge, April 3, 1672, in Coffin, 107-109.

[116]QCR, V, 39.

Robert Loomis, a member of the Newbury church living in the neighboring town, had told several of his fellow townsmen that Richard Saltonstall could prove Adams' assertion. Loomis had told William Goodhue that

> he heard that Mr. Parker had written to some friends in England concerning their differences at Newbury and that they had presented his case to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.[117]

Whether this had been Parker's intention is uncertain, but it is clear that at least Benjamin Woodbridge, in old Newbury, had received letters from his brother John or his uncle Parker.[118] Newbury's pastor had probably not intended for his communication to reach the ears of the Archbishop, who would hardly be likely to support a Presbyterian settlement in New England. Nevertheless, the presence of rumors that he had indicates the extent to which Parker's behavior had elicited fears in Rowley that the allegations might be true. Coming only a few years after a number of Parker's supporters had petitioned the General Court not to press the issue of colonial autonomy from England too stridently,[119] Thomas Leaver's testimony assumes additional significance. Leaver told the Court of his and others' "suspicion or fear lest Mr. Parker's party or some of them should in writing impart their troubles to some great ones of the Presbyterian party who of themselves as was feared might inform the

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[117]Ibid., 38.

[118]"Woodbridge-Baxter Correspondence," 579.

[119]Mass. Archs., CVI, leaves 167-68.

archbishop of Canterbury and so give occasion to our adversaries to send over as far as them concerned some general bishop or other. . . ."[120]

These rumors undoubtedly had disturbed the ears of both the council sent to deal with the Newbury controversy and the General Court, neither of which was overly sympathetic to Parker. The Newbury pastor had been a thorn to the New England ministry since 1643, when some of his objections to the New England way had been represented to the assembly of ministers at Cambridge.[121] Opposition remained a prominent quality in his relations with other ministers. In 1662, for example, Eleazer Mather referred to Parker as a "great antagonist of the Congregational way and order" who continued to question "whether we were in the right ecclesiastical order."[122] The Court, perhaps, had even more reason to be concerned. Twice since 1661, many of those who became Parker supporters had signed inflammatory petitions which questioned the political relationship between Massachusetts Bay and the crown. Indeed, the court so re-sented the 1666 petition that it summoned William Gerrish to answer for the audacity of the petitioners.[123]

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[120]QCR, V, 38-39.

[121]Walker, Creeds and Platforms, 136-37; Parker, True Copy, 4; and Hall, Faithful Shepherd, 112, for example.

[122]Mather to John Davenport, July 4, 1662, in M.H.S. Colls., 4th. Ser., VIII, 192-93.

[123]Shurtleff, IV, part 2, 6, 317-18. See also Paul R. Lucas, "Colony or Commonwealth: Massachusetts Bay, 1661-1666," WMQ, 3d Ser., XXIV (1967), 106-107; and Bailyn, Merchants, 123-24.

But Court and council were in a quandary. If they decided against Parker, they would be supporting a majoritarian ideology that was rapidly becoming anathema to the leaders of the Bay. To the newly rising second generation of ministers, the increasing demands of the brethren made the elaboration of ministerial power, so central to the theology of Parker and his kin, all the more desirable. Indeed, by the 1660s, the demands of these new ministers seemed to be moving increasingly closer to the arguments put forth by Parker and Noyes in the 1640s and 1650s.[124] Nor had the Court been immune to similar pressures. Concurrent with ministerial attempts to augment their power were attempts by the Court to define voting and office holding rights much more exclusively and to restrain the whims of the populace.[125] The widening gulf between Puritan and citizen, leader and follower, was perceived by both magistrate and minister, having been brought into clear focus by the debates over the Half-Way Covenant and the election of 1671.[126]

Pulled in two directions, Court and council chose, through equivocation, to repudiate both sides of the controversy. The report of the council, as approved by the Court in May, 1672, annulled the March, 1671 actions of the Woodmanites, calling them disorderly,

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[124]Hall, Faithful Shepherd, 207-18, and passim.

[125]Robert E. Wall, Jr., "The Decline of the Massachusetts Franchise: 1647-1666," JAH, LIX (1972), 303-10; Bailyn, Merchants, 134-42, passim; T. H. Breen, "English Origins and New World Development: The Case of the Covenanted Militia in Seventeenth Century Massachusetts," Past and Present, LVII (1972), 74-96.

[126]Miller, New England Mind: From Colony to Province, 105-109, for example.

scandalous, and contrary to scripture. At the same time, the Court voided Parker's "irregular" suspension of the Woodman faction without "seeking other healing means or taking council." The Court refused to impose further sentence, choosing instead to offer advice only on "some other things that are more dubious." Addressing the issue of the major part, the Court recommended that "lifting up of hands" was the best way to ensure "liberty of voting in all their own concerns." Woodman, the Court suggested, should return to the "public worship of God," and indirectly accused him of "offense and ill example." Because peaceful worship and edification were promoted best by "the amicable close of spirit and united judgment of the officer and brethren," the report strongly urged Woodbridge "not to impose himself or his ministry (however otherwise desirable) upon this church." Recommending public humiliation, forgiveness, and reformation, the Court completed its report with a warning. "Should there be a failure" to restore order, the Court wrote, "you may not think that we shall be necessitated to advise what further course is to be taken."[127]

As even-minded as the Court tried to be, its fence-straddling did not resolve all of the contested issues, for the obligatory pro-visions of the adopted report attempted only to reunite the church physically. To this extent, and insofar as it found Woodman's behavior blameworthy, the report justified Parker's long-held assertion that only a council could heal controversies over church dogma or govern-ment. Yet its unenforceable recommendations, which seemed to support Woodman's position, threatened to make Parker the victim of one set of

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[127]Shurtleff, IV, part 2, 521-24.

circumstances that would have not arisen had his criticism been heeded--they acknowledged the unwillingness or inability of authorities to impose solutions to fundamental church problems. Given the social context of the church split, the prescriptions of the General Court alone could not resolve the problem, for the controversy was not, as the Court perceived it, one between ideas on the one hand or between man and God's word on the other. Rather, it was a conflict between men, one that had become a holy crusade of sorts. This made it all the less easily solved from without.[128]

As a result, the Court learned in October that its efforts had not met with success. Advised that the council "hath not been so attended as the court expected," the Court ordered a new council "to repair to Newbury, and call both parties together, and persuade with them to attend the same with love and Christian submission, one to another."[129] The actions of this council are unknown. Although the Court instructed it to submit a report "in case there shall appear any refractoriness," the records became mute on the further developments in the Newbury church split.

The means by which the split was resolved, therefore, are unknown. However, the restoration of peace to Newbury was not without its own irony. Both of the councils which attempted to settle the Newbury controversy had concluded that one ruling elder was at least one too few. Both, therefore, advised the town to hire a suitable

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[128]See below, Chapter 5.

[129]Shurtleff, IV, part 2, 549; see also Mass. Archs., X, leaf 60.

assistant to Parker. The retention of John Richardson around 1673 implemented this recommendation. Although he was not ordained until 1675, Richardson seems to have restored a spirit of compromise and moderation to the congregation. The son of Amos Richardson,[130] he was a recent Harvard graduate from Stonington, Connecticut. Since the 1660s, James Noyes, Jr., the son of the same James, Sr. who had been such a moderating influence on Thomas Parker, had been the minister at Stonington.

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[130]His relation, if any, to Edward Richardson, a Woodmanite, has not been determined.

CHAPTER V

THE CONSISTENCY OF CHANGE

The partisan conflict between Parker and Woodman was not only
an intellectual disagreement over the nature of church government. To
be sure, it was that, and a power struggle as well. But it was of much
greater import to inhabitants of the town than any single disagreement
or power struggle could have been. Fundamentally, the church split was
both a result of and a stimulant to continuing and profound social
changes occurring within the town. Although the town maintained the
same goals of peace, harmony, and unity that it had sought in the
1630s and 1640s, the context in which these goals were sought had not
remained static. Gradually, imperceptibly, and inexoribly, the uni-
fied network of kin and friends which facilitated the corporate action
of the town had become fragmented. Whether the townsmen recognized it
explicitly or not, the town had matured.

To some degree, the social complication of the town was in-
evitable. Despite a considerable out-migration from the town, the
net growth of the population within its boundaries made virtually
certain that new associations would not keep pace with the rapid rise
in the number of possible new kin and friends. The dispersal of
domiciles within the town and the occupational and social

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diversification of the inhabitants combined with the growth of population to abet the fragmentation of the unity that characterized the early social relationships of the townsmen. As a result, by 1685, the town was composed of a network with eight separate groups.

Although the town was still knit together socially, the mutual support and recognition afforded one another in its earliest years were things of the past. By 1685, people had become more distant emotionally and socially. Whereas formerly the townsmen had remained moderately single-minded on most issues (or potentially so), following the church split they became significantly more susceptible to the influence of smaller, more discrete groups. If they did not, in fact, align along these lines prior to 1685, it was not because the potential lines of division were more quantitative than qualitative. Other issues imposed other, cross-cutting lines of differentiation upon the first, second, and third generations of residents, blurring the lines of kinship and friendship group identification.

The critical event in this social transformation seems to have been the church split. This disagreement stimulated the "patriotism" of "ego-centric" kinship and friendship associations and, in turn, imposed upon each individual the responsibility to choose among his associates. Once choices were made, social "investments" were established. The systematic exploitation of interpersonal obligations paved the way toward a redefinition of the social structure of the town.[1]

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[1]For an example of how this process might have operated, see Mayer, "The Significance of Quasi-Groups," in The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, ed. by Banton, 97-122.

At the same time, however, the social structure of the church split was the result of social processes which had been influencing town affairs for some time. The differential patterns of behavior revealed by the social alignment of the dispute were already present, implicitly, when the town was founded. It is no coincidence, for example, that only two or three of the Woodmanites had arrived in New England with Parker on Mary and John. Even the earliest settlers did not join forces as a completely unified group. Implicit social differentiation accelerated with the emergence of other, physical and intellectual strains on the unity of the town.

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The origin of the social disruption began as early as the 1640s, when the town chose to remove to the Merrimack. Not only did this decision provoke considerable discomfort among those who wished to remain at Old Town,[2] but it also laid the groundwork for the disintegration of the social network. Once the movement had been completed, the unity of the town, as the inhabitants understood it, became doomed to extinction.

Much of the impetus to the settlement of Newbury had come from prominent men whose concerns ran toward livestock breeding. As long as the major interest of the town remained cattle raising, the extensive and sparsely-treed marsh and meadow of its topography could satisfy the needs of the inhabitants. But by 1640, a new

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[2]See above, pp. 92-98.

interest in mercantile callings had emerged among the inhabitants. To established and aspiring merchants, the broader, tree-lined Merrimack offered distinct advantages over the narrow and shallow Parker River. Though Newbury continued to breed large numbers of livestock, moreover, most of the townsmen did not specialize in husbandry. By the early 1640s, most of the arable land in the town had been taken up, particularly because the town had alienated a sizable proportion of its land to encourage the settlement of Rowley.[3] As a result, common lands became more distant, new plow lands were inconveniently located, and timber was hard to find. These were the arguments used, in fact, to justify the creation of the commission in 1642 "for removing, settling, and disposing of the inhabitants to such places as . . . might tend to their enlargements."[4]

The quest for personal "enlargement," however, posed ominous implications for the collective social harmony of the town. By providing for diffused settlement, the Commission deprived the town of the daily, social interaction necessary for cooperation and compromise. The original houses had been laid out in Old Town and Newbury Neck, along opposite banks of the Parker River. Other accommodations, furthermore, had been concentrated in specific locales around the residential areas, where many, if not most, of the inhabitants combined them into open fields.[5] As a result, whether in their

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[3]Prop. Recs., 7-8.

[4]Town Recs., n.d., 1642; Prop. Recs., Fol. 58, 151.

[5]QCR, IV, 227.

neighborhoods or working their lands, Newbury inhabitants experienced day-to-day contact with one another, fostering the interdependence of the population and thereby preserving the potential for harmonious, corporate activity. In turn, the frequent social and civil intercourse among the townsmen helped maintain the dense and interlinked social network that characterized the early town.

With the creation of the New Town, many of these interrelationships were severed. Not only was the town divided into two centers, but also the population became dispersed from the Parker to the Artichoke River, producing irreparable strains on the organic unity of the town. Those who remained in Old Town became a distinct group, separated by neighborhood interests from those who removed to New Town. Moreover, many of those granted farm acreage, such as Richard Dummer, used the movement of the town and meeting house to justify their permanent removal to their farm lands. As early as 1652, Edward Johnson could note that "their houses are built very scattering," an observation repeated by John Josselyn eleven years later.[6] By the 1660's, the town had become so dispersed that three and four separate sets of fence viewers had to be appointed.[7]

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[6]Johnson, Wonder Working Providence, 145; Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England, in MHS Colls., 3d Ser., III, 324.

[7]For example, Town Recs., April 2, 1666. The abandonment of the principal of compact settlement not only lessened the daily interaction of the population, but it also may have biased whatever interaction remained. It is impossible to reproduce the neighborhood patterns of the post-removal population. Nevertheless, the dispersal of the population would encourage an expectation that regional biases affected both interpersonal alignments and kinship and friendship patterns. Much of the differentiation apparent in the network analysis below may well be the result of regional contours of association.

The loss of cooperation which resulted from population dispersal was reflected in the gradual abandonment of Newbury's open fields. Despite the town practice of granting specifically-bounded acreage to individuals, not to groups, the lands frequently remained unfenced so that they might be worked in common. Although the town meeting continued to regulate the maintenance of general fences, the loss of perpetual town supervision which occurred with the removal of the town placed greater responsibility to cooperate in the hands of those who shared the open cultivation of specific areas. At times, this mutual accommodation was hard to obtain. In 1653, for example, a number of Old Town inhabitants admitted that the cooperation among them was less than ideal. Betraying the same harsh majoritarianism that Woodman and his party would later evoke, "we the major part" of the participants voted, without legal sanction, to fine anyone failing to maintain his share of the surrounding fence. At the same time, they affirmed that enclosure of plots was already under consideration, at least, when they stipulated that responsibility to maintain the general fence would lapse "when any man's land is fenced in particular to himself."[8]

Nor did the removal of the town alleviate the land shortage which had been its cause. As early as 1655, for example, one petitioner to the General Court bewailed "the number of inhabitants that have crowded in and the large [?] accommodations the town hath had to dispose of."[9] Six years later, the Selectmen voted to discharge the

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[8]QCR, IV, 227.

[9]Mass. Archs., XL, leaf 39A.

lot layers, "as there is no more land to be granted by the town."[10]

The townsmen were also well aware of the land problems. In 1651, the town issued a one year moratorium on land distributions by the Selectmen, even though lands had hitherto been granted extensively by the Selectmen.[11] When the Selectmen's instructions were revised in the 1660s, moreover, they were not given authority to distribute land.[12] By 1677, they were expressly prohibited "to sell, give, or exchange any town land,"[13] and the freeholders, not the town meeting, became the reluctant administrators of land grants.[14] Even the use of common land was guarded with increasing jealousy. At a meeting "to consider and conclude of some effectual means for the just liberty and privileges of the town proprietors," for example, the town voted to deny all non-commoners "any right, liberty, or privilege of commons in any of the town commons."[15]

These town actions were designed to benefit the collective population, not specific freeholders. Individual townsmen, therefore, had to act on their own behalf if the regulations proved

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[10]Town Recs., June 22, 1661; Coffin, 64.

[11]Prop. Recs., 4.

[12]Cf., Town Recs., May 3, 1669, for example.

[13]Ibid., March 27, 1677.

[14]Ibid., March 1, 1680, for example.

[15]Ibid., October 12, 1670.

disadvantageous. Accordingly, a number of alternate means to obtain land were employed. Some inhabitants augmented their lands through purchase outside the town. Largely after 1660, for example, at least fifty Newbury residents were participants in a brisk trade of land in the Norfolk County towns of Salisbury, Amesbury, and Haverhill.[16] Some of this land undoubtedly was procured for short-term investment, as many of the various deeds disposed of properties by sale. But acquisitions outnumbered alienation by nearly three to one, suggesting that the long-term value of outside land was appreciated. Many of the holdings, indeed, were acquired by individuals whose children were approaching adulthood.[17]

Other inhabitants found the situation more intolerable and chose to move elsewhere. Many departed individually. Others joined forces. Even before the creation of New Town, groups of families had left Newbury to found other towns, such as Salisbury, Hampton, and Haverhill. Shortly thereafter, others joined John Woodbridge in the settlement of Andover. Nor did the migration cease with the movement to New Town. After 1650, a number of Newbury residents removed to Nantucket. In 1659, several others combined with inhabitants of Dover in a futile attempt to establish a new settlement on the Saco River. And between 1665 and 1670, at least thirty Newbury

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[16]Essex Antiquarian, I-VIII (1897-1905), passim; EIHC, LVI-LXX (1920-1934), passim.

[17]A comparable phenomenon seems to have been present in Plymouth colony as well. See John Demos, "Notes on Life in Plymouth Colony," in Colonial America, ed. by Katz, 86.

residents, along with others from Nantucket and Plymouth Colony, traveled several hundred miles to found Woodbridge, in East Jersey.[18]

Faced with a shortage of land early, many others pursued callings which did not require large amounts of planting ground. The town did not want for artisans and skilled laborers. Indeed, virtually everyone combined some serviceable calling with his agricultural pursuits. But the greatest single, non-agrarian pursuit in the town was related to commerce and shipbuilding, providing an outlet for some of the pressures of the landless. Commercial enterprise was as old as the town. Merchants, attracted to the Parker and Merrimack rivers, were among the earliest settlers, and they were joined by others who specialized in mercantible goods of one sort or another. Well prior to the church split, William Thomas was pickling sturgeon to be carried to England on boats owned by Newbury and Boston merchants. Others,

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[18]Mass. Archs., XL, leaf 39A; CXII, 117, 134; Shurtleff, I, 206, 236, 237, 277; Coffin, 29, 33, 70; Currier, History of Newbury, 42-44, 74-75; George Wingate Chase, The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts: From its First Settlement in 1640, to the Year 1860 (Haverhill: n.p., 1861), 38; Greven, "Four Generations," Chapter I; Alexander Starbuck, The History of Nantucket County, Island, and Town (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company; Publishers, 1969), 17-19, and passim; and Joseph Dally, Woodbridge and Vicinity: The Story of a New Jersey Town (reprint; Madison, N.J.: Hunterdon House, 1967).
    The departure of many of these later migrants, just prior to the church dispute, administered a shock to the social arrangements of the town. They were not simply sons and transients. Indeed, several of those who left for Woodbridge had been long-time residents of the town. Some did return after finding Woodbridge less than satisfactory. For example, Daniel Pierce and Henry Jaques, two early settlers of Newbury who had extensive personal kinship and friendship networks, were present in the town when the church split came to a head. But the influence of other migrants remained lost. John Pike, for example, had occupied a central position in the network of the town, linking eight other major town leaders prior to 1665. Migration did not reduce the social network to manageable size. Rather, it created holes in the grid, preventing the church dispute from being resolved more readily and accelerating the disintegration of the unified network that had characterized the town in its early years.

like Paul White and Abraham Toppan, speculated in liquors and cloths of the West Indies. In 1664, Daniel Pierce, Sr. set sail for Cape Fear with a probable cargo of livestock, and as early as 1665, Richard Dole was called "merchant."[19]

But it was not until the late 1670s that commerce became an extensive part of Newbury's economy. At a time when the younger sons and daughters of the first generation were reaching majority, the growth of mercantile enterprise became a source of livelihood for those who were unable to obtain much land. At the same time, it pro-vided at least some in the town with a new, more worldly outlook and a new source of tension. On the one hand, indebtedness became an expanding cause of interpersonal animosities. In the dockets of the Quarterly Court, for example, the relative frequency of litigations for debt initiated by or against Newbury residents rose steadily through the 1670s. Moreover, it was a new type of debt. Increasingly, the indebtedness was in commodities and commercially-related items such as boards, pipestaves, hogsheads, and even shares in vessels.[20]

Second, the growth of commercial enterprise posed a new chal-lenge to the ethos of communalism. For those whom it touched directly, business interests supplanted local participation as a way of life. Few of those identifiably involved in commercial activity seemed willing to take on the burdens of major town office. Richard Dole, for example, though prominent in his own right, was Selectman for the

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[19]QCR, passim; Coffin, passim.

[20]QCR, VI, VII, VIII, passim; see, also, William I. Davisson, "Essex County Wealth Trends: Wealth and Economic Growth in 17th Century Massachusetts," EIHC, CIII (1967), 291-342.

final time in 1673, and thereafter was a jury member twice, a tithing-man once, and a member of only two additional special land commissions until 1685. Likewise, Thomas Woodbridge, unlike his father, John, Sr., who turned to colonial politics after his ouster as assistant minister, eschewed all political office until his accidental death in 1681.

It was not only that these men were disinterested in town office. Those with commercial interests also seemed to personify a new, eclectic cosmopolitanism. Increasingly, their business concerns directed their attentions away from the town and toward their suppliers and their markets. When, for example, Richard Dole's ship, Hopewell, set sail for "Jamaica, or to any other place in the West Indies," in 1679, Dole frankly instructed its master, Patrick Evans, to "dispose of the ship and cargo for my best advantage," and to take care to do whatever "is necessary to be done that may consist with your comfort and my profit."[21] Men like Dole, however, were not distracted by profits alone. Supplies as well focused their concerns beyond the town. Increasingly, if the debt cases are indicative, Newbury merchants expanded their contacts throughout the Merrimack Valley and the colony, establishing business relationships with inhabitants living as distant as Boston and Exeter.

The development of commerce, then, was a mixed blessing to Newbury. Although it provided the town with a new economic base, it also made inevitable the collapse of the local interdependence that had made the town a potentially harmonious, corporate undertaking. With the dispersal of the population throughout the town, it

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[21]QCR, VIII, 77-78.

contributed to the emergence of differentiated and heterogeneous social units. By the early 1680s, the townsmen were instinctively aware that they could no longer return to the days of the cooperative, unified past. As early as 1680, the relationship between population dispersal and the development of commerce had become plain. In justification of their petition seeking Court authorization to create a second ordinary in the town, the Selectmen asked the magistrates to consider "that the town is much increased, and by reason of trading being begun to be set up among us, like to be enlarged even more, and the town being much scattered . . ."[22] Only three years later, several other townsmen signaled the permanence of commercial enterprise in the town. Seeking "to ease us of that charge which at present we are forced unto by going to Salem to enter our vessels," ten town merchants petitioned the General Court to appoint a permanent clerk of the harbor at Newbury.[23]

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The problems caused by the shortage of land in Newbury were compounded by the growth of the population in the town. Elaborate demographic analysis of the population trends has not been attempted. Nevertheless, intricate analytic techniques are not necessary to

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[22]*Ibid.*, VII, 417.

[23]Mass. Archs., LXI, 254.

reveal the sizable increase in the number of people the town had to support.[24]

In 1642, preliminary to the movement to New Town, the special commission took stock of the number of freeholders in the town. Ninety-two individuals were acknowledged to have claims on undisposed town lands.[25] Ten years later, the Commissioners and the Selectmen together determined "that all the inhabitants was freeholders," except for eight specifically named men.[26] Presumably, the latter decision did not change the number of freeholders significantly, for the town, already sensitive to the rights of freeholders to common lands, probably would not have conferred upon a large number of inhabitants a freehold status. Because it is equally unlikely that the number of freeholds would have changed drastically, it is reasonable to assume that the population of the town in 1650 was contained in about 100 families.[27]

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[24]Although I have reconstituted all the families in the town between 1635 and 1685, much of the demographic analysis made possible by this procedure will not appear in this study. Obviously, some of the population characteristics which are included here do call for the further inquiry which I shall attempt at a future date. In the present context, however, the important demographic information pertains to the relative growth of the town.

[25]Town Recs., December 7, 1642.

[26]Ibid., January 10, 1653.

[27]In 1651, Edward Johnson estimated that only about seventy families lived in the town (Wonder Working Providence, 145). For reasons which will become apparent, I suspect this figure to be low. However, if Johnson was correct, then I have underestimated the growth of the population.

On the other hand, Robert Wall projected a population of 114 adult males in Newbury in 1647 ("Massachusetts Bay Colony Franchise in 1647," WMQ, 3d Ser., XXVII, 136-44). The difference between his estimate and mine seems to be minor, for not all of these chronologically adult males were freeholders. Some were unmarried sons, others

In 1648, the population per Dedham taxpayer, according to Kenneth Lockridge, was about 4.9 persons. Generalizing from this estimation, Newbury's population in 1650 would have been around 500 persons.

In 1681, for whatever purpose, the town clerk compiled a list of the freemen and inhabitants of the town. A total of 226 names, not all of which were legible, constituted this list (100 freemen and 126 inhabitants). Assuming that all of those named were taxpayers, then the population of the town would have been at least 1,100 in 1681, if the population-per-taxpayer ratio remained the same. But if the ratio rose to the 5.9 figure computed by Lockridge for Dedham in 1700, then the population may have been as high as 1,300.[29] By either estimate, the town's population had at least doubled in the space of 30 years. If these estimations are accurate, the population had grown at a rate of 2.5 to 3.0 percent per year.

This rate of growth seems significantly higher than the rate determined by Lockridge for Dedham during the same period. Lockridge projected a long-term growth rate in the interior town of about 2 percent per year between 1636 and 1736. However, he noted that from 1648 to 1694, the rate had slowed to about 1 percent per year. If the 500 is even an approximately accurate estimation of the Newbury

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purchased or inherited freeholds, and others still migrated out of the town. Even if Wall's figures are more accurate than mine, the rate of population growth would decline, but the relative increase in town size would not have been significantly affected, particularly in its subjective impact.

[28]"The Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736," Economic History Review, 2d Ser., XIX (1966), 326.

[29]Ibid., 326.

population in 1650, then a growth rate of 1 percent per year would produce a population of less than 700 persons in 1681. At a comparable rate of growth, in fact, the population would have had to have been well over 800 in 1650 to produce a town size of 1,100-1,300 in 1681.

It is impossible to determine rates of mortality for Newbury because of the apparent underregistration of deaths. Nor is it possible to estimate the extent to which deaths were not recorded.[30] Nevertheless, unless it can be assumed that the town had a lower mortality rate than contemporary towns--and mortality rates throughout New England seem to have been significantly lower than comparable European rates to begin with[31]--then the difference between the Newbury and Dedham figures was the result of variations in natural increase and migration.

Were it not for the underregistration of mortality, nature alone would have provided enough new inhabitants to account for the population increase. Between 1650 and 1681, the town clerk recorded the births of 1,064 infants and the deaths of 343 persons. Through recorded natural processes alone, the difference of 721 persons would provide a population gain sufficient to confirm the estimated population in 1681 of 1,100 to 1,300.

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[30]Underrecording of mortality was fairly commonplace in many New England towns. See Ibid., 332; and Susan L. Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial America: A Study of Ipswich, Massachusetts," Population Studies, XXV (1971), 433-52.

[31]Lockridge, "Population of Dedham," 332ff; and Norton, "Population Growth," 439-43, and passim.

There is reason to believe that Newbury residents may have been unusually prolific. For example, the mean age at marriage in any given society has profound implications for the size of its population. For Newbury, this mean age was noticeably lower, particularly for women, than in other contemporary towns. In Andover, the mean age for women of the second generation of settlers was 22.3 years, and the mean age for men was 26.7.[32] In Dedham, between 1640 and 1690, the mean ages were 22.5 for women and 25.5 for men.[33] And in Ipswich, the mean ages between 1652 and 1700 were 21.1 for women and 27.2 for men.[34] Between 1645 and 1685, Newbury males tended to marry at an age which was comparable or slightly younger (24.9). But the women who bore the children married at a mean age significantly younger than in other towns. The mean age from 1645 to 1685 of 20.2 years was almost a full year younger than the lowest mean reported elsewhere, and the means for each decade during this 40-year period never exceeded the age of 21.[35] As the population grew and the amount of available town land remained constant, these means became more representative of other New England towns. But by that time, Newbury was becoming a commercial center, and the growth was irreversible. Table V-1, A and B, summarizes mean ages at first marriage in a comparative context and on a decadal basis, and Table V-2 compares the

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[32]Greven, Four Generations, 33-35.

[33]Lockridge, "Population of Dedham," 330.

[34]Norton, "Population Growth," 445.

[35]1685 is added to this last decade for the purpose of convenience. The addition of an eleventh year, however, does not change the mean values.

TABLE V-1 (A)

COMPARATIVE MEAN AGES AT FIRST
MARRIAGE, FOUR TOWNS

Town	Mean Ages	
	Men	Women
1. Andover: Second Generation, 1650-99	26.7	22.3
2. Dedham: All marriages, 1640-90	25.5	22.5
3. Ipswich: All marriages, 1652-1700	27.2	21.1
4. Newbury: All marriages, 1645-85	24.9	20.2

Sources: Greven, Four Generations, 33-35; Lockridge, "The Population of Dedham," 330; and Norton, "Population Growth," 445.

TABLE V-1 (B)

MEAN AGES AT FIRST MARRIAGE,
NEWBURY, 1645-1685

	1645-54		1655-64		1665-74		1675-85		1645-85	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Men	24.6	(22)	23.5	(31)	24.5	(48)	25.9	(80)	24.9	(181)
Women	20.8	(9)	19.6	(20)	19.9	(44)	20.6	(53)	20.2	(126)

TABLE V-2

AGE AT MARRIAGE: NEWBURY (1645-1685)
AND ANDOVER (1650-1699)

Age	Males				Females			
	Newbury		Andover		Newbury		Andover	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 21	12	6.6	5	4.8	77	61.1	29	35.8
21-24	78	43.1	36	34.6	36	28.6	32	39.5
25-29	70	38.6	39	37.5	12	9.5	14	17.3
30-34	17	9.4	17	16.3	1	0.7	3	3.7
35-39	4	2.2	4	3.8	0	0.0	2	2.5
40 and over	0	0.0	3	2.9	0	0.0	1	1.2
Total	181	99.9	104	99.9	126	99.9	81	100.0

marital age distribution among Newbury inhabitants to the comparable distribution among second-generation Andover residents to 1699.[36]

The growth of the population is indirectly and tentatively confirmed when the mean number of births per family is estimated. When dealing with aggregate figures, this measure can only approximate the number of children born to each couple. Nevertheless, over the long term, the number of marriages divided into the number of births can give a crude estimation of fecundity.[37] Table V-3 summarizes this information in comparative form for Newbury parents in staggered, thirty-year intervals between 1635 and 1685. It should be remembered that these measures do not reflect the mean completed family size, for they do not incorporate infant or child mortality and they take no account of the influences of migration either in or out of the town. Moreover, they include all marriages in Newbury whether or not the couple resided in the town after marriage, but they do not include marriages which occurred outside of the town. Finally, the figures blur generations, adding children born to couples married prior to the base year and adding the larger number of marriages occurring near the end of the period. Nevertheless, in comparison to the same figures for Dedham, the ratio of births to marriages in Newbury suggests that the Essex County town had a population that

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[36]Information for Andover is from Greven, Four Generations, 34.

[37]This procedure was used by Lockridge, "Population of Dedham," 331. See also the short-term variation employed by Greven, Four Generations, 27, which is based on more precise family reconstitution methods than those used here.

TABLE V-3

BIRTHS PER MARRIAGE: NEWBURY (1635-1685)
AND DEDHAM (1636-1703)

Town	Births	Deaths	Ratio
Newbury			
1635-65	490	99	4.95
1640-70	768	139	5.53
1645-75	876	171	5.13
1650-80	1,009	192	5.23
1655-85	1,141	222	5.14
Dedham			
1636-1668			4.8
1669-1703			4.1

Source: Lockridge, "Population of Dedham," 331.

was growing proportionately faster than that of Dedham or Watertown, which produced figures similar to those of its neighbor.[38]

Migration into the town was a second contribution to population growth. Although it is impossible to measure the net influence of in and out migration without militia rolls or rate lists, it is fairly clear that more families moved into the town than out, particularly as commerce developed around the 1670s and 80s. On the basis of vital record entries alone, at least forty families, or more than one per year, entered the town between 1650 and 1685. They arrived, of course, at varying stages of the family cycle, but if the 4.9 persons-per-taxpayer estimate is a valid average for these families as well, they may have contributed nearly 200 additional persons to the population of the town, plus any further children born into these families after they had become settled. Outmigration reduced the net change, of course, but given the land shortage in Newbury, those departing the town would be expected to have been younger sons without large families. Such at least was the case among those who departed for Woodbridge, New Jersey between 1665 and 1670. Information about nineteen of these emigrants is known. At least twelve of the nineteen, with a mean age of about twenty-five in 1670, were sons of first generation settlers, whereas only three early Newbury residents, John Bishop, Sr., Thomas Bloomfield, Sr., and John Pike, Sr. joined the permanent migration.[39] Of the entire

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[38]Lockridge, "Population of Dedham," 331-32.

[39]Bishop had removed to Nantucket several years earlier.

group, eight are known to have been married before the migration, and only six are known to have been parents. A total of thirty-two children are known to have accompanied these six families, but the three first-generation families accounted for twenty-six, most of whom had been born in the 1630s and 1640s.

Compounding the influx from migration was the presence of servants in Newbury. As in the case of in-migrants, it is impossible to gauge the size of the indentured population or the number of servants who removed elsewhere when their terms had expired. But it is quite clear from the Quarterly Court Records alone that more than a few Newbury households included non-kinsmen and women working for masters. Some servants did not remain in Newbury. Both Samuel Moore and Henry Lesenby, for example, had been in service to Newbury inhabitants prior to their voyage to Woodbridge. But others, such as George Major, Stephen Lavenuke, and Daniel Mussiloway married and began their own families in Newbury, perhaps even before their contracts had expired.

By the 1680s, then, Newbury had grown to be a moderately large town. Natural increase, servitude, and migration--particularly after commercial ventures were based in the town--added population to a settlement without a sufficient quantity of land. As a result, the town's only surviving rate lists include the names of 246 different individuals during 1684 and 1685. If 100 taxpayers in 1650 is an accurate estimate, the rate of taxpayer increase was better than 2.5 percent per year in the 35-year span. If the taxpayer increase

paralleled the population increase, then the town was growing at a rate that would double the population in less than 30 years. And, if the population-per-taxpayer ratio rose, as in Dedham, then the rate of population growth was closer to 3.0 percent, half again greater than the long-term rate established at Dedham. If that were the case, then the town population would have doubled in less than 25 years.

Juxtaposed with commercialization and land shortage, the growth of the town provided fertile ground for a new social outlook to root. With the rise of mercantile ventures in Newbury appeared a new "class" of inhabitant whose livelihood was associated with the sea, not with the communalism of the town or even with the welfare of the church. It is not surprising, for example, that Caleb Powell, a seaman, could promise to rid William Morse's house of the Devil through his "understanding of Astrology and astronomy;"[40] that the youth, John Stiles, "used many idle words and when asked where he would go, said he would go to hell;"[41] or that widow Sarah Stickney could name John Atkinson as the father of her child after the real culprit, Samuel Lowle, a seaman, refused to marry her because "he had no money."[42] Each of these illustrations--and there are many more--is a testament to the changes in social outlook that had affected the life of the newly complicated town.

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[40]QCR, VII, 357; see also Coffin, 122-34, passim; and Samuel G. Drake, Annals of Witchcraft in New England . . . (Boston: W. Elliot Woodward, 1869), 141-49, 258-93.

[41]QCR, VII, 377.   [42]QCR, VIII, 288.

More than an intellectual change occurred, however. With
diffusion, growth, and differentiation came a new social structure.
As long as the town remained small and relatively homogeneous, the
community could stand, potentially, as a harmonious unit. The mutual
interaction and recognition which occurred in the corporate enterprise
acted as constant reminders of the interdependence of all. But in
the multifaceted, differentiated community of mercantile Newbury, daily
interaction was no longer the rule. Hence, new restraints on indi-
vidual activities and new social mechanisms to unite the town had to
be found, lest permanent geographical, occupational, or social cleav-
ages immobilized the town. Out of necessity, therefore, the social
network became revised. No longer a unified, coherent organism,
Newbury became interlinked in a different way.

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Given these changes in the social environment of the town,
some disintegration of the unified network probably was inevitable.
The shape of the new pattern of social interrelationships, however,
was determined by less-coincidental factors. Indeed, the church split
alignments formed the basis for a new arrangement of kinship and
friendship clusters. At the same time, the dispute represented the
epitome of a conflict between two disparate, socio-ideological strains
within the town. Positions taken during the controversy were "pre-
dictable" from positions the participants had taken previously, and
the location of individuals in the post-dispute network were likewise
"predictable" from the interpersonal associations of the church

controversy. Very little in these social relationships, in short, could be called random.

The social structure of the church split was not independent of the structure of other events in which the townsmen were asked to express their desires. Those who participated on the side of Woodman or Parker participated differently on virtually all major petitions submitted by inhabitants of Newbury between 1654 and 1677. Of these nine petitions, six were signed predominantly by those who supported Edward Woodman, and three were dominated by those who defended Thomas Parker. In association with the ideology of the church split, the nature of the petitions suggests that at least two different intellectual outlooks defined the behavior of each group.

Five of the six petitions signed predominantly by Woodmanites sought to reduce the extent to which sumptuary laws could be used to enforce standards of behavior. Although the petitions were not pleas for a general relaxation of social controls, they did seek to minimize the force of law as it was applied to specific individuals in Newbury. To this extent, they represented challenges to the order which more strict Puritan leaders sought to impose upon the generality. In combination with the church split arguments of the Woodman faction, they suggest that the opponents of the minister were also opponents of the Puritan insistence upon rigidly enforced standards of social behavior.[43]

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[43]On Puritan social controls and the increasing concern evinced by Bay leaders about men like the Woodmanites, see Flaherty, Privacy in Colonial New England; Breen, "English Origins and New World Development;" and Wall, Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade; Idem., "Decline of the Franchise;" inter alia.

In 1654, John Pike's brother, Robert, was disenfranchised and disabled for words he had "let fall," criticizing the General Court's vote on a law to "restrain unfit persons from constant preaching." In defense of Pike, several inhabitants of Essex and Norfolk counties petitioned the Court, calling Pike a peaceful and useful man and asking the Court to overlook Pike's slip of the tongue and restore his liberties.[44] Thirty-three men who participated in the church dispute signed this petition, of whom twenty-four (73%) became supporters of Edward Woodman.

Three years later, the Woodmanite, William Titcomb, was presented to the Ipswich Court for lying several times to the inhabitants of Newbury. As in the case of Robert Pike, a number of Newbury residents petitioned the Court in defense of Titcomb, affirming their grief that a complaint had been made. The petitioners asked the Court, to no avail, not to find Titcomb guilty.[45] Of the ten church disputants who signed this petition, nine were Woodmanites.

In 1663, John Emery, Sr., also an opponent of Parker, was presented and convicted of entertaining Dr. Henry Greenland for four months without license from a Magistrate. Despite the unsettling impact of the haughty Greenland upon the town, Emery petitioned the General Court for relief. Greenland practiced "physick and churgury," Emery noted, and was needed in Newbury because of some unmentioned illness which was then sweeping the town. Hence, he claimed, he took

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[44]Mass. Archs., X, 300; QCR, I, 366-68.

[45]QCR, II, 41.

Greenland in for the winter out of necessity, not contempt.[46] Twenty-two of the thirty-three church split participants who signed Emery's petition became supporters of Woodman.

Two other petitions were dominated by Woodmanites, both of which sought leniency for young men accused of destructive or irregular behavior in church. The first, in 1669, has already been discussed.[47] In 1677, Joshua and Caleb Richardson and Edward Ordway, all sons of Woodman supporters, were convicted by a jury of vandalism in the church. A petition from Newbury asked for the abatement of their fines, for the accused "have been diligent to promote and support their parents who stand in need of their help, they have been employed in public service, have endured hardships, and adventured their lives and limbs for the country." Moreover, the petitioners added, they had acknowledged their offenses publically.[48] By this time, much of the tension engendered by the church dispute had subsided. Nevertheless, 60 percent of the forty-two signatories who also took a position in the church split had been Woodmanites.

One further petition was dominated by the Woodman faction. In 1659, a handful of Newbury and Dover (New Hampshire) residents sought a grant of land from the General Court at Pennecook, on the Saco River.[49] Of the eight petitioners who also participated in the church

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[46]Mass. Archs., XV, A, 10.

[47]See above, pp. 105-107.

[48]QCR, VI, 259-61.

[49]Mass. Archs., CXII, 117, 134.

split, seven became Woodmanites. This request did not seek any special dispensation from the Court, but it was no less an appeal to escape the social controls of the Bay. Pennecook was, the petitioners acknowleded, "so far remote" that the inconveniences upon the settlers would be numerous. To the petitioners, however, several of whom migrated to Woodbridge within a decade, the distance from Boston may have been an attraction. The area north of the Merrimack had long been a haven for dissidents who were able, in isolation, to assert their de facto independence from the Bay.[50] Throughout the 1650s, a lay, "counterministry" had emerged in the northern reaches of Norfolk County in opposition to the "official practice and increasing formalism" of the Bay Colony churches.[51] And only six years after the request for land, Samuel Maverick wrote to Colonel Nichols from Portsmouth that two of his company had been received with great encouragement as far south as Hampton, where the inhabitants hoped to become independent of Massachusetts authority.[52]

In contrast to the behavior of the Woodman faction, the supporters of Thomas Parker tended to sign petitions which appealed to the social control possessed by Puritan leaders and affirmed the order inherent in all social and political relationships. To the minister's defenders both during the church split and in their subscriptions to petitions, the dictates of place and station were not to be challenged.

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[50] Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World."

[51] Hall, Faithful Shepherd, 183-84.

[52] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Vol. 5, No. 1009.

Indeed, so strong was their conception of right and wrong order that they were willing to challenge the authority of the General Court, if necessary, to establish the propriety of relationships.

When William Titcomb was convicted of lying in 1657, he had been presented by nine "witnesses," of whom six became Parker supporters.[53] No future Woodmanites signed the complaint. When John Emery was the subject of a counter-petition to the General Court, the complaint was signed by twenty-one Parker supporters and only nine future Woodmanites.[54] In both events, the petitioners complained that proper order and station had been violated. William Titcomb, for example, had lied to the town in his capacity as Deputy and Moderator of the town meeting, two offices which made his prevarication all the more serious. And Emery, in obtaining signatures for his petition, had done even worse--he had violated all standards of station and privilege through his alleged deception and duplicity.

The order demanded by Parker's adherents extended even to relations between Massachusetts and the Crown. In 1666, when the Court had been asked to send agents to England, Newbury residents wrote the Court to articulate a sense of order that placed Massachusetts in a balanced relationship with the mother country. "If any proceedings of ours have given occasion to apprehend that we believe His Majesty has no jurisdiction over us," they wrote, "what speedy course had need be taken to save [?] ourselves from the suspicion of so

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[53]QCR, II, 41.

[54]NEHGR, VIII (1858), 274. See above, pp. 100-102.

dangerous an offense, and to give His Majesty all due satisfaction in that behalf [?]." Pleading for moderation, they urged, to the great displeasure of the Court, that a delegation be sent to treat with the Crown.[55] This petition was signed by two Woodmanites and twenty-one supporters of Parker.

Table V-4 summarizes the differential association evident in the pattern of petition signings. Particularly because both groups were nearly the same size, the pattern of alignment across these petitions becomes all the more significant, for under an assumption of randomness, neither group should have dominated any petition. Quite clearly, however, Newbury residents signed petitions neither at random nor on the basis of merit alone. From a different perspective, participation in the church split was not isolated from other socio-ideological alignments which were superimposed upon the social arrangements of the town.

This is all the more apparent when the petitions are compared simultaneously. Defining the population to be analyzed as those who participated in the church split and were eligible to sign all petitions between any two dates, it is possible to project an estimation of how many people, other things being equal, should have been expected to sign any two petitions. Once the expected number has been determined, the number of people who actually signed the two petitions can be compared to the expected frequency. If people acted "at random," then both frequencies should be approximately the same. If

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[55]Mass. Archs., CVI, leaves 167-68.

TABLE V-4

PETITION SUBSCRIPTIONS OF CHURCH
SPLIT PARTICIPANTS

Petition	Number of Church Split Participants Signing	Number of Parker Supporters	%	Number of Woodman Supporters	%
1. Pike defense (1654)	33	09	27	24	73
2. Titcomb complaint (1657)	6	06	100	00	00
3. Titcomb defense (1657)	10	01	10	09	90
4. Counter-petition to Emery (1658)	31	22	71	09	29
5. Pennecook request (1659)	8	01	13	07	87
6. Emery petition (1663)	33	11	33	22	67
7. Moderation petition (1666)	23	21	91	02	09
8. Church seat petition (1669)	32	05	16	27	84
9. Vandalism petition (1677)	42	17	40	25	60

the numbers are significantly different, then people were not behaving as expected, given the assumption of randomness, and something was pre-disposing a stronger or weaker relationship between the two petitions.

Table V-5 lists the proportions of the entire group of church split participants who signed each of the nine petitions.[56] Given random behavior, the number of people signing any two petitions should be approximately the number determined by multiplying the respective proportions for both petitions and converting back to whole numbers.

TABLE V-5

PROPORTIONS OF CHURCH SPLIT PARTICIPANTS
SIGNING PETITIONS, 1654-1677

Petition*	Number Signing	Proportion (D)
1	28	.528
2	06	.113
3	10	.189
4	27	.509
5	06	.113
6	28	.528
7	18	.340
8	23	.434
9	35	.660

*Petitions are in the order listed in Table V-4.

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[56]This operation has been performed for the time periods 1654-1677, 1654-1669, 1657-1677, and 1657-1669. All four applications provide similar results, so only the time period 1654-1677 will be discussed here.

Thus, if the proportion for one petition is .20 and the proportion for a second in .50, then, given the independence of the petitions, .10 of the entire group should have signed both. This procedure was performed for each pair of petitions to obtain estimates of the overlap between all pairs of events. The actual overlap was then counted, and the expected frequencies were compared with the actual figures. Finally, an "error matrix" was drafted to show the difference between the actual and expected values for all pairs of petitions. (Tables V-6, A, B, and C. Because both halves of the matrices are symmetrical, only one half is reproduced.) For the nine petitions between 1654 and 1677, only three of the estimates did not differ from the actual frequencies, and the total error of eighty-five persons provided a mean error of greater than two persons per cell between the two matrices.

The direction of the errors provides a clue as to the "cause" of the discrepancies. Indeed, it suggests that a systematic bias ran under the patterns of alignment. When the estimation suggests that more people should have signed a given petition than did so in reality, some factor tended to dissuade individuals from signing both petitions. Likewise, an under-estimation implies a greater interdependence between the two petitions than one would have expected. When direction of error is examined, it is clear that there was, with very few exceptions, a tendency for petitions dominated by one church split group to be positively associated (i.e., produce under-estimated projections) with petitions dominated by the same group and negatively associated with petitions signed largely by the other group (Table V-7).

TABLE V-6

EXPECTED OVERLAP, ACTUAL OVERLAP, AND ERROR
BETWEEN PETITIONS, 1654-1677

A. Expected Overlap

Petition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1		3	5	14	3	15	10	12	18	
2			1	3	1	3	2	3	4	
3				5	1	5	3	4	7	
4					3	14	9	12	18	
5						3	2	3	4	
6							10	12	18	
7								8	12	
8									15	
9										

B. Actual Overlap

Petition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1		0	8	8	6	18	6	18	20	
2			0	6	0	4	4	0	4	
3				3	2	6	1	7	9	
4					2	13	12	6	18	
5						3	0	6	5	
6							9	14	19	
7								1	10	
8									16	
9										

C. Error

Petition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1		3	3	6	3	3	4	6	2	30
2			1	3	1	1	2	3	0	11
3				2	1	1	2	3	2	11
4					1	2	4	6	0	13
5						0	2	3	1	6
6							1	2	1	4
7								7	2	9
8									1	1
9										85

TABLE V-7

DIRECTION OF ERROR

Petition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1		+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2			+	-	+	-	-	+	0
3				+	-	-	+	-	-
4					+	+	-	-	0
5						0	+	-	-
6							+	-	-
7								+	+
8									-
9									

Petitions Dominated by Supporters of:	Overestimations		Underestimations	
	Parker	Woodman	Parker	Woodman
Parker (2, 4, 7)	0	7	3	2
Woodman (1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9)	7	0	0	14

Controlling for church split participation confirms the con-
clusions suggested by the direction of error analysis. Dividing the
larger church split group into two subgroups representing supporters
or opponents of Thomas Parker permits the petition pattern to be
examined more intensively. The results of this control suggest quite
clearly that the church split divisions were part of the same socio-
ideological alignment that created differential patterns of petition-
signing. Alternately, the basic divisions among the inhabitants which
were reflected by the church dispute alignments were consistent
patterns dating to 1654 at least and extending beyond the church split,
though with less precision, to 1677, if not later.

Once the respective groups have been separated, the procedure
remains the same until the last stages of the operation. Table V-8
lists the respective proportions of each group who signed each petition,

TABLE V-8

PROPORTIONS OF CHURCH SPLIT PARTICIPANTS
SIGNING PETITIONS, 1654-1677
(CONTROLLING FOR CHURCH SPLIT)

Petition	Parker Supporters (N=25)		Woodman Supporters (N=28)	
	Number	(D)	Number	(D)
1	7	.280	21	.750
2	6	.240	0	.000
3	1	.040	9	.321
4	20	.800	7	.250
5	1	.040	5	.178
6	10	.400	17	.607
7	16	.640	2	.071
8	3	.120	20	.714
9	15	.600	21	.750

and Table V-9 reproduces the expected and actual overlappage. Examination or error becomes a little more complicated. The controlled matrices are not directly comparable to the uncontrolled matrix because of the differences in the numbers of people whose behavior they summarize. The errors in both controlled matrices must be combined before the controlled results can be compared to the aggregate findings (Table V-10). Even after errors were summed, the total error of the combined-controlled group (thirty-eight, with a mean cell error of 1.1) was less than half of the error found when no controls were used. Knowing the position an individual took in the church split makes his petition behavior considerably more "predictable."[57]

The church dispute, therefore, was closely related to the divergent interpersonal associations which were exploited whenever petitions were to be signed. Indeed, the relationships among the petitions became accentuated as the church split approached, suggesting that the presence of a divisive issue could raise socio-ideological affinities to a patriotic level. Table V-11 reveals the levels of intensity with which town inhabitants committed themselves to petitions. Column 1 represents the alignment of inhabitants on each petition in matrix form. The first row of this matrix summarizes the behavior of the supporters of Parker, and the second row represents the behavior of the Woodmanites. The first column expresses the number

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[57]To guard against the possibility that the mere act of reducing the size of each group prior to re-combining them in the error matrix generated the reduction of error, I have also divided the larger group at random to correspond with the sizes of the subgroup. This "test" control, when both groups were combined, produced a greater number of errors than did the uncontrolled group.

TABLE V-9

EXPECTED AND ACTUAL OVERLAP, 1654-1677
(CONTROLLING FOR CHURCH SPLIT)

A. Parker Supporters

Petition	Expected Overlap								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1		2	0	6	0	3	4	1	4
2			0	5	0	2	4	1	4
3				1	0	0	1	0	1
4					1	8	13	2	12
5						0	1	0	1
6							6	1	6
7								2	10
8									2
9									

Petition	Actual Overlap								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1		0	0	6	1	3	4	3	4
2			0	6	0	2	4	0	5
3				1	0	0	0	0	1
4					1	8	13	2	12
5						0	0	1	0
6							7	2	4
7								0	9
8									0
9									

TABLE V-9--<u>Continued</u>

B.   Woodman Supporters

Petition	Expected Overlap								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1		0	7	5	4	13	2	15	16
2			0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3				2	2	5	1	6	7
4					1	4	1	5	5
5						3	0	4	4
6							1	12	13
7								1	1
8									15
9									

Petition	Actual Overlap								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1		0	8	3	5	15	2	15	16
2			0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3				2	2	6	1	7	8
4					1	4	1	5	6
5						3	0	5	5
6							2	12	15
7								1	1
8									16
9									

TABLE V-10

ERROR MATRICES, 1654-1677
(CONTROLLING FOR CHURCH SPLIT)

Parker Supporters

Petition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1		2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	5
2			0	1	0	0	0	1	1	3
3				0	0	0	1	0	0	1
4					0	0	0	0	0	0
5						0	1	1	1	3
6							1	1	2	4
7								2	1	3
8									2	2
9										21

Woodman Supporters

Petition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1		0	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	7
2			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3				0	0	1	0	1	1	3
4					0	0	0	0	1	1
5						0	0	1	1	2
6							1	0	2	3
7								0	0	0
8									1	1
9										17

Combined

Petition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1		2	1	2	2	2	1	2	0	12
2			0	1	0	0	0	1	1	3
3				0	0	1	1	1	1	4
4					0	0	0	0	1	1
5						0	1	2	2	5
6							2	1	4	7
7								2	1	3
8									3	3
9										38

TABLE V-11

INTENSITY OF PETITION ASSOCIATION, 1654-1677

Petition and Date	1 matrix	2 (B)	3 (B')	4 (B-B')	5 |B-B'/2|	6 p.	7 phi
1 (1654)	7 18 / 21 7	.26473	.73527	-.47054	.23527	.00091	-.4704
2 (1657)	6 19 / 0 28	1.00000	0.00000	1.00000	.50000	.02412	.3776
3 (1657)	1 24 / 9 19	.22874	.77126	-.54252	.27126	.01263	-.3601
4 (1658)	20 5 / 7 21	.77599	.22401	.55198	.27599	.00009	.5486
5 (1659)	1 24 / 5 23	.30449	.69551	-.39102	.19551	.19515	-.2175
6 (1663)	10 15 / 17 11	.39641	.60359	-.20718	.10359	.17279	-.2073
7 (1666)	16 9 / 2 26	.82781	.17219	.65562	.32781	.00002	.5985
8 (1669)	3 22 / 20 8	.18933	.81067	-.62134	.31067	.00002	-.5980
9 (1677)	15 10 / 21 7	.41421	.58579	-.17158	.08574	.37000	-.1589

of people signing each petition and the second column, the number of

people failing to sign.[58] Columns two and three contain measures of

the strength of association within the matrix, Column 2 (B) expressing

the relationship between support for Parker and subscription to the

petition and Column 3 (B') the same for the supporters of Woodman.[59]

Column 4 represents the difference between the measures of intensity.

The greater the difference, the greater the discrimination between the

two groups. Column 5 is the absolute difference between intensities

divided by 2, which can be interpreted as a measure of deviation from

equality. The figures in Column 6 are similar to the statistical

significance of the relationship. They represent, in proportions, the

number of other possible arrangements of the petition matrix which

would produce an association of equal or greater intensity (Column 2).

Finally, the numbers in Column 7 are the correlation ratio, Phi,

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[58]Failure to sign a petition, however, does not denote an
opposition to its contents.

[59]Column 2 is derived by the formula:

$$x = (n_{11}n_{22} - \sqrt{n_{11}n_{22}n_{12}n_{21}} / n_{11}n_{22} - n_{12}n_{21})$$

and Column 3 is its complement. Though this is used here as a
measure of intensity, it was originally designed as a formula to
determine the value of $cell_{11}$ in a standardized matrix of partici-
pation. For the technical discussion of this measure, see Philip
Bonacich, "Technique for Analyzing Overlapping Memberships," in
Sociological Methodology: 1972, ed. by H. L. Costner (San
Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1972), 176-85. I have
not employed Bonacich's methodology to the letter, because I
judged many of the manipulations he recommends inessential or
inappropriate for this data.

calculated for the specific distributions in the petition matrix and included for comparative purposes.[60]

From these petitions, it is fairly evident that a systematic, socio-ideological bias cut across the town, even while Newbury remained, quantitatively, a unified social organism. The church dispute itself was no less an outgrowth of this inherent strain on the unity of the town. Since 1654, two different groups existed in more than potential form among the Newbury townsmen. Although the extent to which this differential pattern of socio-ideological alignment varied from petition to petition, its overall effect was to create a potential rift in the social network of the town. As the controversy within the church became more pronounced with the return of John Woodbridge in 1663, the rift began to widen. It is certainly no coincidence, for example, that the petitions with the highest degree of group discrimination occurred in 1666 and 1669, when the issues before the church had already begun to polarize the town. And, parenthetically, it may be no less coincidental that the petition with the least degree of intensity occurred in 1677, well after the conclusion of the dispute had purged or abated the hostilities within the town.[61]

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[60]Calculated by the formula

$$phi = (p_{11}p_{22} - p_{12}p_{21} / \sqrt{p_{-1}p_{-2}p_{1-}p_{2-}})$$

See Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, Historian's Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), 71-72.

[61]For a discussion of conflict as a purgative of aggression and hostility, see Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (New York: The Free Press, 1956), 39-48, and passim.

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Given this pattern of socio-ideological alignment, the church dispute assumes added significance. Whereas nothing is known about those who failed to sign any given petition, those who were confronted with the action to suspend Parker were presented with a choice that they could not avoid. Because it froze, for a moment, the patterns of social relationships within the town, the church split is an ideal vehicle through which the local social structure can be laid bare. Its intellectual and theological content notwithstanding, the church controversy was a social division which exerted a profound influence on the life of the town.

By 1666, Newbury had lost its unitary character. Five groups now constituted the town, and, although one group still remained significantly larger with 63 members, it did not represent both sides of the church split. Those breaking off to form new groups tended, virtually without exception, to be supporters of Edward Woodman. Where the central group from 1635 to 1665 contained 29 future supporters of Woodman, the central group from 1666 to 1672 included only 16 Woodmanites, a reduction of nearly 45 percent. By contrast, only three supporters of Parker were not members of the core group. William Morse, who with his son, Jonathan, and both Richard and Francis Thorla, had only maintained his group membership from the earlier period. John Kelly was the other exception, and even then an ambiguous one. Of his two links, one extended to Richard Knight, a

supporter of Parker, and the second connected him to Joshua Browne, who took no position during the church split.[62]

One new group was composed of 16 members, of whom 8 were Woodman supporters. These opponents of the minister were interlinked among themselves to an extent that surpassed the interrelationships within the group as a whole. Although the connectedness of the group, or the number of directed, internal links divided by the number of possible links, was .225, for these Woodmanites the connectedness was .357. Of the 37 kinship and friendship links extending from the Woodman supporters, 23, or 62 percent, connected other Woodmanites, and only 2, or 5.4 percent, linked them, through one person, to Parker supporters. Four of the five other links connecting this entire group to external Parker supporters emanated from John Cheny, Sr., and his son, Peter, who married into the Noyes family. The remaining link belonged to John Kelly. Finally, the Woodman supporters tended to display an "interlocked" pattern of association. Among those linked together, the integratedness ratio, or the number of two-step paths connecting any two persons directly linked divided by the number of directed links, was 1.35. This group of Woodman supporters tended, therefore, to be mutual friends as well as mutual opponents of the minister.

A second group, containing nine members, included Edward Woodman himself and three of his supporters. Like the former group,

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[62]Kelly was assigned to "Grid One" by the computer, which could have assigned him just as easily to "Grid Two," the central group.

these opponents of Parker also were closer to one another than the group average. Compared to a group connectedness of .444, the four Woodmanites were connected at a level of .500. Three of them, however, Woodman, his son Edward, Jr., and Benjamin Lowle, were connected at the maximum level of 1.000. (Each, in other words, was linked to the other two.) Slightly under half of their links (7 of 16) connected them to other Woodmanites, and none of them had any links to a Parker supporter. In fact, only two links extended beyond the group, one to Archelaus Woodman and one to Robert Adams, and this latter link to a Parker supporter was a kinship bond cemented between Adams and William Goodridge. The integratedness ratio for these Woodmanites (1.67) exceeded that of the former group, demonstrating an even stronger interlinked quality among the three who were directly related.

The third group of Woodmanites perhaps should not have been excluded from the central town group. This was composed of Richard Bartlet and his three sons. Of these, only Richard was a Woodmanite, for none of his sons was a church member. Their four extra-group links, all to members of the central group, extended to Richard Bartlet's brother, John, Sr., to William Titcomb, both Woodman supporters, and to Titcomb's son, Benaiah.

Except for the latter group, which is ambiguous, both the other groups shared certain characteristics. On the one hand, the Woodman supporters in each were all closely associated. Compared to group characteristics, they were more closely connected to one another than the group was connected. Moreover, they were clearly

distant from supporters of Thomas Parker. Only one Woodmanite, John Emery, Sr., had links extending to defenders of the minister, and these were friendship connections without any degree of integration. Finally, they tended to be mutual associates, as the integratedness ratios indicate. As mutual, interlinked friends and kin, they could be expected to be moderately homogeneous in attitude.[63]

At the same time, there was an important difference between the two groups. The second cluster, which included Edward Woodman, was virtually isolated from the rest of the town. Only two inter-group links prevented it from becoming a completely unconnected cluster, and only Woodman's link to his brother, Archelaus, could be considered strong. The second, connecting William Goodridge and Robert Adams, was off-set by Adams' other two links, one to his son Abraham and the other to the Parker supporter, Richard Pettingall, none of whose own links extended to a Woodmanite. On the other hand, the former group was connected to the central group much more firmly. Although nine inter-group links extended from members of this group to members of the core group, five of these nine emanated from those who did not participate in the church split. However, linking this cluster to the rest of the town was the single liaison in the network, John Webster. Six of his seven links extended him to other Woodmanites, and none linked him to a supporter of Parker. Nevertheless, Webster connected John Emery, Sr., and John Emery, Jr., with Nicholas Batt and Stephen

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[63]Edward O. Laumann, "Interlocking and Radial Friendship Nets: A Formal Feature with Important Consequences," Paper #65 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Center for Research on Social Organization, 1971), pp. 28-29.

Swett, two members of the central group, as well as both of the
Thorlas.

The central group, by contrast, was considerably more diffused,
containing supporters of both Parker and Woodman. However, while
members of the same sociometric group, the Parker and Woodman suppor-
ters were not "equal" participants in the group structure. Indeed,
they discriminated against one another, with each faction tending to
occupy a separate location within the network. In effect, the selec-
tive differentiation they brought to their patterns of association
gave the central group the shape of an hour glass within a circle.

This discrimination is apparent in the context of connected-
ness. Characteristically, the larger the group becomes the lower
the connectedness must be, for individuals are limited in their
abilities to maintain associations with other persons. The connected-
ness of this central group, therefore, was the low figure of .063.
Among church split participants, however, there was considerable
deviation around this level. The 28 supporters of the minister were
connected at a level significantly greater than the group level.
Given the size of this core group, their connectedness of .120 is a
remarkable sign that they were quite highly associated with one
another. The comparable figure for the Woodman supporters is deceiv-
ingly small because their 57 intragroup links were disproportionately
fewer than the 139 links of the Parker supporters.[64] Despite their
fewer number of links, however, their connectedness level of .079 was

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[64]Proportionate equality would require that the supporters
of Woodman have had 79 links as opposed to 57.

still almost a quarter again higher than the group level.[65] Simul-
tnaeously, a negative relationship pertained between the two factions.
Supporters of Parker and Woodman were connected at a level of .058,
slightly lower than the group level.

The two factions in the central group were similar to the
other groups in their differential degrees of mutual association.
For the core of the network as for the fringe, those who aligned on
the same side of the church dispute tended to be mutual associates.
Among the Parker supporters, the integratedness ratio was 1.71. The
Woodmanite ratio of 1.32 indicates that both were fairly highly
interrelated internally. However, the 0.81 ratio for inter-faction
relationships suggests that the two groups were much less frequently
mutual associates of one another.

The lower level of inter-faction association was no coinci-
dence. Rather, it was part of a more general pattern among those
in the church split, regardless of network position, to remain closer
to those on the same side of the quarrel. The alignments of townsmen
in support of or in opposition to Thomas Parker, in fact, can be
partially explained by the different kinship and friendship patterns
within the two factions. The position an individual supported was
in part a function of his location within the kinship and friendship
structure of the town.

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[65]When the number of Woodmanite-to-Woodmanite directed
links is standardized to parity with the Parker group links (57:79::
19:x, where 57 is the number of Woodmanite links, 79 is the necessary
number of Woodmanite links to obtain proportionate equality, 19 is
the number of links connecting Woodman supporters, and x is the
respective number under the condition of proportionate equality),
then their connectedness increases to .108.

The supporters of Thomas Parker, in particular, constituted a discreet subgroup within the town. With only four exceptions, every member of this faction was closer, on the average, to other defenders of the minister than to Woodmanites. The mean distance separating each member of this group from other supporters of Parker was 3.36 links. By contrast, this group was connected to supporters of Edward Woodman by a mean of 3.95 links.

Mean distances, however, reflect only trends, for they are determined, in part, by the closeness of people who were not associated directly. They are measures of central tendency and, accordingly, say nothing about the exploitability of specific kinship and friendship bonds. A glance at directed, one-step links reveals that mean inter- and intragroup distances actually underestimate the extent to which the subjective obligations of kinship and friendship ties were evoked. Of the 124 relationships involving supporters of Thomas Parker, 61, or almost half, established kinship or friendship bonds among them, whereas only 31 linked Parker supporters to Woodmanites. For this group, moreover, the integratedness ration was 1.57, compared to 0.87 for relationships between factions.

Superficially, the Woodman faction seemed less exclusive in their associations, for their mean distances contrasted with those of Parker's followers. Where the latter group was more "tightly knit," the Woodmanites proved to be closer, in mean distance, to the Parker supporters than to other Woodmanites. Internally, they were separated, on the average, at a distance of 4.21 links, but they were connected to their opponents at a distance of only 3.95. This does

not mean, however, that they were closer in affinity to Parker's followers. Rather, the supporters of Woodman appeared to be less densely associated and either on the social fringes of the town or else clustered in several areas within the network.

Part of the explanation for their greater internal distance lies in their disproportionate tendency to form groups outside the core of the town. Earlier, when Newbury had been much more nearly a single social group, Woodmanites had been closer internally than externally. But because the external groups in which many Woodmanites were located during the church split were not significantly interconnected, the only "path" between these groups ran through the central core, where most Parker supporters were located. Moreover, among both groups, but particularly among the Woodmanites during the church split, those who were closest to one group tended to be closest to the other.[66] Of the thirty-seven supporters of Edward Woodman who were group members, seventeen belonged to the core group, and ten of these seventeen were among the fifteen Woodmanites closest to the Parker supporters.

Moreover, supporters of Woodman also tended to be associated with one another more frequently and intensively than they were linked to Parker supporters. Of their 117 total links, 39 established relationships with other Woodmanites and 31 linked them to Parker supporters.[67] Furthermore, these Woodmanites revealed the influence

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[66]Kendall's Tau for Woodman supporters during the church split was .765, indicating a strong correlation between rank-orders of mean distances to both groups.

[67]Forty-seven related them to others who did not participate in the church split. This was a significantly larger proportion (.40) than that for Parker's supporters (.27), and it may have been partially the result of Parker's discriminatory admission practices. See above, pp. 149-52.

that mutual associates could wield on questions of ideological or
attitudinal homogeneity. Their integratedness ratio of 2.15 was
higher than any other ratio, even within groups, and stood in stark
contrast to their 0.87 integration with those Parker supporters to
whom they were linked.

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The pattern of differentiation which appeared during the
church split was not an aberration from a normally balanced system
of social relationships. It represented a temporary intensification
of the social discrimination that affected the town. But, though
momentary, its influence was permanent. The interpersonal dimension
that made the church dispute so serious a social division had been
present among the inhabitants of the town since Mary and John landed
in the Bay. Moreover, it continued to influence the shape of social
relationships in the town even after the church quarrel had been re-
solved. Social differentiation along the lines of kinship and
friendship had already begun when Newbury was called Quascacunquen,
and continued to distinguish men from men and families from families
well beyond the period under study. The social arrangements of the
church dispute, to this extent, were but part of a continuing process.
At the same time, the controversy acted as a catalyst to its
acceleration.

Even while the town was a unified social network, the divi-
sion of the inhabitants remained a potential undercurrent. Within
the three small groups not connected to the immense central group of

earliest Newbury were six future Woodmanites and only two Parker
supporters. All of these groups, moreover, revealed the importance
of kinship as a differentiator of persons. One group, for example,
was composed of Richard Bartlet, his sons, John, Richard, and Samuel,
his brother-in-law, William Titcomb, along with Richard Kent, Sr.,
whose son John later married Edward Woodman's daughter. Bartlet
and Titcomb were linked to the central group through John Bartlet,
Sr. A second group included Edward Woodman, Jr., his father-in-law
and brothers-in-law, William, Joseph, and Benjamin Goodridge, and
Edmund Moores, the father-in-law of Joseph Goodridge, and Moores'
son, Jonathan. Woodman and two of the Goodridges maintained links
with Edward Woodman, Sr., a member of the core group. The third
group contained William Morse, his son, Jonathan, his son-in-law,
Francis Thorla, and Thorla's father, Richard. Bartlet, Titcomb,
Woodman, Moores, and both of the Thorlas later became Woodmanites.
While both Morses were supporters of Parker, Morse's brother, Anthony,
a Woodman supporter, was a member of the central group.

Although virtually everyone else was a member of the central
group, they were not co-equal contributors to the unity of the
network. But the degree of differentiation between the two future
sets of opponents was hardly as extreme as it would become during
the church split. Social relationships in the town were only
developing, and it would be years before implicit or nascent patterns
would become crystallized with the elaboration of kin and friends.

Both factions, for example, were only slightly divided with
reference to distance. For the future supporters of Parker, the

mean intragroup distance was 2.9, which was only 0.3 less than the
mean intragroup distance of 3.2. Of the 168 relationships in which
they were nodes, 52 (31%) were established with other Parker supporters,
4 fewer than the number of links shared with supporters of Edward
Woodman. Though their internal relationships were fewer, however,
they were also stronger. The integratedness ratio of these relation-
ships was a hefty 3.31, indicating that for every direct link connec-
ting two Parker supporters there were more than three indirect, two-
step circuits connecting the same pair of individuals. By contrast,
the integration of future Parker supporters with their opponents,
while considerably larger than unity, was not comparable. The ratio
of 1.50 suggests that the lines of significant kinship and friendship
association were already being drawn by Parker's allies.

The Woodmanites revealed a similar pattern during the early
years of the town. They, too, barely tended to be more closely re-
lated internally than externally. Their mean distance from other
Woodmanites was 3.1, in comparison to their 3.2 mean distance from
Parker's supporters. Like the Parker group, they, too, had estab-
lished more relationships with the opposite faction, but the relation-
ships established with other Woodman followers similarly proved to be
stronger. Their 41 internal associations were integrated at a level
of 2.98, whereas the 56 relationships they established with Parker
supporters were augmented by only half as many indirect circuits.

If group differentiation existed only moderately in the
earlier period, it became considerably more pronounced in the period
1666-1672. Through mortality and migration, older relationships

disappeared and through marriage and social processes, new ones arose. These new relationships revealed the extent to which social discrimination had set in. Thirty new kinship and friendship associations were established by Parker supporters during the church split. Five out of every six of these new linkages connected supporters of Parker. Likewise, the Woodman faction created seventeen new associations, of which twelve were intragroup relationships.

The same characteristic continued to dominate the selection of new associates following the church split, but with an important difference. On the surface, it would appear to the contrary. Of the new relationships involving supporters of Parker, twelve were established with others of the same group and twenty bridged the gap to the Woodmanites. Among Woodman supporters, eight new relationships were formed from within the faction. However, of the twenty associations cemented between Parker and Woodman supporters, twelve (60%) originated from three Woodmanites alone, and fourteen (70%) from four. Only four other Woodman followers established associations with Parker supporters. The same pattern holds true for new kin alone. Eight new relationships connected Parker supporters, six connected Woodmanites, and ten connected both. But, as previously, 80 percent of the cross-group links were associated with three of the five Woodmanites who became linked to supporters of Parker by kinship.

If Newbury was not becoming more homogeneous, it was returning to a more stable system of relationships following the intensification of interpersonal biases which the church split engendered. Older figures, central to prior networks, had passed from the scene or

else become less active. The death of John Knight, a Parker supporter
with kinship ties to the Bartlets, removed his nine links from the
network. Likewise, the death of John Cheny, Sr. and Abraham Toppan,
Sr., eliminated eleven more links connecting both sides of the church
dispute. Others, with the approach of old age, yielded to younger
men. Anthony Somerby, for example, maintained only four quantified
relationships following the church split, as did Henry Short, Sr.
Daniel Pierce, Sr. possessed only two kinship links between the church
split and his death in 1677. Richard Knight's eight links, though a
sizable number, were considerably fewer than the twelve he had
possessed during the church dispute or the twenty associations he
maintained earlier.

These men were replaced by other individuals, whose developing
personal networks did not necessarily respect the older lines of
social boundaries. Nathaniel Clarke, for example, increased his link
total from one to ten, and Stephen Greenleaf from four to ten. John
Knight, Jr. inherited his father's association pattern with twelve
links, of which eight were new. Samuel Plummer, whose four previous
links had connected him to Woodmanites only, added three new ones,
all to Parker supporters. And Benjamin Rolfe doubled his total
relationships.

As a result, the town's network, though conducive to greater
stability, did not entirely resemble the reticulum of pre-dispute
Newbury. In aggregate characteristics, however, it did seem quite
similar. Once again, a greater number of links extended across the
church dispute groups. Former Parker supporters counted thirty-eight

relationships with the members of the same faction, and former Woodmanites established thirty-nine with other Woodmanites. Connecting the two sides, however, were forty-four associations.

As earlier, these figures belie the underlying general differentiation that characterized the patterns of association. The integratedness ratios, for example, show that despite the new linkage arrays, neither group was moving toward accommodation. Parker supporters were integrated at a level of 3.55, and Woodman backers achieved a level of 2.31. Between the groups the ratio of 1.75, while higher than previously, was deceptively inflated by the combined contributions of Stephen Greenleaf and Benjamin Rolfe. Together, they were nodes in almost one-third of the cross-group relationships (14 of 44) and supplied 51 of the 77 two-step circuits which determine the level of integration. Removing their influence, the 30 remaining intergroup relationships were integrated by only 0.87, the same as it had been during the church dispute. Both Rolfe and Greenleaf were members of the same sociometric group, but both may be thought as effective liaisons, for they seem to have been largely responsible for mediating the potential inter-group tensions.

Despite their influence, moreover, the groups became even more highly differentiated with reference to distance. For the first time, both groups were significantly closer internally than externally. Among the Woodmanites, the mean distance separating the group was 3.76 links, and among the Parker faction it was 3.78. However, the mean intergroup distance rose to 4.66. Both Greenleaf and Rolfe, expectably, were closer to both groups than the mean. Greenleaf

was, on the average, 3.2 links from the Woodmanites and 2.7 links from Parker supporters. Rolfe, likewise, was 2.8 links from the Woodman faction and 2.5 from defenders of the minister.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the town's social network continued to disintegrate. Following the church split, seven different groups composed the grid of relationships. As previously, one large group constituted the core of the town and was "dominated" by Parker supporters. But the core group had continued to shrink. In the period 1673-85, its membership had declined to forty-one. Flanking this central group were six smaller ones, encompassing 70 percent of Woodmanite group members and less than 40 percent of the former supporters of Parker. Moreover, with one or possibly two exceptions, church split participants remained segregated in their external group membership.[68]

Supporters of Parker composed a single fringe group, one which was relatively isolated, Henry Short, Sr., his son, Henry, Jr., and Anthony Somerby. Short, Sr. died shortly after this analytic period began, so this group is, in some respects, artificial. It was, however, connected at a level of 1.00 internally. In addition, it was connected at the same level to Richard Kent, Jr., a network liaison and one of the two non-group members with whom this group maintained association. The only other non-group member in

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[68]One group of thirteen members contained five former Parker supporters and three former Woodmanites. This, however, was a hodge-podge group, difficult to interpret and resembling a molecular diagram more than a social web. It functioned almost as a liaison group, connected to the core group by nine links, to three different liaisons by four links, and to two other groups by a link each. Intensive analysis does not yield any meaningful results.

relationship to any of these three was Hugh March, who maintained a friendship link with Henry Short, Jr.

The remaining fringe groups were composed mainly of former opponents of the minister. One, in fact, contained Woodman himself, his son, Edward, Jr., and his two sons-in-law, John Kent and Benjamin Lowle. The three participants in the church split, Lowle and both Woodmans, were connected at a level of 1.00 and integrated at a level of 2.33. Five links extended beyond the boundaries of this group, but only one, a friendship connection between Lowle and Richard Dole, reached to a Parker supporter. Two others connected Woodman, Jr. to his brothers-in-law, Benjamin and Joseph Goodridge, and two more established kinship bonds between Woodman, Sr. and his brother Archelaus (a liaison) and John Emery, Sr.

A third group was closely associated with the last one, and perhaps should have been combined with it. This cluster included the Woodmanite, Edmund Moores, his son Jonathan, his son-in-law, Joseph Goodridge, and Goodridge's brother, Benjamin. Both Goodridge's were brothers-in-law to Edward Woodman, Jr., and the only links reaching beyond this group were, not surprisingly, bonds to the younger Woodman.

Yet another group was devoid of Parker supporters. Of its eleven members, ten were Woodmanites or their sons, and the eleventh was the son-in-law of a Woodman supporter. In contrast to the group connectedness of .309, the six who signed the order suspending Parker were connected at a level of .533, and their integratedness ratio was 1.56. At the center of the six Woodmanites were the Emerys, John Sr.

and Jr. Emery, Sr. was the father-in-law of James Ordway, the step-father of John Webster, and the uncle and father-in-law of John Bailey, who, in turn, was the father-in-law of Thomas Browne's son, Isaac. Of their six extra-group links, three extended to other Woodmanites and two to Richard Kent, Jr. Moreover, joining them in this group were the sons of Bailey and Ordway, two sons of Richard Bartlet, Sr., and Bailey's son-in-law, Daniel Cheny. For the entire group, the two links to Richard Kent, Jr. were the only links to any former Parker supporter. Six other external relationships were established with other Woodmanites, and five more extended to sons or brothers of Woodman supporters.

Although it contained three former Parker defenders, the fifth external group was also predominantly a Woodmanite cluster. John and James Smith had supported Parker, but they were not as yet major contributors to the network of social relationships. Each had three links, one to each other and one each to their brother-in-law, Stephen Swett, who had not been the most vocal Woodmanite. Additionally, each had a link to his father-in-law, Samuel Poore, Sr. (John) and the Woodmanite, Robert Coker (James). The third Parker supporter was Nicholas Wallington, who spent little time in the town.

Six others had been Woodmanites, and four more were their kinsmen. The connectedness of the six opponents of Parker was .400, compared to the group connectedness of .219, and they were integrated at a level of 1.33. Among their thirteen extra-group relationships, eight involved other Woodmanites (7) or Woodmanite kin (1) and only two extended to Parker supporters. Their four kinsmen added only

three intergroup connections to the group, of which two extended to Woodmanites or their kin and one to another Parker supporter.

These groups were outside the center of the network, but they were not isolated from one another. Indeed, from one perspective they may be considered one large Woodmanite network, for they were linked together--and, to some extent, to the central group--by the eight liaisons within the town. Three liaisons, linking four groups, were members of the Bartlet family, Richard, Sr., his son, Samuel, and his brother John, Sr. Two more were Joseph and Samuel Plummer, who also established contacts between four groups. Another was Archelaus Woodman, who linked three of the external groups together and provided Richard Dummer with his only link in the town. A seventh was Anthony Morse, Sr., who connected William Morse and William Sawyer to the central group, and an eighth was Richard Kent, Jr., whose friendship bonds connected Emery and Webster with both Henry Shorts and Anthony Somerby, and all five with the central group.

Six of these liaisons had been Woodmanites. Eleven of their twenty-seven links established their relationships with other Woodmanites, and eight more connected them with kin of Woodman supporters. By contrast, only six of their associations were with former Parker supporters or their kin, and these links emanated from only three of the Woodmanite liaisons. Finally, only five of their links reached to members of the central group. Richard Kent, Jr. and Anthony Morse were their counterparts, establishing more relationships with Parker supporters than with members of Woodman's faction. Kent, a vigorous defender of the minister, was the only liaison with links to the group

formed by Somerby and the Shorts. Morse, though himself a Woodmanite, was the brother of William Morse, who was a defender of Parker. Together, these multi-group linkers connected all of the external groups but that formed by the two Moores and the Goodridges, which was connected to a second Woodmanite group directly. All of the other external groups dominated by Woodman supporters were knit together by the mediating roles played by the liaisons in the network, and particularly by the associations involving the Bartlets and Archelaus Woodman.

The remaining eight Woodmanites, all of whom began to open up relationships with Parker defenders, were located in the central group along with eighteen of their former opponents. Among these eight were two of the younger Woodmanites with extensive, cross-faction ties, Stephen Greenleaf and Benjamin Rolfe. Together, they were involved in twelve intergroup relationships with Parker supporters and only four with former Woodmanites. Only one opponent of the minister, in fact, had no links with Parker supporters. This was John Bartlet, Jr., a member of this core group because the only intragroup link he possessed united him with John Knight, Jr. in a kinship bond cemented well prior to the church split.[69] The rest of the Woodmanites in the core group directed at least half of their links toward Parker supporters.

This central group embodied, in effect, a partial reordering of town relationships. Of eighty-two total intragroup links connecting former participants in the church split, sixty (73%) involved at least one Parker supporter. The discrimination that hitherto had shaped the

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[69]Bartlet was also linked to his father, John Bartlet, Sr.

pattern of association among church disputants no longer seemed to affect the respective groups quite so completely. Among the Woodmanites, 16 of 24 intra-faction links (67%) were directed at Parker supporters, who were only slightly more tightly associated. (Seventy-two percent of their links went to other defenders of the minister.) All of the group, moreover, was quite highly integrated, which suggests further that a new series of social arrangements was beginning to emerge. Parker supporters were integrated at a level of 2.50, Woodman supporters by a 2.75 ratio, and both groups at 3.38. Sociometrically at least, the former Woodmanites in this group were no longer reflecting the social biases that had earlier characterized even their own patterns of interpersonal association.

But these eight Woodmanites were exceptions, for more than twice as many of their former cohorts had chosen to preserve the social patterns which contributed to the church split. Those who had opposed the minister were "outsiders" in the town's social network, and they remained without the hub of the social structure. The two Woodman supporters who were the most notable deviants from this pattern, Stephen Greenleaf and Benjamin Rolfe, were, not coincidentally, relatively younger than their fellow Woodmanites. In 1671, when the mean age of Parker's opponents was 49.9 years, Greenleaf was 43 and Rolfe 33. Both, moreover, had married into "Parker families" prior to the church split. Greenleaf had married Tristram Coffin's sister in 1651, and Rolfe had wed the daughter of Thomas Hale, Sr., in 1659. Both were therefore able to diversify their kinship linkages predominantly after the church split had come to a conclusion. Unlike the link

patterns of most other Woodmanites, theirs were able to span the widening social chasm between the two groups, perhaps because they had never perceived themselves as loyal members of an outside group or perhaps because the Parker supporters with whom they developed new relationships did not seek to perpetuate the divisions within the town.

Whatever the reason, a new town core was emerging. With the transition of generations that seems to have been occurring during the 1670s and 1680s, new social relationships were beginning to re-align the pattern of town associations. This is not to say that the older discrimination between families and individuals would not re-appear as a divisive force in the town. Nor is it to argue that the church split was becoming forgotten by all of the participants. The group structure of the town would permit neither assertion. Neverthe-less, the passage of the dispute and the appearance of a new generation of families erased <u>some</u> of the harsh lines of division that had pre-viously rent the town. As <u>some</u> of the townsmen became reunited and others became newly united, realignments in the patterns of differen-tiation would emerge. The town, meanwhile, would no longer resemble the potentially unified social organism it once it had been.

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE: "A Greater Variety of Parties"

If Newbury began as a unified, harmonious town, by 1685 its

single-mindedness had been shattered. In part, the network dis-

integrated because the townsmen could not maintain the commitment

to corporatism that was required to sustain the cooperative thrust

of social life. As enthusiasm waned, townsmen became conscious that

their consensus about goals did not extend to other areas of life.

They were not altogether convinced that it could not be restored.

But, by implication, the evocation of majoritarian ideals represented

an admission that consensus, while still desirable, could no longer

be founded on voluntarism. Indeed, the elevation of "the major part"

was an attempt to re-define the context of social corporatism without

altering the mechanisms of its operation. Although the population

had ceased to agree on basic issues, the town was not prepared to

discard the institutional avenues through which consensus had been

translated into action previously. In short, the town seemed un-

willing to accept the conclusion that consensus was a thing of the

past.

The presence in the town of an increasingly differentiated

population, however, placed new demands on the consensus-minded

people. When individuals began to "identify" themselves with one or another of the sub-groups which appeared in the social network, the conflict of loyalties spelled the end of single-mindedness in the town. Accustomed to agreement and remembering the common dedication of all to the wilderness adventure, the town could not at first recognize the place of "interest groups" in the larger scheme of affairs. Both policy and faction were evil words in the Puritan's vocabulary, and, to everyone involved in the affairs of the town, there was only one proper way of behaving. Those who expressed different ideas, then, were regarded as factious, and their arguments became the policies of interested and selfish minorities.

Conflict became all the more serious because consensus was synonymous only with general understanding. The townsmen agreed that God was to be served, that peace was to be maintained, that the good of the whole was to be the standard of town action, that an organic society presupposed an unequivocal ordering of persons, and that the dictates of place and duty, if followed, would guarantee all other desiderata. Few, however, took the time to explore the implications of these shared values. How was God to be served? What peace was to be preserved? What was the good of the whole? What were the proper relationships among men? These were questions seldom asked. When answers were called for, they were not available. By the time definitions were needed, the consensus of which they were a part had already been shaken.

Townsmen, therefore, turned inward for the answers, relying on personal values and emotions to delineate the boundaries of their

common goals which, by the 1660s, had become subjects of debate. Two separate interpretations of the "good society" were proferred, interpretations which hinged as much on personal affiliations as on generally accepted social norms. Both dealt with the "rules" of the game, and both posed absolute assumptions about the nature of consensus. Yet both were mutually exclusive, because their divergent applications of values placed their emphases on different aspects of communalism. Each, in short, was "correct" from a different perspective, and, as a result, neither could be compromised successfully with the other. To Thomas Parker and his adherents, consensus could only exist in the context of certain basic truisms, the rejection of which would make consensus unimportant. Unless these fundamental principles were accepted, the good society could not be attained. To Edward Woodman and his followers, consensus was a more functional standard, to be implemented mechanically by institutionalizing specific standards of behavior which defined how the good society should operate. Both proposed solutions which were designed to restore and define communalism, but in absolute terms which could not be reconciled. Both agreed, in general, on the goals of the good society, but each proposed a different understanding of the relationship between means and ends.

From a different perspective, it was consensus itself which made the church split so volatile. Although the town agreed, in large measure, on the ends of society, and although the issues that were contested were predominantly trivial ones, the church dispute polarized the town. Particularly because the corporate organization

of the town emphasized peace and, indeed, provided the means to control dissent, the outbreak of hostilities was necessarily intense. Moreover, because disharmony amid consensus was an intellectual contradiction, any conflict which succeeded in cutting across the interrelated and interdependent society of the town would, by definition, challenge the very consensus that the town had shared.[1]

No less ironically, the same social relationships that interlinked the population into a unified social network with the potential for consensus were also the means whereby consensus was broken. Through kinship and friendship, the townsmen had begun their settlement within a tightly-knit, organic web or relationships that gave them a collective sense of participation and membership in the corporate venture. For a time, these relationships bound one and all together as a brotherhood of closely associated fellows and gave to the town a potential for corporate agreement as well as an ascribed and socio-psychological basis for harmonious interaction. As long as the size of the town remained fairly small, as long as the population remained moderately interconnected, as long as settlement patterns stimulated interpersonal interaction, and as long as no issues evoked loyalty to associates instead of loyalty to the town, kinship and friendship worked to make everyone brothers and cousins.

But these conditions could be found only in earliest Newbury. Within ten years of the founding of the town, the compactness of the residential pattern had been destroyed, and whatever interaction

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[1]See, for example, Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, 60-65, 72-81.

remained was differentially associated. Population growth, especially as the second generation matured and began to cement their own personal patterns of association, posed new threats to the continued homogenization of the network. Distance between people increased as the number of possible associates outpaced the number of choices that could be made. The social network of the town, moreover, became less omnipresent as the selection of new associates tended to be influenced by older patterns of relationships. Finally, when an issue or series of issues cut across the network of the town, the glue which had held the townsmen together became weakened. Loyalties to close associates were summoned. Once exploited, the interests of different groups in the town became pitted against one another. The result was the deterioration of the unitary kinship and friendship network into a multifaceted and differentiated network composed of segregated and diffused groups.

Following the church dispute, the unified network was shattered. As the core group shrank progressively with each period studied, the number of groups lying outside the center of the town increased step for step. Both during and after the church split, those heeding the call of associates to transfer loyalties to particular cliques as opposed to the town as a whole were those who had issued the first challenge in the church, the symbol of a united and saintly populace. They became, in effect, "outsiders" in Newbury society, preferring to remain closer to the small groups of associates with whom, individually, they could achieve a meaningful consensus. Because of the social changes occurring in the town, virtually everyone became more distant from everyone else. But while the mean distances among

Parker supporters and those among the Woodmanites increased by about one-third between 1635 and 1685, the mean distance between the two groups increased half again as much. At the same time, supporters of Woodman remained relatively more distant from others in the town as well.[2] In short, social retrenchment had set in among Parker's opponents particularly, and they became partial outcasts from the rest of the social network.

In many respects, the town finally recognized that its new social arrangements precluded a harmonious corporatism at the individual level. As a result, the town began to seek a restoration of harmony through alternate means. Acknowledging the permanence of differentiated social units within the town, the inhabitants attempted to find ways of integrating the outlying groups into the town. Virtually all the conflicts faced by the collective town had been political in one context, for they all involved relationships of power. Because the union of political dissent with social arrangements had disabled the town's ability to function harmoniously at the collective level, and because differentiated social groupings seemed to be irreversible additions to the social network, the town sought to link political peace with, not against, the permanence of social diffusion.

In the early years of the town, virtually all officers had been members of the central group and close to all members of the

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[2]This is also evidence that the methodology is sound. Were discrepancies the result of the attribution of kinship and friendship or a peculiarity of their programmed transformation, then the between-group differences should have been proportionate to the within-group differences. However, for the three time periods studied, the mean distances separating Parker supporters were 2.9, 3.4, and 3.8, respectively; those separating Woodman's faction were 3.1, 4.2, and 3.8; and those separating both factions were 3.2, 4.0, and 4.7.

town. From 1673 to 1685, this was no longer the case. All but one of the outlying groups was represented in the selection of major town offices. As a result, the centrality of town leaders in the social network no longer characterized the political arrangements of the town. Those leaders chosen from the central group, of course, continued to be closely associated with the town as a whole. But those chosen from the detached groups tended to be distant from the remainder of the townsmen, and, because they were Woodmanites, they also tended to be more distant from former Parker supporters. There had always been a strong correlation between mean distance to Parker supporters and mean distance to Woodman supporters. During the earliest period of life in Newbury, town leaders had generally been high among the ranks of both intragroup and in-ergroup linkers. Both during and after the church split, however, the rank-order of town leaders in mean distance to both sides of the church split began to rise, as Table VI-1 demonstrates. The selection of leaders from outlying groups meant that the relationship between town leadership and network centrality no longer

TABLE VI-1

MEAN RANK-ORDER OF DISTANCE TO PARKER AND WOODMAN
GROUPS, TOWN LEADERS, 1635-1685

	Rank in Distance			
	Parker Supporters		Woodman Supporters	
	to same	to other	to same	to other
1635-65	6.4	6.3	10.6	12.2
1666-72	10.0	10.6	21.4	21.5
1673-85	11.6	12.8	15.0	16.8

pertained. Instead, major offices were increasingly becoming filled
by men who were chosen as "delegates" of specific groups.

This is particularly true for officers chosen from the Wood-
manites, the church disputants who constituted the bulk of those out-
side the central group. The decline in their mean rank of distance
to both groups following the church split indicates the transformation
occurring within the town. There were, in fact, two groups of Wood-
manites chosen to office. On the one hand, 5, with a mean rank of
distance to Parker supporters of 3.0 and a mean intragroup rank of
5.6, were members of the central group or liaisons. They were all
second generation townsmen, younger than most other Woodmanites, who
had come to terms with Parker's defenders. On the other hand, none
of the remaining seven leaders elected from the Woodman faction be-
longed to the core group. They were all members of one or another
detached group or liaisons who linked the detached groups. Their
mean interfaction rank of 26.5 and mean rank of distance from other
Woodmanites of 21.9 suggests strongly that they were chosen less
because they were central to the network than because they could give
a voice to the "outsiders" and thus, hopefully, prevent both the
paralysis of systematic, socio-political dissent and the appearance
of what later generations would call the tyranny of the majority.

But the significance of an individual's kinship and friend-
ship contacts was not the only criterion of town office. It is
possible to reserve too strong a place in the social system for these
relationships, particularly when they are studied in isolation from
other social phenomena. Admittedly, differentiation was proceeding

along other dimensions as well, and other groups, not related to the church dispute, would eventually raise their voices in protest. Society was becoming more complex and diffused, not only socially but economically, geographically, and intellectually. New, unifying and divisive interests not <u>necessarily</u> comprehended by kinship and friendship were, indeed, already emerging in the town to provoke new, personal and non-collective identities. These would all have to be reconciled with the pursuit of the collective good if civil unity were to be maintained. Although a relationship between these other forms of differentiation and both kinship and friendship would be expected, the extent to which social and other units of organization were or were not becoming interrelated remains moot.

This is not the point, however. The more things change, the more things remain the same is a hackneyed phrase. But for seventeenth-century Newbury it is more true than trite. The changes which had occurred in the social and political realm were changes that, in the end, altered very few of the assumptions people made about their lives, for they were changes in form, not substance. The goals of cooperation and corporate organicism remained the goals of the town throughout the seventeenth century and, in all likelihood, until the Revolution as well.[3] The diversification and differentiation of society, to which kinship and friendship were only contributors, had made the quest

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[3]For general discussions of similar attitudes and goals in the eighteenth-century, see, Zuckerman, <u>Peaceable Kingdoms</u>, 46-84, and <u>passim</u>; Gordon S. Wood, <u>The Creation of the American Republic</u> (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [For the Institute of Early American History and Culture], 1969), 53-65, and <u>passim</u>; and Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Social Change and the Meaning of the American Revolution," <u>Journal of Social History</u>, VI (1973), 420-28, and <u>passim</u>.

for these goals more complex. But, as Madison would argue a century
later, these goals were no less worthy of pursuit, even in the context
of a faction-filled society.[4]

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[4]The Federalist Papers, Number 10 (New York: Mentor Books,
1961), 77-84.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ENGLISH ORIGINS OF NEWBURY SETTLERS, 1635-1650

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ENGLISH ORIGINS OF NEWBURY SETTLERS, 1635-1650

The following is a list of those Newbury settlers before
1650 for whom prior residence is known or suspected. It is by no
means a complete list of all Newbury inhabitants during the period,
for many of those who helped found the town cannot be traced. Ques-
tion marks indicate that the identification of the individual's home
is only tentative. Names which are underlined are those I have
called "persisters" in Chapter I. Finally, an asterisk following a
name denotes that the individual was assigned a freehold right by
the town in 1642.

NAME	ENGLISH RESIDENCE	SHIP AND DATE
Robert Adams	Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire	
Walter Allen*	Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk	
Giles Badger*	Thornbury or Westbury-on-Severn, Gloucestershire	
Nathaniel Badger*	Thornbury or Westbury-on-Severn, Gloucestershire	
Richard Badger*	Thornbury or Westbury-on-Severn, Gloucestershire	

NAME	ENGLISH RESIDENCE	SHIP AND DATE
John Bailey	Chippenham, Wiltshire	James, 1635
Christopher Bartlet*	Wiltshire?	
John Bartlet*	Wiltshire?	Mary and John, 1634
Richard Bartlet*	Wiltshire?	
Christopher Batt	Salisbury, Wiltshire	Bevis, 1638
Nicholas Batt*	Devizes, Wiltshire	James, 1635
James Browne*	Southampton, Hampshire	Mary and John, 1634
Thomas Browne*	Malford Christian, Wiltshire	James, 1635
Joseph Carter*	London	
John Cheny*	Waltham Abbey, Essex	
John Clarke*	London	
Tristram Coffin	Brixton, Devonshire	
Thomas Coleman*	Marlborough, Wiltshire	James, 1635
John Cutting*	London	
Thomas Davis*	Marlborough, Wiltshire	
Richard Dole	Bristol or Thornbury, Gloucestershire	
Richard Dummer*	Bishopstoke, Hampshire	Whale, 1632?
Stephen Dummer*	Bishopstoke, Hampshire	Bevis, 1638

NAME	ENGLISH RESIDENCE	SHIP AND DATE
Thomas Dummer	Bishopstoke, Hampshire	Bevis, 1638
Nicholas Easton*	Lymington, Hampshire	Mary and John, 1634
John Eels	Aldenham, Hertfordshire	
Anthony Emery	Romsey, Hampshire	James, 1635
John Emery*	Romsey, Hampshire	James, 1635
William Eastow	Great Ormsby, Norfolk	
William Fifield	Littleton, Hampshire	Hercules, 1634
John Fry*	Basingstoke, Hampshire	
William Gerrish	Bristol, Gloucestershire (also listed as Melksham, Wiltshire)	
Lancelot Granger	St. Antholin, London	
Edmund Greenleaf*	Ipswich, Suffolk	
Thomas Hale*	Watton at Stone, Hertfordshire	Hector, 1937?
Luke Heard	Claxton, Norfolk	
Nicholas Holt*	Romsey, Hampshire	James, 1635
Abel Huse*	London	
Christopher Hussey	Dorking, Surrey	

NAME	ENGLISH RESIDENCE	SHIP AND DATE
John Ilsley	Nether Wallop, Hampshire	Confidence, 1638
William Ilsley*	Nether Wallop, Hampshire	Confidence, 1638
James Jackman	Exeter, Devonshire	
Henry Jaques	Stanton or Rodborne, Wiltshire	
John Kelly*	Newbury, Berkshire	
Richard Kent, Sr.*	Upper Wallop, Hampshire	Mary and John, 1634
Stephen Kent*	Tyeherly or Nether Wallop, Hampshire	Confidence, 1638
John Knight*	Romsey, Hampshire	James, 1635
Richard Knight*	Romsey, Hampshire	James, 1635
Robert Long	Dunstable, Bedfordshire?	Defense?
William Longfellow	Ilkley, Yorkshire	
John Lowle*	Bristol, Gloucestershire	
Percival Lowle*	Bristol, Gloucestershire	
Thomas Macy	Chilmark, Wiltshire	
Hugh March	Tytherly, Hampshire	Confidence, 1638
John Marston	Great Ormsby, Norfolk	
Robert Marston	Great Ormsby, Norfolk	

NAME	ENGLISH RESIDENCE	SHIP AND DATE
Thomas Marston	Great Ormsby, Norfolk	
William Marston	Great Ormsby, Norfolk	
John Merrill*	Wherstead, Suffolk	
Nathaniel Merrill	Wherstead, Suffolk	
Thomas Milward	Yarmouth, Norfolk	
Henry Monday	Pewsey, Wiltshire	
Hugh Monday	Pewsey, Wiltshire?	Confidence, 1638
William Moody*	Ipswich, Suffolk, or Wales	Mary and John, 1634
Edmund Moores	Deniton Magna, Dorsetshire	
Anthony Morse*	Marlborough, Wiltshire	James, 1635
William Morse*	Marlborough, Wiltshire	James, 1635
John Moulton	Great Ormsby, Norfolk	
Robert Moulton	Great Ormsby, Norfolk	
Thomas Moulton	Great Ormsby, Norfolk	
John Musselwhite*	Langford, Wiltshire	James, 1635
James Noyes*	Choulderton, Wiltshire	Mary and John, 1634

NAME	ENGLISH RESIDENCE	SHIP AND DATE
Nicholas Noyes*	Choulderton, Wiltshire	Mary and John, 1634
John Oliver*	Bristol, Gloucestershire	
John Osgood*	Wherwell or Andover, Hampshire	
Joseph Parker	Newbury, Berkshire or Romsey, Hampshire	
Nathan Parker	Newbury, Berkshire	
Thomas Parker*	Choulderton or Mildenhall, Wiltshire, or Newbury, Berkshire	Mary and John, 1634
John Pemberton*	Lawford, Essex	
Richard Pettingall	Topcroft, Norfolk	
Daniel Pierce	Ipswich, Suffolk	
John Pike*	Whiteparish, Wiltshire	James, 1635
Francis Plummer*	London or Wales	
John Poore*	Thornbury, Gloucestershire	
Edward Rawson*	Gillingham, Dorsetshire	
Henry Rolfe*	Whiteparish or Melchit Park, Wiltshire	
Anthony Sadler	Tytherly, Hampshire	Confidence,

NAME	ENGLISH RESIDENCE	SHIP AND DATE
John Sanders	Langford, Wiltshire	Confidence, 1638
Samuel Scullard*	Hampshire?	
Henry Sewall*	Coventry, Warwickshire	
Thomas Smith*	Romsey, Hampshire	James, 1635
William Snelling	Plympton St. Mary, Devonshire	
Anthony Somerby*	Little Bytham, Lincolnshire	
Henry Somerby*	Little Bytham, Lincolnshire	
John Spencer*	Kingston, Surrey	Mary and John, 1634?
John Steven*	Gowsham or Caversham, Oxfordshire	
William Stevens*	Gowsham or Caversham, Oxfordshire	
Benjamin Swett	Wymondham, Norfolk	
John Swett*	Wymondham, Norfolk	
Henry Tewkesbury	Greenwich, Kent	
William Thomas*	Great Comberton, Worcestershire	
Daniel Thirston*	Thornbury, Gloucestershire	
William Titcomb*	Newbury, Berkshire	

NAME	ENGLISH RESIDENCE	SHIP AND DATE
Abraham Toppan*	Yarmouth, Norfolk, or Coverham, Yorkshire	
Nicholas Wallington	Nether Wallop, Hampshire	Confidence, 1638
Nathaniel Weare*	Brokenborough, Wiltshire	
John Wheeler	Salisbury, Wiltshire	Mary and John, 1634
Thomas Whittier	Salisbury, Wiltshire	
Benjamin Woodbridge	Stanton, Wiltshire	
John Woodbridge*	Stanton, Wiltshire	Mary and John, 1634
Archelaus Woodman*	Malford Christian, Wiltshire	James, 1635
Edward Woodman*	Malford Christian, Wiltshire	James, 1635
Lionel Worth	Yeovil, Somersetshire	

	V. Norfolk		XI. Essex
	VI. Oxfordshire		XII. Suffolk
I. Wiltshire	VII. Lincolnshire	XIII.	Hertfordshire
II. Berkshire	VIII. Dorsetshire	XIV.	Devonshire
III. Hampshire	IX. Worcestershire	XV.	Kent
IV. Warwickshire	X. Gloucestershire	XVI.	Somersetshire
		XVII.	London

Figure 2.--Map 1: England, ca. 1600-1650 (With Original Residences of Newbury Settlers Emphasized).

APPENDIX II

INFORMATION ON NETWORK INPUT

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INFORMATION ON NETWORK INPUT

At the level of the individual, ego-centric network, there is little to make an analysis ambiguous. But at the aggregate level, the number of links and nodes, and the ways they are arranged and inter-related, can affect the overall characteristics of the total group. For example, there may be a direct relationship between the mean distance separating the individuals within a group and the number of links and nodes which are the units from which distance is determined. It stands to reason that the members of a group of size N with X number of links will be more distant on the average than the same group with 2X links, assuming that the links are not simply repeated. Conversely, the members of a group of size N would likely become closer were the number of links held constant and the number of nodes reduced. Because the total number of eligible inhabitants in this study has remained constant at 135 while the number of actual links and nodes varied from time period to time period, an examination of link and node distribution is in order. (It is advisable, for reasons that should be apparent, that this appendix be consulted only after Chapters 2 and 5 have been read.)

Table A-II, 1 indicates the distribution of links and nodes over the three periods.

TABLE A-II, 1

LINK AND NODE DISTRIBUTION BY TIME PERIOD

	1635-1665	1666-1672	1673-1685
Nodes	126	125	130
Links			
Kinship	294	275	332
Friendship	370	160	156
Total	664	435	488

While the number of nodes with active links remained fairly constant, the total number of links was subject to considerable variation from one period to the next. However, the period-by-period differential is by no means as large as might be expected given the difference in the number of years included in each. Kinship links are nearly the same across all three time divisions, because "losses" through mortality and migration offset the creation of new kinship bonds. Moreover, kinship linkages were considered redundant--i.e., they were treated as continuous and repetitive throughout periods until an individual left observation permanently.

Friendship links, however, may give cause for hestiation. From a high of 370 in 1635-1665, they continued to be reduced until, by the last time division, they numbered only 156, less than half of the number of friendship links during the first time period. Unlike kinship relationships, friendship was not considered redundant, for

it is not necessarily a constant relationship. New friendship links, therefore, were assigned for each period, and old ones, unless continued, were erased. Thus, friendship links would be affected by the compression of the time period in which they are assigned.

Fortunately, the difference is not as large as it might have been, for, with the passage of time, an increasing number of first generation settlers left probated material yearly. This increase was insufficient to offset the loss of information which resulted from the abbreviation of each of the last two periods, but the proportion of wills probated annually rose from period to period. From 1635 to 1685, .84 wills per year received action. This rose to 1.59 during the period 1666-1672, and to 2.00 for 1673-1681.

The remainder of the difference in friendship links is the result of a decline in the number of depositions and testimonies which can be found in the Court records. The number of actual cases did not decline nearly so drastically, but the nature of the cases underwent a significant change. Increasingly after 1665, fewer broad cases involving large numbers of inhabitants appeared in the records. Instead, the litigations initiated by Newbury inhabitants tended to replace witnesses and deponents with formal documentations, like receipts and invoices, to support the increasing number of debt litigations.

I do not regard this link differential as crucial, however. The reduction in personal associations would explain part of the increase in mean distances discussed in Chapter 5, particularly the increase between the first time period and the second. But, during

the period 1673-1685, the number of links increased at the same time that the distance between people also increased. Integratedness, as well, should have been affected by the changing number of links. Once again, this anticipated characteristic proved true in the transition from the first period to the second. But integratedness ratios also tended to increase disproportionately during the third period.

Moreover, even if the difference in link totals did influence the characteristics of the network, and even if the difference obviated all discussions of distance and integration in absolute terms, the comparative dimension of the analysis would not be affected. Any change caused by the reduction in links must be assumed to be a wholesale change, affecting all relationships within the network proportionately. Because it is the relative qualities of these measures that define the differentiation which I have perceived, and because these comparative measures are compatible with the conclusions derived from the analyses of individual and group link patterns, the general results of this study are not significantly challenged by any effects of the differences in link totals from period to period.

B

The technical aspects of the network program are beyond my ability to discuss in depth. A complicated iterative process of data manipulation is used to identify groups, one which involves the successive location of nodes on a 1 to N continuum, the weighting of links, the averaging of link weights, and the relocation of nodes along the continuum in clusters determined by the weighted and

averaged links. Specific details of this procedure can be obtained from Professor Richard V. Farace, Department of Communications, Michigan State University.

Certain characteristics of the program, however, require a few explanatory words. The definition of a group within the network is not constant. Rather, the possible network configurations which can be generated are determined by the parameters of the network, which are set by the user prior to each "run." Upon the redefinition of a single limit, the same data may produce a slightly different network and group structure, although absolute qualities, such as distance and integratedness, will not be affected. Three of these parameters may have a significant influence on the network structure which emerges. Although these parameters were held constant for all three time periods examined in this study, their influence, if any, has affected all of the groups discussed.

In order to give definition to a group, some standard of group membership must be specified. Regardless of the nature of the links within the network--and any quality may be used as a link--the standard must be an empirically determined relationship among the links of a group. This is defined as the "criterion percentage," or the proportion of an individual's links which must connect him to other members of the same group. This percentage must be specified before the program will run.

This is an arbitrary parameter, and whatever the level specified, it will create certain ambiguities in the output. The same data, evaluated on the basis of different percentage parameters, can

produce different group configurations. A network generated with a criterion percentage of fifty, for example, will produce larger groups and fewer non-group members (e.g., "liaisons") than a network based on a percentage of fifty-one. Alternately, a criterion percentage greater than fifty will produce fewer ambiguous group boundaries and more non-group members than a network determined by a percentage of fifty. Accordingly, the criterion percentage must be chosen carefully if the network is to reflect interpersonal relationships as realistically as possible.

I elected to define the criterion percentage so as to minimize certain ambiguities and to obtain as much analytic information as possible. Because the output provides the greatest amount of summary information for network groups, I chose to set the criterion percentage parameter at 50 percent. Preliminary tests of the network at both 50 and 51 percent permitted a comparison of networks generated at each percentage. The differences between the two seemed to be a result of the relatively small number of links per person, which made each link a significant portion of each ego-centric network. Because of this situation, a change in the criterion percentage by as little as 1 percent was sufficient to cause a major revision of the group structure. To illustrate, at a criterion percentage of fifty, an individual with four links would need to be associated with two other members of the group to be a member himself. At 51 percent, however, the same individual would need links to three other members. Because a large number of non-group members for whom there was no

analytic information resulted from a percentage of fifty-one, I thought it better to obtain information at the cost of ambiguity.

A second important parameter sets the boundary of groups. In order for a group to be defined consistently, some "outer limit" must be prescribed. To make this boundary empirically determined, the limit must also be a function of the links in the group. This is accomplished by specifying the maximum distance which can separate any two members of the same group. If it can be assumed that "chain-reactions" cannot extend over an infinite distance, then the validity of a boundary limit on coherent groups can readily be appreciated.

In the context of kinship and friendship, this maximum distance parameter represents the distance over which kinship and friendship ties can be exploited effectively. In a social situation, a chain-reaction is presumed to be most intense at its initiation, and gradually less strong as it becomes further removed from its source. To define group limits, therefore, calls for an estimation of the effective range of kinship and friendship connections.

For several reasons, I have defined this range rather liberally. In each of the three final networks, the maximum distance for a group was assigned a value of ten steps. In most cases, this is far in excess of the actual mean and modal distances for each individual within a group. Occasionally, however, the generous limits prove valuable, particularly for those groups containing individuals who participated in few court cases and had small families. Practicality as well dictated a generous limit. One of the most useful analytic measures included in the output is a

distance matrix which places all members of each group in an N by N format and prints the distance between them in the cells of the matrix. The greater the maximum distance, the more information will be available. Finally, it should be noted that the large maximum distance in no way compromises the criterion percentage parameter. All members of a given group must still possess 50 percent of their links within the group.

Finally, a third set of parameters is required to enable both friendship and kinship to be evaluated simultaneously. Because the program can handle two variables simultaneously, it can produce a network which is far more sophisticated than one generated on the basis of one variable alone. However, to combine twin variables, the program must be able to transform them into a summary variable by a process of weighting each according to the significance of the relationship. Four separate parameters are required during this operation, each serving as a constant multiple in a weighting equation. In effect, this requires that values be assigned to reflect the relative importance of kinship and friendship.

In most cases, it is probably a reasonable assumption that obligations based on kinship are "more important" than those based on friendship. But the relative significance of these variables is virtually impossible to estimate. Even if it were possible to posit a general set of guidelines to evaluate the importance of these relationships, no set of categorical standards could comprehend the meaning of these links for any given individual.

Accordingly, I made no attempt to assign separate weights to kinship and friendship. Instead, I assigned values to these parameters which make both relationships equivalent. Admittedly, this may assign disproportionate weights to specific relationships. But I am less interested in exploring the relative significance of friendship and kinship than I am in discovering the relationships among interpersonal affinities (loosely defined), normative and cultural standards, and issue-related behavior. In this context, it is not a question of which relationship was present. Rather, it will serve my purposes to note that a relationship existed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

No bibliography can do justice to all the works and all the
authors which have influenced the study to which it is appended.
This bibliography is no exception. The number of works consulted
in this study of Newbury are legion, and it would be impossible to
credit--much less to recall--all of the sources I have consulted.
Accordingly, what follows is, of necessity, a selected list of
works, representing the volumes cited in the footnotes and a number
of others whose indirect influence must be acknowledged.

An essay of this nature should do more than recognize the
authorities, however, particularly where several works had a bearing
on more than one chapter. Rather than arrange this list by topic,
therefore, I shall discuss my debt to these works so as to make
clear the context in which they have been used.

Primary Sources

The once lost town records of Newbury, though incomplete and
ravaged by carelessness, are located in the town hall of Newbury
under the supervision of the Town Clerk and the Board of Selectmen.
For the period 1635 to 1685, these include the Proprietors Records
as well as two town books in which all official acts of the town
meeting, the Selectmen, and the freeholders are recorded. Although

the first town book is now partly illegible, Joshua Coffin's meticulous transcription, completed in the 1820s, is in exceptionally good condition and can be found alongside the original. All three volumes were recently microfiled by the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and can be ordered as films 886194 and 886195. In addition, the transcription made by Coffin was itself copied with good accuracy. This bound and typed transcript can be perused without restriction at the Long Island Historical Society, in Brooklyn, New York.

The original records of births, deaths, and marriages in the town are also located at the Newbury town hall. The indefatigible Mormons have filmed these as well, and these records can be ordered as films number 886202 and 886203. Additionally, Newbury's vital records, as are those of most other Massachusetts towns, have been published in two volumes under the title Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849 (Salem: The Essex Institute, 1911).

Other records pertaining to seventeenth-century Newbury are scattered throughout archives in Massachusetts. The first historian of the town, Joshua Coffin, possessed a number of early letters, deeds, and wills among his own personal papers, which are now located at the Essex Institute, in Salem. The official relations between Newbury and the General Court are recorded in the numerous volumes of the Massachusetts Archives in the State House, Boston, and in Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, 5 vols. in 6 (Boston: William White, 1853-54). Certain documents probated through 1681 and filed in the County Court Building in Salem have been published in the three volumes of The

Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1681 (Salem: The Essex Institute, 1916-1920). Finally, the valuable but ponderous court records, a rich and underused source of material for social history, are stored in the Office of the Clerk of the Court, in Salem. These have been abstracted by the somewhat genteel George F. Dow, and published in eight volumes as The Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts (Salem: The Essex Institute, 1911-1921). These records are generally accepted as complete, and they seem accurate in content. They are not, however, entirely satisfactory to the purist, for only some of the material is transcribed verbatim.

Newbury's church records prior to 1674 are lost, possibly destroyed in a symbolic act to erase all record and memory of the church split. However, a number of works produced by the Presbyterian elders of the church have remained to shed at least some light on the church. James Noyes wrote two major tracts, both of which sought to promote his conception of a highly ordered civil and religious society. In The Temple Measured: Or, A Brief Survey of the Temple Mystical, Which is the Instituted Church of Christ . . . (London, 1647), Noyes attempted to outline his theology and to "declare what are the points . . . wherein he can or cannot concur" with others of the New England ministry. Eleven years later, he expanded upon his first work in the posthumous Moses and Aaron: Or the Rights of Church and State, published by Benjamin Woodbridge in 1661. Dedicated by Thomas Parker to Charles II, Moses and Aaron was Noyes' unfinished attempt to lend his support to Hobbesian contractualism in both church and state.

Thomas Parker shared much of Noyes' concern for order. In addition to the preface to Moses and Aaron, where he pronounced his relief at the restoration of a (hopefully) right-minded monarch, Parker left a number of English language tracts detailing his rather strict, organic image of church and state. Addressed to an anonymous member of the Westminster Assembly, the True Copy of a Letter: Written by Mr. Thomas Parker . . . Declaring His Judgement Touching the Government practiced in the Churches of NEW ENGLAND (London, 1644) made clear Parker's opposition to excessive rule by the brethren, an antipathy he shared with his cousin Noyes. Six years later, in The Copy of a Letter . . . To His Sister . . . (London, 1650), he expressed his disapproval of both the extremely rational religious persuasion of his sister and of her rash action of publishing a book. His only scholarly work published in English, The Visions and Prophesies of Daniel Expounded (London, 1646) was Parker's attempt to interpret the progression of the "vials" which would precede the return of Christ. Curiously, for all his assurance that he was a correct interpreter of the Scriptures in other respects, Parker was unable to predict the precise century when the Millenium would begin.

John Woodbridge, Sr. and Jr. also left testaments to their Presbyterianism. The elder Woodbridge apparently wrote A Declaration of the Council at Newbury, Joshua Coffin's transcription of which is now located in the Congregational Library, in Boston. Woodbridge's purposes are not clear, and the document, while it sheds much light on the dispute between Parker and Edward Woodman, raises more questions than it answers about both Woodbridge and the Council. More revealing is "The Correspondence of John Woodbridge, Jr., and Richard

Baxter," edited by Raymond Phineas Stearns, New England Quarterly, X (1937), 557-83. The younger Woodbridge, reared to Presbyterianism by his father and Parker, clearly had the Newbury church conflict in mind when he wrote Baxter to lament the restraints which elders and brethren in Massachusetts imposed on Presbyterian advocates.

In the context of religious developments in Newbury, several other contemporaries also left descriptions of the church. The most complete, and in many ways the most useful, is Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (2 vols.; Hartford: Silas Andrus and Son, 1855). Mather himself reveals a subtle distaste for the Newbury elders, but he also reproduces the memorial to Noyes and Parker, written by Nicholas Noyes, the nephew of James. Although Samuel Sewall's Diary (in M.H.S. Colls., 5th Ser., V-VII) contains references to Parker, Noyes' account of both Parker and Noyes is virtually the only true biographical sketch penned by a contemporary. Both the Mather Papers, M. H. S. Colls., 4th Ser., VIII, and Edward Johnson's Wonder Working Providence, in Ibid., 2d. Ser., II, III, IV, VII, and VIII contribute a few words about Newbury and the town's church, as do Thomas Lechford's Plain Dealing, or Newes from New England, Ibid., 3d. Ser., III, 55-128, and New Englands Jonas Cast Up at London, Ibid., 2d. Ser., IV, 107-20, by the hostile Major John Child. Finally, both Urian Oakes and Daniel Denison, though not inhabitants of Newbury, penned accounts which placed the Newbury church dispute in larger perspective. Oakes, the Pastor at Cambridge, may have been among the Council sent to Newbury in 1672. His election sermon, New England Pleaded With (Cambridge, 1673) cautioned, without mentioning Newbury, against the extremes embodied by the supporters of both Parker and

Woodman. Likewise, Denison, who was brother-in-law to John Woodbridge, Sr., and a member of the Ipswich Court which heard the case against Edward Woodman, railed against lay usurpations in his Irenicon, or a Salve for New England's Sore (Boston, 1684).

Other chroniclers as well have helped clarify the history of Newbury. William Hubbard's A General History of New England, M. H. S. Colls., 2d. Ser., V, VI, while not entirely original and, I think, in error with regard to the church split, made explicit the relationship between the settlement of Newbury and the social contacts of the founders. Also valuable, particularly for events surrounding the creation of Newbury, is the eighteenth-century history of Thomas Hutchinson, The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, Lawrence S. Mayo, ed., (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936). Although John Winthrop did not have a great deal to say about Newbury, his Journal (ed. James Kendall Hosmer, 2 vols. [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908]) and The Winthrop Papers (5 vols. [Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929-1947]) both contain occasionally useful material. John Josselyn's An Account of Two Voyages to New England, in M. H. S. Colls., 3d. Ser., III, 211-354, contains a geographical description of Newbury. And, finally, occasional and revealing references are made to Newbury, particularly in the years immediately following the Restoration, in several documents abstracted in W. Noel Sainsbury, et al., eds., Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1676 (London: Public Records Office, 1860-89).

Secondary Sources

A number of general treatments of New England history have been useful as chronological or interpretive summaries. Clarence L. Ver Steeg, The Formative Years, 1607-1763 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964) is a brief but synthetic overview of colonial America to the pre-revolutionary crises, and David Hawke's The Colonial Experience (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966 is the best of the "shorter" interpretive outlines of colonial America. James Truslow Adams, The Founding of New England (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1921, 1949), though dated and, at times, quite shallow, is nevertheless a well-written and informative interpretation of early New England. A number of anthologies of articles are useful as well, the best of which is Stanley N. Katz, ed., Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971). In addition, I have found quite valuable the historical and genealogical studies which fill the pages of The Essex Antiquarian, The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, and The Essex Institute Historical Collections.

The influence of Perry Miller upon colonial American historiography is well-known, and it can be seen throughout this study despite my divergent focus. Miller's three major volumes on Puritan thought, while amended here and corrected there, have yet to be surpassed as a generally valid synopsis of the intellectual milieu of early New England. Originally published in 1939, his The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961)

summarizes the cultural construction of the Puritan mentality in
static form. Setting the stage for Orthodoxy in Massachusetts,
1630-1650 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959 [1933]), which concerns the
attempts by Massachusetts to preserve a single-minded religious
scheme, it provides a foundation for Miller's third study, The New
England Mind: From Colony to Province (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961
[1953]), which details the gradual provincialization of the American
mind and the increasing separation of the pietistic and rational
strain which the founders worked so hard to keep in balance. His
discussion of "federal theology" is recapitulated in "The Marrow of
Puritan Divinity," in Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge: Harvard
University Press, 1964), 48-98, and his analysis of the jeremiad, to
him a barometer of provincialization, is summarized in "Declension in
a Bible Commonwealth," in his Nature's Nation (Cambridge: Harvard
University Press, 1967), 14-49. With Thomas H. Johnson, finally, he
edited a brief and more topical summary of New England intellectual
life, with illustrative documents (The Puritans: A Sourcebook of
Their Writings, Torchbook ed. [2 vols; New York: Harper and Row,
Publishers, 1963]).

Miller concerned himself mainly with the most literate sector
of the population, particularly the ministers and the magistrates.
While these spokesmen expressed their ideas within the larger
parameters of accepted values and assumptions, it cannot be doubted
that they represented only part of the general social and religious
Weltanschauung of the age. For needed correctives to Miller's per-
spective, see the equally perceptive, behavioralistic approach of

Darrett B. Rutman, summarized most succinctly in his <u>American</u>

<u>Puritanism: Faith and Practice</u> (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott

Company, 1970). Michael McGiffert's "American Puritan Studies in the

1960's," <u>WMQ</u>, 3d. Ser., XXVII (1970), 36-67 is the most complete

bibliographical summary of other past and present attempts to correct

or modify Miller's paradigm.

Other general studies of seventeenth-century New England

have also contributed to my understanding of the relationship between

culture and behavior. Howard Mumford Jones, <u>O Strange New World:</u>

<u>American Culture, the Formative Years</u> (New York: The Viking Press,

1968), is a sound overview of the thought of the period. Stephen

Foster, <u>Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First</u>

<u>Century of Settlement in New England</u> (New Haven: Yale University

Press, 1971) is an imaginative, if not entirely thorough, treatment

of the social goals articulated by the Puritans. Foster's study,

however, should be read in tandem with the not always convincing

study of David Flaherty, <u>Privacy in Colonial New England</u> (Charlottes-

ville: University Press of Virginia, 1972). Timothy H. Breen has

studied the expectations of the magistracy in <u>The Character of the</u>

<u>Good Ruler: Puritan Political Ideas in New England, 1630-1730</u> (New

Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), picking up the theme begun by

George L. Mosse's perceptive <u>The Holy Pretense: A Study of Chris-</u>

<u>tianity and Reason of State from William Perkins to John Winthrop</u>

(Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957). Charles E. Clark discusses the

settlement of the area to the north of Massachusetts in <u>The Eastern</u>

<u>Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England 1631-1763</u> (New York:

Alfred A. Knopf, 1970). Finally, in terms of cultural outlook, Peter Gay makes a not entirely convincing argument that Puritan historians—by implication, representatives of Puritan intellectuals?—were not able to confront the changes in their own discipline. See A Loss of Mastery: Puritan Historians in Colonial America, Vintage Books (New York: Random House, 1968 [1966]).

More helpful than these general discussions have been a number of local town studies, many of which date to the days of the patrician historian. The first major history of Newbury was Joshua Coffin's carefully researched labor of love, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, from 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845), a proud chronicle of Coffin's lifelong residence. This work, however, suffers at time from both its author's prejudices and its construction, and should be supplemented by the more interpretive if no less patriotic studies of John J. Currier, his History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902 (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1902) and his "Ould Newbury": Historical and Biographical Sketches (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1896). Other, older town studies have also proved useful, though to a lesser degree. Joseph Dally's Woodbridge and Vicinity: The Story of a New Jersey Town, Reprint (Madison, New Jersey: Hunterdon House, 1967) is a competent history of a town settled largely by Newbury inhabitants. Other areas settled by families from Newbury are treated by George Wingate Chase, The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts, From Its First Settlement in 1640, to the Year 1860 (Haverhill: n.p., 1861), and Alexander Starbuck, The History of Nantucket County, Island, and Town (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Publishers, 1969).

Several other town studies of more recent origin are of
greater conceptual utility, and all, in one way or another, begin
the discussion of social differentiation which is the unifying con-
cept of this study. The most elaborate and carefully documented of
these is Darrett B. Rutman's excellent Winthrop's Boston: A Portrait
of a Puritan Town, paperbound ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company,
Inc., 1972), which traces the collapse of the unified cooperative
society to the earliest days of the town. Richard Peter Gildrie finds
much the same situation to have affected "Salem, 1619-1668: History
of a Covenanted Community" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University
of Virginia, 1971).

Boston and Salem, however, were not "typical" of most Massa-
chusetts towns of the seventeenth century, for both early commercial
centers were larger, richer, more complex and cosmopolitan, and less
homogeneous at the outset. The differentiation and contention which
occurred elsewhere, while no less divisive, seems to have been less
insoluble and far more monolithic in origin. In Hingham, John J.
Waters has suggested that the division was one of style, caused by
the cohabitation of two dissimilar groups of East Anglians and West
Countrymen, in "Hingham, Massachusetts, 1631-1661: An East Anglian
Oligarchy in the New World," Journal of Social History, I (1968),
351-70. While Waters suggests that the transition of generations
provided the means to blur the social lines between these two groups,
Sumner C. Powell's Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England
Town, Anchor Books (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965)
argues that reconciliation of differences was not the only way to

preserve social cooperation. Similarly combining an analysis of generational conflict with a study of prior English origins, Powell shows that the conflicts in Sudbury over land distribution and use were solved only by the fragmentation of the town with the creation of Marlborough.

Unlike both Hingham and Sudbury, Dedham was able to remain a "Christian Utopian Closed Corporate Community" for a considerably longer time. In A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1970), Kenneth A. Lockridge presents a broad study of society and culture, using Dedham as a medium for discussing the New England village in general. Lockridge found a local society with the characteristics of a traditional "peasant" community, as depicted by Eric R. Wolf (Peasants [Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966]), one which was able to preserve its social cohesion for almost half a century until numerous, small and subtle changes fostered a preceptible "Anglicization" of (by implication) New England society.

Subtle yet natural change is the motif of a number of specialized studies using the town as their bases. The growth of population at the local level is recounted by Lockridge in his "The Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736," Economic History Review, 2d. Ser., XIX (1966), 318-44, and by Susan L. Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial America: A Study of Ipswich, Massachusetts," Population Studies, XXV (1971), 433-52. For colonial New England as a whole, see Daniel Scott Smith's short but meaty "The Demographic History of Colonial New England," Journal of Economic

History, XXXII (1972), 165-83. P. M. G. Harris has attempted to place these demographic "cycles" in a social context in "The Social Origins of American Leaders: The Demographic Foundations," in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., _Perspectives in American History_, III (Cambridge: The Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, 1969), 159-344. However, his conclusions may be largely coincidental. See Daniel Scott Smith's rejoinder to Harris, "Cyclical, Secular, and Structural Change in American Elite Composition," _Ibid._, IV (1970), 351-74.

Population growth assumes added importance when viewed in relation to land availability and use. Several studies have attempted to outline the basic patterns of land employment and town design in the colonial period. Three of these discuss legal and geographical considerations of land allocation and make up in detail what they lack in interpretation. See Melville Egleston, _The Land System of the New England Colonies_, John Hopkins University, _Studies in Historical and Political Science_, IV (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1886); Edna Scoville, "The Origins of Settlement Patterns in Rural New England," _Geographical Review_, XXVIII (1938), 652-63; and Glenn T. Trewartha, "Types of Rural Settlement in Colonial America," _Ibid._, XXXVI (1946), 568-96. A more recent attempt to understand the roots of town settlement and development is John W. Reps, _Town Planning in Frontier America_ (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

The implications of land usage and ownership have been re-counted for the New England colonies by Roy H. Akagi, _The Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies: A Study of Their Development,_

Organization, Activities, and Controversies, 1620-1770 (Philadelphia:
University of Pennsylvania Press, 1924), an outdated work long overdue
to be superceded. Virtually all of the town studies mentioned above
and below include discussions of the relationship between land and
society, a topic most completely examined by Philip J. Greven, Jr.,
in "Four Generations: A Study of Family Structure, Inheritance, and
Mobility in Andover, Massachusetts, 1630-1750" (unpublished Ph.D.
dissertation, Harvard University, 1964) and in its published form,
Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover,
Massachusetts (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970).

With Greven, several other historians have inquired into the
changes wrought upon the family by alterations in the general social
environment. The best, traditional study of family life in colonial
times in Edmund S. Morgan's collected essays on The Puritan Family:
Religious and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England
Revised, Torchbook ed. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966).
Morgan's treatment, by and large, is confined to the "public" family
and its relation to the society as a whole, and it concludes by
pointing to the increasing "tribalization" of Puritan households.
It should be read in conjunction with John Demos' excellent, psycho-
historical study of the "private" family, A Little Commonwealth:
Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York: Oxford University Press,
1970), which implies that behind the shifts in the "public" family
lay a more nearly continuous "private" family structure and internal
function. Though Demos agrees with Morgan that the seventeenth-
century family was closely tied to other, societal institutions,

there is reason to believe that the nature of the bond was changing.
For example, Bernard Bailyn's Education in the Forming of American
Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study (Chapel Hill: University
of North Carolina Press, 1960), which is far more of a history of
the family than its title implies, traces the gradual replacement of
the family by the society as the formal source of education and
socialization. In his The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth-
Century, paperbound ed. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964),
Bailyn also shows the relationship between merchant families and the
social order. Though his primary concern was to trace the emergence
of a distinct and successful merchant "class," he makes clear that
family business was successful business, and that successful business-
men were not always the best Puritans. By the time of the Revolution,
Bernard Farber maintains, two very distinct forms of family organiza-
tion had emerged to sound the death knell for the harmonious inter-
action of family and social or political arrangements in general.
See his controversial Guardians of Virtue: Salem Families in 1800
(New York: Basic Books, 1972).

Social change, population growth, land holding modifications,
and the shifting context of family life fostered rearrangements in
other areas as well. Edward Channing described the local institu-
tional forms brought from England and modified in the New World in
his Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North
America, Johns Hopkins University, Studies in Historical and
Political Science, II (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1884),
a timeless if non-interpretive study. Like institutions, English

law was imported and revised according to local demands, as George

Lee Haskins' careful study indicates. See Law and Authority in Early

Massachusetts: A Study in Tradition and Design (New York: The

MacMillan Company, 1960).

Behind much of the alteration in institutional forms lay new

political demands posed by various elements in the society. Some came

from within the governing elite itself. As Robert E. Wall, Jr. has

demonstrated, the Magistrates had constantly to guard against encroach-

ments upon their powers from the aspiring "lesser gentry," from the

Deputies, and from dissident elements within the population. Using

the fear of royal intervention as a lever, the Magistrates were able

to establish legal, institutional precedents which would serve to

preserve their position until the revocation of the charter. See his

"The Massachusetts Bay Colony Franchise in 1647," WMQ, 3d. Ser.,

XXVII (1970), 136-44, and his carefully constructed Massachusetts Bay:

The Crucial Decade, 1640-1650 (New Haven: Yale University Press,

1972). Wall provides statistical support of his thesis and extends

it to the 1660s in "The Decline of the Massachusetts Franchise,

1647-1666," Journal of American History, LIX (1972), 303-10. The

threat of external intervention, however, did not cease with the

defusing of the Remonstrants of 1645, nor did the victory of reaction

ensure the single-mindedness of the Magistrates. Indeed both issues

became united once again in the 1660s with the commission sent by

the crown to "investigate" the conduct of Massachusetts affairs.

For an analysis of these debates, see Paul R. Lucas, "Colony or

Commonwealth: Massachusetts Bay, 1661-1666," WMQ, 3d Ser., XXIV
(1967), 88-107.

Nevertheless, with the passage of newly restrictive franchise
laws in 1647 and again in 1666, much of the political agitation--and
perhaps interest--shifted to the local and county level. By no means
was the generality quiescent. As T. H. Breen has noted, the struggle
for majoritarianism in the colonial militia--a seemingly innocuous
institution--implied a strong undercurrent of popular unrest. See
his thoughtful essay, "English Origins and New World Developments:
The Case of the Covenanted Militia in Seventeenth-Century,
Massachusetts," Past and Present, XVII (November, 1972), 74-96. Mean-
while, at the town level, the demand for popular participation was
also on the rise, and, with increased political competition, the town
meeting began to re-emerge as the central arena of local politics.
See Kenneth A. Lockridge and Alan Kreider, "The Evolution of Massa-
chusetts Town Government, 1640-1740," WMQ, 3d Ser., XXIII (1966),
549-74.

Many of the same pressures and changes were felt in meeting
houses throughout New England. The rules and formal prescriptions of
the New England Way testify to the modifications imposed by changing
circumstances. These have been compiled, with discussions of their
historical contexts, by Williston Walker, as The Creeds and Platforms
of Congregationalism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893).
Equally convincing barometers of changes within the church were in-
tellectual developments among ministers themselves. One of the best
intellectual biographies of the first generation of preachers is Larzer

Ziff, The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), a work which is deceptively broad as a biography. Revealing the ability of three successive generations of one family to transcend "the limits of the emerging lay culture of their time" while preserving the fusion of religion, reason, and human understanding, Robert Middlekauff's The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596-1728 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) may give too much weight to the spokesmen of a family which was admittedly unique. A more general history of the early New England ministerial calling is David D. Hall, The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), which depicts a gradual drift among the ministers "toward a higher definition of their office" in the face of diffused traditions and new social pressures.

There are fewer studies of religious developments from the perspective of the congregation. Kenneth A. Lockridge details the tortuous early developments of the Dedham church in "The History of a Puritan Church," New England Quarterly, XL (1967), 399-424. The most expansive treatment of the daily affairs of the New England congregation can be found in Ola Elizabeth Winslow's fascinating study, Meetinghouse Hill, 1630-1783, paperbound ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1972).

Church membership as well has implications for the social changes in colonial Massachusetts, for, in theory, the declining membership as the century progressed indicated both a decline in piety

and a loss of ministerial ability to control the values and behavior
of the population. The last word on this subject perhaps will never
be heard, but at least four major works have directly confronted the
question of church membership. In "New England Puritanism: Another
Approach," WMQ, 3d Ser., XVIII (1961), 236-42, Edmund S. Morgan
brashly asserted that the decline of conversions which precipitated
the Half-Way Covenant was, in fact, evidence of an increased piety in
an insecure society which took the ministers' words quite seriously.
Challenged by Darrett B. Rutman ("God's Bridge Falling Down: 'Another
Approach' to New England Puritanism Assayed," Ibid., XIX [1962] 408-
21), Morgan tempered his conclusions in Visible Saints: The History
of a Puritan Idea (New York: New York University Press, 1963), where
he asserted that a declining membership was not evidence of falling
piety. Ironically, Robert G. Pope, a student of Morgan, confirmed
the interpretations of Morgan and of historians who see an increasing
division separating the generality and the ministers. In The Half-Way
Covenant: Church Membership in Puritan New England (Princeton:
Princeton University Press, 1969), he argued that it was the laity,
not the ministers, who were largely in opposition to the "liberaliza-
tion" of church admission procedures and that church membership in-
creased in later decades in response to environmental pressures. It
may well be that church membership was a manifestation of perceived
needs for collective association.

(There are no comparable histories of the Newbury church.
The only chronological account, which follows Coffin closely, is
Eliza Adams Little and Lucretia Little Isley, The First Parish,

Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635-1935 [Newburyport: The News Publishing Company, 1935]. In addition, the church itself published Covenant, Articles of Faith, and Rules of the First Church of Newbury, With a Catalogue of its Members and an Accounting of its Pastors [Newbury: Old Byfield Printing Company, 1896]. Only two studies of Newbury's pastors have been published. Samuel Eliot Morison's "The Education of Thomas Parker of Newbury." Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XXVIII [1932], 261-67 is a brief essay on Parker's extensive scholastic accomplishments. A lengthier discussion can be found in the genealogically-oriented and pedantic study of Richard Edward Kelly, "A Study of the Schoolmasters of Seventeenth-Century Newbury, Massachusetts" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971].)

Given the various changes and pressures discussed in the works mentioned above, New England seems to have been settled by a restless people. Much of their restlessness, moreover, seems to have begun even before the migration to the New World. Indeed, the society of England during the Civil War period was torn by both unsettling and stabilizing forces. Political and religious conflicts aside, the society was not disposed toward conflict. As Peter Laslett notes, The World We Have Lost was a traditional world of order and patriarchalism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), with families like that of Ralph Josselyn (Alan MacFarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselyn: A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970]) and a cultural outlook that was both traditional and prefigurative (see E. W. M. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture,

Vintage Books [New York: Random House, originally published 1944],

and Margaret Mead, Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation

Gap [New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1970]). It was, fur-

thermore, a society of pronounced localistic sentiment, notes Ivan D.

Roots, "The Central Government and the Local Community," in E. W.

Ives, ed., The English Revolution, 1600-1660, Torchbook ed. (New York:

Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971), 34-47, and one of strongly entrenched

local social systems (Alan Everitt, "The County Community," in Ibid.,

48-63) which could be mobilized effectively against the perceived en-

croachment of the royal hand (D. H. Pennington, "The County Community

at War," in Ibid., 64-75).

At the same time, however, English society was a mobile

society. Population movement, whether over long distances or short,

was challenging the permanence of localistic sentiments for a few and

making unfamiliar homes and faces commonplace for more. See Peter

Laslett and John Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," in H. E. Bell

and R. L. Ollard, eds., Historical Essays 1600-1750 Presented to David

Ogg (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963), 157-84; E. E. Rich, "The

Population of England," Economic History Review, 2d Ser., II (1949-

50), 247-65; and Julian Cornwall, "Evidence of Population Mobility

in the Seventeenth Century," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical

Research, XL (1967), 143-52.

In was also a worried society. Many who looked about their

homes could see too many people, too much dishonesty, too much devia-

tion from "true" faith, too much competition. Many of these became

migrants to the New World, according to Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and

Troubled Englishmen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). They left various parts of England to find new homes, many as mutual friends, as Charles Edwards Park has noted in "Friendship As A Factor in the Settlement of Massachusetts," American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, XXVIII (1918), 51-62, and many more as "middle class" kin and neighbors, both young and not so young. See T. H. Breen and Stephen Foster, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration," WMQ, 3d Ser., XXX (1973), 189-222.

There is a question as to the extent to which the restlessness of these migrants was assuaged upon settlement. Virtually all of the works noted here suggest that social change and accompanying conflict was a hallmark of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. James Henretta, in fact, has attempted, prematurely, to propose a model for the development of society in his extended review essay, "The Morphology of New England Society in the Colonial Period," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, II (1971-72), 379-98. Others, however, have expressed doubts that social change had a very profound impact on social peace. Timothy Breen and Stephen Foster, in "The Puritans' Greatest Achievement: A Study of Social Cohesion in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," Journal of American History, XL (1973), 5-22, attempted to show that social harmony was an on-going characteristic of early Massachusetts. Their definitions and their perspective, however, make their conclusion true by default, for they regard only organized force as evidence of dissention and dismiss all other forms of disagreement from consideration. For the eighteenth century, Michael Zuckerman, in Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the

Eighteenth Century (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1970) makes
much the same error by confining the conflict he says did not exist
to its potential political and cultural manifestations alone.
Zuckerman's assertion that conflict was proscribed by the isolation
of towns has been challenged by David Grayson Allen, "The Zuckerman
Thesis and the Process of Legal Rationalization in Provincial
Massachusetts," to which Zuckerman added a rebuttal, WMQ, 3d Ser.,
XXIX (1972), 443-68.

In a broader context, the social developments of early
colonial society have also been discussed as parts of a larger
process of "modernization." See Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Social Change
and the Meaning of the American Revolution," Journal of Social
History, VI (1973), 403-39, and the slightly more cautious essay by
Jack P. Greene, "The Social Origins of the American Revolution: An
Evaluation and an Interpretation," Political Science Quarterly,
LXXXVIII (1973), 1-22. For the impact of these social changes and
the revolution upon the intellectual "modernization" of political
and social thought, see Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American
Republic (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).
A definitive result of this new outlook is The Federalist Papers,
particularly the tenth, of which a convenient compilation is the
Mentor edition (New York: The New American Library, 1961).

Methodological Sources

For some time, historians and social scientists have been
moving toward a mutual accommodation. While the Puritan's doctrine
of "technologia" has not yet been resurrected, there are signs, such

as the publication of Robert F. Berkhofer's <u>A Behavioral Approach</u>
<u>to Historical Analysis</u> (New York: The Free Press, 1969) that the
strengths of one field are becoming appreciated by the other. The
first bridges were erected by French and English students of popula-
tion. By 1966, demographic history had progressed to the point
where a handbook of methodology was needed (E. A. Wrigley <u>et al.</u>, <u>An</u>
<u>Introduction to English Historical Demography from the Sixteenth to</u>
<u>the Nineteenth Century</u> [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson]), the
fruits of which are noticeable in scholarly works like the paperbound
anthology edited by Orest and Patricia Ranum, <u>Popular Attitudes</u>
<u>toward Birth Control in Pre-Industrial France and England</u> (New York:
Harper and Row, Publishers, 1972) and in numerous of the works
cited above.

   History and social science have become allies in other re-
spects as well. Psychology, for example, has been employed to form
"psycho-historical" essays like <u>A Little Commonwealth</u>, by John Demos,
<u>The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Enquiry into the Salem Witch</u>
<u>Trials</u>, by Marion L. Starkey, Dolphin Books (New York: Doubleday and
Company, Inc., 1961), David Hunt's <u>Parents and Children in History:</u>
<u>The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France</u> (New York:
Basic Books, 1970), and in Bruce Mazlish's paperbound anthology,
<u>Psychoanalysis and History</u> (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1971).
Anthropologists and Sociologists, as well, have turned to history
as a source for non-laboratory research. See, for example, Alan
MacFarlane, <u>Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England</u> (London: Routledge
and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1970), and Kai T. Erikson, <u>Wayward Puritans:</u>

A Study in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

Most of these studies employ elementary and sophisticated quantitative techniques. For historical purposes, the best general survey of statistical methods in Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, Historians Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971). General statistical techniques are discussed in more depth by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (McGraw Hill Book Company, 1960), and, from a different perspective, by John W. Bisher and Donald W. Drewes, Mathematics in the Behavioral and Social Sciences (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1970).

Although they do not always appear cited in the text, I have found a number of studies in the social sciences quite helpful in shaping the perspective from which Newbury has been viewed. Theodore M. Newcomb, Ralph H. Turner, and Philip E. Converse, Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965) is a good survey of the psychology of group behavior. Edward Shils, "Deference," in J. A. Jackson, ed., Social Stratification (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 104-32 is an excellent study of the sub-jectivity of social prestige. Family life in colonial New England seems remarkably similar to the farmers studied by Conrad Arensberg and Solon Kimball in Family and Community in Ireland, 2d ed. (Cam-bridge: Harvard University Press, 1968). The assumption that mankind may be psychologically constant seems at least partially justified by my perusal of Anthony Allison, ed., Population Control (Baltimore:

Penguin Books, Inc., 1970). Three studies by Edward O. Laumann have

contributed to my understanding of human interaction and social

structure in Newbury. See "Open and Closed Structures," Detroit

Area Study Project 938, Working Paper No. 3, prepared for the 1967

meeting of the American Sociological Association. With Franz Urban

Pappi, Laumann also wrote "New Directions in the Study of Elites,"

Parts I and II, The Center for Research on Social Organization,

Ann Arbor, Michigan (1972). Finally, I found Laumann's Prestige and

Association in an Urban Community: An Analysis of an Urban Strati-

fication System (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1966)

a stimulating, if limited, discussion of social structure in present-

day context.

Two general studies were fundamental to the development of

my interpretation of the influence of kinship and friendship on the

patterns of personal alignment during times of dissent. Leon

Festinger's seminal A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Stanford:

Stanford University Press, 1957) is a study of the psychological

underpinnings of rational decision making which no historian should

overlook. Likewise, Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict

(New York: The Free Press, 1956) has been invaluable to me in my

attempt to understand the social and emotional implications of the

church dispute.

Studies on networks, kinship, friendship and groups cannot

normally be divided by category, because they overlap in both

methodological and contextual respects. A good, short discussion

of why people associate with one another is Ellen Berscheid and

Elaine Hatfield Walster, Interpersonal Attraction (Reading, Massa.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969). Recent literature on this subject is listed, summarized, and evaluated by Gardiner Lindzey and Donn Byrne, "Measurement of Social Choice and Interpersonal Attractiveness," in Lindzey and E. Aronson, eds., The Handbook of Social Psychology, 2d ed., 5 vols. (Reading, Massa.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), II, 452-525. One of the best short summaries of the psychological aspects of friendship is Robert S. Albert and Thomas R. Brigante, "The Psychology of Friendship Relations: Social Factors," Journal of Social Psychology, LVI (1962), 33-47. Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton discuss friendship development and maintenance in "Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive Inquiry," in Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles S. Page, eds., Freedom and Control in Modern Society (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1964), 18-66. Edward O. Laumann extends the discussion of Lazarsfeld and Merton to include different types of friendship networks in "Interlocking and Radial Friendship Nets: A Formal Feature with Important Consequences," Paper No. 65 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Center for Research on Social Organization, 1971), and T. J. Fararo and Morris H. Sunshine explore the relationship between behavior and friendship in A Study of a Biased Friendship Net (Syracuse: Youth Development Center, Syracuse University, 1964).

On the study of groups, a good, structural-functional synthesis is Theodore M. Mills, The Sociology of Small Groups (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967). A critical discussion of group literature is B. E. Collins and B. H. Raven, "Group

Structure: Attraction, Coalitions, Communication, and Power," in Lindzey and Aronson, eds., The Handbook of Social Psychology, 2d ed., IV, 102-214.

The best discussion of network terminology and literature is J. A. Barnes, Social Networks, Addison-Wesley Modular Publications, No. 26 (1972). Two unpublished studies by Richard V. Farace, et al., discuss the appropriateness of networks to communications systems. See Farace, William D. Richards, Peter R. Monge, and Eugene Jacobson, "Analysis of Human Communications Networks in Large Social Systems" (1973) and Farace and James A. Danowski, "Analyzing Human Communications Networks in Organizations: Applications to Management Problems," paper presented to the Organizational Division of the International Communication Association, 1973.

Several specific applications of network concepts have also been valuable, both conceptually and methodologically. One of the earliest and, in many ways, the most satisfying, application of the idea of a network is Elizabeth Bott's ground-breaking Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms, and External Relations in Ordinary Urban Families, 2d ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1971), which also contains a retrospective evaluation by Bott of the work done since its original publication in 1957. The best collection of essays on networks is J. Clyde Mitchell, ed., Social Networks in Urban Situations: Analyses of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969). Of the essays included in this volume, I have found particularly useful J. A. Barnes, "Networks and Political Processes," (51-76), Barry Kapferer's

perhaps too rationalistic "Norms and the Manipulation of Relationships in a Work Context," (181-244), and P. D. Wheeldon, "The Operation of Voluntary Associations and Personal Networks in the Political Processes of an Inter-Ethnic Community," (128-80). J. S. Coleman studies the relationship between personal networks and decision making in Medical Innovation: A Diffusion Study (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1966). In many ways the most revealing and successful discussion of the relationship between personal, social networks and interpersonal influence is Adrian Mayer, "The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Study of Complex Societies," in Michael Banton, ed., The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), 97-122.

Finally, I owe particular appreciation to Philip Bonacich's short essay on "Technique for Analyzing Overlapping Memberships," in H. L. Costner, ed., Sociological Methodology: 1972 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1972), 176-85, which suggested the method I used to examine the petition-signing patterns discussed in Chapter 5, and provided several of the quantitative formulae used to measure the intensities of the relationships.

A Bibliographic Addendum on Appendix I

Information about the English residences of many of Newbury's early settlers is not difficult to find. Unambiguous documentation, however, is another story, for the sources do not always agree. Some degree of uncertainty and imprecision is therefore inevitable. I have tried to balance carefully the information found in the

periodicals mentioned above with the genealogical sections in Coffin's History, both of the Currier volumes, and the various primary sources consulted.

To a much greater extent, however, I have relied on several older compilations of biographical information to determine English origins. Most helpful, in this respect, have been Charles Edward Banks, Planters of the Commonwealth, 1620-1640 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930); Samuel G. Drake, The Founders of New England, Reprint (Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969); and James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Reprint (Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1965).