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## Modernization in colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1763

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Modernization in Colonial Massachusetts

1630-1763

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Ronald P. Dufour

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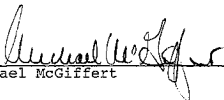
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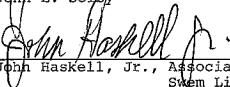
  
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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is threefold. First, it explores the complex religious, political, and intellectual changes that coursed through Massachusetts society from 1630 to 1763. Second, it assesses the validity of sociological modernization theory as a means of studying colonial society. Finally, it develops a psychological theory of modernization, evaluating in particular the relevance of analytical psychology for historical study. Sources include public records, books, pamphlets, and documents from the period, and standard secondary works both from the historical literature and from other disciplines.

The introduction defines modernization as the evolution of western society from a traditional life style reflecting predominantly local, family, and religious concerns, to patterns of existence characterized by centralized political forms, modern economic structures and values, and secular and ideological modes of thought. A psychological theory of the modernization process is then proposed, with particular emphasis on two aspects of analytical theory: wish-fulfillment and narcissism. In this vein, modernization is characterized as the search for the lost gratifications of traditionalism, modified by the threats to self-esteem present in the modern world.

Chapter one explores the traditional nature of early Massachusetts society and the gradual transformation of that society in the face of political and economic events of the seventeenth century. Chapters two and three follow the growth of the House of Representatives into an eighteenth-century modern, centralized political body. Chapter two concentrates on the internal growth of the House, its conflicts with imperial authority, and its growing importance as a representative of popular thought, while chapter three stresses the regulatory role of the House within the colony. Chapter four examines the initial expressions of the whig ideology. It focuses in particular on the secular roots of ideology, its function as a unifying agent, and its role as an expression of both social discontent and the desire for symbolic immortality.

The fifth chapter analyzes the emergence of nascent, modern economic structures, with particular attention to the ambivalent emotional and intellectual reactions of colonists to these new forms. Chapter six examines the Great Awakening as a crisis of generativity and cultural transference, a symptom of the inability of the colonists to bridge the gap between traditional and modern social structures. The final chapter melds many of the previously developed themes into an overview of Massachusetts society from 1743 to 1763. Particular attention is paid to the alternating feelings of despair and hope in a society increasingly torn by political factionalism and economic discontent.

The result of these changes was a society that was, in 1763, much different from its counterpart of the early seventeenth century, molded more by secular, materialistic concerns than spiritual ones. But the earlier society continued to exert its hold on the later one, constraining and directing its development in the search for traditional social and emotional gratifications.

Modernization in Colonial Massachusetts

1630-1763

## INTRODUCTION

The greatest students of history have always written about the past with a breadth of perspective that reflects their implicit belief in an eclectic, multi-disciplinary approach to the study of man. Recently, however, historians have begun to explore in a more explicit manner the contributions such fields as psychology, anthropology, and sociology can make to our understanding of history; the present study lies in this emerging tradition. The following pages and chapters will present a historical and analytical overview of Massachusetts society during the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries. They will also attempt to consolidate and clarify the sociological theories of modernization and to justify and develop a psychological theory of the modernization process. They will use colonial Massachusetts as a test case for the validity and usefulness of these theories. Massachusetts offers a particularly appropriate laboratory for such a work. The colony entered the period as an essentially cohesive medieval community; it emerged as a contentious, rationalized, pluralistic society, rent by the social, political, and intellectual divisions of a relatively modernized state.

Since its inception, in fact, American historiography has been marked by a proclivity to view historical change as the gradual but nonetheless dramatic evolution from the primitive and regressive to the modern and progressive.

Both the filiopietism of George Bancroft and the progressivism of Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., reflected this tendency, creating a common bond between otherwise markedly disparate approaches. Since World War II, to be sure, there has been a conscious rejection of this approach, as historians have become increasingly cognizant of the extent to which contemporary political and social currents shape historical interpretation. One result of this awareness, for instance, was the emergence of consensus history, a school which "solved" the problem of historical teleology by arguing, as Louis Hartz did, that America did not possess a feudal, primitive past; rather, it was born whole, a modern, liberal society of the seventeenth-century free of the bitter class struggles which characterized European history.

An equally significant post-war development was the growth of specialization in historical research. Concentration on detail and conceptually narrow themes frequently resulted not only in a rejection of teleological history but also in a denigration of large-scale, philosophical approaches to history. Such research was based on a microcosmic conception of society, which argued that the larger themes of the past could be illumined by focusing in greater detail on particular themes and events of significance. The results were often impressive, but American history in particular drew further away from any integrated view of the past. Individual areas of research were studied with greater sophistication than ever before, but rarely related to one



another or subsumed under a more comprehensive theory.<sup>1</sup> Even the scholarly upheavals of the 1960s contributed in many ways to this lack of thematic focus. Among radicals, only the work of William Appleman Williams offered an adequate conceptual framework. Both the new social history and the New Left's "history from the bottom up" were essentially fragmentary in method and result.<sup>2</sup>

This lack of integrative focus led some historians to turn, however tentatively, to such theoretical constructs as modernization.<sup>3</sup> Modernization theory had first been developed extensively by sociologists and political scientists during the 1950s; scholars often sought to use it as a means to understanding the growth pains of emerging third world countries. Most simply, the theory posits the development of western society from simplistic, localized, traditional life styles to patterns of existence characterized by centralized, power-oriented political forms, the use of modern economic structures, and the emergence of greater regional and national concerns. The attraction of this theory for historians of colonial New England becomes immediately apparent; the region has long been viewed in such terms, and its early history has long been described as a transition from a traditional, religiously-focused Puritan society to a secular, "Yankee" one. Before this evolution can be fully discussed, though, modernization itself must be defined in more particular terms.

At the most elemental level of definition, sociological modernization is characterized by increasing social complexity. Ferdinand Toennies, one of the earliest scholars to grasp the significance of the emergence of modern society, argued that the key social event of the last few centuries was the movement from a traditional, *gemeinschaft* society to a modern, *gesellschaft* orientation. In the former, land and town, family, church, and village predominated; in the latter, an urban national state was fueled by a money economy and characterized by increased interpersonal antagonism and a constant search for elusive personal happiness.<sup>4</sup> Toennies and later exponents of his views, including Talcott Parsons, also noted that the transition from one social system to the other was marked by the decline of local, communal concerns and the rise of achievement-oriented, individualistic values. Howard Becker has stressed the decline of the sacred-oriented order of traditional society, with its emphasis on the concrete, primary social contacts and ritual, in the face of an order where wide social circulation is the rule, happiness and efficiency are the major evaluative norms, and tradition and ritual are at a minimum.<sup>5</sup>

Modern societies are also consistently visualized in terms of increased interdependence of social parts, an increased specialization of economic and social roles, and increased dependency of the family on other social units. Such societies are further characterized by centralized governments, differentiated social structures, money-oriented

economies, and a more secularized intellectual outlook. The catalyst for change appears to be a force independent of the control of individual or family, the introduction of a commercialized, market economy.

In the modernization scheme, traditional societies are often characterized by barter and a simple division of labor; an individual is a farmer, performing alone or with the family all of the basic functions necessary for survival. Such a condition is an abstract, *gemeinschaft* ideal only, of course; even in the most primitive of traditional societies there is some limited division of labor. As societies modernize, however, this division increased dramatically; specialization proceeds apace, contractual relations replace face-to-face economic exchanges, markets become centralized in key geographic locations, and a generalized medium of exchange (most notably, money) comes to dominate economic relations. As daily concerns grow increasingly materialistic and fragmented, the search for order grows more desperate; to complement the unifying function of the state, money comes to serve as the universal mediator of value. Social relationships of all kinds are expressed in monetary terms, facilitating communication among the diverse elements of economic society.<sup>6</sup>

Political centralization is another dominant experience of modernizing societies. As disruptive social and economic changes proliferate, authority becomes concentrated in a central administrative body, reflective of an increased

concern by both the dominant social classes and the populace for order, justice, and more predictive social control. The state extends its power on a functional basis to many activities hitherto in the private or local domain, as institutions in the latter area prove incapable of handling the complexities of daily business. An achievement-oriented, politically organized society arises, in marked contrast to the ascriptive localism of traditional societies. Concurrently, an integrative hierarchy of political and legal bodies evolves to help develop the state's power, to channel social needs and demands upwards to the appropriate institutions, and to serve as symbolic representatives of the new, inclusive authority.<sup>7</sup>

Equally significant are the intellectual changes characteristic of modernizing societies, particularly the increase in rational, thought and the emphasis on systematic control over the environment. Universalistic, generalized social values help narrow the distance between proliferating opinions and modes of thought; pre-contractual symbols, such as love, peace, and brotherhood, for instance, help solidify the contractual attachments of modern society and legitimize the splintering effects of modern political and economic practices. Most important, more secular, ideological thinking replaces traditional religion as a unifying nomos and as a focus for individuals' world views.<sup>8</sup>

There are, finally, certain elements of social change that deserve particular mention. Social classes often be-

come more pronounced during the modernization process; with the decay of a traditional unifying nomos, the populace generally becomes less understanding of the exploitative nature of such divisions. The socialization process itself also undergoes significant changes. Children are often taught outdated values and skills, for instance, and find themselves unable to cope, emotionally or occupationally, with the new world facing them. At the same time, responsibility for socialization passes increasingly away from the family and to other, secondary institutions--school, the workplace, and peer groupings. The resultant tensions can be extreme and often manifest themselves in religious revivals and attempts to recapture imaginary lost paradises; such solutions seek both to alleviate the guilt associated with secularization and to restore certain elements of sacred traditions.<sup>9</sup>

The Marxist interpretation of history is most successful in integrating these various concepts into a logical progression which lends greater weight to the idea of modernization. Marx did not base his entire theory on the fundamentalist position, wherein the base (productive forces) directly determines the nature of the superstructure (political state, science, philosophy, art, religion, morality). Rather, he viewed society as an organic totality, a complex organism, and he emphasized dialectical interaction between the various elements of base and superstructure. Marx did believe in a hierarchy of forces--that economic elements are most signi-

ficant, and that changes in the modes of production possess causal primacy--but he also stressed the notion that elements such as ideology, the state, and economic structures influence each other. Historical change, such as modernization, comes when expanding forces of production clash with existing relations of production. Economic activity, affected by the restructuring of trade patterns or technological innovations, changes its nature and is somehow restricted by the existing class relations. Productive relations must then be re-organized to coincide more closely with the productive forces. In the transition from the medieval to the modern world, the stability of feudalism was challenged by the expansion of world trade and the introduction of new commercial and technological forces; concurrently, a middle class of new wealth arose to challenge the established social structure, accompanied by appropriate political and cultural forms.<sup>10</sup>

Ideology plays a crucial role in this transition, though only a strictly Marxist consideration can be offered at this stage of the work. In dialectical materialism, ideological forms of consciousness "are the ideas and doctrines that reflect class interest and that are held without an understanding of their economic base." Ideology is a hegemonic tool of the ruling class, universal and pervasive, which justifies and explains the dominance of that class; it functions through education, language, culture, and the media, and also serves to buttress the state and legal system as sup-

porters of the class structure. Ideology also serves as an expression of man's alienation. The class structure limits human essence; the world is averse and alien to man's impulses and desires. Through ideology, man sublimates his alienation into more acceptable goals and desires which, nonetheless, continue the reification process. New systems of thought simply expand and buttress more complex forms of domination, setting the stage for yet another round of dialectical growth. In this ideology attains a significance second only to that of economic forces; it offers a symbolic window through which to view the entire dialectical process.<sup>11</sup>

Both modernization theory and Marxist scholarship, however, share a significant weakness: a failure to investigate the affective and psychological roots and consequences of modernization; modernization scholars in particular have often adopted a rather benign view of the modern psyche. The evidence indicates, however, that populations rarely accept modern social structures without question; the ambiguous emotional responses of individuals are often demonstrably responsible for the incomplete, halting nature of the modernization process. It is hardly uncommon, moreover, for severe psychological strain to characterize entire classes or the whole of society itself during periods of significant social tension. Rather than ignore such strain, it is a major goal of the present study to construct and test a psychological theory of modernization--to search out the affective roots of social change and to assess the impact of

such change on the mental lives of individuals. It is, further, a central tenet of this study that the emotional tension reflected in modernizing societies cannot be adequately explored through traditional scholarly methods; only the insights of psychology will provide sufficient explanation.

To justify the use of any strategy in historical research, the historian must thoroughly explore the terminology and concepts of the subject matter he seeks to use and reach a critical understanding of the limitations and strengths of the various schools of thought employed. While the following pages will employ the insights provided by several important fields of psychological research, psychoanalysis, under the basic structure provided by Freud and significantly modified by Erikson, will provide the most important contribution. The particular appropriateness of psychoanalysis must therefore be justified, both in relation to other branches of psychological thought and as a valid means of understanding the eighteenth-century mind. The possibility exists, after all, that the structure of the mind envisioned by Freud is solely a modern creation, the outgrowth of his own nineteenth-century, middle-class Viennese sensibilities.

Its peculiar objects of concern mark psychoanalysis as something quite different from psychology; it is not a science of observation, and it does not appeal to clear and direct causes. Rather, its concern is motivation, an area more nebulous and imprecise than the subject matter of more scientific methods of analysis. Psychoanalysis in many



ways lies closer to history than to psychology; it is more involved, for instance, with interpretation than with fact (Ranke notwithstanding, history is, after all, the interpretation of facts). To attack psychoanalysis for being unable to prove its arguments through rigid scientific method is to misunderstand its essence: "psychology is an observational science dealing with the facts of behavior; psychoanalysis is an exegetical science dealing with the relationship of meaning between substitutive objects and the primordial (and lost) instinctual objects." Psychoanalysis thus allies itself with history in the two areas most crucial to both sciences: language and time. It argues that one can understand the act of existing only through signs expressed in the social world; speech becomes a representation (though an innately distorted one) of desire and the postponement of satisfaction. Language is thus important as a clue to real history, and serves as a bridge between past and present--and the core of both history and psychoanalysis is the causative impact of the past on subsequent events. History specializes in the analysis of the real, psychoanalysis in an exegesis of the connection between real and fantasized.<sup>12</sup> The significance of this connection will readily be seen in the forthcoming analysis of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Massachusetts society.

Philosophically, then, Freud's thought is clearly akin to historical thought, though there remain several markedly different ways in which his findings can be applied. Psy-

choanalysis itself offers two possible modes of inquiry; it may be applied analogically, for instance, through the use of dream interpretation and neuroses, or more importantly, as a sub-model of dream fulfillment. In this latter vein, history becomes "le recherche du temps perdu"- the return of the repressed, or the search for conflict-free fulfillment.<sup>13</sup> Though the first level of analysis will often prove useful, it is the latter approach which will form the organizing focus of our analysis.

Both modes are based on Freud's concept of the unconscious and on his view of the structure of the mind; both find elemental truth in Freud's vision of a continual struggle between a pleasure-driven id, a repressive super-ego, and a mediating ego. Freud's ideas have direct applicability, moreover, to any study of the modernization process. He believed that the creation of culture necessitates the internalization and introjection of aggression and its institutionalization in the mind as superego and guilt; the happiness of the individual is generally pushed into the background, sacrificed for the good of the community. Personal satisfaction thus remains in perpetual conflict with cultural unity, and civilization emerges as a dialectic, arising from the conflict and interaction of nature, the psyche, and society.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, Freud eventually came to the conclusion that the ego gradually becomes increasingly dependent upon the id and its images of lost objects; it becomes a police

force, retaining its power only through superior organization. Heinz Hartmann, progenitor of the modern school of ego-psychology, shifted the emphasis to the adaptive powers of the ego-perception, intention, thinking, memory, motor capacities- all of which, he argued, do not arise out of conflict or repression but rather are organized, independent developments.<sup>15</sup> His work and that of Robert White<sup>16</sup> enlarged the dominant powers of the ego to such an extent that by the time Erik Erikson had attained prominence, the role of the ego had expanded to the point where there was little room left for the workings of the id. Even Erikson writes of an ecological, organic striving for mastery and competence on the part of the ego which seeks to create the optimum supporting environment for its own development.

Erikson was too much of a Freudian, though, to maintain this point of view with any great confidence, and the circle comes full turn when he poses what is perhaps the central question of the present study. How, he asks, do the forces of modernity "affect the ego's task of synthesizing and gaining cognitive mastery over its experience?" The answer Erikson supplies is, perhaps, somewhat surprising; he sees modernity "as an unfavorable ecological environment for the synthesizing functions of the ego."<sup>17</sup> While those ego qualities stressed by Hartman and White, then, may indeed gain strength during the modernization process, it is by no means certain that their development is of central import. Above all, modernization produces a renewed search for primal

gratification, a search which involves troubled and complex ties to the past. The yearning for lost happiness becomes the basis for all human action; constantly reminded of his own corporeal finitude, man seeks constant solace in timeless, mythical hero systems. When these systems crumble in the face of historical inevitability, when the symbols of eternity lose their meaning and the id is forced to retreat to primary processes to gain gratification, the individual and the group become increasingly fixed, in an unhealthy sense, to the pleasurable past.<sup>18</sup> From this perspective the development of modern culture is in large part the search for substitute gratification, the introjection of objects that are meant to replace both idealized parents and utopian experience.

The essential requirements for an integrated theory of modernization are thus clear; they encompass complex economic, political, and social changes at the societal level, and potentially regressive emotional adaptations at the psychological level. There remain significant practical problems, however, which have heretofore only been hinted at. Modernization theory must be value-free and must reflect historical evidence rather than theoretical preconceptions; its value as a research tool must be judged solely by its accuracy in explaining the historical process. American historians who have sallied into the field thus far have, for the most part, shown rather limited success in meeting these criteria. Indeed, only Perry Miller and Richard Bushman<sup>19</sup> have succeeded in establishing any sort of para-

digmatic argument, and in each case their work reflects an implicit rather than explicit awareness of the theoretical assumptions presented here.

One of the earliest works to reflect the impact of modernization theory was Kenneth Lockridge's path-breaking study of colonial Dedham, Massachusetts.<sup>20</sup> In marvellously detailed fashion, Lockridge traced the evolution of Dedham from a self-contained, relatively insulated social experiment to a bickering community of settlers who were significantly more mobile and far more concerned with secular matters than their predecessors. The transition stemmed, according to Lockridge, from the declining availability of land for second- and third-generation descendants; the resultant scarcity threatened to reproduce the hardship conditions of seventeenth century England and to accentuate increasingly strained relations between fathers and sons. There were, to be sure, problems with Lockridge's interpretation; his use of the term "utopian" is an inaccurate application of the concept to Puritanism, and the lack of church records presents serious conceptual problems. Nonetheless, findings for other Massachusetts and Connecticut towns, while raising important questions about the typicality of Dedham, have also corroborated many of Lockridge's most important conclusions.

Massachusetts towns seemed to have progressed, in fact, through a three-stage morphology of growth. Initially, as James Henretta has argued,<sup>21</sup> the Puritan experiment was characterized by a reversion to traditional-elitist

politics, low geographical mobility, and widespread, relatively equitable land ownership. Society at that point was not utopian in the sense that Lockridge uses the term; religious concerns placed a distinctly other-worldly emphasis on the experiment. The colony was, however, essentially agricultural, analogous if not identical to the peasant societies of the traditional world. The declining availability of land disrupted this stable pattern, resulting in some diversification of occupations, greater geographic mobility, and more restricted land ownership. Finally, a static phase emerged, characterized by economic uncertainty, the disruptive introduction of a money economy, and the decline of religion as a centralized, organizing social force. Politics become more democratized, more "liberal" in the modern sense of the term.

Lockridge himself sought to clarify the connection between social change and the American Revolution, arguing that many of the basic societal characteristics necessary for modernization--the emergence of a market economy, higher rates of migration, increased intra-community conflict, more frequent and complex demands upon the political system, and the emergence of an ideology supportive of pluralistic individualism--had all emerged in at least nascent form by the time of the Revolution.<sup>22</sup> The evidence presented was summary, but Lockridge's intuitive feeling for the process of modernization was impressively conveyed. Still, a teleological, progressivist tone predominated, and he

failed to convey successfully this sense of incompleteness, hesitancy, and conflict that seems to characterize most modernizing societies.

Similar shortcomings plague R. D. Brown's long-awaited synthesis, The Modernization of American Society.<sup>23</sup> As the first explicit attempt to develop a viable theory of modernization for ante-bellum American history, Brown's work is clearly crucial; unfortunately, his arguments cannot bear the burden. The book reflects only a limited familiarity with the literature of modernization, and there is little critical analysis of the works that are mentioned. Nor is there any indication that Brown has grasped the full complexities of the modernization process, such as its destructive impact on traditional institutions or its often traumatic restructuring of the human psyche. He begins promisingly enough with a concise, accurate statement of the salient features of both traditional and modern society, together with an appropriately critical attitude toward the traditional-modern dichotomy itself. But while the conflict between traditional and modern is made immediately obvious, the sense of transition and internal conflict is missing. Many of Brown's judgments, moreover, seem off-handed and cursory, reflective of a limited investigation of primary and secondary sources, and lacking historical specificity. Throughout the work, theory is used to buttress weak arguments that are not supported by the evidence, or as a pre-ordained mold into which the evidence is poured, regardless of any

contradictory indications.

The dangers inherent in Brown's overconceptualized approach are made clearer by two other recent works. Thomas Bender, who is unusually sensitive to the subtleties of interdisciplinary research, has interpreted modernization as the progressive replacement of community and of communal ways. He notes, however, that historians who approach this problem have tended to see change in totalistic terms, failing to realize that the fate of a community may be influenced by specific historical circumstances much more than by something as imprecise as modernization. Bender also points out that there are difficulties inherent in the modernization process itself;<sup>24</sup> Toennies, for instance, was intensely aware of the persistent vitality of traditional forms and ideas in supposedly modern societies. Quite possibly, there may be no such thing as a completely modern society; rather, merely a direction in which traditional societies grow, merely certain types of social changes that disrupt traditional activities and ways of life.

The picture has been further muddled by Alan Macfarlane's recent attempt to show that as early as the thirteenth century, English yeoman did not possess the characteristics of a traditional peasantry. Peasants are tied to the land; in Eastern Europe, at least, the notion of peasantry meant that the household, and not the individual, owned the land, and that heirs were regarded as co-owners with full rights. A peasant society has no paid laborers, no land market,



no money economy. But as early as the thirteenth century, English society possessed landless laborers and considerable geographic mobility; and a fully developed notion of private ownership with the right of alienation had emerged by the sixteenth century. Macfarlane goes so far as to characterize thirteenth-century England as a capitalist, market economy without factories.<sup>25</sup> His conclusions are disturbingly static and dualistic; surely there is some middle ground between peasant and capitalist. Nonetheless, his findings seriously disrupt accepted wisdom; at the very least, the traditionalism of the Puritan experiment becomes even more remarkable.

We are left, then, with a fairly clear theoretical notion of what modernization should represent, but a rather unfocused picture of how the theory actually applies to historical data. There are major gaps in the theory itself, moreover, most obviously in the areas of intellectual history and the psychological nature of both the traditional and modern minds. It is here, I think, that the experience of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Massachusetts will prove particularly valuable. As we have already noted, colonial Massachusetts has often been viewed in terms analogous to the traditional-modern dichotomy; hence there already exists a useful conceptual framework and a very substantial body of secondary literature. Despite the incomplete nature of town records, moreover, there is certainly an abundance of primary sources which shed light on most, if not all, of the facets of the modernization process. Most important,

perhaps, is the peculiar role Puritanism played in early Massachusetts. The colony's role as a refuge created an exaggerated sense of traditionalism within its borders; subsequent events revealed a unique penchant for the political solution, a tendency heightened by unsettling, rapid economic growth and the destabilizing forces of land hunger and war. Both traditionalism and modernism possessed a strength unusual for such a young society, and they clashed in a narrow geographical and chronological framework. The resulting society may, perhaps, provide a modernization model for the colonies as a whole.

Chapter one will evaluate the initial social focus of the Puritan migration from England, and will examine the gradual transformation of the resultant traditional structures during the seventeenth century. It also traces the colony's relations with England and shows how they played a significant role in the process of change. Chapters two and three follow the growth of the House of Representatives into an eighteenth-century modern, centralized political body; chapter two concentrates on the internal growth of the House and its conflicts with imperial authority, while chapter three stresses the regulatory role of the House within the colony, as the economic and social forces of modernization grew beyond the ability of local government to control. Chapter four examines the emergence of ideological thinking in the colony and the initial expressions of the Whig ideology; it also focuses on changing values and discusses

the function of ideology in a transitional society.

The fifth chapter analyzes the emergence of nascent, modern economic structures, with particular attention to the intellectual and emotional reactions of colonists to these new forms. Chapter six examines the Great Awakening as a crisis of generativity and cultural transference, a symptom of the inability of the colonists to bridge the gap between traditional and modern social structures. The final chapter melds many of the previously developed themes into an overview of Massachusetts society from 1743 to 1763. Particular attention is paid to the alternating feelings of despair and hope, of melancholia and mania, that emerged in a society increasingly torn by political factionalism and economic discontent. Finally, the conclusion attempts to assess the effectiveness of modernization theory as an historical tool, to evaluate the nature of the transitions in Massachusetts society during this period, and to make some tentative explorations into the relationship between these changes and the American Revolution.

## Notes

1. The best discussion of these historiographical issues can be found in John Higham, History (Englewood Cliffs, 1965); Gerald Grob and George Billias, eds., Interpretations of American History (New York, 1978); James Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," American Historical Review, LXXXIV (1979), 1307.

2. For discussions and examples of New Left history, see Barton Bernstein, ed., Towards a New Past (New York, 1968); Alfred Young, ed., The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (DeKalb, III, 1976); Henretta, "Social History," 1296ff.

3. The most helpful discussions of modernization theory can be found in the following works: Howard Becker, Through Values to Social Interpretation (Durham, N.C., 1950); C.E. Black, The Dynamics of Modernization (New York, 1966); S. N. Eisenstadt, Modernization: Protest and Change (Englewood Cliffs, 1966); Eisenstadt, Modernization: Growth and Diversity (Englewood Cliffs, 1966); Marion Levy, Modernization and the Structure of Politics: A Setting for International Affairs (Princeton, 1965), esp. pp. 17, 43-54, 258-265, and *passim*; Talcott Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives (Englewood Cliffs, 1966); Ferdinand Toennies, Community and Society, Charles P. Loomis, ed. (New York, 1964). For crucial but slightly different perspectives on the problem, also see: Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries (Cambridge, 1974); Auguste Comte, The Positive Philosophy (London, 1893); Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society (New York, 1964), and Suicide (New York, 1951); Henry Sumner Maine, Ancient Law (London, 1907); Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York, 1964), and Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York, 1946); Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy (New York, 1967). One of the best interpretive overviews can be found in Richard Applebaum, Theories of Social Change (Chicago, 1970), esp. pp. 15-64, which puts most of the above writers in accurate and illuminating perspective.

4. Toennies, Community and Society, 39, 51-52, 70, 125, 161, 181, 227, 231.

5. Parsons, Societies, 97, 106, 176, 195; Charles P. Loomis and John C. McKinney, "Introduction," in Toennies, Community and Society, 16-18; Becker, Through Values, 248-280.
6. All of the works mentioned in note 3 deal with the economic aspects of modernization, but for the best survey see Levy, Modernization, 258-264, 69-70, 62, 110, 265, 292, 318-319.
7. Applebaum, Theories, 107-115; Black, Dynamics, 7, 9, 13, 31, 59; Dankwart Rustow, A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization (Washington, 1967), 3 and passim, offers a similar comparative discussion of the modernization process in early Modern Europe and the contemporary emerging nations; Eisenstadt, Modernization: Protest and Change, 4, 15, 32-33, 38, 40; Eisenstadt, Modernization: Growth and Diversity, passim; Eisenstadt, Essays on Comparative Institutions (New York, 1965); Eisenstadt, Essays on Sociological Aspects of Political and Economic Development (The Hague, 1961); Eisenstadt, The Political Systems of Empires (New York, 1963).
8. Toennies, Community and Society, passim; Durkheim, The Division of Labor, 287, 381, 400, 406; Levy, Modernization, 17, 43-46, 38, 51-54, 200.
9. Levy, Modernization, 19ff., 43ff.; for detailed references and discussion, see chapter 6 of this work.
10. Melvin Rader, Marx's Interpretation of History (New York, 1979), 3, 10, 12-13, 36, 39. Other useful works on Marx and his theory of history include Istvan Meszaros, Marx's Theory of Alienation (New York, 1970), and Anthony Giddens, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory (New York, 1971). Also see James Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," 1293-1333.
11. Rader, Marx's Interpretation, 42-45, 99-102.
12. Paul Ricoeur, Freud and Philosophy: An Essay in Interpretation (New Haven, 1970), 345, 358ff., 442. Also see Saul Friedlander, History and Psychoanalysis (New York, 1978), 13 ff.
13. Ricoeur, Freud and Philosophy, 109ff.; Norman Brown, Life Against Death: The Psychoanalytic Interpretation of History (Middletown, 1959), 70-71, 92-93; Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud (Boston, 1955), 13, 15-18, 31, 33. The best introductions to Freudian theory are the following works: Philip Rieff, Freud: The Mind of the Moralizer (New York, 1961); Calvin Hall, A Primer of Freudian Psychology (New York, 1960);

Robert Waelder, The Basic Theory of Psychoanalysis (New York, 1960); and most recently, Ronald Clark, Freud, The Man and the Cause (New York, 1980). Freud's own work, of course, is essential reading; most useful on the introductory level are New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis (New York, 1961, c. 1933), and The Ego and the Id (New York, 1962, c. 1923). For a more practical guide to the use of psychology in historical research, see Paye Crosby, "Evaluating Psychohistorical Explanation," Psychohistory Review, VIII (1979), 6-16.

14. Paul Roazan, Freud: Political and Social Thought (New York, 1968), 72; Freud, New Introductory Lectures, 62; Rieff, Freud, 176, 221; Freud, Totem and Taboo: Resemblances Between the Psychic Lives of Savages and Neurotics (New York, 1946, c. 1918), 183-191, 194, 196, 198-199; Ricoeur, Freud and Philosophy, 208; Rieff, "The Meaning of History and Religion in Freud's Thought," in Bruce Mazlish, ed., Psychoanalysis and History (New York, 1971), 43; Freud, Civilization and its Discontents (New York, 1961, c. 1930), 55-56, 59, 72, 87; Geza Roheim, The Origin and Function of Culture (N.Y., 1971, c. 1943), 25, 26, 100, 103, 105, 108-109, 129; Hans Meyerhoff, "Freud and the Ambiguity of Culture," in Mazlish, ed. Psychoanalysis and History, 58.

15. Freud, New Introductory Lectures, 74-75; Roazan, Freud, 27, 67, 72; Freud, Totem and Taboo, 42, 44, 46-47, 66; Freud, The Problem of Anxiety (New York, 1936), 15, 17, 19, 25-27; Ricoeur, Freud and Philosophy, 324; Don S. Browning, Generative Man: Psychoanalytic Perspectives (New York, 1973), 88-89, 91ff., 156, 169.

16. Robert White, Lives in Progress (New York, 1966).

17. Browning, Generative Man, 88-89, 91ff.

18. Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, 35, 37, 45-46, 51-53, 92-93, 99; Ricoeur, Freud and Philosophy, 250; Brown, Life Against Death, 25, 37, 46, 84-86; 70-71, 92-93, 104, 164; 7, 52-53, 209-210, 212-213; Ernest Becker, The Denial of Death (New York, 1973), 3 and passim.

19. Perry Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Cambridge, MA., 1959); Richard Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765 (Cambridge, MA., 1967).

20. Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York, 1970).

21. James Henretta, "The Morphology of New England Society in the Colonial Period," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, II (1971-2), 379-398. For a more detailed develop-

ment of this theme, see Edward M. Cook, The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership and Community Structure in Eighteenth-Century New England (Baltimore, 1979), and Cook, "Local Leadership and the Typology of New England Towns," Political Science Quarterly, (1971), 586-608.

22. Lockridge, "Social Change and the Meaning of the American Revolution," The Journal of Social History, VI (1972), 409-439.

23. Richard D. Brown, Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600-1865 (New York, 1975).

24. Thomas Bender, Community and Social Change in America (New Brunswick, 1978).

25. Alan Macfarlane, The Origins of English Individualism (New York, 1979).

## CHAPTER I

### PARADISE LOST: THE DISINTEGRATION OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS

Colonial Massachusetts offers a unique test case for modernization theory for a number of reasons; of primary significance, is the overwhelming predominance of traditional, non-modern societal structures which characterized the colony during the early years of its existence. In order to understand the nature of these structures and the changes which eventually transformed them, this chapter will explore the history of the colony's first century from a variety of perspectives. The first section will briefly discuss the motives for the Puritan migration and will survey the traditional aspects of early Massachusetts society; it will concentrate on the social, economic, political, and religious structures and attitudes which reflected the attempt to construct a society that could provide physical and emotional security in a threatening wilderness. The second part of the chapter will examine the varied changes that led to the breakdown of consensus at both the local and colony levels during the later years of the century; it will also trace the emergence of a new, ideologically-oriented ethos. The final section will explore the dialectic between these changes and the colony's deteriorating



relationship with England.

Families huddled together aboard a small ship, seeking refuge and religious liberty in the wilderness of an uncharted land. Such is the schoolboy image of Puritan migration; like most such myths, it contains some truth and a good deal of distortion. The flight from England cannot be attributed to a single cause, certainly not solely to the search for religious liberty. Individual and group motives, in fact, were generally determined by conditions specific to the English regions in which the future colonists lived. The vast majority of the early settlers, to be sure, were at least in part religiously motivated, and most of those who were not Puritans retained some sympathy for the movement; but economic, political, and social factors were also significant concerns, the particular meld depending upon the character of the local English experience.<sup>1</sup>

Inhabitants of Rowley in the Yorkshire country, for instance, lived in an area of heavy Puritan influence and were subject to a good deal of religious persecution. Norfolk County's Hingham also suffered from persecution, but economic discontent was an equally important factor in influencing the inhabitants to move, as they faced uncertain and failing harvests and a decline of the cloth trade. A general sense of insecurity plagued the region, worsened by the sudden appearance of the plague. In Newbury, economics also had more impact than religious concerns.

Watertown faced serious food shortages and malnutrition, together with a growing number of beggars and vagabonds; religious persecution was also significant, but only because the area had enjoyed Puritanism free of interference for so long it had become routine. Household and community ties, finally, played a crucial role here in helping people make their decisions to leave.<sup>2</sup>

In his illuminating study of the English origins of five New England towns, David Grayson Allen has perceived an overall pattern to this migration: in the North and West, young, socially prominent minorities migrated in an effort to maintain the traditional societies they knew; in East Anglia, older men of more modest means were in the majority, but they too sought to produce a middle class structure of essentially conservative ways.<sup>3</sup> Despite the variegated mixture of motives, then, the majority of settlers evinced a strong desire to live as they had before confronting difficulties in their homeland. Their lifestyles had been traditional, centered on the land, family, and village, and they sought to find a place where they could reproduce those experiences.

Puritanism, of course, remained perhaps the most important unifying factor among the emigrants; indeed, everyone's lives during the early seventeenth century revolved around religion. Puritan preachers attracted three types of individuals, all represented among the early migrants. First, the gentry--men such as Winthrop, who

sought stability and tradition and extolled the virtues of country living in opposition to the dangers and temptations of London. These gentlemen had been exposed to the vagaries of market economics and, often, a concurrent loss of prestige on their own part. Second, commoners from the country, individuals who were strongly attached to the land, farmers for whom the vision of God's wrath brought a very personal image and who were strongly attracted to the preachers' articulation of traditional values. Finally, members of the urban middle class, artisans and small businessmen, who were also attracted by the preachers' traditional message; for them, Puritanism countered feelings of insignificance and powerlessness, and the gatherings within the town offered them a sense of traditional village life within an urban setting.<sup>4</sup>

Thus a sense of tradition was perhaps the single most important factor uniting the early emigrants. The more secular-oriented individuals sought to escape the economic uncertainties of the modern world and the alienation of modern economic techniques and practices; those heavily committed to Puritanism were moved both by persecution and a pervasive sense of impending doom, a belief that England had betrayed the special mission God had assigned it in preparation for the coming millennium. As a group, finally, the migrating Puritans sought to create a model community, to show the efficacy of their ideals to England and to the rest of the world. They brought to New England a vision

of society that was based on agriculture and the land, focused on the town, community control, and local concerns, was economically undeveloped and politically decentralized, and recognized religion as the guiding force of their lives.

If historians agree that Puritanism and its values played a major part in the migration to New England, they are far from agreement over just what Puritanism was, particularly in its New England form; there is little consensus over what elements made it unique and distinctive, and there is particular controversy over how determinative it was of early Massachusetts culture as a whole. Perry Miller defined Puritanism as "that point of view, that philosophy of life, that code of values, which was carried to New England by the first settlers...."<sup>5</sup> To some degree, of course, this was true; but the definition fails to provide any boundaries or to plumb the essence of the experience. On the surface, at least, Puritanism is not definable as a particular set of social, economic, or political attitudes; the bulk of the colonists' "cultural baggage" in these areas was borrowed in its entirety from their English experiences. To a surprising extent, in fact, the communities of early Massachusetts were often faithful replicas of their English counterparts, allowing for necessary adaptations to the new environment. It remains the contention of this work, however, that in an important sense Puritanism in the new world was a unique religious experience which somehow penetrated every aspect of the early

settlers' lives; that its moral principles and goals combined with the traditional communalism of the early towns to produce a unique and powerful blend of social traditionalism. At first, the lack of doctrinal specificity, the acceptance of diversity, and the social purity of local towns and villages drew out the most traditional aspects of both religion and society. Gradually, however, Puritanism made theological adaptations necessitated by its initial doctrinal vagueness, and the social communalism of the first settlers dissipated in the face of economic growth and social disruption; traditionalism thereby lost its force and ceased to be an accurate description of reality. The powerful blend of traditional religion and society, though, retained its hold on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century imagination, and the early years of settlement remained a pined-for utopia, an unattainable ideal. To illustrate these themes, we must begin by examining several representative towns and discovering the ideals settlers brought to them. We will then examine the economic, political, and legal attitudes and practices of the early colonists, and conclude with an assessment of the role of Puritanism itself in their daily lives.

As the Puritans landed, they had to deal immediately with the strangeness of a country thousands of miles from their own. Uncertain relations with the Indians, a deep fear of the threats of the wilderness, and a profound loneliness all intensified the need for both unity and a

protective identity. In secular terms, this need was expressed in the town covenants, whereby inhabitants of individual towns pledged to live together in love, peace, and brotherhood, foregoing personal gain for the benefit of all. Seeking to recreate their traditional lives and to stave off any possibility of substantial change, the settlers sought, for the most part, to reproduce the village structures and habits they had known in their earlier lives. The following characteristics were not unique to Puritan New England but rather were English customs transplanted (and thus somewhat transformed) to new world soil: an emphasis on order and authority and a hierarchical conception of the universe and society; a traditional conception of politics; a belief in the family as the bulwark of individual and social solidarity; a strong sense of community and community control of town affairs; the use of the church as the central community meeting place; a desire to preserve traditional economic values and equitable pricing practices; and a strong moral code in daily life.<sup>6</sup> Each of these practices was now infused with a greater sense of urgency, of course; the very decision to recreate such social forms bespeaks a rejection of contemporary reality and a more profound sort of emotional attachment to the older forms. Examples from the early histories of individual towns will serve to illustrate the process more specifically.

In Rowley, settlers reproduced the open-field system of their Yorkshire experience. The relatively small size

of the initial grants, for instance, was comparable, the town meeting retained control of community affairs, and the town consolidation of individual holdings took place only slowly. Widespread officeholding and an extensive sharing of political duties prevailed, a necessary characteristic of English open-field communities due to the daily concern with drainage, fencing, and livestock regulations. Each of these elements, moreover, is typical of traditional societies tied to the land and concerned with local control.<sup>7</sup>

Hingham, too, reproduced the sort of society its people had been accustomed to in the old world, marked by subsistence agriculture, widely distributed lots haphazardly organized, and little or no movement towards consolidation of individual holdings. Local leadership, while more oligarchical than in Rowley, was also traditional in nature and reflective of old world practices; most importantly, the town meetings retained its control over even the powerful selectmen.<sup>8</sup>

Newbury, by contrast, was victimized by much contention during the first century of its existence, due to the markedly disparate backgrounds of its settlers; indeed, it was forced to turn at an early date to the General Court for assistance in settling its problems. Newbury's social structure was more rigid and stratified, and geographical mobility out of the town was far more common at a much earlier date than other Massachusetts towns.<sup>9</sup> The town is the exception that proves the rule.

Towns like Ipswich, Watertown, Rowley and Hingham followed the patterns of their English experience in constructing new societies. Dedham exhibited the same trend as it established a prototypical town covenant that bound the inhabitants to each other in a pledge to reside together in Christian love. Communities like Sudbury, finally, that abandoned at least temporarily many of the specific legal, political, and religious institutions of the old world, seem to have done so only under the necessity of accommodating their lives to the force of circumstances. Their goals remained traditional in a manner similar to those expressed by other towns: the attainment of group harmony, the obligation of individuals to work for and to support the community, and the desire to create a society marked by relative homogeneity, an absence of serious contention, and a future that promised a predictably fulfilling life for individuals and their progeny.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps the most important indication of the traditionalism of these towns was the abundance of land their grants embraced and the traditional attitudes they evinced towards its use. For the early settlers as well as for their English counterparts, land was the key to everything; ownership gave control and mastery, enhancing self-esteem and identifying the owner as part of the community. It was clear to all that a man worked both for his own survival and that of his children and grandchildren; his descendants had as much at stake in the family farm as he himself did.



Such attitudes are representative of the most traditional of landed peasant societies.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the communities founded in the 1630s and 1640s reflected these characteristics. The first two generations of Andover families embraced traditional authoritarian values, assured their economic well-being through familial control of land, and proved to be healthy, fecund, and long-lived.<sup>12</sup> Towns such as Dedham, Watertown, Medfield, Milford, Billerica, Concord, Rehoboth, and Marlborough were all characterized by the abundance of available land.<sup>13</sup> As we have seen, land use was often communal in the early settlements, as often as not involving a variety of traditional English tilling arrangements. Individual land allotments, moreover, were generally determined by family size and service to the community rather than by wealth or prestige in themselves.<sup>14</sup> Participation in the town meeting, finally, was determined to a considerable extent by land ownership, despite the legal restrictions of religious conformity.<sup>15</sup>

Economic practices and attitudes among both the colony's leadership and its settlers were also essentially traditional. Again, the majority of these concerns were attributable to the English cultural heritage, as commoners, gentry, and urban inhabitants alike had left England in part to avoid the growing incursion of modern economic forces and practices into their daily lives. Backed by the reinforcing traditionalism of their neighbors and of Puritan beliefs, the inhabitants embraced the economic traditions

of immediate and distant memory with welcome relief. The division of labor within the colony was rudimentary during the first few decades; there was little specialization, and farmers themselves did many of the things necessary for survival. Even merchants and artisans generally followed their careers on only a part-time basis. The region functioned as a barter economy; townsmen purchased items from storekeepers with agricultural produce or for a specified period of labor. Only then were the local surpluses thus accumulated transported to market. These practices coincided with the goals of Puritan leaders, who hoped that the necessities of life would be provided by native agriculture and local craftsmen, eliminating the need for purely economic endeavors.<sup>16</sup>

Even the position of the merchants who did trade in the colony was distinctly pre-modern at first; personal economic gain was not expected to serve as a significant motivation for their endeavors. Their selection of agents, factors, and correspondents, moreover, depended on kinship or long friendship, as they too embraced more traditional ways of doing business. Price regulation was another area of concern; from both a traditional agricultural perspective and from the Puritan point of view, an unjust price reflected not so much the workings of an impersonal market system as the gluttony of one selfishly motivated individual. Similarly, usury was condemned and interest rates were expected to be more than reasonable; leaders believed that

nothing should be charged the poor, who should also be forgiven their debts if they defaulted. For this society, the golden rule entailed the dispersal of wealth among the population; the merchant was more of a steward than a capitalist. Robert Keayne was thus forced to justify his actions in what seems, to the modern eye, a trivial case; the General Court intervened in a truly manorial fashion to fix prices and wages during the economic trials of the 1640s.<sup>17</sup>

Economic activity itself was governed by the seasons and the sun, not by the modern principles of time and regulated production. In most of the early towns, the social structure also reflected traditional values; the gap between the rich and the poor was considerably smaller than in contemporary Europe, and the percentages of wealth owned by the highest and lowest deciles were often proportionately more equitable.<sup>18</sup> It was in the realm of economics, clearly, that traditional secular custom and Puritan preachings reflected their closest agreement and reinforced each other's tendencies to cling to the past; farmers embraced such attitudes eagerly after their recent economic hardships in England, and the worldly essence of Puritanism was, after all, brotherly love. "The end," John Winthrop stated, "is to improve our lives to doe more service to the Lord...." The citizens of Massachusetts must learn to live together in peace and brotherly love, he asserted, "must delight in eache other, make others Conditions our owne, rejoyce toge-

ther, mourne together, labour, and suffer together...."<sup>19</sup>  
Economic activity was expected only to contribute to these other-worldly goals; it could not exist as an end in itself.

Attitudes towards the function of law during the early decades also reflected the dominant traditional values. Puritans had frequent recourse to the Bible in their search for solutions to society's contentions, often borrowing precise, explicit language; they sought to return to the principles of justice espoused by the primitive apostolic church. In secular terms, local law and custom flourished during the early years; disagreements both within and between towns were generally settled by small committees of two or three townsmen, in more difficult cases individual magistrates wielded their power with a firm but understanding hand, and the General Court was called upon only when the dispute appeared intractable. Winthrop's insistence upon discretionary power for the magistrates rather than a written law code with fixed penalties is indicative of the extent to which modern legal values were alien to the colonists. County courts functioned consistently only after 1652, and local residents gave little indication of concern for the details of legal matters.<sup>20</sup>

Politically, too, the early colonists' attitudes were essentially traditional. To be sure, there was a distinctly modern strain in their reliance on government as an agent of change; Michael Walzer has brilliantly demonstrated this point in his discussion of English Puritanism.

Puritans in both old and New England functioned with a rational consideration of political methods and of the methodology of power; they willingly ascribed a degree of power to the central state that would be unknown in any *gemeinschaft* society. But traditional societies often bear elements of modernism within their structures, and New England was no exception. With Winthrop and later John Endecott at the helm, the governorship in particular possessed a degree of symbolic power that heightened the office's practical impact on the colony's affairs and maintained the Puritan belief in the guiding role of central power. Winthrop's power was questioned during such crises as the Hingham militia case, but it is significant enough that he held such power in a traditional society so wary of centralized political force.<sup>21</sup>

If Massachusetts Puritanism contained within itself the seeds of modern government, its actual functioning during the early years of the colony's existence was decidedly traditional. Attitudes towards authority figures were ascriptive rather than achievement-oriented; deference predominated, and the political system was seen more as a means of preserving traditional society than as a tool of social and economic change. A political hierarchy scarcely existed during the first ten or fifteen years, as magistrates dominated the political and legal power structure, both individually and collectively; they wielded powers as extensive as any justice of the peace in England in their

efforts to maintain civil peace and moral behavior.<sup>22</sup>

Perhaps the most significant issue here is the relative power of central and local governments. While the overall guiding force and initial impetus for settlement came from a centralized power, and while in the long term the deputies and the General Court emerged as the dominant political force, during the early years local government was generally allowed to follow its own paths with little coercive pressure from the General Assembly. The evidence here is far from conclusive; some scholars have stressed the near-complete freedom enjoyed by towns to control their own affairs, while others have contended that authority was jealousy guarded by the General Court and delegated only reluctantly, under pressure of an increasing workload.<sup>23</sup> Several points do seem clear, though. The magistrates who served as representatives of Court power within the towns used their influence in a traditional manner, relying more on personal prestige and influence more than modern political values to settle disputes. The Court itself, moreover, sought to deal with such issues within the context of communal harmony rather than allowing them to become a burden upon the underdeveloped political system. Its language in delegating authority reflected the use of manorial and parochial precedent in such areas as the control and granting laws. Similarly, it lacked any sort of systematized enforcement authority, having only much-overworked constables to enforce its orders. From both

preference and necessity, then, the Court appeared content to allow towns to control their own affairs whenever possible. Most towns jealously guarded their local prerogatives, but many, like Newbury and Sudbury, were only too willing to recognize the overall authority of the Court when requiring assistance.<sup>24</sup> The towns owed much to the sacrifices and hard work of Winthrop and the magistrates; even the growing power of the deputies did not lessen the traditional prestige such men brought to bear on community disputes.

Economics and politics are two areas which immediately come to mind in evaluating the locus of power in a particular society. We have often had opportunity to mention during the last few pages, however, two less obvious traditional elements often overlooked in discussions of seventeenth-century Massachusetts. First, the role of the family in maintaining a pre-modern value system cannot be underestimated. The family provided a crucial emotional bond from the very point of migration, and it continued to bolster affective unity during the trying early days of life in a wilderness land. The undeveloped division of labor in both old world and new, moreover, devolved a wide variety of social responsibilities onto the family. Fathers and sons labored together in the fields to provide the families' staples, while wives and daughters worked at home to provide other necessities; trips to the local retailers were thus relatively infrequent. During the first few decades,

(and longer in the smaller towns) educational duties fell exclusively on the families; it was only later that the church began to assume a greater role in religious education and the state in secular learning. For the first two generations, finally, most families were able to see their sons and daughters established on farms handed down from the parents or at least in the same town, and often the second generation received generous grants from towns still wealthy in undistributed land.<sup>25</sup> Traditional family authoritarian patterns thus prevailed, and son followed father in a completely predictable path of life, a way of life based on the traditional values of the land.

The impact of geography in the early colony produced equally traditional results. The similarities between old and new world terrain facilitated the successful transposition of agricultural and social customs and habits. The predominance of traditional land-holding patterns and the function of the church as a center of community life helped focus work, worship, and daily social contacts on the town center, bolstering the role of the community as a unifying, afferent force.<sup>26</sup> It was only later, with the consolidation of landholdings and the emergence of population centers inconveniently distant from the original town, that the daily focus of people's lives began to give way to the efferent patterns which stripped them of a unifying institutional and geographic focus.

Thus far we have shown that Massachusetts was a



society steeped in tradition in the structure of its towns, in its economic, legal, and political practices and notions, and in the way in which families functioned in the community. In all of these areas New England towns embraced habits common to their old English communities and throughout large areas of England; on the face of it, Puritanism did little to shape the particular practices the colonists adopted. But religion is demonstrably the most crucial element of traditional societies. It offers an explanation of the world and of the course of man that binds society together, ties it to the sacred cosmos, and makes comprehensible what would otherwise be an unbearably tenuous existence.<sup>27</sup> And in doing so, religion shapes and forms, however subtly, the institutions of its society. Puritanism itself contained a large number of traditional elements, and the relative stability of early Massachusetts society is perhaps best explained by the confluence of the moral and spiritual traditionalism of Puritanism and the traditional communalism of the settlers, heightened by the unique identity needs presented by a wilderness settlement fleeing its homeland.

Puritanism may have been a monopoly religion in early Massachusetts, but it was not a monolith; there was considerable institutional and theological diversity from the beginning. Even on such essential matters as covenant theology and the morphology of conversion there was ambiguity, doctrinal tension, and pluralism.<sup>28</sup> Nonetheless,

there was an identifiable religious experience in the first few decades of Massachusetts history, an experience which can be ascribed to a unified religious ethos known as Puritanism; and this ethos, was traditional in itself and promoted and furthered the traditional nature of the Bay Colony's society. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the elements of this creed and to ascertain how those beliefs helped to foster and maintain medieval customs and habits in seventeenth-century Massachusetts.

The essential Puritan beliefs included the following: that God's essence was hidden and unknowable, that he possessed absolute divine sovereignty, and that he was benevolent and caring as well. Puritans believed that man, on the other hand, had been corrupted by original sin and that his faculties were subsequently disordered; with the fall of Adam the human will had lost its inclination for good and could not be saved without God's intervention. Predestination alone determined man's fate, and nothing he could do on this earth could change the certainty of his destiny.<sup>29</sup>

Each one of these tenets was an important part of the Puritan creed; at the same time, though, they were all consistent with Great Britain's reformed establishment. The mere acceptance of these beliefs would not be enough to classify someone as a Puritan. Puritans did depart significantly in spirit, however, from other Englishmen of similar religious convictions, increasingly so during the

early years of the seventeenth century. First, they were distinguished by their evangelical emphasis; they sought to take dogma and the Bible to the people, to preach the word aggressively to the world. Second, they felt that the church had been imperfectly reformed, and that it contained far too many elements of formalism and ritual. The Puritan conception of a church gradually evolved into a conviction of the relative equality of minister and parishioners, of the ineffectiveness of most of the sacraments and of the physical and legalistic trappings of worship which increasingly characterized the Anglican church. Thus Puritans sought to complete the Reformation by returning to the original simplicity of the primitive church. Doctrinally, too, English protestantism underwent transformation during the early seventeenth century that widened the gulf between it and Puritanism, as Anglican ministers put increasing emphasis on the abilities of man and his free will with decreasing stress on God's sovereignty, and turned more and more to nature and reason as sources of divine truth.<sup>30</sup>

Puritans were thus differentiated not so much by the specific tenets they espoused, but rather by the tenacity with which they clung to them. As preachers responded to the needs of laymen, Puritanism also spoke to the need for direction and assurance, for conviction and psychological certitude. Faith explained the external world. The divine scheme justified (or damned) the pursuits of men; self-discipline helped individuals adapt to the rapidly

changing conditions of their society. In this sense, the essence of Puritanism can be discovered in basic attitudes and in the espousal of a certain way of life rather than in dogmatic rigor. Preachers provided a sense of quickened religiosity and exaggerated traditionalism rather than a detailed concern with ritualistic requirements. This contention, supported by the work of such scholars as Paul Conkin and Daniel Boorstin, also fits well with the assertions of such writers as J. F. Maclear and Alan Simpson, who have emphasized the emotional and experiential sides of Puritanism. Simpson has contended, for instance, that conversion was the only essential Puritan experience; it marked an acceptance of the belief that natural man could not grow in grace, and that through conversion he could mark himself off from the mass of mankind. Two crucial observations make Simpson's point of view particularly convincing. First, it was the time of widespread conversion experiences, during the first two decades and later during the Great Awakening, that Puritanism proved to be its most vital in New England. In the interim, the church was forced to abandon many of its original hopes and to become more of a regional than a sectarian body, and ministers continually bewailed the perceived declension in their ritualistic jeremiads. Second, and perhaps more important, it was essential for a successful Puritan movement to have a way of setting its members apart from the corrupt world. Threatened by religious persecution, individuals needed more

than just a comprehensive explanation of the world's events; they needed personal assurance that their beliefs marked them as a class apart. The most significant elements of Puritanism were those that emphasized this sense of community and common quest. The Puritans' notion of calling and their insistent emphasis on order and hierarchy, for instance, were in part justification for the preservation of the established social order. But such beliefs also reinforced an organic sense of community and assured the individual that his was an occupation and life that was important in God's plan. Covenant theology, while a common element in contemporary European thought, also acquired unique connotations in early Massachusetts. It provided the individual with a degree of comfort in his relationship with God, but it also assured community and church an influential role in the divine future.<sup>31</sup>

As a traditional religion, Puritanism rejected the inherent significance of this world; its faith and purpose was in another life, to an extent shown by its extreme and persistent millennial views. Puritans contended that God, not man, ordained the course of worldly events and that man himself had only limited power to determine either his own destiny or that of the world around him. Together with their emphasis on evangelism, conversion, and the independent congregation, their steadfast adherence to these creeds marked them as a relatively unified, essentially pre-modern religious group. Within the limits of their

beliefs, disagreements over the nature of the covenant or over the relative position of preparation and assurance within the morphology of conversion were little more than credal squabbles. The essence of doctrinal Puritanism was tension, the inability to determine an individual's or church's exact position in God's plan. Puritanism faced insoluble difficulties when it tried to resolve those tensions through precise definition, or when it wandered to the edges of the extremes, such as Antinomianism or Arminianism. Ministers first sensed the dangers of these positions during the Antinomian crisis, when they closed doctrinal ranks against Hutchinson's seemingly unfathomable heresies. Jonathan Edwards sensed a similar problem in his desire to return to a pure, primitive Calvinism.<sup>32</sup> Massachusetts Puritanism was a narrowly defined experience, treading a dangerously precipitous path between the threats of extremism and doctrinal specificity.

What happened to this society? In many ways, the changes which destroyed the predominant communal localism of early Massachusetts were the results of natural growth processes. Healthier living conditions and a much lower death rate led to substantial population growth; partible inheritances resulted in decreasing land availability for the second and third generations. As essentially agricultural societies, most towns could offer little in the way of occupational alternatives; the resultant outmigration

was disruptive to family and community life, and the new, tradition-oriented towns which were often founded to relieve the pressure went through the same processes of evolution. Agricultural success also brought surpluses, which inevitably connected the towns to the larger colonial and Atlantic economies. Merchants, too, made their appearance as a relatively focused economic class, bringing values incompatible with earlier Puritan social standards. The power and complexity of the legal and political systems expanded and became increasingly centralized in an effort to deal constructively with the disruptive changes. Religious uniformity, always fragile at best, declined in the face of growing population diversity and doctrinal disagreements. A more sacerdotal view of the church gradually became the dominant vision, replacing the essential Puritan evangelical approach. Puritanism lost its explanatory power and its function as a sacred canopy, with various doctrinal transformations dissipated its impact as a bastion of traditional communalism. Intervention by England, finally, cast a peculiar pall on these events and created a unique interpretive context within which Massachusetts intellectuals developed new explanatory models.

Since the colony's early ethos centered in communalism, it is logical to propose that many of the most disruptive changes were those that threatened to destroy the fragile balance that maintained this equilibrium of traditional customs and habits. Events in Haverhill serve well to

illustrate one aspect of the process. By 1661, residents of the town had travelled far along the path to individual land ownership through extensive buying, selling, and exchanging of lots; as the town historian has noted, "the laying out of highways now became nearly as frequent as the laying out of lots had been previously; the land rapidly increased in value and productiveness, and the town in population and wealth." In 1663, the town set aside an annual town meeting solely "for the granting and selling and exchanging of lands or commonages...."<sup>33</sup>

Similar events were taking place in other towns. Ipswich, for instance, was the scene of early rapid social change and served as a dispersal point for migrants to both surrounding towns and more distant settlements in Maine. Significantly, most of the men who left owned little land. Increased consolidation of land holdings developed there as well, and steps were taken to clarify the complex problems involved in land exchanges. As early as 1650, the large number of inhabitants moving away from the town center led to the formation of the town of Topsfield.<sup>34</sup>

Third-generation Andover sons sought to limit their fathers' control over their inheritances, as the supply of unappropriated land in that town shrank. The year 1660 marked a significant turning point for the community of Dedham; after that date, new arrivals were not always invited to sign the covenant and thus would not receive land. In Dedham, as in Andover and elsewhere, the common field



system was rapidly disintegrating into private farms. The process divided the community, as individuals moved to inconvenient distances from the town center and requested abatement of taxes to support, among other things, the central meetinghouse and schools. Permission was often granted, generally resulting in precinct status for the new groups, but feelings remained bitter; often, moreover, the proliferation of precincts within a town led to renewed struggle between the districts for political power.<sup>35</sup> Watertown offers yet another example of growing community disintegration. An active land market, outward physical expansion, speculation by outsiders, and increased geographical mobility led to almost complete frustration on the part of town officials, who surrendered control of the situation during the second half of the century to the General Court.<sup>36</sup> In Sudbury, a divisive generational conflict rent the town's communal cohesion, as fathers used their economic control over the land supply to postpone their sons' independence.<sup>37</sup>

These are only individual examples of a pattern that was typical of Massachusetts development throughout the later seventeenth century. Land gradually lost its central place as the focus of social experience; it no longer served as a symbol of community, as a guarantee of traditional family patterns and economic life styles, or as an insurer of traditional social patterns of a guaranteed level of well-being. Instead, it came to repre-

sent contention, division, and individual gain.

These changes engulfed the colony over an extended period of time; in the case of younger frontier towns, the process extended well into the eighteenth century and even beyond. More immediately indicative of social and economic modernization were the changes affecting the port towns. In Boston, even the first generation of settlers experienced serious internal division, and from the beginning the town's populace was oriented towards secular concerns and business enterprise. Here, too, the church lost its potential unifying power quickly as fewer and fewer inhabitants became members; instead, it became a divisive force, leaving only the power of the state to unite society and to prescribe limits in economic and social relationships. The town's social structure was similarly non-traditional, with greater fluidity and markedly greater disparities of wealth. Familiar urban problems were an early concern, as prostitution grew apace, pauperism increased, and the refugee problem after King Philip's War became a burden upon the town's resources.<sup>38</sup>

Essex County experienced similar rapid social and economic development. A split developed, for instance, between Salem Village and Salem Town, with wealth, prestige, and political domination gradually shifting from the countryside to the urban area. After 1650 in particular, merchants rapidly increased their activities and began to

set prices and dictate credit terms to farmers and fishermen. An increase in the debt level and in the volume of accounts created a demand for paper money and banking facilities; aggregate investment increased, land became largely an investment commodity subject to considerable litigation, and the county as a whole became something of an active financial center. Socially, the results were indicative of the colony's future; town was set against village, toleration of sects such as Quakers became the norm, merchants gained in both prestige and power, the concept of the just price disappeared, and the church gradually liberalized its doctrinal teachings. The town meeting accepted the dominance of separate interests in the community and re-interpreted its political function as a balancer of interests rather than as a force seeking communal unity.<sup>39</sup>

Developments in trade reflected similar results, if more dramatically framed. After 1660, New England merchants began to establish their own firms, often engaging in direct overseas trade with the London market; while such efforts generally relied on traditional familial and personal contacts, they also represented a significant departure from earlier attitudes towards economic activity. Merchants now began to emerge as a class, with their own interests and increased political power; they sought to dominate the Council, to maintain connections with well-placed individuals in England, and to control the functionaries in the colonial service. More importantly, they

ushered in the acceptance of trade and profit-seeking as a morally valid and economically necessary way of life. Their influence over the daily life of the colony began to rise dramatically, as they dictated credit to farmers and fishermen and controlled the limited money supply. With little real specialization possible, merchants also turned to physical expansion, increased control over natural resources, and land speculation as the most viable economic alternatives.<sup>40</sup>

Trading patterns moved hand-in-hand with these developments. By the 1650s, substantial portions of the New England hinterland were producing goods for the Boston market, and food, timber, and cattle were widely exchanged for manufactured goods. By 1660, merchants were engaging in a variety of wholesale and retail ventures; small retailers flourished, and townspeople began to complain regularly of overpricing by shopkeepers. One shopkeeper's journal for the years 1685-1689 indicates a retail trade that extended far into the countryside, though almost all transactions continued to be conducted through barter.<sup>41</sup> The social repercussions of these developments quickly became apparent; communal measures such as the protective consumer laws were gradually repealed, the religiously inspired first generation of mercantile leaders died off, and their replacements were often newly arrived fortune hunters from England. These men rapidly became a class apart, inspired more by their own interests than those of the colony as a whole.

Economic modernization proceeded haltingly, however, and with considerable structural imbalance. The scarcity of grain, quite common in these years, drained vitality from the economy. Colonial timber shipments became less competitive on the European market; the situation was exacerbated by the economic disruption of the late seventeenth-century wars and stricter enforcement of the acts of trade. The cession of Nova Scotia to France, finally, robbed Boston of a significant addition to its hinterland and a lucrative area of investment opportunity.<sup>42</sup> Merchants were thus forced to seek more imaginative areas of investment. Many of the lesser traders turned to the New England Company, an abortive banking attempt. An additional alternative was to attract foreign coin through overvaluation or, for the more successful merchants, to maintain close connections with the Council and with influential English merchants. Large-scale land speculation, finally, was a major concern of men like Richard Wharton, Jr., and Thomas Dudley, who pooled their efforts in such groups as the Atherton Company, which was specifically concerned with acquiring disputed Indian land in the Narragansett Bay area.<sup>43</sup>

Perhaps the most important precursor of a modern economy, however, was the growth of the need and desire for money. In the early years of the colony, grain had been widely accepted as payment for taxes and debts; as late as 1654, only two years after the establishment of the mint, the General Court had allowed all debts to be paid

in kind. Between 1670 and 1684, however, the barter economy gradually disappeared from the colony, and the last collection of taxes in produce took place in 1694. Only the merchants, who were largely responsible for this development, had adequate currency to deal with the situation. Outside the port towns, most areas simply lacked adequate currency alternatives. A 1669 report of the General Court suggested that foreign coin be allowed to circulate in order to ease the problems of payment. By 1675, despite royal obstructions, the mint had once again begun operations. King Philip's War created a further demand for specie, and the government offered to abate 25% on all taxes payable in grain to those who would advance cash instead. The abortive Blackwell's Bank, an early land bank effort organized by specie-starved merchants, also reflected the growing scarcity of coin. Ultimately, merchants settled on the overvaluation of coins as the most feasible method of dealing with the problem.<sup>44</sup>

Reactions to Blackwell's Bank provide some insight into the shifting intellectual outlook regarding the value and purpose of money. Arguments by the wealthy supporters of the bank reflected a realization that a change of some import was occurring in the content of the New England Way. They viewed the colony as "a place not designed by the first Planters, for Commerce, being better acquainted with celestial Dealings, than the politics of mundane

affairs...." In the early years, Winthrop and other leaders had sought to encourage domestic manufactures, but for the limited purpose of establishing a self-sufficient Puritan community. The pro-bankers' arguments reflected a significant departure from those goals; lack of currency, they contended, consumed magistrates' time "that might be better spent about studying the necessary advantages of Trade, and forwarding of Manufacture, to the enriching of them. To which end most civilized Nations set some apart to manage, and is the Leadstone that draweth commodities to the Market, that great conveniency of a people." A scarcity of coin brought trouble to all and an abundance of debts and economic intrigue. The pro-bankers, finally, viewed money as the answer to all of the colony's encroaching evils and the declension; it decreased debts and lawsuits, "helps to civilize the Ruder Sort of people, & encourages others to follow their example industry & civility." As a result, anyone could "live handsomely, and out of Debt; and that prevent multiplicity of law-suites, charges and troubles to the Government."<sup>45</sup>

Colonists of more traditional views, however, remained unconvinced of the validity of such claims and questioned the motives of those who promoted the increased use of money. Such men contended that the inconveniences of barter might have been countered if the government had set just prices whenever they were needed; they complained of a small coterie of merchants "who, in their particular deal-

ings and correspondencies, have un-accountably controll'd it, to their great advantage also; and vary it often, in each Annuall Revolution." Even such supporters of the bank as Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Wait Winthrop, Simon Lunde, Joseph Russell, Isaac Addington, Elisha Hutchinson, John Saffin, Adam Winthrop, and Elisha Cooke, Sr., found it necessary to argue that their bank was a project of native New Englanders seeking to break the control of English-connected merchants.<sup>46</sup> The value of a freely controlled money supply was thus identified with New England's liberty and well-being.

Socially and economically, then, significant anomalies had begun to appear in both the realization and the concept of the Puritan communal ideal. A further break in social unity appeared with the development of a rationalized judicial and legal system. Earlier, we have seen, there was relatively little need for such a hierarchy and few colonists were inclined to pursue its development. To keep up with its early population growth, though, the colony had created four quarter courts in 1636, each consisting of assistants or associates who lived within its jurisdiction. These courts were delegated the power to try all misdemeanors or crimes not punishable by death or exile, and all civil cases in which the amount did not exceed ten pounds (a limit removed in 1648). The court also heard appeals from lower courts, while its own appeals were heard by the court of assistants.<sup>47</sup>

As the complexity of social and economic growth gra-



dually overwhelmed the limited regulatory abilities of both the towns and the relatively traditional legal system, further rationalization became inevitable. In 1643 the General Court divided the colony into counties, and the quarter courts then came to resemble their English counterparts. The county courts became the chief law enforcement agency and therefore a powerful counterforce to the particularistic and internally divisive tendencies of the towns. They served the purpose of social control; most frequently they enforced debt payment and carried out similar duties, but they also had the power to stop any behavior that did not conform with the "expectations of the society at large." They also regulated trade according to Puritan standards, and were assisted by a variety of town and county officials, such as the sheriff, clerk, and treasurer. The grand jury also assisted in law enforcement, and there were special courts for outlying districts, as well as a number of local courts.<sup>48</sup>

The county courts became truly active, though, after 1660. The decreasing availability of land resulted in a substantial increase in land litigation over title claims, a problem exacerbated by the lack of recording procedures. The personal animosity often caused by these difficulties necessitated a method of control and judgment further removed from the emotions of the moment. The law code thus became the secular equivalent of the Bible; rights were no longer implicitly guaranteed by local institutions and

community pressures, but rather had to be "explicitly demanded, litigiously defended, and judicially protected." Going to court helped establish acceptable standards of behavior in new, threatening circumstances.<sup>49</sup>

Societies turn to legal institutions as a source of stability; such institutions serve an adaptive role in periods of rapid social change. In late seventeenth-century Massachusetts, as the powers of social control enjoyed by town and congregation became circumscribed, people came to see litigation as "a useful agent of orderly and desirable social change." It also proved to be a less emotional way of intervening in personal disputes, a way of softening the strain of fractious divisions and a diversifying society.<sup>50</sup> The reliance on written law and the establishment of a law code served a similar function. The deputies in particular promoted the battle against discretionary law and the individual legal powers of the magistrates, emphasizing fixed rules and penalties against Winthrop's more medieval conception of traditional law. Thus the Body of Liberties, the culmination of gradual changes in political and constitutional thought, marked a most important advance for legal modernization. Even this landmark of modern legal thought, however, retained an essentially traditional goal as its ultimate purpose: "as thou yieldest obedience to the law for common good, but to thy disadvantage, so another must observe some other law for thy good, though to his own damage."<sup>51</sup> The Puritan ideal of brotherly love had not changed; merely, it

was now to be expressed through the legal system.

In establishing a rationalized legal system and written law codes, the colony was clearly moving further along the path of modernization. Perhaps even more significant, though, was the growing regulatory significance of the General Court. In the early days of the colony, the Court deliberately granted a good deal of freedom to the towns to conduct their own affairs, relying on the local power of the magistracy to intervene and lend assistance when necessary. As early as the 1640s, however, the Court had expanded its role in promoting industries such as fishing and textiles, and it deliberately sought to control geographical expansion in order to encourage a more solid basis for capital accumulation. But as the colony's population grew, as its geographical area inevitably expanded, as economic activity quickened, and as inter- and intra-town disputes increased dramatically in number, the Court found that neither traditional methods of mediation nor the growing legal system could control the burgeoning disagreements.

In many ways, of course, the Court's powers simply reflected the role of English county governments. Between 1660 and 1686, for example, it regulated the ages for free-manship, militia service, apprenticeship, and court testimony; it established assizes, controlled a variety of professions and their wage levels, and regulated the production of fish, corn, and flax. It settled disputes over

the maintenance of highways, examined war rates and established market days, and engaged in a variety of other regulatory powers too numerous to mention. Often, however, it went beyond these traditional functions. It became increasingly involved, for instance, in acrimonious disputes over the disposition of common fields and the admission of strangers to towns;<sup>52</sup> indeed, its role as a monitor of local disputes grew significantly during the second half of the century.

From the 1650s on the Court frequently intervened in local church disputes; some of the towns so involved were Salisbury, Dedham, Roxbury, Cambridge, Newbury, and Hadley. Frontier areas also sought the Court's assistance in settling ministers. Problems such as these arose from the physical growth of the colony; similar reasons help explain the increased Court involvement in settling local boundary disputes. In 1661, for example, the Court ruled on a Newbury-Rowley boundary dispute and planned the settlement of Groton and Billerica. In 1666 the Court appointed a committee to establish Haverhill's boundaries in order to settle numerous disputes in the area, and in 1672 it ruled on a Manchester-Gloucester boundary dispute. Other such settlements were common during the pre-Andros years. The Court also settled a number of local tax and land difficulties, and in a dispute in Marlborough over land possession and the maintenance of a minister it ordered the selectmen to maintain a more accurate record of their books.<sup>53</sup> It is

clear from these varied interventions that the Court was beginning to play a crucial role in the daily affairs of the colony.

Two such incidents warrant more detailed scrutiny, since they reveal much about the attitudes of townsmen toward the arbitration role of the Court. In 1664 the town of Marlborough experienced a conflict over the payment of taxes and estate improvements. Seventeen inhabitants asked the Court to appoint a committee to study long-standing difficulties. Eighteen others opposed the motion and signed a remonstrance, stating that "we are willing, with our persons and estates, to uphold the Authority of the Country, and do therefore desire the liberty of the law which gives towns power to transact their own affairs." Thus the issue of localism was consciously introduced into the affair. Ten years later, the Court received a report from the committee it had appointed: "In pursuance of the fatherly care of this Court for their Welfare, several journies we have made to them, and much time we have spent in hearing and discussing matters of difference and difficulties among them...." The victor in this instance was the Court and the supporters of its interventionary power. More significant, perhaps, was the acceptance of their decision by those who had opposed intervention,<sup>54</sup> as well as the decidedly paternalistic language which the Court employed.

Of similar interest is a Hadley petition of 1665; its language indicates reverence or at least a cautionary

respect, for the power which the Court wielded: "Honoured and Worthy fathers, if we call you fathers, and Gods, too, we speake but after the most high. One of the Relative titles besepaks the ...natural love we confide in you for: the other tells us what power you have in you to help us and the end for which God hath clothed you..." both show us our duty of...to you for help (in time of danger) under him who is over all." The petition asserted that they were then in a time of danger analogous to the Israelites' flight from Egypt, and to avoid the decay of the Puritan mission and to follow the design of God, they had come to the Court as a last resort; it was "the only means to save us...On you we hang our enjoyment, hopes, Lands, Liberties, views, children, lives, & all."<sup>55</sup> Even though the Court's goals in these cases were expressly traditional, the establishment of a rationalized system of conflict resolution was a decided step in the direction of modernization.

Even more significant than the growing interventionist role of the Court was the emergence of the deputies as the major political force within the colony. Representative government had received an initial stimulus from Calvinist experiments on the Continent, and was further strengthened by the English tradition of constitutionalism and the growth of the House of Commons in the early seventeenth century. Drawing on these precedents, as well as on their own desires for economic and political power, the deputies had built up

considerable independent influence by 1660. Institutional growth after this date, however, was still more rapid. One reason was the need for a unified colony voice to respond to the post-Restoration imperial policies of the Stuarts. Possibly of equal importance was the need to fill a considerable domestic power vacuum. Second-generation ministers, for example, had considerably less influence than their first-generation counterparts, and the first generation of religious and political leaders was rapidly dying off during the years after 1660. Equally significant was the decline in church membership and the growing power and influence of non-Puritan inhabitants who were less willing to accept traditional, ascriptive authority structures.<sup>56</sup> Most important, though, was the failure of traditional forms of authority to deal with the rapid social and economic changes sweeping the colony.

House leaders sought to increase their secular power at the expense of the magistrates and governor. The struggle began in the 1630s with debates over the life tenure of magistrates, over powers the magistrates held when the Court was not in session, and over the magistrates' claim to a legislative veto. The first decade of the colony's history witnessed a continuous battle over the magistrates' use of discretionary power, the standing council, and the negative vote. Norfolk and Essex County delegates, representing a "nouveaux riches" bourgeoisie, led the way. The battle was highlighted by the previously mentioned

Keayne case and the Hingham militia controversy. Interestingly, the deputies more than held their own; by 1650, their right to initiate legislation was unquestioned.<sup>57</sup>

Disputes over the allocation of power continued in the years after 1660; between 1667 and 1673, for instance, the House and the magistrates clashed over a 1652 law which denied the latter the judicial veto. So vehement was the argument that a committee of ten was appointed in 1673 to settle the issue. During the 1670s the deputies also sought to challenge a variety of the assistants' other powers; they ordered, for example, that all civil and criminal cases be considered by a majority of the whole court. In 1673, the lower house resolved (in vain) that the consent of the governor was no longer necessary for the passage of legislation. The deputies further attempted, again without success, to gain a role in managing affairs during the Court's recess period. They sought military power as well, attempting to appoint military officers in concert with the magistrates, who had previously chosen them separately. In the late 1670s, the deputies made several attempts to reduce the income of the magistrates, and to gain a portion of the fees from petitions to the Court. In 1685, the issue of the judicial veto was again introduced, and the deputies made an abortive attempt to have the two houses sit as separate bodies; they did succeed, however, in establishing a more rationalized system of government by committee.<sup>58</sup> All of these issues, it should be noted, were in the forefront of



political struggles at the same time that the colony was politically divided over how to deal with Britain's growing interference in its domestic affairs. Accurate evidence is difficult to find, but it appears that the deputies and the faction most opposed to British interference consisted of many of the same individuals: rising young entrepreneurs who were seeking to break the economic hold of both the more established local merchants and those who were imperially connected.

The emergence of secularized political power was certainly significant, but perhaps the most important of the charges besetting the colony was the gradual transformation of its basic ethos. From the very beginning, there had been those who had questioned in one way or another the validity of the Puritan mission; people such as Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, Samuel Gorton, and Samuel Maverick posed serious threats to the cultural uniformity of the colony. Quakers, too, provided a most irritating source of disruption, since their religious enthusiasm served as an unpleasant reminder of the Antinomian strains implicit in the Puritan experience.

These various challenges raised serious issues concerning the role of Massachusetts Puritans in the larger world. The colony's future seemed fraught with uncertainty, particularly during the 1650s. Colonists complained that after years of fatherly solicitude, the Lord had turned "our unhealthiness into into sicklynesse, our sweete union

to much disunion." In 1651 the General Court bemoaned the influence exerted by "divers loose, vaine, and corrupt persons, both such as come from forraigne parts, as also some others heere inhabitin or residing, which insinuate themselves into the fellowship of the younge people of this countrie, drawing them, both by night and by day, from their callings, studies, honest occupations, and lodging places, to the great dishonour of God, greife of their parents, masters, teachers...." The Court similarly justified its punitive actions against the Quakers by asserting its right to defend the Commonwealth from usurpers and violent assaults. Have we not, the Court asked, "as much power to take away the lives of such as, contrary to prohibition, shall invade & intrude...." The Quakers were disruptive precisely because they failed to show respect for the importance of the Puritan community; they were not part of the "collective conscience," "that sense of firm ideological commitment, that willingness to participate fully in the rhythms of group life, that feeling of common heritage and destiny which gives every society its underlying cohesion." The alternative world view Quakers presented came at a time of growing uncertainty in the Puritan's own mission, in the efficacy of their peculiar perspective on the world.<sup>59</sup>

It was the failure of the Puritan mission in England, though, that provided the most threatening disruption of the colonists' social and emotional cohesion.

With the onset of the English Civil War, millennialism had become an increasingly important part of the colonists' cultural outlook; even during the reign of Charles I, the notion of a final cosmic struggle had attained increasing urgency. The very existence of New England as an approximation of Christ's pure church promoted a belief in the inevitability of the millennium; events of the 1640s thus strengthened and deepened what was already a "militant adventist mood..." and it was widely felt that victory over the anti-Christ was at hand. Many Puritan ministers believed that the conversion of the Indians could be related to the biblical prophecy of the conversion of the Jews just prior to the millennium, and the efforts of John Eliot and others appeared to be bearing some fruit during the 1650s. Eliot himself went so far as to argue that the Indians were really Hebrews. These high hopes received a crushing blow, though, with the restoration of the Stuart dynasty; millennial views were thereafter regarded with considerably less faith, and Puritans turned instead to preserving what they had already achieved. Through the 1640s and 1650s, and late in the works of men like Edward Johnson, the vision of a worldly second coming survived; more commonly, though, the tone of millennial beliefs was sharply modified by the jeremiads, and they were increasingly characterized by a certain element of despair and an air of unreality.<sup>60</sup>

The failure of the original Puritan mission, then, forced the second generation in particular to re-evaluate

the role of Massachusetts in God's plan. England had fallen by the wayside with the Restoration, and the apocalypse now showed little indication of occurring there. More significantly, the communal, selfless society of the early decades of Massachusetts, always more cohesive in ideal than in practice, was gradually being transformed along the more individualistic lines of early capitalism. Puritanism itself, finally, was undergoing significant doctrinal and institutional transformations. During the early years the church had been able to claim a majority of the population as full members, and most others seem to have sympathized with the Puritan cause and accepted its rigorous religious discipline. Gradually, however, membership levels began to fall, and saints were faced with the prospects of minority status. Lacking the emotional experience of their elders, many second-generation New Englanders failed to progress from baptism to full communion. The half-way covenant was devised to allow third-generation children to be baptized; despite heated opposition by first-generation saints, it was gradually and all but universally adopted.<sup>61</sup> Concurrently, geographical expansion, economic growth, and growing secularism led to a decline of the church as a focus of community sentiment; even the extensive adoption of mass covenant renewals failed to deal successfully with this problem<sup>62</sup> (see note on ritual).

Cracks in the original Puritan doctrinal edifice began

to appear with disturbing frequency. Conservatism still predominated, of course; preparation remained secondary to predestination, and the power of God still left man tremulous in awe. But there were significant waverings towards beliefs that had previously been proscribed. Samuel Willard's conception of human nature, for instance, reflected a more willing acceptance of man's search for personal happiness. William Hubbard insisted that the end of all societies was their own peace and prosperity; he argued that the people themselves were the foundations of society, its most important part, reflecting a surprising degree of faith in man's native abilities. As long as they were orderly and peaceful, moreover, he believed that individuals should be allowed to worship as they wished.<sup>63</sup> More significant was the growing emphasis on sacerdotal religion which David Hall has detailed so well; the original evangelical mission of Puritanism was rapidly becoming secondary to the preservation of an institutional church, robbing it of what was perhaps its very essence. Similarly, the conversion experience became less of a central tenet, as preparationism came to occupy an increasingly important position in the Puritan view of salvation.<sup>64</sup> Men like Peter Bulkeley may have steadfastly maintained their belief in man's depravity and God's sovereignty, but their writings frequently reflected the delicately resolved tension that often drew Puritans toward greater emphasis on man's participation in the salvation process.<sup>65</sup>

The jeremiads voiced an awareness of such tendencies when they gave expression to the fear that New England would become as corrupt as other nations in its acceptance of secularism, and thereby betray its original sacred mission. The most important modern scholar of these laments, Perry Miller, has focused on the negative side of their function; essentially, he viewed them as wish-fulfillment dreams, reactions to the decline of an idealized, noble religious experiment. Miller did note, though, that the jeremiads did not create a depressing or despairing effect; they served, he argued, as a ritualistic cultural purgation, encouraging the community to persist in its conduct and to continue what were really necessary, adaptive changes. This was, Miller asserted, the seventeenth-century way of answering the question "Who are we?" New Englanders felt that to succeed, they must maintain the eyes of the world upon them.<sup>66</sup>

Sacvan Bercovitch has taken this positive strain in Miller's thought one step further, arguing that the jeremiads were part "of a strategy designed to revitalize the errand..." a strategy that reflected continued faith in the errand rather than despair at its disappearance. Europeans had used the jeremiads only in the sense of worldly success; the Puritans transformed them into a call to apocalyptic victory. The visions the jeremiads promoted, Bercovitch asserts, were a realistic way of dealing with crisis and change, a method of revitalizing the mission; the

exhortations themselves created feelings of anxiety and crisis that helped release restless energy for the success of the venture. Progress was now demanded and required, a progress that would go beyond the greatness of the Puritan fathers to an apocalyptic goal that would ultimately embrace all men. Americans thus brought sacred history out of the realm of theology and expanded the mission to include the general "Restoration of Mankind from the Curse of the Fall...."<sup>67</sup>

Thus while the colony viewed itself less and less as an experiment in segregated Puritanism or a refuge from cataclysm, a new vision was emerging, a view of Massachusetts as a cohesive, unified whole with a rather different message for the world. New England became a place in time, a geographic location of secular importance. According to Cotton Mather, typologically Massachusetts became a united nation, moving towards collective salvation in a New Testament fulfillment of the Old Testament experience of Israel. Through the use of soteriology, "the mode of identifying the individual, the community, or the event in question within the scheme of salvation," John Winthrop became the representative American, a personification of the union of church and state. Similarly, the Great Migration became the flight from Babylon and a prefiguration of the second coming. The destiny of Puritans became the destiny of mankind; the term "Americanus" became a symbol of the fusion of sainthood and nationality, an identity that contained within itself

the process of redemption. The concept of generativity was implicit; Mather equated succession with progression and used the imagery of implantation and fruition to emphasize his point. What appeared to be decay thus became a sign of testing before the inevitable fulfillment of prophecy.<sup>68</sup>

To a significant extent, Bercovitch's revision of Miller is appropriate; certainly the jeremiads were adaptive ritualizations which both purged accumulated guilt and allowed the burgeoning secularism of Massachusetts to proceed apace. Miller himself, as Bercovitch is forced to admit, had taken much the same approach in his famous essay, "Errand into the Wilderness."<sup>69</sup> In another sense, though, Bercovitch has failed to come to grips with the psychological reality of capitalism. The dominant theme of the jeremiads goes well beyond the schema Bercovitch creates of Scriptural precedent, condemnation, and prophetic vision; the original Puritan vision was so strong, the guilt of transgression so great, that the new vision, one of secular as well as spiritual greatness, revolved around the theme of loss. Notice, for instance, the continual concern expressed over the death of eminent members of the first generation. The passage of time had seriously depleted the ranks of the founding fathers; by 1685, second-generation men dominated politics in twenty-two of the fifty towns represented in the General Court, most having come to power during or just after King Philip's War. The majority of second-generation political leaders, moreover, were now significantly wealthier



than their constituents, and in port towns, many more were merchants and tradesmen.<sup>70</sup> Thus the social ideals of the early leaders had been abandoned; equally important, second-generation leaders had clearly failed to deal successfully with the major problems confronting them: Indian warfare, royal interference, and the decline of traditional social structures. The burden of guilt resultant from such failures undoubtedly played a role in the literature of declension. Guilt was further compounded by the reluctance of the patriarchs to step aside; time and again, second generation men came to power only after their fathers had died. And yet, when confronted with god-like fathers, resentment could only be repressed.

Samuel Willard interpreted the death of eminent men as an expression of divine displeasure; to avoid such losses, he contended, Puritans must return to God, "lest he be provoked to anger, and cause the Funerals of our wise and good Leaders, to be but the harbingers to the Funeral of all that is precious & pleasant among us." The problem, it would appear, was quite simple: "When great and good men die thick and fast, it portends declension."<sup>71</sup> The fears were not altogether groundless; rapid social change in traditional societies is often most burdensome upon the third generation experiencing such disruption.<sup>72</sup>

As long as the patriarchs remained alive, they represented a concrete tie to past glories. The cult of ancestor worship represents an attempt to perpetuate the elders'

presence; in the midst of offerings and sacrifices, all members of the community must join together in amity, whatever their differences. In healthy bereavement, the lost object is then introjected but the ties are loosened. The problem becomes more complex, however, when more ambivalent feelings are involved. The second- and third-generation settlers undoubtedly harbored mixed feelings towards patriarchs who sought to deny them church membership and political power, in addition to haranguing them constantly from the pulpit. In such cases, the introjection may involve a desire to destroy the object, bringing more intense guilt feelings. But the appeal of the loved object remains so great the mourner cannot let it go and consequently engages in a life-long search to regain it.<sup>73</sup> Modernization often involves such attempts to recover what is perceived as the lost paradise of traditional society. In one sense, then, the jeremiads were indeed constructive adaptations to loss, as society progressed without traumatic paradigmatic upheaval. But the jeremiads also maintained the unattainable goals of traditional communal society along with a sense of universal secular progress that betrayed the very values of that society; the juxtaposition of two such paradoxical goals could result only in confusion and disappointment. Secular change and economic growth would not bring the traditional values of peace, love, and brotherhood; they would only increase guilt over the loss of social harmony and heighten the unrealistic attachment to the lost ideals.

The impetus the jeremiads provided was given greater force by the colony's changing relationship with England. While the efforts of Archbishop Laud in the early years of settlement had temporarily threatened the success of the Puritan mission, European and domestic problems, followed by civil war, had commanded England's attention and given the colonists over twenty years of relatively uninterrupted isolation. During the 1640s, in fact, the General Court fashioned explicit declarations of legal and administrative independence, and the Court was in no great hurry to proclaim the king after the Restoration; they even allowed two regicides to escape unmolested. In 1660, however, the colony's London agent warned of royal dissatisfaction with the treatment of Quakers, and mentioned rumors of a royal governor being sent to the colony. Still the Court hesitated to comply with the Crown's demands for answers to its charges. Prompted by increased pressures for a stricter imperial policy and by the continued complaints of Massachusetts dissidents like Samuel Maverick, the Crown finally sent a commission in 1664 to tour the troubled areas of the colonies. Counting among its members Maverick himself, the commission was ordered to organize an anti-Puritan party within the Bay colony. Yet it was only shortly before the group's arrival that the colony moved to comply with some of the royal demands resulting, for example, in the 1664 franchise law and the relaxation of sanctions against the Quakers.<sup>74</sup>

Taking the offensive, the colony defended itself in a 1664 address to the King. Their charter, the petitioners contended, had given the first settlers succor in the wilderness; recalling it would be disastrous and subversive, threatening the spirit of the people and seriously depleting the financial value of the colony to the Crown: "for such is the poverty & meanness of the people of this country, (by reason of the length & coldness of the winters, the difficulty of subduing a wilderness, defect of a staple commodity, the want of money, & c....It is in your power to say of your poore people in New England, they shall not dye." The Court also feared that the commission was part of a design "to father all the combustible matter of discontented spirits among us to one...." Members complained that the commission had gone against the wishes of the king and would lie to him about their actions.<sup>75</sup>

These fears of conspiracy were further fueled by growing political factionalism within the colony itself. The commonwealth faction, dominated by agrarian interests and merchants lacking British connections, supported complete independence from royal control; they generally controlled the lower house. Their principal opponents, the moderates, were merchants with stronger economic ties to England; they supported greater cooperation with the Crown and controlled the Council. It was they, for instance, who were responsible for publishing the unpopular order that the royal oath be administered in every town, under the threat of

corporal punishment. A third group, even more royalist in sentiment, was composed of young merchants recently arrived from England. Bickering among the three groups was constant, as they clashed over various aspects of the judicial and political control of the colony; the factionalism continued for years, despite the persistence of Edmund Randolph and other royal officials seeking to place the colony under stricter English control during the late 1670s and 1680s. Events moved to a climax in May, 1681, however, in response to a new Crown attempt to return disputed Maine lands to claimant George Mason. Samuel Danforth, leader of the commonwealth faction, decided to make a bid for the governorship and engaged in considerable electioneering. He was defeated by the coastal town votes (predominantly moderate and merchant-oriented), but the campaign strengthened the faction's hold on the lower house. Attempts by the Council to initiate a more moderate, conciliatory policy toward England were defeated, and government came to a standstill. Continued refusal by the colony to obey royal commands on such issues as enforcement of the Navigation Acts made the task of the Massachusetts agents in London increasingly difficult, and it was inevitable that Randolph should eventually arrive in the colony with a writ of quo warranto against the charter.

Perhaps the most significant development during these years of bitter factionalism and threatened crown control, however, was the emergence of the Whig ideology as a

dominating element in the colony's responses to England's threats. From the beginning, the colonists had valued their charter and English liberties; it was in the midst of the post-1680 political upheavals, however, that these beliefs began to emerge as a cohesive, carefully formulated ideology. As early as 1661 the General Court stated that "Wee concieve the pattent (under God) to be the first & maine foundation of our civil politye here." The Court contended that the governor and company had, through the charter, been made into a body politic, with all the accompanying powers. Thus the members claimed full authority to govern without appeal based not on the power of God, not on divine right of delegation, but upon the rights granted by a legal, contractual document.<sup>77</sup> The recourse to charter rights was at least in part a defensive reaction, an attempt to protect what was increasingly seen as an independent polity; the colonists demanded specific rights which they felt were their due, rights which they had spent years of toil to acquire.

Concurrently, a different view of the relationship between the law and centralized power was emerging, a view which affirmed "that prerogative is not above law, but limited by it, and the law states in what cases prerogative is to take place...." The Boston town meeting, instructing its representatives to the General Court in 1679, ordered them to assume no arbitrary powers, to respect the charter,

and not to infringe upon the liberties and privileges of the people.<sup>78</sup> Arbitrary power was thus increasingly being circumscribed by corporate, legal, and popular governing bodies, a practice reflected more and more in political theory.

These ideological developments were revealed only tentatively and infrequently, however, during the 1660s and 1670s; they reached maturity and an explosive climax during the Andros tenure and the Glorious Revolution. The long-range causes of the Dominion and subsequent revolt have been detailed both here and elsewhere; the immediate, precipitant factors, however, bear some further discussion. When news of the writ of quo warranto issued against the charter first arrived in the colony, the domestic split polarized even further, as merchants and moderates joined in a vote of submission and radicals reaffirmed their position, making the task of Thomas Dudley's interim government a difficult one.<sup>79</sup>

The measures imposed by Edmund Andros, the new royal governor, led only to further alienation, bringing an unusual degree of unity to the opposition organized against him. During an economic slump, for instance, he raised taxes on horses and cattle, a move that fell very hard on the small agricultural towns. He doubled the wine duty and expanded license requirements for taverns. Perhaps most important, Andros seriously alienated both moderates and merchants. He strictly enforced the navi-

gation acts and refused to yield to the demands of land speculators, who had hoped to gain economic relief through his government. General trade conditions, moreover, forced the closing of many small shops and bankrupted large numbers of merchants. Andros forbade town meetings (except for the annual election of officers), and his efforts to collect the higher taxes resulted in a serious uprising in Essex County; the cry in Ipswich, in fact, was "taxation without representation." Andros also negated all private land titles, stating that all patents must again be subject to approval by the king. The necessity of offering proof of ownership placed many landowners in the hands of avaricious clerks, often Andros's advisers, who greedily lined their own pockets. In his efforts to regulate trade, the governor also issued writs against Shrimpton, Russell, Lynde, and Sewall, all leading merchants, and removed New Englanders from all important provincial offices. The cruelest blow came, however, when he released all Indian prisoners and urged a general amnesty if they would lay down their arms. This was viewed as treachery of the basest sort; hostile Indians had served to strengthen a fragmented Puritan identity through their very existence.<sup>80</sup> Andros thus alienated the entire colony by his autocratic actions; merchants lost both past privileges and future riches, rising entrepreneurs lost their chance for economic success, and farmers and townsmen lost their rights to self-government and were forced to pay taxes. In none of these actions did



Andros consult the Massachusetts colonists themselves.

As a result, the intellectual reaction to the Dominion took on prophetic dimensions. A central feature of the regime was its role in uniting the factional elements of pre-Andros New England into a cohesive, oppositional unity, as societal differentiation was temporarily arrested in the face of external danger. Only the extreme royalists continued to support crown interference in Massachusetts affairs. To cement this union, a sophisticated ideological blend was molded from various elements of the colony's intellectual heritage. The themes most forcefully sounded were those of a popish plot, the inviolability of the charter and the ancient government of New England, the intrusion into the powers of local government, and the subversion of English liberties and the rights of the New England people. Thus the gentlemen leaders of the rebellion, seeking to justify their actions, argued that the Andros government was connected with the recent English popish plot, which had been organized to further "the Extinction of the Protestant Religion." To destroy a country of reformed churches like New England was an action "intoxicated with a Bigotry inspired into them by the great Scarlet Whore." Others envisioned a concerted French plot; the coming of the Andros government seemed to indicate clearly "that now a parcel of Strangers, some of them indigent enough, must come and inherit all that the people now in New-England and their Fathers before them, had laboured for.

Let the whole Nation judge, whether these Men were not driving on a French design, and had not fairly Erected a French Government." The plot was insidiously designed: "to get us within the reach of the desolation desired for us. It was no improper thing that we should first have our Charter Vacated, and the hedge which kept us from the wild Beasts of the field, effectually broken down." All Englishmen believed in the sacredness of constitutional government; now England itself was threatening to destroy that protection which, through the colony's charter, had helped stave off chaos and destruction. For no apparent reason the oppressors had begun "to damp and spoyl our trade...." The governor "and his far-fetched Instruments that were growing rich among us, would gravely inform us, that it was not for his Majesties Interest that we should thrive."<sup>81</sup> When Andros sought to tax Ipswich and other towns without allowing them representation, he was forced to arrest several resisters who, when they pleaded "the privilege of Englishmen not to be taxed without their consent, they were told that the laws of England would not follow them, to the End of the Earth...." The town itself, meeting to protest the Andros actions, argued "that the said Act doth infringe their Liberty, as free born English Subjects of His Majesty by interfering with the Statue Laws of the Land, by which it was Enacted that no taxes should be levied upon the Subjects without consent of an Assembly chosen by the Freeholders for assessing of the Same...."<sup>82</sup>

The colonists felt, and indeed were told, that they were but slaves; the colony deserved none of the rights of the Magna Charta or the justice and judgment of a happy and durable constitution. They were brought to the brink of despair "when instead of defending them in their just Right and Properties those in the late Government fought to turn them out of their Lands and possessions upon which under God they had their dependence for a necessary livelihood."<sup>83</sup>

As a result of this severe ideological and economic deprivation, the accession of William and Mary to the English throne forced two radical changes. First, a new and high regard for things English emerged; second, the colonists were revived by a strengthened belief in the sacredness of New England itself. Obviously, such drives were both ambivalent and in at least partial contradiction to each other, but the need for unity and emotional security blurred this problem. A further result was to heighten the emotional dependence upon the king; William's role attained an eminence beyond the possibilities of reality, as he was "to preserve the three Kingdoms from the horrible brinks of Popery and Slavery, and to bring to a Condign punishment those worst of men, by whom English Liberties have been destroyed ...." This formulation helped promote a necessary emotional catharsis in the wake of rebellion, as the leaders asserted that they had only done their duty "to God and our Country ...." The original charter, these men believed, had promised the settlers' material rewards and guaranteed English civil

rights to their posterity. Thus New Englanders, "the soberest sort of People," a "Laborious and Industrious people," a people who could tame a wilderness, were simply defending their inheritance; they were, above all, a "People flourishing in their simplicity, honesty, and integrity..." forced into direct action because their government had failed them.<sup>84</sup> As one anonymous pamphleteer noted, "where the People are so corrupted and depraved by the Debauchery and Malignity of the Government, that there is hardly any thing can be heard of, but Quarrels, Contentions and Suits of Law...Instead of increasing, they decrease daily both in Riches and People..." It was therefore evident to the men concerned "that it's not so much the Air which people live in that corrupts their Manners, as some shallow-brain'd Politicians will have it, but it's the Evil Government, Evil Communications and bad Examples by which Men corrupt one another..." William's accession would mean the end of such happenings; politics, in the secular, corrupt sense of the term, was to be abolished.<sup>85</sup> Most significant, though, is the way in which these men focused attention for the colony's problems on the government; a sympathetic, centralized ruling force remained crucial to the success of the colony.

New England thus forged a new ideological unity, both to conquer the internal divisions plaguing it and to heal the split between the colony and the mother country. The colonists projected their own problems onto Andros, James

II, and the French, who bore the blame for domestic factionalism and the decline of traditional society; these subjects of suspicion themselves provided sufficient justification for colonial conspiratorial fears. Most important, the citizens of the Bay Colony rejected the narrow Puritan mission and turned instead to a new ideological focus in an effort to save their splintering society. Their reassessment of the colony's position in the world, moreover, reflects the existence of several important trends common to modernizing societies. Group development, for instance, generally rests on the growth of conscious rather than unconscious bonds. Through the creation of such ties, stable boundaries emerge and clarify the group's identity.<sup>86</sup> Apparently early Puritanism had reached this stage of development and had maintained it for more than a few years. Ideological consistency was buttressed by numerous elements characteristic of traditional societies; in the early years of the colony political, social, and economic roles were ascriptive, particular, and diffuse. Anxiety-laden responses to the reappearance of modernizing trends, however, led to a decline in the affect-response of Puritan society as a group, producing a crisis of cohesion. With the group no longer serving cathartic purposes, ego instability set in.<sup>87</sup>

Translated into historical terms, this simply means that Puritanism was no longer supplying the desired order against a chaotic world, the deep-felt need for emotional

succor; the individual's sense of control over events was thus weakened. The recourse to an emphasis on place and time, on secular achievement, and on a transformed ideological framework aided in the creation of new group boundaries. Collective rituals, for example, reflect this defensive process against group decay by heightening the sense of cohesion and united purpose. More explicitly, the emphasis on New England as a permanently established settlement reflected "the aggregation of independently defined, specifically outlined, traditional primordial groups into larger, more diffuse units whose implicit frame of reference is not the local scene but the "nation"--in the sense of the whole society encompassed by the new civil state."<sup>88</sup> While this development attained greater urgency in the period after 1692, its roots are clearly evident during these earlier years, as the traditional structures of Puritanism began to disintegrate and new, differentiated interest groups emerged, bound by a more functional, integrative ideology.

Such new ideologies are crucial to the process of social re-integration. Drawing essentially upon traditional sources, they use familiar symbols to reassert individual identity and group uniqueness. The new symbols retain the same function of sacrality and guarantees of collective security, legitimizing the emerging new power structure.<sup>89</sup>

Of course, in terms of modernization, the new ideology loses a certain amount of the power of legitimation. Religion could impose validity on all of reality, while political ideology, faced a more differentiated society (and in this case, an already more secularized religious code in the form of Protestantism), loses some of religion's stabilizing power. This is precisely the reason for the continued use of traditional terms; references to organic society and English liberties fostered the belief of continuity between the England of the past and the Massachusetts of the future.

Similarly, the role of the General Court in these years can only be understood in the context of complex social and ideological developments. Its emergence as an achievement-oriented, differentiated political body, a process which shall be discussed more fully in the next chapter, has been substantially documented. The impetus for this growth, however, remains ambiguous. Government was important in Puritan thought; the House of Deputies clearly sought to improve its position relative to the more traditionally oriented Assistants, and the sense of "corporation and community as a legal, and historical entity" was a major facet of seventeenth-century Puritan thought. Equally important, however, was the emergence of a "crisis of legitimacy" which occurred in the face of attempted increases in governmental power by Great Britain. Perhaps the paradox has been stated most aptly by Georges Balandier:

Each total society is in relation with the world outside itself; it is, directly or at a distance, in relation with other societies, that it regards as foreign or hostile, as a danger to its security and sovereignty. As a result of this external threat, it is led not only to organize its defense and its allegiances, but also to exalt its unity, cohesion and distinctive features. Power, which is necessary for the reasons of internal order..., takes form and is reintroduced under the pressure of external dangers--real and/or supposed. This power and the symbols that are associated with it give society the means of affirming its internal cohesion and of expressing its "personality", the means of protecting itself against and relating to the outside world.<sup>90</sup>

According to this line of reasoning, the political structure of late seventeenth-century Massachusetts arose as a response to threats of external coercion. The resultant decay of traditional authority relationships, epitomized in the personalized rule of Winthrop and the magistrates, was offset somewhat by the strident emphasis on unity in the Whig ideology.

It will come as no surprise, then, that the Glorious Revolution can also be seen as a response to the various initial thrusts of modernization. The Revolution marked a crucial turning point in the development of the Whig ideology as an alternative vision of reality; it presaged as well the conflict of court and country which was to dominate the politics of the early eighteenth century. Conflict itself, in fact, has been viewed by some scholars as a unique and valuable form of socialization. From this vantage point the entire struggle of the colony with England can be viewed as



a process of "full differentiation of the [colonial] personality from the outside world." Conflict strengthens group consciousness, awareness, and boundaries; it permits "the maintenance of relationships under conditions of stress, thus preventing group dissolution through the withdrawal of hostile participants." In the midst of increased differentiation, secularization, and diversity, conflict gave the colony the opportunity to project its internal aggression onto the mother country.<sup>91</sup> The process was made all the easier by the obvious fact that the conflict was a truly realistic one, thus permitting unrealistic sentiments, of anxiety and fear, to be released more conveniently. The presence of a realistic "danger" allows the group to pull together despite internal differences. It allows the group to imagine "that the love object has died not because of our own fantasy sadistic attacks against it, but because of the evil magic of the enemy."<sup>92</sup> Splitting the world into friend and enemy consequently relieves the burden of ambivalence aroused by the guilt of having failed one's ancestors.

As a whole, then, this chapter has represented a tentative attempt to trace the initial decline of a traditional, Gemeinschaft society. The early years of the Massachusetts Bay colony were clearly reflective of a "sacred" society, medieval in its basic concepts of authority and social relationships. Family life, the town, and the local church all characterized social and economic structures; rules were straightforward in content and disposition, and a unified

religious mission legitimated the entire society. Identity was rooted in firm object relations with the world; whatever the moral shortcomings of early Puritan policies towards Quakers and other minority groups, they did create a relatively stable, secure world.

This stability, however, was not to last. Social and economic differentiation, together with the initial growth of the division of labor and British imperial intrusion, prompted the activation of a modernized political body. Concurrently, social roles became more specialized. As a result, society entered a state of severe disequilibrium and multiple dysfunction. In one sense, the period also witnessed a crisis of Puritanism itself. As a radical outgrowth of Protestantism, the movement had rejected the solutions of Catholicism and diminished the institutional role of the church as a dispenser of divine grace. But it still had to deal with the disruptive forces of modernization. As the religious nomos faded and God's divine plan lost its reassuring certainty, the influence of secularism spread, the values of the Puritan fathers were violated, and the affective succor of the group was lost. The resultant anxiety failed in its repressive role; the dominance of the id, or the desire for the real and imagined emotional satisfaction of the earlier years, was the final result.

### "A Note on Ritual"

The function of ritualism in transitional societies will be fully discussed in a later chapter; in order adequately to understand this period of early Massachusetts history, however, we must devote some final comments to ritual's role in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Ritualistic covenant renewals were extremely common by 1700, and several scholars have noted generally their purpose in promoting social unity.<sup>93</sup> The job of ritual is clear; when historical events become too large or terrifying "to be given meaningful expression through the culture's available symbols..." there arises a need to reaffirm the collective sense of immortality which guides the group. The group mastery of the "death anxiety" requires shared institutionalized values; when there is a gap between outer cultural life and inner psychological reality, "psychohistorical dislocation" occurs and results in the "intensification of death anxiety and the need to deny the reality of death." Traumatic events, natural catastrophes, and other such occurrences speed the development of anxiety.<sup>94</sup>

One answer to the problem lies in the resort to ritual, which "creates a dream world that raises life to the highest pitch and intensity...because shrewd dramatic meaning is man's perception and enactment of the holy."<sup>95</sup> Ritualistic

African tribal dances, such as those of the Swazi, both affirm the unity of the nation and symbolically represent the seeds of strife. Such ritual symbolizes reality and supposedly influences the course of these conflicts, staving off disaster and reaffirming the moral values of the system.<sup>96</sup> Through ritual, then, man renews his dependency on the group and masters nature through the magical act. The fantasized mother-child reunion is restored. The covenant renewal reproduced on the following page was typical of Puritan attempts to re-assert the protective primacy of the church group.

New England Ritualism - A Late Seventeenth-Century  
Covenant Renewal (Magnalia, II, 332-333)

"We, who, thro' the exceeding riches of the grace and patience of God, do continue to be a church of Christ, being now assembled in the holy presence of God, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, after humble confession of our manifold breaches of the covenant, before the Lord our God, and earnest supplication of pardoning mercy thro' the blood of Christ, and deep acknowledgment of our great unworthiness to be own'd to be the Lord's covenant-people; also acknowledging our own inability to keep covenant with God or to perform any spiritual duty unless the Lord Jesus do enable us thereto by his Spirit dwelling in us; and being awfully sensible, that it is a dreadful thing for sinful dust and ashes personally to transact with the infinitely glorious Majesty of Heaven and Earth; we do in humble confidence of his gracious assistance and acceptance thro' Christ, each one of us, for ourselves, and jointly as a church of the living God, and one with another, in manner following, &c.:

"We do give up ourselves to that God, whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son and

Holy Ghost, the one only true and living God, and to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, as our only blessed Saviour, prophet, priest and King, over our souls, and only mediator of the covenant of grace, promising (by the help of his spirit and grace) to cleave unto God, as our chief good, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, by faith, and gospel-obedience, as becometh his covenant-people for ever. We do also give up our offering unto God in Jesus Christ, avouching the Lord to be *our God* and the *God of our children*, and ourselves with our children to be *his people*; humbly adoring the grace of God, that we and our offering with us may be looked upon to be *the Lord's*.

"We do, also, give up ourselves *one to another* in the Lord, and according to the will of God; freely covenanting and binding ourselves to walk together as a *right ordered congregation and church of Christ*, in all the ways of his worship, according to the holy rules of the word of God; promising in *brotherly love* to watch over one another's souls faithfully, and to submit ourselves unto the *discipline and government* of Christ in his church, and duly to attend all those ordinances which Christ hath instituted in his church, and commended to be attended by his people, according to the order of the gospel and degrees of communion unto which we have attained; not resting in measures attained, but pressing after all. And whereas the messengers of these churches, who have met together in the name of Christ, to enquire into the reason of God's *controversie* with his people, have taken notice of many *provoking evils*, as the procuring causes of the judgments of God upon New-England; so far as we or any of us have been guilty of provoking God by any sin therein discovered to us, we desire from our hearts to bewail it before the Lord, and humbly to entreat for pardoning mercy, for the sake of the 'blood of the everlasting covenant.' And as an expedient to the reformation of those evils, or whatsoever else, have provoked the eyes of God's glory amongst us, we do freely engage and promise, as in the presence of God;

"First, That we will (Christ's helping) endeavour every one of us to *reform* our heart and life, by seeking to mortifie all our sins, and labouring to walk more closely with God than ever yet we have done; and will continue to worship God in publick, private, secret; and this without formality or hypocrisy: and, more fully and faithfully than heretofore, to discharge all covenant duties, one to another in *church communion*.

"Secondly, To walk before God in *our houses, with a perfect heart*, and that we will uphold the worship of God therein continually, according as he in his word doth require; both in respect of prayer and reading the Scriptures, that so the word of God may dwell richly in us: and we will do what in us lies to bring up our children for Christ, that they may be such as have the Lord's name put upon them by a solemn dedication to God in Christ, ought to be. And will therefore (as need shall be) *catechise, exhort, and charge* them to the fear of the Lord; and endeavour to set so *holy example* before them, and be much in prayer for their conversion and salvation.

"Thirdly, To endeavour to be pure from the 'sins of the times,' especially those sins which have been by the late synod solemnly declared and evidenced to be the evils that have brought the judgments of God upon New-England; and in our places to endeavour the suppression thereof, and be careful so to walk, as that we may not give occasion to others to sin, or speak evil of our holy profession.

"Now, that we may observe and keep this sacred covenant and all the branches of it inviolable for ever, we desire to deny ourselves, and to depend wholly upon the power of the eternal Spirit of Grace, and on the free mercy of God, and merit of Christ Jesus: and where we shall fail, there to wait upon the Lord Jesus for pardon, acceptance, and healing for his name's sake."

## NOTES

1. The literature on the motives for migration is extensive, though not as well developed as it should be. The most recent (and most astute) summary can be found in D.G. Allen, In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferral of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay, 1600-1690. (Chapel Hill, 1980). Also see Mildred Campbell, Social Origins of Some Early Americans, " in G. N. Smith, ed. Seventeenth-Century America (Chapel Hill, 1959), 63-89; Timothy Breen and Stephen Foster, "Moving to the New World; The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., (1973), 189-222; Sumner C. Powell, Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town (Middletown, Ct., 1953); Morgan, Puritan Dilemma; Labaree, Colonial Massachusetts, ch. 1; Rutman, American Puritanism, ch. 1; Bremer, The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards (New York, 1976), ch. 1; and finally, of course, Winthrop, The History of New England from 1630 to 1649, 2 vols., ed. James Savage (Boston, 1953).
2. Allen, In English Ways, 23ff., 55ff., 89ff., and ch. 6.
3. Ibid., ch. 6.
4. Darrett Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia, 1970), 74. The impact of Puritanism on English merchants and artisans cannot be underestimated. Through its attacks on the tithe system and church courts, for instance, the movement freed these individuals from restrictive economic bonds while it also offered them psychological assurances of a more traditional nature. The subject is clearly a complex one deserving of much greater exploration, but see Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," passim; Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (New York, 1958); Society and Puritanism in pre-Revolutionary England (New York, 1964); Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642 (New York, 1967).
5. Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., The Puritans Puritanism, 42-45.
6. The characteristics are drawn from Rutman, American Puritanism, 42-45.
7. Allen, In English Ways, ch. 1.
8. Ibid., ch. 3.

9. Ibid., ch. 4.
10. Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York, 1970), passim; Powell, Puritan Village, passim.
11. Benjamin W. Labaree, Colonial Massachusetts: A History (New York, 1979) 48, 60ff. Also see Lockridge, A New England Town, and Philip Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Mass. (Ithaca, 1970).
12. Greven, Four Generations, "Conclusion", and passim.
13. Lockridge, "Land, Population, and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1790," Past and Present, no. 39 (April, 1968), 62-80. Patricia T. O'Malley, "Rowley, Massachusetts, 1639-1739: Dissent, Division, and Delimitation in a Colonial Town" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston College, 1974), notes that families over a span of three generations in Rowley consistently had long lives, low mortality rates, high birth rates, and large families.
14. Most of the towns referred to in the above citations followed this pattern.
15. Again, most of the town studies support this contention. Also see Michael Zuckerman, "The Social Context of Democracy in Colonial America," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXV (1968), 523-544, and esp. B. K. Brown, "The Controversy over the Franchise in Puritan Mass., 1954-74," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXIII (1976), 212-241.
16. All of the town studies, particularly Lockridge and Allen, indicate such practices. Also see Labaree, Colonial Massachusetts, 60ff.; Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1955), 38-39, 47, 61; Albert H. Whitakers, "The Integration of Social Ideas and Economic Reality in Early Settlement Massachusetts, 1628-1648" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1972), 119-134, 149-150.
17. Bailyn, New England Merchants, 20-23; Douglas R. McManis, Colonial New England: A Historical Geography (New York, 1975), 108ff.; John Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity," in Morgan, ed., Puritan Political Ideas (Indianapolis, 1965), 81-83; Bernard Bailyn, ed., The Apologia of Robert Keayne: The Self-Portrait of a Puritan Merchant (New York, 1964).
18. James Henretta, The Evolution of American Society: An Interdisciplinary Analysis (Lexington, 1973), 31-32.

19. Winthrop, Christian Charity, 198.
20. David T. Konig, Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692 (Chapel Hill, 1979), 18ff.; Allen, In English Ways, ch. 7; George Lee Haskins, Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts (New York, 1980), 142ff.; Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Dilemma (New York, 1958), 104ff.
21. On the Hingham Militia Case, Robert Wall, Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade (New Haven, 1972), 93ff.
22. Konig, Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692 (Chapel Hill, 1979), 21ff.; Winthrop The History of New England from 1630-1649, James Savage, ed. (Boston, 1853) in Morgan, ed., Puritan Political Ideas, 120, 129, 149ff.; Stephen Foster, Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England (New Haven, 1971), 37; Morgan, The Puritan Dilemma, 108ff.
23. Timothy Breen, "Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXII (1975), 3-28. Breen notes that a disproportionate percentage of the original settlers came from English areas where local government had been disrupted by Charles I, and thus sought to preserve local control in a traditional setting. For other arguments on the matter, see Konig, Law and Society, 23ff.; Allen, In English Ways, 205ff.
24. Powell, Puritan Village, 144; Allen, English Ways, 89ff.
25. See all of the town works mentioned thus far, particularly Greven, Four Generations. Also, Rutman, "The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of the Early American 'community,'" in William L. O'Neill, ed., Insights and Parallels: Problems and Issues of American Social History (Minneapolis, 1973), 57-88.
26. All of the town studies illustrate the crucial role played by the center, and increased geographical mobility to the edges of towns certainly hastened the decline of communalism.
27. Many of the references cited in the introduction make this argument, but the most valuable and cogently argued is Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy (New York, 1967).
28. The literature on this subject is, of course, enormous. One must begin with Perry Miller, The New



England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1939), and most particularly The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Cambridge, 1953). Michael McGiffert's comments have also been of great help, and his article contains the most extensive bibliographical citations on the subject; see McGiffert, "Puritan Studies in the 1960s," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser, XXVII (1970), 36-67. The following works have also provided varying degrees of insight: Stephen Foster, "New England and the Challenge of Heresy, 1630-1660: The Puritan Crisis in Transatlantic Perspective," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser, XXXVIII (1981), 624-660; Foster, Their Solitary Way (New Haven, 1981); Daniel Boorstin, The Americans; The Colonial Experience (New York, 1958); Gene Wise, American Historical Explanations 2nd ed. (Minneapolis, 1980); Alan Simpson, Puritanism in Old and New England (Chicago, 1955); McGiffert, "The Problem of the Covenant in Puritan Thought: Peter Bulkeley's Gospel-Covenant," New England Historical and Genealogical Register, CXXX (1976), 107-129; McGiffert, ed., God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety; Being the Autobiography and Journal of Thomas Shepherd (Amherst, 1972); David Hall, The Faithful Shepherd; A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill, 1972); Rutman, American Puritanism; Francis Bremer, The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards (New York, 1976); Sacvan Bercovitch, Puritan Origins of the American Self (New Haven, 1975); Timothy Breen, The Character of the Good Ruler: A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in New England, 1630-1730 (New Haven, 1970); Breen, "The Transfer of Culture: Chance and Design in Shaping Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1660," New England Historical and Genealogical Register, CXXXII (1978), 3-17; Breen and Stephen Foster, "The Puritans' Greatest Achievement: A Study of Social Cohesion in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," The Journal of American History, LX (1973), 3-22; J. R. Jones, The Shattered Synthesis: New England Puritanism Before the Great Awakening (New Haven, 1974); Paul Lucas, Valley of Discord: Church and Society along the Connecticut River, 1636-1725 (Hanover, N.H., 1976); Robert Middlekauff, The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596-1728 (New York, 1971); Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, 1956); Morgan, Puritan Dilemma.

29. All of Miller's works are relevant here. Also see Simpson, Puritanism; Rutman, American Puritanism, 10ff.; McGiffert, "American Puritan Studies"; Bremer, Puritan Experiment.

30. Winthrop, History; Rutman, American Puritanism, 19ff., 52ff.; Labaree, Colonial Massachusetts, 14ff.; Simpson, Puritanism in Old and New England.

31. Daniel Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (New York, 1958), part one; Paul Conkin, Puritans and Pragmatists, 2-3; Bremer, Puritan Experiment, 28; Simpson, Puritanism, ch. 1; Robert Michaelson, "Changes in the Puritan Concept of Calling or Vocation," New England Quarterly, XXVI (1953), 315-336; McGiffert, "American Puritan Studies," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., XXVII (1970), 53, 54.

32. On the concept of tension in Puritanism, see Richard Reinitz, ed., Tensions in American Puritanism (New York, 1970). On Edwards, see ch. VI.

33. George Wingate Chase, A History of Haverhill, Mass., from its first settlement in 1640 to the year 1860 (Haverhill, 1861), 92-93, 98.

34. Edward Perzel, "The First Generation of Settlements in Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1633-1660" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1965), 58ff, 62, 66, 69.

35. Greven, Four Generations, *passim*; Lockridge, A New England Town, 81-82, 145. Not all communities, of course, were equally victimized by these changes. In at least one small rural community, the eldest son received the family land, and younger brothers received assistance in finding land elsewhere or in entering a trade. In this way, land remained the center of society and traditional values prevailed. See Christopher Jedrey, The World of John Cleaveland: Family and Community in Eighteenth-Century New England. (New York, 1979). It remains to be shown how common or successful such adaptations were but it seems likely that they could occur only in areas with small populations and adequate occupational alternatives.

36. Powell, Puritan Village, 143ff.

37. Ibid., 153ff.

38. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town 1630-1649 (Chapel Hill, 1963), ch. 10; Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness: Urban Life in America, 1625-1742 (New York, 1936), 72, 81. Political centralization is well served by war and the resulting economic dislocations.

39. Richard Gildrie, Salem, Massachusetts: A Covenanted Community (Charlottesville, Va., 1974), 258ff, 299ff, 361ff, Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft (Cambridge, 1974), ch. 2; Donald Warner Koch, "Income Distribution and Political Structure in

Seventeenth-Century Salem, Mass.," Essex Institute Historical Collections, (1969), 52-65; William I. Davisson, "Essex County Price Trends: Money and Markets in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," Essex Institute Historical Collections, CIII (1967), 183-185.

40. Bailyn, New England Merchants, 38-39, 47, 61, 81, 95, 100, 104, 100-111, 136; Bridenbaugh, Cities, 41-42.

41. Bridenbaugh, Cities, 41-42.

42. Bailyn, New England Merchants, 195, 200-211; William Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England (Boston, 1890), 1, 326, 382; Joseph B. Felt, An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency (Boston, 1839), 13-14 30ff., 36-37. Felt also notes that there were frequent attempts made to ensure that money was not carried from the colony.

43. Theodore B. Lewis, Jr., "Massachusetts and the Glorious Revolution" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1967), 162; Massachusetts Archives, 60: 137, 138 138a.

44. Felt, Historical Account, 31-42, 44-47; Anon., Severals Relating to the Fund... (Boston, 1684), 1. For full details regarding Blackwell's Bank, see Bailyn, New England Merchants, 184.

45. Anon., Severals..., 4-5. The author gives some indication that the Bank was an attempt by incipient middle-class merchants to gather their strength; "young beginners are checked; good men laid open to temptations, and opportunities given to bad ones..."; Anon., A Discourse in Explanation of the Bank of Credit... (Boston, 1687), in Andrew W. Davis, ed., Colonial Currency Reprints, 1682-1751 (New York, 1971), c. 1910), I, 122, 124.

46. Ibid, 148.

47. Ronald W. Snell, "The County Magistracy in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts: 1692-1750" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1971); 11-13, 16, 18, 21, 25, 28, 30. See also Haskins, Law and Authority, 76ff., and David Thomas Konig, "Community, Custom, and the Common Law: Social Change and the Development of Land Law in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," American Journal of Legal History, XVIII, (1974), 137-139.

48. Konig, Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts, Essex County, 1629-1692 (Chapel Hill, 1979), ch. 2.

49. Ibid., 116, passim.

50. Ibid., xiii; Haskins, Law and Authority, 120, 132, 160-161, 199.

51. Preface of The Massachusetts Body of Liberties, in William H. Whitmore, ed., Colonial Laws of Mass.... (Boston, 1889), 32-61.

52. Wall, Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade; Morgan, Puritan Dilemma; W. R. Whitmore, Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1660-1686 (Boston, 1889), I, 55, 123, 127, 128, 154, 168, 186; II, 15, 17, 26, 27, 49, 51, 59, 109, 118, 132, 138, 143, 149, 158, 208, 211, 226, 248a, 243, 351.

53. Massachusetts Archives, X: 21-22, 48-51, 58, 62, 73ff., 83-84, 231, 254, 255, 430-431, 449, 446-447; Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England (Boston, 1854), IV, part II, 7.

54. Charles Hudson, The History of Marlborough (Boston, 1862), 45-49.

55. Archives, X: 106-107.

56. See David Hall, The Faithful Shepherd; Emory Elliott, Power and the Pulpit in Puritan New England (Princeton, 1975); Robert Pope, The Half-Way Covenant (Princeton, 1969); Richard C. Simmons, "Studies in the Massachusetts Franchise, 1681-1691" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1965), 31, 33, 37-38, 43, 45, 71-72.

57. Timothy Breen, Character of a Good Ruler, 74-79, 77; Wall, Crucial Decade, 82.

58. Massachusetts Archives, XLVIII:65, 70-71, 82-86, 118, 135-137, 143, 157, 166, 176-177.

59. William McLoughlin, New England Dissent (Cambridge, 1971), I, 19-24; Shurtleff, ed., Records, IV, pt. 1, 59, 388-389; Kai T. Erikson, Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance (New York, 1966), 130.

60. J. F. Maclear, "New England and the Fifth Monarchy: The Quest for the Millennium in Early American Puritanism," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd. Ser. XXXII (1975), 225-226, 230-238, 244-246, 218ff. 257-259; Shurtleff, ed., Records, IV, pt. II, 5-6; Maclear also relies also heavily on Joy Bourne Gilsdorf, "The Puritan Apocalypse: New England Eschatology in the Seventeenth Century"

(Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale, 1965), 66 and passim. Winthrop continued to believe in the success of the Puritan mission until his death.

61. On declining church membership, see Pope, Half-Way Covenant.

62. On covenant renewals see E. Brooks Holifield, The Covenant Sealed: The Development of Puritan Sacramental Theology in Old and New England, 1570-1720 (New Haven, 1974).

63. J. R. Jones, The Shattered Synthesis: New England Puritanism Before the Great Awakening (Yale, 1974), 33ff., 56ff.; William Hubbard, The Happiness of a People in the Wisdom of Their Rulers... (Boston, 1676), 18, 26, 41

64. Hall, Faithful Shepherd, passim. Also see the works cited in note 28.

65. McGiffert, "The Problem of the Covenant," New England Historical and Genealogical Register CXXX (1976), 107-128.

66. The standard work on the jeremiad, of course, is Perry Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province. But significant revisions have been made in Miller's perception by Sacvan Bercovitch, The American Jeremiad (Madison, 1976). For an effective defense of Miller's viewpoint, see Wise, American Historical Explanations, 327ff.

67. Bercovitch, American Jeremiad, xiv, 23, 43 and passim.

68. Bercovitch, Puritan Origins of the American Self (New Haven, 1978), 43ff.

69. Bercovitch, American Jeremiad, 4-5; Miller, "Errand into the Wilderness," in Errand into the Wilderness (New York, 1956), 1-15.

70. Wall, "The Membership of the Massachusetts General Court, 1634-1686" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1965) 247-248, 102, 105ff., 222ff.

71. Samuel Willard, quotation in Seymour Van Dyken, Samuel Willard: Preacher of Orthodoxy in an Era of Change (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1971), 179-180; Nicholas Noyes, land's Duty and Interest (Boston, 1698), 53. Noyes's Eng-fatalistic perception of the changes besetting New England is worth quoting: "As there grew declension and degeneration

among the people, notwithstanding all that God had done for them, and notwithstanding all done for maintaining and transmitting pure religion to succeeding Generations; so hath it befallen New-England."

72. Robert Redfield, The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago, 1962), 53; the theory is discussed in Max Gluckmann, Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society (Chicago, 1965), 7-8.

73. Gluckmann, Politics, 227, 254ff.; also George R. Krupp, "The Bereavement Reaction: A Special Case of Separation Anxiety; Sociocultural Considerations," in Warner Muensterberger and Sidney Axelrod, The Psychoanalytic Study of Society (New York, 1962), II, 63, 65.

74. Wall, Crucial Decade; Morgan, Puritan Dilemma; Lewis, Massachusetts and the Glorious Revolution, 1-18; Viola Barnes, The Dominion of New England (New Haven, 1923), 6ff.; David Lovejoy, The Glorious Revolution in America (New York, 1972), chs. 1 & 7; Winthrop, The History of New England from 1630-1649, II, 294. Winthrop was always fiercely protective of the rights of the colony. While on this occasion, he claimed the Bay Colony's right to make its own laws, on another occasion he cast his vision on higher ground. "Again though plantations be bodies corporate..., yet they are also above the rank of an ordinary corporation. If one of London should say before the mayor and aldermen, or before the common council, you are but a corporation, this would be taken as a contempt. And among the Romands, Grecians, and other nations, colonies have been esteemed other than towns, yea than many cities, for they have been the foundations of great commonwealths." (II, 304.)

75. Shurtleff, ed., Records, 129-133, 233, 174-175, 189ff.; "Danforth Papers," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, VIII, 2nd Series, 99.

76. Lewis, Glorious Revolution, 24ff., 70-82, 89-104; Lovejoy, Glorious Revolution, chs. 7-8; Paul Lucas, "Colony or Commonwealth: Massachusetts Bay, 1661-1666," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd. Ser., XXIV (1967), 88-117.

77. Shurtleff, ed., Records, IV, pt. II, 26.

78. A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston Covering the Boston Records from 1660-1701 (Boston, 1881), 133. Also see Shurtleff, ed., Records, 196, 289-282, 495-496.

79. Lewis, Massachusetts and the Glorious Revolution, 142, 150; Barnes, Dominion of New England, 93, 156, 169, 87. Robert N. Toppan, ed., "Dudley Records," Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, 2nd Ser., XIII (1899), 254. indicates that "factious and seditious people also resisted

in Boxford, Gloucester, and Haverhill.

80. Lewis, "Mass. and the Glorious Revolution," 225-228; Lovejoy, The Glorious Revolution, ch. 10. On the importance of Indians to Puritan Identity, see Richard Slotkin, Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of The American Frontier, 1600-1860; (Middletown, 1973), and Neal J. Salisbury, "Conquest of the 'Savage'"; Puritans, Puritan Missionaries, and Indians, 1620-1680" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1972).

81. Nathaniel Byfield, An Account of the Late Revolution in New England, Together with the Declaration of the Gentlemen...(Boston, 1689), 11, 12. Significantly, Byfield was to become a major judicial ally of Elisha Cooke, Jr. and the popular party to the struggle with royal power during the first half of the eighteenth century. He was typical of the rising young entrepreneurs who led the resistance to royal power; the significance of this class resistance will be discussed more fully in a later chapter. Also see, The Revolution Justified...(Boston, 1691, 56-60; A Vindication of New England...(Boston, 1691), 57.

82. Byfield, An Account, 13; Revolution Justified, 12.

83. Byfield, An Account, 12, 14, 16.

84. Ibid., 18-19; Revolution Justified, 64; Vindication, 10, 12; A Narrative of the Proceedings...(Boston, 1691), 6, 11, 13.

85. Narrative of the Proceedings, 15; The Humble Address of the Publicans of New England...(London, 1691), 26.

86. See the appropriate sections in the "Introduction."

87. Graham S. Gibbard, John J. Hartman, and Richard D. Mann, eds., Analysis of Groups (Washington, 1974), 6.

88. Ibid., 164.

89. Berger, Sacred Canopy, passim; Georges Balandier, Political Anthropology (New York, 1970), 32, 36-37; J. H. Eliot, "Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe," Past and Present, no. 42 (1969), 48-49; J.G.A.Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition (Princeton, 1975).

90. Eliot, "Revolution and Continuity," 49, Balandier, Political Anthropology, 30. It has been noted that traditional societies decay for a variety of reasons: internal

dynamics, or intrusion by a foreign society are perhaps the most important. Pursuing its own interests, the colonial power develops policies which deeply affect the colony's life, resulting in national markets, commercialized agriculture, and centralized administrative and tax systems; the process may be speeded up by war. For a full discussion of these issues, see Massachusetts Institute of Technology Study Group, "The Transitional Process," in Claude E. Welch, Jr., Political Modernization: A Reader of Comparative Political Change 2nd ed. (Belmont, California, 1971), 20-46.

91. Lewis Coser, The Function of Social Conflict (New York, 1971), 38, 39.

92. Ibid., 39, 53-54; Franco Fornari, The Psyanalysis of War (New York, 1974, c. 1966), xviii, 26.

93. The most important, of course, is the work of Perry Miller in The New England Mind: From Colony to Province.

94. Robert Jay Lifton and Eric Olson, Living and Dying, (New York, 1974), 32, 97.

95. Ernest Becker, The Structure of Evil: An Essay on the Unification of the Sciences of Man (New York, 1968), 213.

96. Gluckman, Politics, Law, and Ritual, 254.



## CHAPTER II

### 'RENDER TO CAESAR...': THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURES, 1692-1740

After the Glorious Revolution, Massachusetts experienced several years of social turmoil; this instability served as catalyst for a series of highly significant political developments. Communal forms of government and social control had, to be sure, undergone gradual decline during the seventeenth century, but the chaos of the final decade, exacerbated by the imposition of an externally appointed royal government, strengthened both the need and the desire for a more centralized, more directive form of secular government. More than ever, political forms reassured. They embodied the needs and hopes of men through constitutional and statutory guarantees.<sup>1</sup>

These developments were reflected in a variety of events during the period under consideration. The social and economic disruptions engendered by King William's and Queen Anne's Wars, for instance, created a financial and emotional need for more centralized political control. In part, these needs were answered by the new court system and the growing significance of counties and justices of the peace in Massachusetts government. But the crisis was accentuated by the failure of the ruling elite--merchants, council members, and royal governors--to successfully resolve the continuing

social problems of the early eighteenth century. To fill the resultant power vacuum, Elisha Cooke, Jr., guided the popular party to political supremacy. Portraying themselves as protectors of the people's liberties and material well-being he and his allies guided the institutional growth of the House of Representatives to ultimate control over a great variety of governmental powers during the 1720s and 1730s. A major portion of the chapter will trace these developments and the economic difficulties that aided Cooke's rise to power. The chapter will conclude with a detailed study of the 1740 Land Bank crisis, a powerful example of the growing polarization of social classes and the emergence of a domestic ruling elite in eighteenth-century Massachusetts.

The movement toward governmental centralization received immediate impetus from the colony's increased involvement in King William's War, its second participation in a major conflict in two decades. The inhabitants had recovered neither psychologically nor materially from the impact of King Philip's War and the traumatic events of the 1680s; the new war strained the colony's resources still further, and petitions for individual and group relief became a commonplace concern of provincial government. War also brought supply problems, impressment, and desertion. In May 1690, for instance, Edmund Quincy wrote the governor that he feared the colony's youth would forcibly refuse impressment. Refugees were another concern, particularly on the Maine and New Hampshire frontiers.<sup>2</sup>

The stresses of war created other problems as well. Financial strain was evident; several towns requested partial or total remission of tax rates, due to the expenses of fortification and the need of supplying troops and supporting refugees.<sup>3</sup> The colony in general opposed Governor Phips's orders to construct a fort at Pemaquid because of the cost.<sup>4</sup> Embargoes on trade imposed by the colonial government were frequent, as were orders allowing impressment of goods from storehouses and ships. Indeed, the colony remained solvent only through direct and extensive efforts by private citizens. William Stoughton, Samuel Sewall, John Foster, and Peter Sergeant were among those who lent the colony large sums of money in return for the rights to collect the impost and excises. Elisha Hutchinson, Samuel Gedney, and Jonathan Whalley spent their own money to outfit troops and were reimbursed only much later. By March 1697, the province was indebted to the tune of almost £7000 with an empty Treasury; speculation was rampant, forcing many to part with their bills of credit at one-third discount. Extensive debates over the creation of a supply fund took place in the House,<sup>5</sup> marking an important step towards the realization of the need for a regulated governmental source of income.

Clearly unable to deal with the situation themselves New Englanders turned to the mother country for help. Merchants petitioned the queen for assistance in their burdensome efforts to aid the Empire in its struggle against the

French.<sup>6</sup> The governor and the General Court found it necessary to ask the English ministry for charitable contributions for war victims.<sup>7</sup> Britain's failure to respond to these colonial pleas undoubtedly threatened both the colony's self-esteem and whatever chance the colonists had of forming a positive image of England as a protective parent. Such insecurities, in fact, may have been crucial in spurring the drive for self-government that was to continue through the entire eighteenth century. As early as 1692, privateers were scavenging the coast, the French and Indians were harassing the frontiers, the government was deeply in debt, and "the minds of the people in general were seized with gloom and horror." The new charter was received with an understandable sigh of relief.<sup>8</sup>

Such conditions led ministers, particularly Cotton Mather, to plead for peace and unity among the colonists. Mather warned of the dangers of both internal corruption and external enemies: "We have Impair'd our Health by our Intemperancies; We have been Passionate, Revengeful, and Contentious towards others; We may have irritated them, with needless and vexing Law-Suits....We have been Sluggards in our Callings; the Poor have not had our Liberal Alms; We have not Pay'd our Debts. We have wrongfully taken or with-held what is not our own....By Fraud we have Cheated, or by Force we have Opprest, when we have had an Advantage in our Hands; and measured Right only by Might...." "Hence 'tis," Mather argued, "that we have been Discontent with our

Condition; & harboured in our Hearts, a Roving and a Raging Lust, after an undue Alteration of it." The various solutions he offered were paradoxical and symptomatic of a mind caught between tradition and modernity. He sought relief in a blissful afterlife; more concretely, he called for a "Serviceable man" to help his people, even to risk his life. Such a man would lead the government in acting "vigorously, and impartially to Execute the wholesome Laws, which the Successive General Courts have Enacted for the Suppression of all Vice among us; and to Encourage all Inferiour Officers, as Constable, Jury-men, Tything men, in the Discovery of all Offenders against those Holy Laws."<sup>9</sup>

Mather's concerns were answered indirectly by the growing authority of the General Court over the following fifty years. The arrival of the new royal charter in 1692<sup>10</sup> necessitated, of course, major governmental adjustments; England now held widespread political powers in the colony, including the power to appoint the governor, sheriffs, justices of the county courts, and justices of the peace, and many of the powers garnered by the House of Representatives during the seventeenth century were now withdrawn or made irrelevant. Immediately, however, the General Court passed a series of acts which sought to delineate its functional structure and to test the limits of the Crown's patience. The first act passed, for instance, contained several sections copied directly from the Magna Carta, and other passages vigorously asserted the Court's own rights and

privileges. The same act sought to claim for the Court complete control over all financial legislation and taxation. This act was disallowed, of course, but the Court did succeed in other areas. They empowered Boston town voters, for instance, to elect an annual county treasurer, who in matters of county taxes had superior jurisdiction over the sheriff and justices of the peace.<sup>11</sup>

One of the Court's major achievements was a substantial reorganization of the colony's legal structure in 1699, greatly improving the extent and quality of legal services and taking another step towards more rationalized government. A Superior Court of Judicature was established, and each county was provided with a general sessions court for criminal cases and a court of common pleas for civil matters. Each county also had its own probate court to deal with wills, court wards, and to resolve property disputes involving those dying intestate. Counties also now bore responsibility for supporting jails, sheriffs, highways, and bridges, and were obliged to call occasional conventions of town delegates to discuss and resolve matters of common interest. Indeed, the cost of maintaining county institutions amounted to a significant part of the tax burden, a clear indication that the locus of government was shifting away from the town and local level.<sup>12</sup>

The considerable role played by the justices of the peace in this new structure is of some interest. Justices were usually chosen from the best families of their county

and controlled many local patronage offices. As a class, they were well-to-do and well respected. To a certain extent, they represented a source of crown power within the House of Representatives, since the percentage of them elected to the House grew throughout the century. The extent of their power, though, was often limited; during times of upheaval, such as the 1740 Land Bank crisis, those who did not support the desires of their constituencies were soon evicted from their seats. It is also clear that they at least occasionally came into conflict with local citizens, as there were several instances in Boston during the 1720s alone when the justices were ordered by the General Court to reverse their decisions. Generally, such cases involved the granting of tavern and victualler's licenses, and seem to have particularly affected the lame and the widowed;<sup>13</sup> such tactics were hardly likely to win friends for the Crown.

Administratively, the justices were key intermediaries in the governmental system. They had crucial judicial functions and could try a broad range of criminal offenses personally; the bulk of their cases were concerned with debts and were fee-paid. The justices also took part in the Court of Sessions, which supervised towns in their various jurisdictions and validated town by-laws. These courts could also adjust taxes levied by the towns, determine what town would be obligated to support a particular pauper, and order towns to repair their roads; they could even call town meetings, levy local rates, build meetinghouses, and lay out

roads, levying the expenses of the town in each case. Finally, the Sessions also regulated the duties of town assessors and revenue collectors, and issued warrants to and imposed fines on various officials. Though county government made no attempt to supplant the towns as the primary unit of local administration, and though the justices themselves generally exercised restraint, it is clear that they did not hesitate to interfere when they felt it necessary. Their concerns during the eighteenth century, moreover, were rarely with religious issues or private morality, but almost exclusively with secular problems.<sup>14</sup>

While the General Court was beginning to rationalize its legal and domestic governmental structures and establish an elite to administer them, it was also engaged in numerous controversies with the royal governors; these conflicts gave the Court an opportunity to further define and clarify its own role within the colony. The first royal governor, Sir William Phips, was a man of earthy character and showed little tolerance for disobedient colonials; he failed to win the respect or confidence of the people.<sup>15</sup> William Stoughton also experienced a turbulent governorship (1694-1697); indeed, he sent a report to Parliament complaining of laws passed by the General Court that he viewed as repugnant to those of England and destructive of trade. He also noted the colony's refusal to transmit acts to England to accept their disallowance by the Crown, and advised that the Massachusetts charter be



revoked as a punishment for the colony's refusal to work within the imperial system. He was motivated in part, undoubtedly, by his close connections to the pre-Andros moderates and his dislike for a lower house dominated by popular party members.<sup>16</sup> Continually ravaged by war, the colony's only respite from public worry during these years came with the administration of Stoughton's successor, Lord Bellomont (1697-1701), who had courted the Leislerians while governor of New York and had been in constant correspondence with Cooke, Sr., a leader of the earlier Commonwealth faction. Bellomont ingratiated himself with the populace and paid every respect to their civil and religious customs; most importantly, perhaps, he involved himself in a conciliatory fashion with the daily workings of the legislature.<sup>17</sup>

But the calm was only temporary; the situation that Governor Joseph Dudley (1702-1715) inherited was potentially explosive, and very likely only the colony's constant preoccupation with the French wars prevented more serious opposition from developing. Dudley himself offered little hope of conciliation.<sup>18</sup> He fully supported the English concept of empire and the subordinate position of the colonies therein; his years in office only served to widen the ideological, political, and social divisions between a royal establishment and a country opposition. The changing position of the colony's wealthiest merchants is a case in point. During most of the 1690s, they had identified closely with the interests of the old charter party. With their 1696

market proposal, however, they sought to widen their profit margins and soon gained the enmity of the people. They gradually lost all of their popular influence and consistently allied themselves with the governor. For their part, the voters turned with increasing frequency to Elisha Cooke and his allies as political representatives. The conflict reached an early peak in the election of 1701, when voters specifically instructed merchants to prevent exports of grain and to deal with the domestic shortage and price crisis.<sup>19</sup>

Dudley kept the support of Boston merchants through military contracting, was seconded on almost all issues by the Council, and sent to the House an endless succession of messages and instructions, challenging its authority and criticizing its performance. He vetoed the appointments of five councillors, including Cooke Jr., during his term; only one had been negatived in the previous ten years. Dudley systematically purged his enemies from office; Cooke Jr., for instance, lost his job as court clerk, and many of his allies were relieved of their posts as judges and militia officers. The governor even attempted to force the Boston town meeting to pass a law forbidding voters to elect a tax commissioner and became overtly interested in efforts to revoke the charter. The House and the people at large publicly expressed opposition to his actions; Cooke, Thomas Cates, and other popular leaders continued to be elected as representatives. It is probable that Dudley's behavior was

responsible for the despairing tone petitions to the crown now took on: "It is the cause of oppressed that you now have to plead; the cause of not only many thousands in America, but of a great part of the English nation, and indeed the common cause of humanity itself."<sup>20</sup>

A final conflict involved Dudley's request for a permanent salary. In a message that scarcely veiled their antagonistic feelings, the House refused. They contended that it was their right and privilege as native English subjects to control such disbursements as they saw fit. Dudley was ultimately charged with corresponding and trading with the French and Indians of Canada, and a group of twenty merchants presented a petition to the Queen seeking his removal. Cotton Mather accused him of bribery and corruption equal to the worst days of the Dominion. The governor's only "success" during his tenure seems to have been to temporarily unite the colony's diverging interests in opposition to his policies.<sup>21</sup>

Dudley was not recalled until 1715, and discontent in the colony was worsened by continued war and economic difficulties. Currency was in short supply, trade depressed, and expenditures up. Privateers ravaged shipping, and military expeditions in 1708 and 1707 undermined the fishing industry and brought only insults and mistreatment from British officers. In 1709, the colony prepared for a major assault against Canada, only to see the British divert their efforts at the last minute to the Bahamas. The colony had

dealt with provisions shortages, the expense of billeting soldiers and constructing fortifications, and illegal, forced enlistment of servants in order to support the war effort. England had responded only with continued blows to the Massachusetts' self-esteem.<sup>22</sup>

Domestic problems strengthened the disillusionment. In February, 1710, the town of Gloucester exhibited discontent arising from the strains imposed by war while protesting against a proposed winter naval expedition. The people, the Reverend John White argued, did "quake to think of turning out of their warm beds, and from good fires," to support a British expedition when "they have a prospect of nothing but hardship and hazard." White and his fellow townsmen expressed opposition to the deleterious effect the expedition would have on the fishing industry, but they were also aware of the possibility of more permanent effects: "There is no need of a spirit of prophecy to tell how fatal it would be to our Town, to have so many Men one-half killed and the other Captives." White concluded the petition with a scarcely concealed threat to Dudley: "Let it never be said," he warned, "that your Excellency provoaks any of your children to wrath."<sup>23</sup>

The 1710 expedition to Port Royal gave further indication of the strain on the colony, but the most significant psychological blow came with the Walker expedition against Quebec in 1711. Walker himself complained continually of the serious lack of supplies, the lack of cooperation from

the colonials, and the serious desertion problem. Pilots refused to guide British ships, and sheriffs and constables, equipped with warrants, were forced to ferret them out. Merchants connected to the empire added to the strain and their own negative image. Andrew Belcher, for instance, made a fortune supplying royal troops and provincial militia with supplies that were needed in Boston, and he made exorbitant profits through the fees he charged. When the selectmen sought at one point to buy up grain for re-sale at lower prices to the poor, they discovered that Belcher had hoarded it all; a riotous mob broke into Belcher's warehouse and promptly deprived him of his stash. The colonists also complained that one-fifth of the inhabitants fit for military service actually fought, and that one-fifth of these men died; still others went to neighboring provinces to avoid military service or high taxes. The colonists were weary, in short, of "The heavy pressures of a long calamitous war under which we are languishing and have suffered the loss of so much blood and treasure," a war in which England had abandoned them and questioned their very loyalty.<sup>24</sup>

Broader economic developments within the empire also served to strengthen colonial discontent. During the war, imperial authorities had acquiesced in large currency emissions, provided proper security was given; this policy coincided with the empire's economic expansion on all fronts, but most notably in the American sector. Yet the demands of the local economy continued to outrun the money supply,

particularly when the wartime currency issues began to be redeemed and British military expenditures declined. The end of the war in 1713 also reduced trade with the West Indies and thus interrupted the flow of specie and bills of exchange. While the established merchant class, which had built up reserves and could count on British credit, favored only limited expansion of the paper money supply, debtors, farmers, speculators, and rising merchants, all with little or no access to British capital, demanded a more significant increase.<sup>25</sup>

Within this context, Elisha Cooke, Jr., made his bid for power. Leader of the Boston Caucus, Cooke had begun his career in politics under the tutelage of his father, Elisha Cooke, Sr., who had headed the old charter party. Cooke, Jr., had begun to fashion the outlines of the Caucus during the early 1700s, as both established merchants and royal officials abdicated their roles of domestic political leadership.<sup>26</sup> From 1708 to 1714 he began to build his personal fortune through a series of successful financial ventures, including a salt-making plant and the construction of Long Wharf. In 1714 he initiated a proposal that surfaced with explosive impact in Boston: the Land Bank Scheme of 1714. Cooke's most important supporters in the Bank plan and in his other ventures were by no means poor men; Oliver Noyes was a well-established banker, John Colman, John Oulton, and Nathaniel Oliver were successful businessmen, and Timothy Thornton had substantial local investments. Later

active Caucus members such as John and William Clark and Thomas Cushing were similarly well-to-do. All of these men, together with the remaining supporters of the Bank, were seeking new outlets for economic growth and investment, while Cooke and his more intimate cronies sought to enlarge their political power as well. Already they had sought more lenient bankruptcy laws and had backed the various attempts to enlarge the currency supply.

Cooke, Jr., thus proposed the establishment of a private bank, to issue £300,000 and lend the money to subscribers against land mortgages. The money would then pass into circulation through business transactions. The bank proposal was initially defeated in the General Court, and despite their overwhelming success in the 1714 Boston elections and a slight increase in their support elsewhere in the colony, the bank's proponents were forced to accept failure. By 1716 the postwar depression had lessened considerably, and the opponents of the measure, led by Governor Dudley and and fearing the economic power the proposal would bring the Caucus, had instituted a public bank which succeeded in increasing the currency supply sufficiently to ease the burden upon the populace.<sup>27</sup>

The controversy also spawned a wealth of pamphlet literature, and arguments on both sides give some indication as to the respective philosophical orientations. Opponents of the private bank (also supporters of the public bank) were represented by conservative, sound money men such as

Elisha Hutchinson (Thomas's father), Andrew Belcher, Addington Davenport, Samuel Sewall, Edward Bromfield, and Isaac Addington, father-in-law to both Davenport and Paul Dudley. These men, with Paul Dudley generally serving as their spokesman, argued that a private effort would undermine the government, drive specie out of the province, and only serve to inflate prices and confuse the country's trade, since the bills would not circulate at par with the provincial bills of credit. Proponents of the private bank, on the other hand, asserted that some constructive response was necessary to alleviate the decay of trade and the lack of an adequate medium of exchange. They also contended that a private bank would be a much safer venture. Since an empty treasury was a guarantee against arbitrary power, such an arrangement would protect the estates and liberties of the people. It would also encourage domestic manufacture, keep the bills within the colony, and discourage the importation of English luxuries. The private bankers noted, finally, that an adequate currency supply was necessary to stimulate the production of goods for export and to maintain a productive trade balance with England, a matter of growing practical concern.<sup>28</sup> Most importantly, the identity of the individuals involved in the project and the nature of their arguments reflect the emergence of a native merchant class struggling to establish an economic base independent of imperial connections.



Cooke and his allies, in leading the struggle for the private bank, greatly enhanced the reputation of the popular party; its political strength rose to unprecedented levels during the succeeding five years. Cooke, Noyes, and Paine gained clear public approval in the 1716 elections, and the House greeted the new governor, William Shute (1716-1722), with a refusal to grant him a permanent salary or to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid,<sup>29</sup> a project close to Shute's heart. Perhaps most important, though, was Cooke's use of the white pines issue in the successful attempt to widen still further the base of the popular party. In order to preserve a sufficient number of trees for the production of masts for the royal navy, the crown was in the process of passing a series of acts controlling their use by the colonial public.<sup>30</sup> During the winter of 1717-1718, Cooke travelled throughout New Hampshire and Maine, assuring townsmen that they could cut any trees growing within the township without fear of persecution by Jonathan Bridger and with the full protection of the House. Cooke argued that all the ungranted lands of Maine belonged to Massachusetts and were therefore free of most restrictions. At the same time, he and his associates bought hundreds of acres of Maine lands and offered them for sale, with the understanding that problems with the local courts would be taken care of. Shute, in an attempt to undermine Cooke's growing influence, negated his election to the Council and led a concerted attack on his integrity. But the Maine towns, moved by a universal dislike for royal

interferences and continually hounded by Bridger, came to Cooke's support; their representatives demanded an inquiry into Bridger's procedures, and the House duly appointed an investigatory committee. For his own part, Cooke presented a long memorial to the Court, renewing his charges of corruption against Bridger and denying the King's right to the woods.<sup>31</sup>

The Board of Trade finally ruled against Cooke, but the popular party, strengthened by new elections, continued its growth. Despite his removal as clerk of the superior court (for calling Shute a blockhead), Cooke was once again elected as moderator of the Boston town meeting in 1719. Concurrently, he began the long process of engrossing several thousand acres of Maine lands for his own profit. Noyes organized a land company to control the East bank of the Kennebec River, and Cooke organized the Lincolnshire Company to control the land extending to Penobscot Bay.<sup>32</sup>

Instilled with new vigor, the House also organized a challenge to the Impost Bill, calling for tonnage duties on British ships and duties on English manufactures, and on West Indian and other goods<sup>33</sup>--all, apparently, in an effort to stimulate domestic production of manufactures and slow the stream of foreign-made products coming into the colony. Though the House finally gave in and omitted the duty on European goods, it bitterly condemned the opposition of the Council to its measures;<sup>34</sup> as rich, British-connected merchants, the councillors could be expected to protect their

own interests. At the same time, the House continued to seek the increase of a circulating medium and to encourage domestic manufactures such as hemp, flax, and wool, while Shute argued that inflation would bring "utter destruction." The Council would take only the cautious steps of outlawing suits for debt over two years old and encouraging the production of hemp; once again its members, gave ample evidence of their abdication of responsibility as a domestic ruling elite.<sup>35</sup>

As the year 1720 dawned, the great theme of public discussion was the continued depression of trade. The principal cause, apparently, was a decline in the West Indian trade due to a lack of money there, and the gradual abatement of post-war economic expansion. As grain, provisions, and other necessities rose in price, once again the popular party was quick to take advantage of the situation, and they swept to victory in the provincial elections.<sup>36</sup> From this time until 1737, in fact, the Caucus dominated a great variety of Boston offices, including those of representative, selectman, assessor, tax collector, town meeting moderator, treasurer, and clerk, an impressive degree of continuity.<sup>37</sup>

Cooke and his allies took advantage of renewed economic distress to re-introduce a proposal for a private land bank, repeating many of the same arguments previously used. Indeed, both Cooke and John Colman specifically designed their appeals as incentives to the farming element. Colman, for example, urged the farmers to support the private bank in

order to get higher prices for their produce. The popular party thus sought to extend its influence and increase its support by incorporating as many interest groups as possible into the party structure. While the governor and council successfully maintained their opposition to the venture, the party was growing in strength in the lower house.<sup>38</sup>

While debates over the economic state of the province continued, the eastern frontier was again being victimized by Indians supported by the French, adding war expenditures to the reasons proposed for increased emissions. The land companies whose interests were being threatened were led, of course, by members of the popular party, and their cause received added impetus when they pictured the Council as abetting the interests of the enemy by failing to finance the war effort adequately. At the same time, the war gave the House an opportunity to extend its administrative control of the military, as it appointed a committee to investigate corrupt practices in false musters.<sup>39</sup>

Of equal importance was the House's successful attempt to gain control of the appointment of its speaker. Until the special explanatory charter issued by the Crown to Massachusetts in 1725 gave the power completely and without question to the governor, the actual right of the executive branch to control the appointment was hotly contested. The House claimed that it alone had the right to choose its speaker, while the governor fixed his argument on the clause

in the charter that gave him the right to veto all appointments of the General Court. Dudley had earlier attempted to negate the appointment of Thomas Oakes to the chair, but the extreme unpopularity of the action caused him to have second thoughts, and Oakes eventually took the seat.<sup>40</sup> Shute negated Cooke Jr.'s appointment to the speakership in 1720; Cooke's response to the action argued that if the governor retained such a power, he would also be able to negative committees, allowances of money, and all votes and bills of the House even before they went to the Council. This would be disastrous, Cooke argued, for the English tradition of government. From 1721 to 1725, the House simply informed the governor of their selection for speaker.<sup>41</sup>

The next few years witnessed the continuation of several controversies, most particularly the currency issue and the Maine woods dispute. In the former instance, the House continued to insist upon its duty to provide for the wealth and prosperity of the region, clearly indicating its conscious acceptance of responsibility for the economic development of the area.<sup>42</sup> The economy itself was further damaged by England's decision to lower the premiums for New England naval stores and to continue rewarding large mast contracts to the Baltic area. The House also sought, with some success, to expand its control over military forces and Indian negotiations, particularly in such areas as desertion, deployment of troops, peace conferences with the Indians, and financial review of expenditures. Throughout these con-

troversies, Shute sought to undermine the popular party in London, while the House charged him with "the subversion of the constitution." Predictably, Shute emerged the victor. Cooke Jr., serving as House agent in England, was forced to admit the colony's guilt on a variety of charges, and the Board of Trade issued the Explanatory Charter of 1725 in an effort to assert stricter control over the erring colony.<sup>43</sup>

The House vote on acceptance of this charter is particularly valuable, for it gives some indication as to the composition of the popular party mid-way in its development. Most of the votes against acceptance came from Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex counties, while York, Hampshire and Barnstable counties were solidly in support. Thus the urban and commercial areas were strongest in their opposition to the prerogative. Interestingly, fourteen of those members who voted for the charter had military titles, while only four who voted against it possessed such honors. Sixteen of those in favor also had the title of esquire, while only two of those opposed did. There is a clear indication therein of a movement away from ascriptive, status-oriented positions in the domestic power structure; the trend is put into even greater relief when one considers that the governor granted all military titles, a fact that indicates the presence of a loosely structured, prerogative faction.<sup>44</sup>

The voicing of imperial displeasure, however, failed to stem the growing tide of discontent, and the popular

party continued to expand the powers of the House. As before, House members, supported by growing numbers of the province's populace, strove to maintain a high volume of paper currency; the Council maintained its opposition to such measures. Basing its arguments on precedent and the proceedings of Parliament, the House pointed out that the increase in trade and population required the increase in bills to maintain a successful level of trade and business. They were also motivated by growing food shortages and rising prices of such essentials as bread and corn. Unspoken but equally significant was the fact that the committee men who continually voted for issuance of bills were rising, middle-class entrepreneurs such as Cooke who, without them, would face financial disaster in competition with the English credit and sterling reserves of the merchants sitting on the Council. Similarly, the Council merchants opposed competition from such upstarts, who threatened their tight hold on the credit of the colony. <sup>45</sup>

A dominant theme throughout these various disputes was the polarization of political support in the General Court. The House, for instance, argued throughout the early 1720s that they should possess the power to examine all military accounts, "more especially, considering they Represent the People, who by their Rate and Taxes Supply the Treasury." Such close control over expenditures (and thus over the locus of power) was "the best way to secure to Us and Our Posterity, One of those Valuable Privileges,

which by Our happy Constitution We now enjoy." Again and again, the House argued that emissions were necessary to allow the people to pay taxes without oppression, and sought to convince everyone of its desire to promote the prosperity and well-being of the people, and to regulate the colony's material growth and its economic stability.<sup>46</sup>

The arrival of William Burnet in 1728 as governor initiated still another series of disputes, despite the usual cautious sparring in early messages. Shute had reached a compromise agreement with the House over the salary issue, but Burnet proved to be more stubborn, and his demands produced a long and bitter quarrel. His instructions ordered him to insist upon a permanent salary of at least £1000, per annum, but the House responded that the protection of the people and the defense and support of the government would best be served without a fixed salary. The House and Council, they argued, were already overly dependent upon the governor: "Therefore we conceive that it is against the Design of Power vested in us by the CHARTER to pass any Acts pursuant to the Instruction Your Excellency has laid before us, foreasmuch as passing such Acts...has a direct tendency to weaken if not destroy our happy Constitution, by giving away the great and almost only Privilege that gives weight to the House of Representatives, which is the making Grants of Moneys as the Exigencies of Affairs requires...."<sup>47</sup> Burnet died suddenly in office before the controversy could be settled. A



variety of other conflicts dotted his administration, but the most interesting concerned a House reaction to a Burnet statement regarding the lack of interest of the people in House proceedings. "We cannot but think," the representatives responded,

That our People are not so heedless and foolish as in a matter of this Importance, not to turn to the Pages they are desired to read and consider in the printed Journal, sent to the several Towns for that end; if they do thus, nothing is omitted, if they do not, they act contrary to the desire of this House, and the good Character, we think, they deserve....

Even Burnet was forced to admit that the House knew its people best.<sup>48</sup>

After Burnet's sudden death on September 17, 1729, Lieutenant-Governor Jeremiah Dummer took control of the colony. The House immediately sought popular support for its decision to send agents to London to defend its position, and succeeded in raising a popular subscription of £1000 sterling to support the agents, "to enable the agents to defend the inestimable rights and privileges of this people which they have so long happily enjoyed." Other controversies during Dummer's brief tenure included a serious dispute between Council and House over the right to appoint the attorney-general of the colony, and accusations by the Lieutenant-Governor regarding the colony's financial situation and the House's responsibility for dealing with the empty treasury; according to Dummer, in fact, the House's stubbornness over the currency issue was responsible for the

repression of widows, orphans and ministers.<sup>49</sup>

Succeeding Burnet to the governorship was Jonathan Belcher, a native New Englander and a popular local figure. Belcher's early messages were conciliatory. He identified his personal interests with those of New England, spoke of a king who sought only to protect liberties, and argued the necessity of flourishing trade and commerce. He was no stranger, he noted, "to the Constitutions and Circumstances of my own Country, so the Welfare and Prosperity of it lies near my Heart...." He stressed as well his organic relationship with the colony and its people: "I am a part of yourselves, my Family and my small Fortune is among you; that I can have no Inducements but to Think and Act as may have the best Tendency to the lasting Welfare of this Country...." Politically, and perhaps more significantly, Belcher also succeeded in forming an alliance with Cooke Jr., successfully negating the opposition powers of the popular party.<sup>50</sup>

Belcher's conciliatory relations with the colony proved temporary. Perhaps he was the victim of the psychological bifurcation of loyalties that is common in colonial situations. His aristocratic demeanor, stubborn temperament, and insistence on a fixed salary rapidly altered the public view of his character and capabilities; at one point during his tenure, he was physically threatened by a Boston mob. Even his initial speech contained indications of possible conflict: he demanded enforcement of the Acts of Trade,

deplored the sinking state of credit, and reminded the colonists that his ultimate loyalties lay with the king. Shortly thereafter he contended that recent innovations made by the House were "contrary to the Legal Constitutions of this Government." "By your continued Disregard of the King's easy Commands," he warned, "you are exposing the valuable Liberties and Priviledges of this People to a cruel Hazard, and me to the Hardship of leaving my Country and Family to undertake another Voyage to Great Britain, only to be a Witness against you."<sup>52</sup>

The governor's disputes with the House covered familiar ground; predictably, the first disagreement concerned his salary. The House continued to refuse a fixed salary, encouraged by Bostonians who urged the members to preserve the privileges guaranteed them by constitution and charter.<sup>53</sup> Most significant during Belcher's administration, however, were the great variety of fiscal and economic problems that continued to plague the colony. The governor was unsuccessful, for instance, in his lengthy attempts to regain control of the Treasury. The House first directed its attention to the Council habit of drawing upon the Treasury when the House was not in session; when verbal castigation failed, a special committee recommended that the treasurer be personally accountable for all withdrawals. Another committee drafted a statement on the entire supply controversy, to be presented to the towns; its members based their actions on those of the House of Commons, asserting that "when matters of a new

and unusual nature are brought before them...[they] esteem it their privilege and duty to send to their electors, from whom they derive their power to act, for their advice and direction...." The report also asked the selectmen to convene town meetings to seek the people's advice,

Inasmuch therefore as it is great Prudence in a People to be rightly instructed and well informed of their Rights, their Happiness or Misery depending upon the enjoyment or loss of Liberty; and when a people are informed of their just Rights, from a due Sense of their inestimable Value, they will be encouraged to Assert them: Lest therefore this House should be instrumental in making this People miserable, by depriving them of their Liberty in Acting or not Acting on this important Article of supplying the Treasury at this critical Juncture, is what incites and engages this House to pursue this Method in applying to their Constituents, that after a most deliberate and serious Consideration of what is here exhibited, upon their being lawfully Assembled in publick Town-Meetings, the several Members of this House may have their Advice and Instructions, that so those steps may be concluded upon, as shall be adjudged most Lending to the Peace, Safety, and Welfare of this Province.<sup>54</sup>

Belcher then quickly brought the session to a close with a stinging rebuke.

By December, the House had gained the support of most of the colony's towns; only two towns, in fact, had specifically supported the governor's position on the supply issue. Strengthened by this show of faith, the House reported a bill that placed all salaries and allocations in the Treasury and held the Treasurer strictly accountable. Belcher refused to sign the measure. He argued that the House was directly disobeying the King and that the members

could not produce a single instance of actual abuse. An examination of the charter would reveal, he asserted, that the governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, had the power to use warrants for the disbursement of money from the treasury. He accused the House of striving only to increase its own power, and he was eventually supported by a direct decision from the Crown.<sup>55</sup>

Always alert to shifting political fortunes, Cooke had, by this time, begun to stray from his alliance with Belcher. His change of heart may have been precipitated by worsening inflation and the Council's continued habit of blaming the House for the evils of monetary instability, as well as by increased popular unrest throughout the colony.<sup>56</sup> The catalytic issue in his break with the governor, however, was a resurrection of the Maine woods controversy. By now, Cooke owned numerous saw mills in the heart of mast country, and he insisted that they were his private property. The Board of Trade, though, in an effort to promote the production of naval stores, was planning to establish a new province between the Kennebec River and Nova Scotia, to be called Georgia. They sent David Dunbar to the colony to organize the territory, and a protracted struggle resulted. Dunbar was opposed by Cooke, his allies, and several other groups with land claims in the area. Riots and mob protests against the royal plans were commonplace for several years, and the Crown was ultimately

forced to return control of the land to Massachusetts.<sup>57</sup> Once again, Cooke had helped catalyze popular opposition to English policy.

Throughout these disputes inflation continued to be a serious problem, again furthering the growing polarization between social groups in the colony.<sup>58</sup> Aggravated by the House's continuing emissions and by the entry of Rhode Island bills of credit into the colony's circulating medium, the wealthier merchants agreed on a plan of their own to supply a more stable currency. While all of the earlier schemes had been based on real estate mortgages, this one would rest on the land and personal wealth of each of the subscribers. Thus the scheme sought to stabilize rather than expand the currency supply, and it called for only £100,000 in emissions.<sup>59</sup> As inflation continued, however, the House blamed the merchants' bank for the deteriorating financial situation. Abandoned by Belcher as well (the leaders were long-time political enemies), the bank died a slow death. Its establishment does reflect, however, the growing alienation of British-connected merchants from the rest of the colony.<sup>60</sup>

Inflation was accompanied by an overall decline in the colony's economy. By 1735 the House was forced to allow taxes to be paid in flax, hemp, and bar iron (the production of which would also, it was hoped, stimulate the economy), and to threaten counterfeiters with death.<sup>61</sup> In May 1736 the Boston town meeting complained of enormous hard-

ships, and numerous pamphlets lamented deteriorating economic conditions. Several port towns petitioned for tax breaks. French competition in the fisheries was becoming serious, since the restrictions imposed by the Navigation Acts allowed the French to undersell the colonists in the European markets.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, all branches of the colony's trade declined, as other colonial ports began to grow at the Bay Colony's expense. The Molasses Act of 1733 had also begun to take effect, and between 1735 and 1742 the number of distilleries in Boston declined by two-thirds. The trade with the French and Dutch colonies on the South American mainland was particularly affected; from 1733 to 1743, for instance, the number of vessels involved in that trade declined from thirty-two to none.<sup>63</sup> The situation was worsened by a decrease in the international demand for West Indies sugar, which curtailed the market for fish and livestock. This in turn reduced the ability of New Englanders to import English goods. Merchants themselves were facing demands for England that they repay their debts in sterling within nine months, placing them at the whim of the exchange rates.<sup>64</sup>

Local events reflected the impact such economic difficulties had on a personal level. The diary of Reverend Ebenezer Parkman, for instance, contains numerous comments on local economic dislocation, including grain scarcities. More significantly, Parkman notes the disruptive effect such economic burdens had on interpersonal relations. In

one case, a violent quarrel broke out when Parkman found it necessary to cease boarding one of his neighbor's cows; he noted the "mighty Contests and Brawlings that are often made about the most inconsiderable things of this kind, and the Reflection cast upon the honest and uprightness of those of Sacred Characters...." Frequently, he commented, "there is not a peculiar preciseness and Exactness in making up the minutest part of an account." On yet another occasion Parkman himself fell short of Christian expectations: "Silence Vartlet came to live with us. Two of Neighbor Clarks Cows went away. My growing very short, or my Tenderness towards this man would not have suffer'd me to Send them away."<sup>65</sup>

Economic difficulties also caused a rapid increase in poverty levels during this period. The depression cycle of 1720-1750, British imperial policies, and the early eighteenth-century population boom combined with almost incessant warfare and the accompanying restrictions on geographic expansion to put a serious strain upon the underdeveloped resources of the colony.<sup>66</sup> Cotton Mather made early and frequent references to the plight of the poor. By the early 1720s, collections in Boston and in other towns throughout the colony to provide for the poor were commonplace. Towns were forced to raise tax assessments, and the General Court increased the authority of the county courts to deal with the problem, established overseers of the poor, bound out pauper children, and created workhouses. By 1742, in a



population of just over 17,000, there were 146 in either alms or workhouses, and 1000 nonrateable or destitute widows. Between 1734 and 1751, some 247 pauper children were apprenticed.<sup>67</sup> No longer was the family or local village able to care for its own.

The evidence presented thus far makes it clear that political and economic discontent were almost daily experiences during the first four decades of the eighteenth century, and an explosive climax was long overdue. In 1739, the Boston town meeting contended that if relief were not forthcoming, "we must (in the eye of human reason) sink under the burden and weight of our misfortune...." When the governor refused to allow greater currency emissions, the House sent an agent to London to plead its case.<sup>68</sup>

The king's sympathy was not gained. Instead, evidence of a much stricter policy came to the fore. The Crown had sought the advice of London merchants concerned with the New England trade, and the merchants had argued that while new emissions were indeed necessary, they must be strictly and conservatively controlled. Thus the requirements decided upon by the Board of Trade would limit the total amount of currency in circulation after 1741 to £90,000, with a third of that being drawn in and reissued every year.<sup>69</sup>

The colonial response to this policy decision was swift; led by John Colman, the province's aspiring entrepreneurs again proposed a land bank. Emissions would total £150,000, based on loans on personal property, which in

turn could be repaid either by notes or articles such as hemp, flax, iron, or cordage.<sup>70</sup> Success, if not lasting, was immediate; while in 1714 there had been only nine subscribers, there were now 395 from sixty-four towns. The people had been motivated by rapid and unsettling population growth, an increase in land prices and a decline in land availability, and a substantial increase in the number of debt cases appearing in the courts.<sup>71</sup> Strain was added by pressing military needs; during the debate over the proposed bank, Belcher was ordered to secure troops to join in the campaign against the Spanish West Indies. He asked for volunteers, and requested aid from the General Court. The close economic ties that bound Massachusetts to the West Indies, together with the projected economic relief expected from the expedition, made the campaign a popular one; the General Court provided liberal bounties and subsistence allowances to encourage men to join the ten companies Belcher had asked for, and in addition made provision for strengthening the fortifications of the province. To finance these activities, and to pay the debts of the government incurred during the preceding years, the representatives argued that taxes to support any new supply of the treasury would have to be levied in years beyond 1741, and thus provided an emission of £80,000 with the entire amount to be drawn in by taxes before May, 1742. They insisted, further, that produce at stated prices should be

accepted in the payment of taxes.<sup>72</sup>

The harmony was dissipated, however, soon thereafter. The royal army had sent commissions, pay, and arms for only four companies; and as in previous wars, fortification and defense plans also created tension. The Court insisted that a joint committee handle all contractual arrangements for the repair of Castle William, while Belcher demanded complete authority. The quarrel dragged on, and the House complained that "the people are brought to this deplorable dilemma, either to part with their ancient liberty and usage in this affair, which tends to much for their security or they must still lie in their exposed conditions. This is truly shocking!"<sup>73</sup> Once again, the colonists felt that England was deliberately disregarding their most intimate needs. The blow to their self-esteem was a crushing one.

The blow was worsened by portentous developments in the financial situation. Boston merchants had constructed their own alternative to the land bank. The Silver Bank, as it has become known, was to emit £120,000 based on silver at a fixed rate, redeemable only in silver after fifteen years. It was supported only by wealthy, British-oriented merchants, and its terms were hardly likely to attract domestic entrepreneurs or farmers. The proponents did all they could, moreover, to use the legislative process to subvert the smaller land bank. More importantly,

they refused to accept the latter's notes in business transactions, and the notes began to fail only six months after they were issued.<sup>74</sup>

As a representative of royal authority, Belcher attacked the Land Bank through his control of patronage, as he fired or dismissed all those government officials who subscribed. No bank subscriber would be permitted to plead before the Council as an attorney, and support of the bank would be considered grounds for refusing retailers' licenses. Most significantly, Belcher began a purge of the justices of the peace who evidenced signs of support for the bank. Once a justice was appointed it was normally extremely difficult to remove him from office. Belcher, however, contended that the appointment of all officers expired at the end of the term of the governor who had appointed them, just as all terms ended at the death of a monarch. Thus, in the first two years of his administration, all old appointments were reconsidered; throughout his tenure, moreover, he appointed new justices in an effort to swell the size of the county commissions and increase his own power. At the beginning of his administration there were only 180 justices, at the end almost three hundred.<sup>75</sup>

Belcher was often able to ascertain the names of supporters of the bank through the registries of deeds; the same source allows a glimpse at the composition of bank support. The strongest support came from Worcester County, where over two hundred mortgages were recorded; the weakest

was in Hampshire and Barnstable counties, with seven and ten mortgages respectively. Plymouth and Bristol counties offered forty-two and fifty mortgages, while Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex counties recorded between 115 and 122 mortgages each. The more settled and commercial areas, then, were the most affected, with only the strongly frontier sections of the colony escaping the onslaught of subscriptions. The numbers alone also indicate that it was not the poorest who subscribed, but rather those in the middle level of wealth, or wealthier citizens who lacked credit ties to England. In Uxbridge, those who subscribed were engaged in a variety of enterprises and thirteen of the twenty-one were original proprietors. The subscribers in Mendon were obviously seeking to extend their credit base through speculation. Lunenburg subscribers included several proprietors and office holders, while Sudbury boasted of a significant number of supporters because it served as a major trading center. Other subscribers, as veterans or descendants of veterans, had received land grants through the 1730s.<sup>76</sup> Support for the bank thus reflected several key components of modernizing societies--the pervasive impact of war and the resulting importance of veterans, declining credit availability and the increased concentration of capital in a few hands, and the gradual spread of such crises to all but the most undeveloped areas of the colony.

Eventually the controversy began to die down, but not before opponents of the bank and supporters of Belcher's policies had been voted out of the House; the new men were almost always pro-Land Bankers. Even the Council membership was shaken up, as sixteen of the old eighteen were voted out; indeed, Belcher vetoed thirteen of the new members. Nonetheless, by the time William Shirley entered the picture the Bank was dying a protracted but inevitable death. It marked the end of an era, one which had witnessed the formation of a permanent colonial opposition, and one which had seen irreversible damage in the colonial-British relationship.<sup>77</sup>

Several significant themes stand out in material presented in this chapter. First, Massachusetts in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a society in the midst of continual disruption. While much of the discontent was focused on the impact of war and on rapid social change and economic instability, it also reflected an emerging disparity of experience between different social groups in the colony. Certainly the British-connected merchants had fully emerged as a class by 1740; they held common economic, social, and political interests, expressed through conservative currency policies and the political actions of the Council. More importantly, an increasingly prosperous middle class was emerging, led by aspiring merchants lacking British connections and intent on making their fortunes in domestic and colonial trade, often in

areas heretofore controlled by imperial regulations, while a scarcity of statistical evidence makes their constituency a difficult one to delineate precisely, voting records indicate heavy support in urban areas, particularly Boston, and among the more prosperous rural regions. Recent work, in fact, has illustrated the existence of an urban-rural hierarchy, with progressively greater levels of involvement in political affairs.<sup>78</sup> Finally, a permanent lower class was emerging, again with its own clearly differentiated interests and economic concerns. The cultural and political concerns of this group are the most difficult of all to explore, but it is clear that economic dislocation influenced them to cast their lot with the popular party.

The second significant development during these years was the emergence of clearly established political alliances. Council, governor, and Crown authorities consistently opposed the lower House, which in turn represented the middle classes and, increasingly, the economically deprived. Certainly these were not parties in the modern sense of the term; the prerogative group in particular was very loosely connected, with ties based more on familial connections, political loyalty to the empire, and economic self-interest than anything else. The popular party, however, went beyond such minimal connections. Frustrated by the unyielding policies of Britain and its imperial officials and deprived of means of establishing bases for their own economic wealth, Cooke and his fellows sought to redress the balance

of political participation through the creation of primitive party organizations; such parties, in fact, generally originate in legislatures and extend themselves throughout the society. The party's use of communication facilities, moreover, through the publication of the Journals and through newspapers and pamphlets, indicates a sophisticated awareness of the importance of centralized, penetrating communication networks in developing societies.<sup>79</sup>

Centralized party organizations also create less parochial bases of loyalty and thus help bind divisive social forces; through ideology and organizational complexity, moreover, they provide stability through time.<sup>80</sup> Such a characteristic perhaps helps explain the absence of true revolutionary fervor throughout most of the provincial period. The popular party, and its descendants in the legislature, funneled discontent through constructive opposition. The party was clearly able, moreover, to survive the death in 1737 of its leader and founder, Elisha Cooke, Jr. Opposition to royal government continued through the Land Bank crisis and survived both William Shirley's patronage politics and Thomas Hutchinson's temporary control of the House; even the seriously divisive excise controversy of 1754 failed to dilute organized opposition to imperial policies. While in later years the party was not as organized or concerted in its opposition as it had been under Cooke, there is liberal evidence that opposition was often sufficient to provide serious problems for the royal administra-



tion. This was due, undoubtedly, to Cooke's success in organizing the technical details of party functioning: the press, elements of political socialization, the ability to seek out and bring in new interest groups, and a detailed and effective committee system, dominated at all times by representatives from Boston and other urbanized port towns. The agrarian towns may have dominated the House in numbers, but they frequently followed the lead of more populous areas in crucial votes.<sup>81</sup>

The final point to be made about this material is the emergence of the House of Representatives as a modern, centralized governing body. Led by members of the popular party, the House consciously sought in every way to escape and overcome the traditional political ties of the seventeenth century. It established achievement as the main criteria for political success, forged an active political organization whose concerns were completely secular, consistently expanded its own governing powers, particularly in the crucial area of finances, and continually sought to establish and maintain open communicative channels with the people it represented. Throughout the early part of the century the House vocally expressed its claim that it alone represented the people of Massachusetts both in internal affairs and in the colony's dealings with England. And time and again, the evidence indicates clearly that the people supported this contention. Cooke, Jr., and his compatriots succeeded, moreover, because

they spoke to the material and emotional needs of a people on the losing end of a colonial relationship; they offered solutions which often served their own self-control and a bolstered self-esteem. In this sense in particular, the House embodied the functions of a modern political body.<sup>82</sup>

There were also other areas in which the Massachusetts political system drew closer to modernity through the eighteenth century. In modern politics, for instance, new leaders are legitimized "by their representation of specific groups...or specific geographical areas." Ironically, this development in the Bay colony was stimulated by William Phips, the first royal governor, who pushed a bill through the legislature requiring that representatives come from the area that they represented; previously, and occasionally throughout the eighteenth century, Bostonians had taken the task (for a fee, of course) of representing distant or unwilling towns.<sup>83</sup> As the century wore on, moreover, many representatives increasingly spoke for definite interests; Hutchinson and Otis represented different groups of merchants, the Caucus and popular party the rising entrepreneurial class and its rural and urban allies. Particularly under Shirley, members of the General Court came to be courted for their control over different interest groups.

In commenting on the transition from traditional to ascriptive requirements for leadership, we should also note that the successful transitional leader, through well-established systems of communication, builds upon affective

ties to fill the performance gap left by less successful candidates. He is often viewed as "one of the boys," but also as one apart who can accomplish what others cannot. Most particularly, he becomes increasingly active in contacts with the group's external environment and acts as spokesperson for the group traditions.<sup>84</sup> Cooke and his successors in the popular party all acted in such a manner.

The reasons for Cooke's phenomenal success, however, go deeper than this. As a parental imago, Britain had deeply disappointed the colonists during the 1670s and 1680s. The blow was worsened by the actions of both the royal governors and the mother country during the burdensome years of the early eighteenth century, in the face of imminent cultural decline and hoped-for recovery. The strains of war and economic depression catalyzed the situation, and colonial self-esteem suffered grievously. In reaction, the colonists sought political control over their economic and social environment; they also sought a psychic and emotional redemption in aggressive political action. Bruised by the callousness of Great Britain and its colonial functionaries in the daily drama of social relations, colonists vented aggression onto merchants, governors, and Englishmen in general. Their anger was modified, though, by the routine ritualism of modern political behavior, and by an ideological identification with the British aggressor.

In this light, it is evident that the modern state asserts its power not through coercion, but rather through

an intrusion into the personality of an individual. It becomes the new parental imago, and rebellion against it increases guilt levels and consequently the level of ultimate trust which the individual gives it. The same process, of course, had occurred with England and the colony in the post-1689 years; now, the colonists began constructing a substitute father-figure, their own state, which would create a nurturing group and ease a return to the joys of seventeenth-century traditionalism.<sup>85</sup>

The trust in a Hegelian-type state that would mediate separate interests was misplaced. Marx viewed the modern state as the counterpart to the rise of secularism. Through religion, men participate in an unreal fantasy world, much contrasted with the pain and reality of every day life; the state, Marx argued, plays a similar role in its call for political equality and universal rights. For despite its claim to universality, the state continues to serve as the focus of particular interests, and despite the separation of the private from the public sphere, the distribution of property remains the decisive decisional factor within the political framework. The new arrangement creates the most troublesome paradox of modernity: within the state man is accorded equal rights and expected to guide his life by universal criteria; within civil society, "he is supposed to behave according to his egotistical needs and interest."<sup>86</sup> This peculiar division renders continual social conflict

inevitable, but it also predetermines the outcome of such conflict. Most important political decisions in eighteenth-century Massachusetts favored the interests of the popular party; while other social groups may also have frequently benefited, there was little doubt as to who was in ultimate control. Indeed, political activity in itself creates alienation; voters elect a "parliament," which promulgates authority and laws that assume "the guise of quasi-supreme beings to which their own creators are asked to pay obeisance."<sup>87</sup> The historical nature of this process will be a major concern of the following chapter.

## Notes

1. See the appropriate discussions in the Introduction; also, Murray Edelman, Politics as Symbolic Action (Chicago, 1971), 2, 5, 8-9, 12-13, 16, 21-22, 58, 171.
2. Massachusetts Archives, XXXVI:6; "Documentary History of Maine: The Baxter Manuscripts," Maine Historical Society, Collections, ser. 2, vol. 5, 105, 107; Felt, Historical Account, 50-51.
3. Massachusetts Archives, XX:201, 209, 358, 360, and passim.
4. Thomas Hutchinson, History of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (Cambridge, 1936), II, 51.
5. Massachusetts Archives, XXXVI:221.
6. "The Baxter Manuscripts," 119.
7. Ibid., 323; also see the many requests for aid throughout this collection, arising from the extreme conditions imposed by the war.
8. Ibid., 227-230; Philip Haffenden, New England in the English Nation, 1692-1713 (New York, 1974), 92ff; Thomas Hutchinson, History of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 3 vols., ed. Lawrence S. Mayo (Cambridge, 1936), I, 340; Lewis, "Massachusetts and the Glorious Revolution," 336.
9. Cotton Mather, The Serviceable Man... (Boston, 1690) 1, 7, 9, 14, 49, 60; Mather, Fair Weather... (Boston, 1691), 6-8; Mather, Things to be Looked for... (Boston, 1691), 6, 9.
10. The charter is reprinted in full in William MacDonald, ed., Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1775. (New York, 1899), 205-212.
11. Hutchinson, History, II, 48-49; Massachusetts Archives, XLVIII:225. This provides a clear indication that the House was aware of its viability as an institution, and that it sought to retain the advances it had made before the arrival of Andros.
12. John M. Murrin, "Anglicizing an American Colony: The Transformation of Provincial Massachusetts" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1966), 166ff.

13. Ibid., 264; Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts (Boston, 1919- ), VII:100; V:107, 110-112, 134. The fate of local auxiliaries is, at best, unpredictable; in India, the British system of indirect rule did successfully transform indigenous chiefs into extensions of the colonial administration (see Dankwart Rustow, A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization (Washington, D.C., 1967), 110). On legal modernization see Durkheim, Division of Labor, and Leopold Pospisil, Anthropology of Law: A Comparative Theory (New York, 1971). Many of the books cited in the introduction also deal with the problem in general terms.

14. Ronald K. Snell, "The County Magistracy in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts: 1692-1750." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1971), 95ff., 187ff.

15. Hutchinson, History, II, 53-54. Among the numerous secondary sources dealing with the administrations of the royal governors, the most recent is William A. Pencak, "Massachusetts Politics in War and Peace, 1676-1776" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1978); see p. 50ff for information on Phips. Also see Labaree, Colonial Massachusetts, 135ff.

16. Hutchinson, History, II, 75-78.

17. Ibid., 84-85.

18. On Dudley's life and career, see Everett Kimball, The Public Life of Joseph Dudley (New York, 1911). Also, Pencak, "Massachusetts Politics," 92ff. While Pencak's recounting of the details of the administration is quite accurate, I do feel that he overestimates the degree of cooperation between Dudley and the legislature.

19. Richard S. Dunn, Puritans and Yankees: The Winthrop Dynasty of New England, 1630-1717 (Princeton, 1962), 180; Bernard Bailyn, The Origins of American Politics (Cambridge, 1968), 115.

20. William D. Metz, "Politics and Finance in Massachusetts, 1713-1741" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1945), 24-25; Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century (Gloucester, MA., 1958, c. 1924), II, 137-138; Hutchinson, History, II, 92-94, 101-102, 149-152. The opposition from the Council is especially significant; this body represented, in the Marxist sense, the power-base of traditional aristocracy, and in a sociological sense, a dysfunctional institution. Similarly, its continued existence as an arm of British colonial power blurred the lines of ultimate responsibility; such, for example, was the problem with indirect rule in British Africa and mandate

government in the Arab fertile crescent. On this latter point, see Rustow, A World of Nations, 77-78. G. B. Warden, Boston, 1689-1776 (Boston, 1970), 49ff.

21. Hutchinson, History, II, 114, 158-159; John G. Palfrey, A History of New England (Boston, 1858), IV, 299ff; Cotton Mather, A Memorial to the Present Deplorable State of New England... (Boston, 1707). Dudley sought to defend himself in A Modest Inquiry... (London, 1707).

22. G. M. Waller, Samuel Vetch: Colonial Enterpriser (Chapel Hill, 1960), 71, 145, 147; Haffenden, New England, 22ff.

23. Massachusetts Archives, LI:190-191.

24. Ibid., LXXI:495-498; "The Walker Expedition to Quebec," in The Samuel Champlain Society, Publications, XXXII (1954), 101ff., 317ff.; Hutchinson, History, II, 150-151; Gary Nash, The Urban Crucible (Cambridge, 1979), 76-78; Warden, Boston, 1689-1766 (Boston, 1970), 66. Hutchinson estimates that, in addition to the heavy financial burden of costly fortifications, from 1675-1713 five to six thousand youths were killed, resulting in a substantial loss of potential population.

25. Joseph Ernst, Money and Politics in America, 1755-1775 (Chapel Hill, 1974), 26-27.

26. John L. Sibley and Clifford K. Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College (Boston, 1873- ), IV, 349ff.

27. William J. Metz, "Politics and Finance in Massachusetts," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1945) 74-75, 86-87, 90, 108-110, 130-131; Warden, Boston, 68ff; Warden, "The Caucus and Democracy in Colonial Boston," New England Quarterly, XLIII (1970), 19-45; The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, 6:86, 32:132; Joel Shufro, "Boston in Massachusetts Politics, 1730-1760" (Ph.D. Dissertation, U. of Wisconsin, 1976), 87ff. Throughout his life, Cooke's political activities resembled those of the "Robin Hood" role played so often by semicharismatic politicians in modernizing societies where there is legislative government, but where the ultimate governmental responsibility lies outside of the colony. See David Apter, The Politics of Modernization (Chicago, 1965), 55.

28. A Letter from One in Boston, to His Friend in the Country... (Boston, 1714), passim; Paul Dudley, Objections to Bank... (Boston, 1714), passim; A Vindication... (Boston, 1714), 18-20.



29. Metz, "Politics and Finance," 135-137.
30. Ibid., 142ff.; Sibley and Shipton, Biographical Sketches, IV, 350-351. Briefly, the White Pines Acts, three in number, sought to enforce the Broad Arrow Policy, whereby the Admiralty reserved certain trees for use as masts for the English navy.
31. Sibley and Shipton, Biographical Sketches, IV, 350-352; "Documentary History of Maine," 9:388-417; Journals, 2:43, 47, 52-54, 174.
32. Metz, 160ff.; Cooke was frequently on committees appointed to answer Shute in these issues; see, for example, Journals, 2:176, 222.
33. Journals, II:173.
34. Ibid., II:157-158.
35. Ibid., II:173.
36. Ibid., II:184-187; Cooke, The Distressed State of the Province... (Boston, 1720). The first instance provides a good example of Cooke's attempts to reach a wider audience. An informed discussion of events during this year can be found in Nash, Urban Crucible, 82ff.
37. Warden, "Caucus and Democracy," 19-45.
38. Journals, II:73; Cooke, Distressed State, passim, Nash, Urban Crucible, 82ff.
39. Journals, II:203ff., 283, 306. The latter issues frequently arose in later sessions.
40. Ibid., III:39; Hutchinson, II, 242.
41. Journals, II:3, 229, 233, III: 3, 87, IV:2, XII: 229; Elisha Cooke, Mr. Cooke's Just and Seasonable Vindication (Boston, 1720), ll. For a comparison with this development in English history, see Jack P. Greene, "Political Mimesis: A Consideration of the Historical and Cultural Roots of Legislative Behavior in the British Colonies in the Eighteenth Century," American Historical Review, LXXVI (1969), 341.
42. Journals, V:68-69.
43. Ibid., III: 38-42, 45. Joseph Malone, Pine Trees and Politics: The Naval Stores and Forest Policy in Colonial New England, 1691-1775 (Seattle, 1961), ch. 3; Journals, IV: 128, 161, 172; Hutchinson, History, II:287-288; Samuel

Sewall, "Diary," Massachusetts Historical Society, Collec-tions, 5th ser., VII (Boston, 1882), 317. Journals, IV: 267; V:61-62, 67-71, 241, 289, 293ff, IV:82, 107, 108, 243; V:68-69. Metz, "Politics and Finance," 278ff. The explanatory charter is reprinted in MacDonald, ed., Select Charters, 234-235. It explicitly gives the governor full power to prorogue and dissolve the legislature, to veto all statutes, ordinances, acts, and orders, and to approve or disapprove of the House choice for speaker.

44. Metz, Politics and Finance, 186ff.

45. Journals, VI: 9, 68, 88, 97-98, 102-103, 109, 208-209, 261; VII: 230, 245, 259, 261, 263-264, 283-284, 267; Journals, V:316, 319, 294, 331-334; Metz, Politics and Finance, 298-299, 303-304; John Wentworth to the Board of Trade, Aug. 7, 1727, in "Documentary History of Maine," 10:413; Journals, V: 324; VI: 227-228; VII: 352-354, and 359-360 for the Council's answer. 9-10, 21-23, 30.

46. Journals, VIII:56, 143-147, 154-157ff. Cooke himself frequently sat on committees established for these purposes, such as that to promote the growth of flax and hemp; see Journals, VIII: 35-36. It should also be noted that while such goals were similar to those sought in the first years of the colony, they were now designed to promote growth rather than independence from England in itself.

47. Journals, II:130, 172, 174; VIII:269, 279-280, 389, 413, 424, 338-343, 346-347, 247, 298; IX:92; see Vol. VIII, passim, for full details on the salary controversy. The Boston Town meeting also voted against a fixed salary (Town Records, 1729-1742, 226).

48. Journals, VIII:53, 334-335, 339, 413, 424-425.

49. Ibid., IX:116-118, 156-160, 183-186, 193-196, 199-202.

50. Ibid., IX:239-240, 242, 248, 303, 305, 370.

51. "Documentary History of Maine," XI:40-41.

52. Journals, IX: 371.

53. Ibid., VIII:324-330; IX:243-244, 261; X:4, 9, 98, 141-142, 147-148, 170. Hutchinson, History, II, 377-378; Journals, viii; Metz, "Politics and Finance," 394ff, on Belcher; on the governor's career, also see Michael Batinski, "Jonathan Belcher of Massachusetts: 1682-1741" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1969).

54. Journals, IX:396; X:53, 56, 61-63, 124; X:142-143, 414; 242, 262.
55. Ibid., X:3-5, 302-202, 339, 420; XI:38-44, 64-69, 84-88, 93, 115-122, 142-143.
56. Ibid., XI:24-26, 31.
57. Metz, "Politics and Finance," 365ff.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Journals, XI:186ff., 435-436. Ibid., XI:437, 440. Metz, Politics and Finance, 444. Hutchinson, History, II, 381; Boston News Letter, Nov. 1, 1733; Boston Gazette, Dec. 20, 1736; A.M. Davis, "Merchants Notes," Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, 2nd ser., 17:192; Elisha Douglass, Discourse.. (Boston, 1736) MacFarland Davis, ed., Colonial Currency Reprints, 1682-1751 (New York, 1971) c. 1910-1911), III, 330-331; Weeden, Economic and Social History, II, 484.
61. Journals, XII:9.
62. Ellis Ames and Abner C. Goodell, Acts and Resolves Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, 1692-1763 (Boston, 1869), II, 751-755, 785; A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston Covering the Boston Records from 1729-1742 (Boston, 1881), 76.
63. Metz, Politics and Finance, 459-461; Town Records, 145-147; Byron Fairchild, Messrs. William Pepperrell (Ithaca 1954), 61, 74, 87, 93; William T. Baxter, The House of Hancock (Cambridge, 1945), views the depression from the perspective of Boston's largest banking and trading house.
64. Henretta, Evolution of American Society, ch. 2.
65. Francis G. Walleth, ed., The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman, 1703-1782 (Worcester, Mass., 1974), 9ff.
66. Nash, Urban Crucible, discusses these problems at some length, noting in particular the effect upon the lower working classes.
67. Cotton Mather, "Diary," MHS Collections, ser. 7, vol. 7, 529, 580-581; vol. 8:45, 150, 179-180, 213-214, 266, 282, 344, 370, 380, 475, 498; New England Courant, Nov. 13-20, 1721; Dec. 25-Jan. 1, 1721-1722; Boston News-Letter, Jan. 29-Feb. 5, 1741; Feb. 5-12, 1741; Boston Records, XVII:88;

Acts and Resolves, I, 67, 538, 654; II, 73-74, 182, 579, 1053-1054, 1067. Lawrence Towner, "A Good Master Well Served: A Social History of Servitude in Massachusetts, 1620-1750" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1955), 83ff. For corroborating evidence, see Douglas L. Jones, "Poverty and Vagabondage: The Process of Survival in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts", New England Historical and Genealogical Register, CXXXIII 1979, 243-254; also, Jones, "The Strolling Poor; Transiency in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," Journal of Social History, IX (1975), 28-54.

68. Acts and Resolves, II, 927-937, 944-945, 946-964; Journals, XIII:230ff.; XIV: 106, 109, 147-150, 154, 156, 158, 167, 182, 192-3, 199, 215-6, 218-220, 223-4, 228, 230-1, 233, 235, 237, 241-2, 245-6; XVI: 188-189, 192, 206-7; XVII: 104, 124-126, 128-129; Boston Records (1729-1742) 225-229.

69. Journals, XVII: 141-144.

70. George A. Billias, The Massachusetts Land Bankers of 1740 (Orono, Maine, 1959), 9-10.

71. Ibid., Paul Dudley, "Diary", New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XXXV (1881), 29.

72. Ernst, Money and Politics, 34-35; Journals, XVIII: vii, 9-13, 15, 17, 19, 36-37, 39, 41 51, 54-55, 57, 64, 66-69, 73-74, 82-83, 89-91; Acts and Resolves, II:1011-1016, 1024-1035.

73. Metz, 509-510; Journals, XVIII:92, 94, 96, 98, 103-104, 107, 109, 113-113, 116, 119-130, 123, 126-127, 131, 138, 149, 152, 161-162, 168-170, 173, 177, 180-182, 184-185, 195, 215-127, 224-225.

74. Massachusetts Archives, X:464; CTE:107, 130, 140.

75. Snell, "County Magistracy," 71-73, 78ff.

76. Metz, "Politics and Finance", 512-513; Billias, Massachusetts Land Bankers, 18, 21ff.; Schufro, "Boston in Massachusetts Politics," 27.

77. Billias, Massachusetts Land Bankers, 33-34; there were also reports of mobs marching to Boston. The Land Bank may be viewed from several additional perspectives, such as that of relative deprivation, wherein the colonists revolted in response to royal attempts to deprive them of certain economic expectations. More importantly, though, is the likelihood that the crisis represented the assertion of solidarity by a political community, as opposed to the regime of the official colonial government. (The distinction is David Easton's

made in "Political Anthropology," in B. J. Siegel, ed., Biennial Review of Anthropology [Stanford, 1959], 229.) As such, Massachusetts was reacting against England's cultural imperialism--an attempt to create a nation state with a sovereign national government, modern administration, a legislative body, and penetration powers, all with the mere window dressing of democracy or self-determination. (Walter A. Rosenbaum, Political Culture [New York, 1975], 167).

78. Edward M. Cook, The Fathers of the Towns (Baltimore, 1978), esp. chapters 6 and 7.

79. Walett, Diary of Parkman provides additional evidence of the local impact of the salary question. Huntington, Political Order, 55, 57, 90, 146-147, 266; Leonard Binder, "Crisis of Political Development," in Leonard Binder et al., eds., Crises and Sequences in Political Development, (Princeton, 1971), 63; Richard R. Fagan, Politics and Communication (Boston, 1966), 108, 128-130.

80. Huntington, 412, 415-417, 424-425, 428; Dankwart A. Rustow, A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization (Washington, D.C., 1967), 77-78.

81. Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods, has shown that the committee system was controlled almost exclusively by such men. My own examination of some committees, as noted at appropriate stages in the text and footnotes, supports this argument. Another author has ascertained that in 1732, for example, only ten men, all from coastal towns, sat on the bulk of committees appointed by the House. Samuel Welles of Boston sat on thirty-eight of the fifty-nine committees examined while Thomas Cushing, also of Boston, sat on twenty-seven of them. (Robert J. Dinkin, "Provincial Massachusetts: A Deferential or a Democratic Society?" [Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1968], 109.) Elisha Cooke Jr. and Welles, moreover, drew up all of the House memorials on the governor's salary issue. (Hutchinson, History, II, 263.)

82. Again, note the citations listed in the Introduction for appropriate references.

83. Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers and River Gods, chs.6-7. Such a structure provides avenues of political mobility for economically successful, native entrepreneurs. (Jon Davies, Social Mobility and Political Change [New York, 1970], 25. It also ensures, and did so in Massachusetts for the first time, a successful integration of these men into the struc-

ture of power and prestige. Such a development generally puts a damper on serious revolutionary activities, and undoubtedly helps explain the absence of radical political leaders during the middle years of the century.

84. Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership (Princeton, 1961), 47-48, 53, 56-57, 152-153, 155, 200, 204.

85. This sort of interpretation is, of course, endemic in the work of Becker, Brown, and Marcuse; it epitomizes the concept of history as the "recherche du temps perdu."

86. Richard Ashcraft, "Marx and Weber on Liberties as Bourgeois Ideology," Comparative Studies in Society and History, XIV (1972), 151-152; Gerald Zaltman, Processes and Phenomena of Social Change (New York, 1973) 53; Sholem Alvineri, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx, (Cambridge, England, 1969), 19; 43-44; also see Bertell Ollman, Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in a Capitalist Society (Cambridge, England, 1971). All of this occurs, of course, in the midst of the bourgeois-aristocracy struggle, represented in Massachusetts by, respectively, House and Council.

87. Ollman, Alienation, 216; Melvin Rader, Marx's Interpretation of History (New York, 1979), 36-37, 42-44, 64; Anthony Giddens, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory..(New York, 1971), 5-6, 180.

### CHAPTER III

#### SOLOMON'S REIGN: THE GENERAL COURT AS AN ARBITER OF DISPUTES IN 18TH-CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS

All societies experience conflict. In pre-modern groups differences are mediated by tradition, custom, and ascriptive authority figures; differences are generally local and affect only a few individuals. Modernizing societies, however, frequently lack adequate resources for conflict resolution, and the problems themselves are often too extensive and too deeply divisive to permit rapid, easy solution. Even political and legal institutions designed to mediate conflict serve more to release tension than to deal realistically with the social or emotional causes of disagreement.<sup>1</sup>

In seventeenth-century Massachusetts, tradition, custom, and prescriptive religion established many taboos which helped maintain a relatively low level of conflict; ascriptive authority figures (magistrates) and subsequently legal structures serve to control those disagreements which did become more and more common by the end of the century. It is clear, however, that despite the continued importance of county legal institutions the General Court became the dominant institution for conflict-resolution during the eighteenth century. This conclusion is buttressed by theory, by the

evolution of the Court as a rationalized political body, and by an examination of the kinds of conflicts the Court became involved in. Particularly in areas involving decision-making power, defense and law enforcement, and the control of economic conflict and trade, the central bureaucracy extended its apparatus more and more, financially and physically, gradually usurping local power and increasingly leaving smaller political units with a mixture of ceremonial and secretarial duties.<sup>2</sup>

This decisive shift in the locus of power was made possible by a variety of factors. Initial Puritan attitudes towards centralized government, together with events of the late seventeenth century, certainly helped create a supportive atmosphere for the General Court's increased level of activity. Franchise changes also allowed greater participation in government at the colonial level. Equally significant, finally, was the shift in norms and attitudes concerning the function of power in society. Power requires consent and reciprocity; it also involves responsibilities and obligations.<sup>3</sup> The General Court became accepted as the locus within the colony after it became clear that only it could guarantee peace and prosperity.

Proof of these contentions can be found in a detailed examination of the Court's regulatory role. Evidence presented in chapter one indicated that the Court played an essential role in settling disputes within and between towns. Michael Zuckerman, on the other hand, has argued that this



was a relatively minor service of the Court, that central authority grew more distant after 1691, both physically and psychologically. According to this thesis, towns were self-contained politically and were concerned largely with local issues rather than provincial affairs. Local option dominated in education, for instance, and selectmen easily obtained abatement from provincial taxes when they felt it necessary. There was a very low level of litigation, a low percentage of disputes coming before the Court, and the town controlled its own political and physical growth.<sup>4</sup>

These arguments can be attacked forcibly on several levels. The evidence regarding tax abatements, for example, stems almost exclusively from the 1750s and 1760s, a period of severe financial difficulty. Several times, moreover, the Court refused abatement, and the leniency after 1750 was due to the war and its accompanying economic problems more than anything else.<sup>5</sup> One could argue, in fact, that Zuckerman's evidence proves exactly the opposite of what he contends; the picture which emerges is that of a forgiving government, aiding its constituents in times of need.

The towns which Zuckerman chose to investigate in greater detail, moreover, were all unusually small; only five of them had new towns created from them, and even then the five spawned only one town each. Groton and Sutton, in contrast, had ten divisions each, and Lancaster seven. From 1730 on, moreover, petitions from towns asking for assistance in aiding paupers increased dramatically, as did petitions re-

questing permission to tax unincorporated lands. The volume of litigation also rose significantly in the first half of the eighteenth century; Middlesex County civil cases increased tenfold in the first five decades of the century. By 1730, moreover, the second party involved in the suit was more often than not from a rural area. Civil suits involving both parties from the same town also decreased; there was an increased distance between the towns involved, and a vast majority of the cases came from communities with over 2000 inhabitants,<sup>6</sup> clearly reflecting the impact of urbanization trends.

Another critical reviewer of the Zuckerman thesis has suggested "that the legal system was an independent and effective instrument of social control, asserting the authority of the central government over the individual...."<sup>7</sup> There were three court levels in the colony--the justices of the peace, the county courts of common pleas, and the superior court of judicature, which travelled on circuit. Judgeships were often patronage gifts for local dignitaries, and they brought the figure of provincial government directly into the towns, accomplishing rather easily what has proved to be most difficult to do in contemporary modernizing nations. Court power was used "when local consensus methods failed to find a solution or were inappropriate to the nature of the conflict." As we have already illustrated, courts had power over such areas as lands, town government, taxation, ministers, school teachers, poor relief, and high-

ways, and they used such power frequently and with clear indication of which level of government was in command. Available evidence suggests, finally, and my own work tends to confirm this impression, that the number of disputes reaching the General Court may have been as much as three to four times greater than Zuckerman claims. Many more cases, of course, were also decided directly in the courts.<sup>8</sup>

A statistical analysis of rates of compliance of towns to Court laws and regulations further bolsters these findings. By 1736, compliance rates were almost overwhelming among all town types in the areas of public welfare, commerce regulation, criminal and civil law, general administration, and general governmental, fiscal, and defense measures. When a town did not comply, the reason generally stemmed from longstanding custom rather than deliberate obstinacy. Thus, as frontier and rural towns with initially low compliance rates slowly approached the colony's norm, a tightly integrated provincial community resulted.<sup>9</sup>

An examination of the actual acts and resolves passed by the colonial government, particularly in considering them as reflections of the ethos of a society and of its locus of authority, strengthens the impression of cohesiveness. With the 1692 charter, administration and administrators became topics of primary legal concern--something not in evidence in the earlier laws of the colony. This concern undoubtedly reflected the emergence of bureaucratic structures in the framework of governmental conception. Other examples can be

found in the proliferation of laws during the 1690s and early 1700s concerning the settlement of estates and debts, reflecting the concern for private property characteristic of modernizing nations. Both during the latter years and later in the century, the Court became more explicitly involved in the provincial regulation of various types of clerks, commissioners and licenses, and sought to standardize the system of weights and measures used throughout the colony. During these years, however, it was the Court's relationships with the towns that most clearly revealed its growing powers.<sup>10</sup>

Petitions from the towns themselves to the General Court provide a fruitful source of information regarding the regulatory role of the governing body. During the early 1690s, the Court was a focal point of administration and relief for the entire colony in reaction to the ravages of war. It played a crucial, though largely unsuccessful, role in the Salem witchcraft trials.<sup>11</sup> As before, too, boundary settlements continued to be overseen by the Court. In 1693, for example, the Court appointed a committee to run a new line between Topsfield and Ispwich, necessitating further court intervention in the resulting controversy over several families who desired to be joined to Topsfield. In 1697, committees were appointed to settle the Hatfield/Northampton, Rehoboth/Attleboro, and Freetown/Tiverton boundaries. In 1704, the Court handled a petition from Marlboro which asked it to decide whether settlers of Alcock's Farm were part of

the town. In 1707, Topsfield asked for a hearing regarding Boxford's claim to certain farms, and settling the boundary line between them. The court settled the Brookfield/Leicester boundary in 1730, and in the same year it heard a petition from the S. Reading precinct, which argued that parts of the precinct had been included in the newly established town of Wilmington and asked for a restoration of these lands. In the late 1730s, the Court settled other inter-town controversies, such as that between Chebacco and Ipswich and between Springfield and Suffield, both over the location of their boundaries.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps as important as the resolution of boundaries between towns were the time and effort expended on defining the colony's boundaries with her neighbors. The 1730's, 1740's, and 1750's witnessed considerable activity on the part not only of Massachusetts but also of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and New York, in efforts to clarify each of the mutual boundaries. The New Hampshire boundary was not settled with any degree of finality until 1741, Connecticut until 1750, Rhode Island until 1752, and New York until 1773. Particularly interesting were the land claims of Massachusetts on the southern New Hampshire border, made as a result of speculative grants in the 1720's and 1730's, and a heated dispute with Rhode Island over a gore of land in Attleborough.<sup>13</sup> These various attempts at physical definition attain even greater significance when considered in the context of modernization theory. As such, they represent attempts to

set the colony (or the particular town) off from the hostile world without.

The Court also intervened in disputes between and within towns as well. In 1694, for example, a bill was proposed and passed in an attempt to regulate salt water flat ownership.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the 1690s, the infamous Salem witchcraft trials, encompassing as they did more general conflicts between Salem Town and Salem Village, also dominated Court affairs. This latter conflict, in fact, is most appropriate as an example of the crucial role of the Court. Salem Village saw itself as victimized by the growth and dominance of the more secularized Salem Town; the dispute represented a microcosm of the problems besetting the colony as a whole. As disagreements grew in intensity and as local government failed to mollify the participants, it became increasingly obvious that the General Court was the only institution qualified to mediate the controversy. It failed, of course, but its later actions indicate that it did not forget the hard lesson learned at Salem.<sup>15</sup>

Contention within the colony certainly provided ample opportunity for the Court to exercise and extend its powers, as did the simple, daily problems of an expanding society. In 1698, for instance, Boston selectmen requested that the Court require persons who desired to become inhabitants of the town to seek their petition. In 1700, the inhabitants of Dartmouth in Bristol County complained of being charged for a bridge over the Taunton River for which they had no

use. Seven West Roxbury families attempted to petition the Court in 1705 for a more centrally located meetinghouse. Apparently they were on the outermost fringes of power, for their petition was not reviewed in the town meeting until 1712, and not sent to the Court until 1713. The controversy continued until 1722 when the group again petitioned the Court, revealing that Newton continued to tax them for church support, even imprisoning some of them for refusal to pay.<sup>16</sup> A particularly heated controversy that appeared in the Court records throughout the 1720s and 1730s involved a petition to divide Framingham into two towns. A contrary petition was filed to protest the proposed division, contending that many inhabitants were "so low in the World that we Conceive that they will not be able to bear up under and defray the Charge of Two Towns." Any division, the petitioners asserted, would not end but rather only aggravate strife within the town. Again, the fact that the town selectmen were the authors of the contrary petition to the Court reflects the failure of local officials to deal constructively with internal conflict. When a solution was finally agreed upon in 1726, the town "prayed that the Court would confirm the Same," and proceeded to order the act "Pursuant to the power and priviledges vested in them by the Laws of this province...." The language used here and throughout the controversy is particularly interesting, since it reveals substantial respect for the will and power of the Court.<sup>17</sup>

Precinct formation was also a major function of the Court. As individuals increasingly consolidated their land holdings on private farms further and further away from the old village centers, they found their lives considerably removed from those former social and political centers. They began to desire their own meetinghouses and schools, as well as some control over the disbursement of taxes and land. As a result, many areas successfully attained a legal status just short of that of a separate township. While these splits often took place quite peacefully, just as often there was a great deal of rancorous acrimony involved. Lockridge has illustrated the process in his history of Dedham, and other examples abound. The town of Lincoln, for instance, became a precinct in 1746 only after repeated petitions to both town and Court. Brookline waged a long and difficult battle in its effort to win separation from Boston. In this case, throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century there was "a sense of exploitation to the advantage of their large neighbor without commensurate returns." Boston's frequent extraction of poor rate payments from the town provides only one example of their hostile relationship.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps even more important, however, was the ever greater role the Court came to play through the century in disputes concerned entirely with internal town affairs, generally over distribution of the commons or over events and elections within the town meeting. In Haverhill, a controversy flared in 1721 over the town's fifth land division, as legal voters



who had not received previous allocations demanded to be included in the division. They organized a separate town meeting and petitioned the General Court, which ruled in 1725 that new officers be chosen and a new moderator appointed for the original town meeting.<sup>19</sup> Similar controversies resulted in Court intervention in both Watertown and Roxbury.<sup>20</sup> In 1738 some Roxford inhabitants petitioned the Court to declare a recent election in the town meeting illegal. A similar request, though unsuccessful, was made by Bellingham in 1739. Rehoboth citizens petitioned the Court in 1740 to declare a July town meeting null and void. Brunswick inhabitants submitted a petition in 1743 that argued the town's assessors had been illegally elected. A controversy erupted in Upton in 1748 between conflicting groups of inhabitants over the legality of a town meeting there. A similar disagreement arose in the same year in Berwick over the question of allegedly illegal voters taking part in an important town meeting. It was apparent throughout the first part of the century, moreover, that towns frequently petitioned the Court simply for the right to call a meeting of one sort or another, generally for election purposes.<sup>21</sup> The appearance of such requests at the highest level of provincial government reflects the growing inability of towns to successfully cope with the proliferation of local interests, and the growing importance of the Court as a neutral mediator.

A variety of minor roles were also performed by the Court at the request of towns. In 1731, the Court received

a petition from Topsfield, Reading, and Middleton regarding fish dams and mills on the Ipswich River that were obstructing the passage of the fish. In 1740 Provincetown asked the Court to stop certain persons from driving horses and cattle to feed around the harbor. In December, 1741 the town of Eastham voted to set up a committee to present a petition to the Court relative to the damage done by recent fire and floods. In May 1742 the same town asked "that an act be passed preventing cattle from feeding in certain parts of the Town, and Action of court hereon." They feared the destruction of property and the filling in of the harbor, later in the same year specifically asking for an act to prevent damage to Billingsgate Bay. In May 1743 the proprietors of the meadow lands along the Charles River in Medfield and Medway asked that a committee be appointed "to view the river and find the obstructions that cause it to overflow its banks and flood the meadows."<sup>22</sup> There were also petitions relating to the retrenchment of bounties and payment of flax and hemp certificates in the early 1740s, possibly reflecting the economic depression of those years.<sup>23</sup>

In 1749, Eastham once again asked that cattle be prohibited from running loose. In March 1750, Samuel Vinton of Braintree filed a petition with the Court asking for assistance in apprehending malefactors who had destroyed his orchard. Later in the same year people on the Neponset River lands in Dedham and Stoughton requested the appointment of a commissioner of sewers to remove obstructions in

the river. In December 1753 one Oliver Ellis petitioned on behalf of the inhabitants of Medfield and Medway, asking that the Court order the destruction of a dam built across the Charles River by Matthew Gastings. Further petitions requesting the construction of sewers to drain meadows and assistance in fencing in cattle were common throughout the 1740's and 1750's;<sup>24</sup> they reflect, undoubtedly, an increasing scarcity of land and a growing lack of cooperation between neighbors. For succor, citizens turned to the General Court, which offered ameliorative solutions designed to alleviate the problem but essentially neglect the basic causes.

The Court also became the center of efforts on the part of several towns to obtain ministerial services. As early as 1692, Watertown addressed a petition to the Court asking for assistance in finding a minister. In 1703, financial assistance was voted to Brookfield and Deerfield, to assist them in paying ministerial salaries. Scarred by war, Wells, Dunstable, York, and Longmeadow all submitted similar petitions. In a later war, Scarborough in 1724 petitioned for assistance in obtaining a minister. In 1725, the Court passed a resolution detailing the regulation of the duties of towns, parishes, and precincts towards their ministers.<sup>25</sup> Throughout the 1690s the Court voted financial support for frontier ministries; in fact, it often appointed and removed ministers and acted as arbiter in salary disputes. If informal mediation failed, the Court frequently resorted to direct legisla-

tive intervention.<sup>26</sup>

The Court also played an arbiter's role in settling the ecclesiastical disputes which beset southeastern Massachusetts after 1692. Bristol County had grown rapidly in the second half of the seventeenth century, and many of its towns, such as Swansea, had become dominated by Baptists and dissenters. At first, the courts and the legislature succeeded in mediating any disputes among groups of people over whom their minister should be. But by 1711, the Court had been forced to sustain the Swansea Baptists, simply because there were not enough Congregationalists in the town. The Court was also forced to deal with Quaker resistance in Dartmouth and Tiverton. Here, too, the Court at first succeeded in implementing its repressive measures, only to later adopt a more lenient policy. By the early 1730s, both Baptists and Quakers had succeeded in obtaining exemption from religious taxes and imprisonment. Similarly, the Court was forced to confront the rise of Arminianism in western Massachusetts, particularly in the person of Robert Breck of Springfield in the 1730s.<sup>27</sup> While the Court steadfastly battled against Breck and other forces of religious diversification, ultimately it had to accept reality. As we shall see in a later chapter, Massachusetts gradually but definitely moved in the direction of state religion. The sectarian exclusiveness of congregationalism was left in the past.

One of the most significant of the types of controversies to reach the Court involved the struggles of proprietors with

non-proprietors. Early battles occurred in Haverhill, Newbury, Duxbury, Billerica, and Lancaster. In 1681, Mendon petitioned the Court to have non-resident proprietors to pay an equal share of taxes; in 1684, the selectmen complained that only two of the proprietors were dwelling there. In 1685 Groton sued the nonresident proprietors to force them to assist in paying taxes; they had not done so despite a 1679 order from the Court that they pay rates on their lands as did the residents. In 1678, the inhabitants of Deerfield argued before the Court that absentees had the best land but did not improve it at all, sending no settlers and neglecting to pay for ministerial and other town charges. This was not surprising, since it appears that many of the original proprietors' shares had since been acquired by speculators.<sup>28</sup>

Related disagreements concerned timber regulations. The Court passed laws to protect proprietors' rights against encroachment, and the proprietors themselves frequently took action against trespassers. Such problems were in evidence at Dorchester, Wenham, Salem, Worcester, and other towns. One careful student of these controversies has concluded that such conflicts indicated the increase of population pressure, the growth of heterogeneity, and the emergence of incipient class consciousness. Indeed, non-proprietors generally sought a more equitable distribution of lands to all legal inhabitants of the town, and admissions of inhabitants to the board of proprietors. Compromise over the issue was frequent, usually through the use of committees or through

direct intervention by the General Court, though lawsuits were by no means unknown. The situation was worsened by a wave of speculation during the 1730s and a failure of many proprietors to live up to their obligations.<sup>29</sup>

The General Court took advantage of this turmoil to play an important regulative role in the geographical expansion of the colony. In some cases, the systems of control evolved came to resemble simple imperialism. a speedy settlement of frontier lands in the period immediately after the 1713 peace, for example, would have gone far in relieving Boston's refugee problem and in providing an effective buffer against frontier Indian attacks. As a result, the Committee for Eastern Claims and Settlements was established to control settlement in eastern Maine and New Hampshire, and five towns were designated for settlement. In 1715, two more towns were added. The whole process is readily illustrated by the resettlement of Yarmouth. There, a committee was formed consisting of men who all owned land in North Yarmouth, including Elisha Cooke, Jr. While there was a five-man resident sub-committee, it had no real powers and was completely under the control of the non-resident speculative committee. A similar process was attempted by the speculative companies previously mentioned, but without much success.<sup>30</sup>

The Court's constant involvement in land grants was particularly evident during the years 1715-1739. Most significant was the fact that the lands were granted, by and large, to military veterans, clearly illustrating the emergence of

a new, influential interest group and the intimate connection between the rise of the military and the growth in state power. The flood began as peace arrived temporarily in the early and mid-1720's. In 1722, a chain of new settlements was begun with the founding of two towns on the Housatonic River by one hundred and seventy-seven Hampshire County men. S. Hadley and Granby drew their populace from Hadley, while Amherst was settled by men from Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, and Northampton. That most of these men were young and unmarried further corroborates the existence of population pressure and declining land availability in the old townships. In 1726, Capt. Jeremiah Moulton of York petitioned the Court for one hundred acres of land. In the same session, encouraged by the peace, the towns of Ipswich, Newbury, and Amesbury sought new lands on both sides of the Merrimack River. In June 1727, the Court itself took the initiative, seeking both to relieve the pressure for new lands and to solve the problem of frontier defense by listing several towns to be settled between the Merrimack and the Concord Rivers, both for defense and to make room "for great Number of His Majesties Subjects to Settle who are by their increase straightned for want thereof...." In the same month, individual soldiers began to file land petitions in large numbers and in groups, and the next year saw substantive grants to the Narragansett war veterans in Maine.<sup>31</sup>

The real flood of grants, however, came in the 1730's, as the pressure of population and the decreasing availability of land began to heighten in impact. Land grants to the Narragansett veterans and their descendants continued, and grants in general occupied the bulk of petitions to the House. That population pressures and economic dislocation continued to be a major justification for the increased number of grants is evident from a House report on the subject:

Upon Consideration that Power, is given to the General Assembly to grant Lands, especially for the Planting or Settling of the Province, and that by the great Increase of His Majesty's good Subjects many that are inclined to Industry have not been able to obtain Lands for the Employment of themselves and Families, and great Numbers have removed to neighboring Colonies for their Accommodation.<sup>32</sup>

A clearer statement of the frontier thesis would be hard to find at this early stage of colonial settlement. Note, too, that the responsibility for expansion was placed solely on the General Court.

By 1736, speculation had also grown considerably, and Governor Belcher was urging further grants between the Merrimack and the Concord, as well as pushing the idea of raising money for the colony through land sales. Ten new townships were founded, and this was a particularly noteworthy year for the veterans and descendants of the 1690 expedition to Canada. In 1737, too, there was another flood of petitions totalling one hundred and twelve, only twenty-nine of which were dismissed. The same year, however, saw the emergence of a major land scandal involving grants along the Housatonic



River, as the General Court appointed a committee to investigate charges that various men received hundreds of acres and settled only one or two people on their grants. Apparently, the problem existed in other "settlements" as well.<sup>33</sup> This does not necessarily disprove the power of land scarcity as a major motive for expansion, however. It does show that the rural bourgeoisie we have mentioned were an extremely powerful group, often too powerful for the Court to control.

Land grants, however, were not the only results of the impact of war on the relationship between state and society. An enormous burden was placed upon the welfare capacities of the colony by the liabilities and losses caused by the war. While the volume of the resultant petitions was to be much greater during the French and Indian war, the foundations for dealing with such problems were laid during this period. The lack of British financial assistance for military actions during the 1720s and 1730s, moreover, heightened the financial strain placed upon the government.

While the petitions were surely legion, a few will be mentioned here to give some indication of the nature of the problem. In 1716, one Hugh Pike received £15 (renewed several times) for treatment of a crippling wound that remained open and unhealed. In 1723, a group of soldiers petitioned that during the Canada expedition they had received from Queen Anne each a gun and clothing. After performing their duty to the crown and returning home, however, "they were Comanded to deliver up their Gunds to this Government which

they obeyed: praying, That as the Guns were sent as a Present from the Queen, they may have the same now delivered to them, or be otherwise relieved in the Premises as this Court in their wisdom shall see meet." More common than usual complaint were petitions from disabled soldiers or from the widows of fatally wounded men, such as that presented by Jasparr Thames, of the Castle William garrison, who, "being rendered incapable of further Service," was recommended to the mercy of the Court "that he may be supported at the Garrison, as other Souldiers have been in the like Case." The year 1724 in particular seems to have been a problematic one in this respect. In March, several men petitioned the Court for redress of losses suffered at the hands of pirates. Dummer himself noted the problems of maintaining accurate muster rolls, "there being considerable Alterations, especially in the Eastern Forces by Sickness, Death, and Desertion...." Petitions for relief from wounded men were numerous; York County, moreover, seriously weakened by enlistments, sought to have their men released from duty.<sup>34</sup>

Three petitions in particular signify the variety and extent of the pressures upon the Court. One Amos Smith petitioned the Court "shewing that he contracted a great Sickness whil in the Service, whereby he is rendered incapable of getting an honest livelihood, praying the court would take the Premises into the Consideration, and make him such Allowance for Wages, Nursing and Dctors, as in their Wisdom shall seem meet." In a similar vein, Mary Siggorney sought

to recover her husband's wages for the period he was held captive by Indians. Finally, one John Flagg, evidently a respectable businessman, sought to be paid £10 4s "for the damage and loss he sustained by Sailors kept under the Town-House, that wer Impressed on the Cruize after the Pirates."<sup>35</sup> During the next several years the peak in welfare petitions continued, as did the ravages of war. The problem was perhaps epitomized by the plea of Benjamin Haley that the Court give him monetary aid for a trip to Canada to obtain the release of his son, captured three years earlier.<sup>36</sup>

The catalytic effect of war on political modernization has been widely noted; Massachusetts provides a clear example of a state not only expanding its powers through the conduct of war but also assuming the responsibility for redressing its resulting social problems.

It is apparent that the Massachusetts General Court was actively involved in a wide variety of social legislation and regulative activities. Such varied areas as licensing, war relief, precinct formation, ecclesiastical disputes, and settlement policy all came within its purview. The reasons for the ready acceptance of the new role of government were, of course, complex and legion. From the earliest days of settlement Massachusetts had entrusted the state with wider, more extensive powers than was the norm. The second half of the seventeenth century, moreover, witnessed the gradual but steady destruction of the traditional sense of Puritan community, and the search for renewed unity was politically

institutionalized to ensure stability. The political system itself, in turn, grew more and more specialized, extending its increasingly complex administrative activities into practically every sphere of society.

It would thus seem undeniable that Massachusetts had made significant progress on the road toward political modernity. Above all, the modern state represents a contract, serving as the ultimate gesellschaft association; it replaces local and traditional community groupings. The nature of post-1692 attitudes towards the new charter, together with expectant attitudes towards the provincial government in general, indicated a firm belief on the part of the Bay colonists that their state would play such a role, particularly if the imperial government should fail to satisfy their needs.

## NOTES

1. Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, eds., Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry (New Haven, 1950), 243; Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (New York, 1956) 39, 46, 79, 157, 46, 67, 54.
2. James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (New York, 1957), 406, Lasswell and Kaplan, Power and Society, 106; Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano, eds., The Integration of Political Communities (New York, 1964), 4, 40; Peter T. Mannicas, The Death of the State (New York, 1974), 81; Robert Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods: An Essay on Eighteenth Century American Politics (Boston, 1971), chs. 2-3; David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York, 1965),
3. Georges Balandier, Political Anthropology (New York, 1970), 38, 101, 103.
4. Michael Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1970), 18, 34, 38, 42, 9, Appendix I.
5. David Grayson Allen, "The Zuckerman Thesis and the Process of Legal Rationalization in Provincial Massachusetts," with a rebuttal by Zuckerman, William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXIX (1972), 443-468.
6. Ibid., 456-458.
7. L. Kinvin Wroth, "Possible Kingdoms: The New England Town From the Perspective of Legal History," American Journal of Legal History, XV (1971), 319.
8. Ibid., 324-326.
9. John Walter Putre, "Town and Province in Early Eighteenth Century Massachusetts: A Study in Institutional Interaction, 1692-1736" (Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1973). This pattern of vertical integration is an excellent example of penetration, whereby the central political body extends its influence to all areas of community life.
10. Acts and Resolves, I, see the entries under the appropriate subject heading in the Index.

11. See Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft (Cambridge, 1974). Also see Massachusetts Archives, LXX: 199, 201, 241, 358, 360.

12. Massachusetts Archives, CXIII: 51, 366-367; 114:305, 415ff., 478ff.; 115:28ff.; for other examples, 113:148ff, 300ff.

13. Journals, X:276-278, 289, for examples of the New Hampshire and Rhode Island boundary controversies; XI:294, 305, for Connecticut; XI:202, New Hampshire; XI:319-320 for the Attleborough controversy. The following Archives references are also appropriate: vols. 2, 3, 4 passim for the Connecticut boundary; 3, 4, 5, for New Hampshire; III:132, IV:97-99, 380-382, and 116:231-232, for New York; finally, vols. 4 & 6, passim, for all of the boundary controversies.

14. Resolves, I, 147.

15. See Boyer and Nissenbaum, Salem Possessed; Massachusetts Archives, 113:77ff.

16. Massachusetts Archives, CXIII:190.

17. Ibid., 114:17-57; a similar controversy shook the town of Brimfield from 1721-1731 (114:58-98).

18. Ibid., 12.

19. Roy H. Akagi, The Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies (Gloucester, 1963, c. 1924), 126-129; Journals, V:116.

20. Massachusetts Archives, XIV:68, 171-172, 174, 176-178, 184, 191-193, 202-203.

21. Ibid., CXIV:343ff., 407-410, 533-536; 115-38ff; 318ff., 391a-392, 406-407, 440-441, 197-198.

22. Ibid., LXX:485; Journals, X:187.

23. Journals, XII:50-52, 159, 166, 170-71.

24. Archives, 115, passim; Ibid., I:170, 185-186, 239-243.

25. Massachusetts Archives, XI:63-64; Journals, VI:64, 261.

26. Susan M. Reed, Church and State in Massachusetts Bay, 1691-1740 (Urbana, Ill., 1914), 67, 85.

27. Mary C. Foster, Hampshire County, Massachusetts: 1729-1754; A Covenant Society in Transition (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 196), 55ff.

28. Roy H. Akagi, The Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies: A Study of their Development, Organization, Activities and Controversies, 1620-1700 (Gloucester, 1963, c. 1924), 125-126, 129-131, 132-133; Frederick Jackson Turner, "The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay," in Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1962, c. 1920), 57-59. Robert J. Taylor, Western Massachusetts in the Revolution (Providence, 1954), shows that by the end of the seventeenth century, large grants were commonly given to three or four men rather than to prospective settlers, and absentee tracts often remained in the hands of the landlords.

29. Akagi, Town Proprietors, 139. Other instances of conflict with wealthy proprietors can be found in the Journals, VII:271-273, VIII:12, 28-29, 39, 45-46, 56-57, 125, 188-190, 221-222, 241, 266, 385.

30. Charles E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763 (New York, 1970), ch. IX.

31. Journals, VII:118, 146ff., 255, 294, 305-306; VIII: 199-200.

32. Ibid., I:13; XI:18, 69, xi, 31.

33. Lois Kimball Matthews, The Expansion of New England (Boston, 1909), 84.

34. Journals, I:141-142; V:264, 233; VI:10, 22, 24-26, 70, 72, 108, 133.

35. Ibid., VI:72, 108, 70.

36. Ibid., VI:231, 341, 367, 376, 429; VII:19-20, 45, 97, 115, 134; VIII:398; XI:xi; XV:35.

#### CHAPTER IV

##### IDEOLOGY AND THE COLONIAL PERCEPTION OF THE WORLD: 1692-1740

In recent years, ideology has become one of the most significant areas of historical research, and nowhere have the results been so fruitful as in early American history.<sup>1</sup> The concept of ideology occupies an equally important position, moreover, in the best of modernization studies, whose authors maintain that it serves both to justify social change and to maintain social unity in a period of increasingly differentiated interests.<sup>2</sup> The first part of this chapter, then, will develop a definition of ideology that reflects its importance as a factor in the evolution of modern society. The second section will explain why ideology is a subject particularly relevant to the study of colonial Massachusetts. Third, the chapter will examine the emergence of attitudes fundamental to the establishment of an effective ideology in eighteenth-century Massachusetts, including changing attitudes towards rulers, government, and law, evolving perceptions of the role of people in society and government, and the emergence of increasingly rational religion; this section will also focus on the role played by universal values such as peace, love, and harmony, which were maintained in spite of growing social discontent. The most significant portion of the chapter will examine the origins and formation of the whig ideology within the contexts of both modernization theory and historical



developments in Massachusetts. The concluding section will assess the role of myth in relation to ideology, and perhaps more importantly, explore the psychological function of ideology in modern society.

To comprehend fully the role of ideology in modernizing societies, one must first indicate how its function differs from that of religion in more traditional societies. Religion serves as an ordering of experience; it ensures that the established order of traditional society is taken for granted, and that its social arrangements are viewed as the only acceptable ones. Religion legitimizes and makes congruent a people's ethos and their metaphysic. It makes a certain way of life and of looking at the world seem inevitable and ultimately truthful, thus both giving meaning to reality and helping shape it through behavioral requirements. Most important, religion is an effective legitimator because it claims contact with the sacred, a mysterious power other than man which represents ultimate reality. Religion is thus a transcendental legitimator, infusing an element of the sacred into existing social relations and bringing all experience under an explanatory sacred canopy. It provides order in the face of imminent chaos, helping to explain the many contradictory and threatening aspects of traditional daily life by attributing them to an unfathomable divine plan. The course of man's existence is thus removed from his own control.<sup>3</sup>

Ideology, too, serves to provide a cohesive picture of reality, to justify and even sanctify certain social arrange-

ments, and to legitimize a particular ethos.<sup>4</sup> Beyond this, however, its common properties with religion diminish. Webster's Third International Dictionary defines ideology as "the integrated assertions, theories, and aims that constitute a sociopolitical program."<sup>5</sup> The first half of the definition reflects ideology's comprehensive, systematic integration of beliefs, but the second part leads us in a quite different direction. Ideology clearly reflects the process of social secularization, whereby society and culture are removed from the domination of religious symbols. While it too seeks to "sanctify existence by bringing every part of it under the dominion of the ultimately right principles . . .," ideology is more consistently concerned with symbols that urge communion with the sacred through the achievement of worldly and material goals; it operates primarily through the spheres of politics rather than religion. In its political program, appropriately, ideology reflects "an aggressive alienation from the existing society..." and asserts that the dominant institutions distort the truth; it promotes a program that will transform society according to the guidelines of that truth. In doing so, finally, it seeks to unify society and to minimize the differences between individuals and groups that reflect growing social complexity.<sup>6</sup>

It is essential, therefore, to explore in a somewhat more intimate fashion the relationship between the content of an ideology and the society from which it grows. A useful starting point is Clifford Geertz's discussion of the dis-

inction between interest theory and strain theory. In the first case, ideology is viewed as a mask and a weapon, as men pursue power under the guise of protective rhetoric designed to convince the population that their goals are best for the society as a whole. There is certainly a good deal of truth in this essentially Marxist approach to ideology; it helps point out the self-interest of the purveyors of ideological rhetoric, and allows us to introduce the notions of false consciousness and ideological hegemony, whereby other classes are convinced that their cause is noble and to their own benefit, when in fact they are serving the needs of the dominant class.

Ultimately, though, interest theory by itself is inadequate because it lacks a psychology of motivation and tends to put excessive emphasis on conscious, machiavellian manipulation. Ideologies are also closely related to social norms, expectations, and tensions, and they both reflect and influence each of these categories. In this sense, ideological thought serves as a symbolic outlet "for emotional disturbance generated by social disequilibrium." As such, it involves cathartic and projective elements in its use of scapegoats, morale elements in justifying and supporting the existing social arrangements; it also helps to unify disparate and hostile social classes, and serves an advocacy role in articulating the specific strains affecting the society. Strain theory also has its weaknesses, though, particularly in its fondness for an automatic view of cause and effect which disregards the

actual process of symbol formulation.

Some measure of accuracy is gained by combining the two theories, but a truly useful conception of ideology must also involve an exploration of the connections between symbolic figures and social reality. What, specifically, do the various symbols mean and how did they acquire their connotations? In traditional political systems, individuals act according to untaught feelings. Formal ideologies emerge precisely when politics seems to be freeing itself from religious canons and received tradition, and they consequently become a crucial source of sociopolitical meanings and attitudes. In a metaphorical sense, the symbols ideologies adopt use familiar terms and beliefs in a new way to explain social change and to ease the strain of such systematic upheavals as modernization.<sup>7</sup> The symbols thus adopted, therefore, must closely reflect political and social reality in order to be effective.

Colonial Massachusetts is a most appropriate area within which to explore the development of ideology, in both its modernization and its early American contexts. It was in Massachusetts that the evolution from tradition to modernity was most extreme during the colonial period; it was certainly in Massachusetts that religion and ideology played the most active roles in the colony's destiny. During the early years of the seventeenth century, Puritans knew who they were; puritanism provided them with a philosophy that explained their entire existence. The traditional social and economic

beliefs the early settlers adopted, moreover, perfectly suited their needs and their beliefs as to what a God-fearing society should resemble. Each individual possessed a calling, authority was ascriptive and obedience deferential, and economic affairs were subservient to the peace, well-being, and holiness of society. The chaos of the external world was easily explainable as a sign of God's coming or as a reflection of his unfathomable plans for man. The success of religion as a sacred canopy was short-lived, however, as social differentiation, religious diversity, and economic growth shattered the remnants of traditionalism and moved the colony in several different directions. Even for those steadfast in their beliefs, Puritanism could no longer serve as an adequate explanation of reality. Indeed, as the eighteenth century dawned, it seemed to explain very little, and it certainly no longer served to preserve traditional social unity.

It was in Massachusetts, too, that education and acquaintance with classical and Renaissance works of scholarship were most widespread, and it was there that communication facilities were best developed. As Puritanism declined in influence, these sources provided an alternative belief system, a metaphysic that became known as the whig ideology. In addition to the particular functions we have already noted, the whig ideology created a common purpose through the incorporation of universal values, a shared cultural heritage, and a language embedded in a commonly accepted view of political

and social relations. With the rise of pluralistic values and world views, it became increasingly difficult to maintain a communal orientation; people knew neither their social position nor what to expect from their fellows. The whig ideology filled this gap. We might expect, then, that it provided colonists with a patterned explanation of the disruption of traditional puritanism, that it challenged prevailing assumptions about imperial control, that it created new political loyalties, that it offered new interpretations of the past and utopian visions of the future, and that it provided specific guidelines for dealing with the political realities of Massachusetts politics. It did all of these things. Most important, it combined religious fervor with a secular orientation that made it an ideal nurturing vehicle for the development of American capitalism.

While sociologists and political scientists developed a comprehensive approach to ideology rather early, it was only with the publication of Bernard Bailyn's Ideological Origins of the American Revolution in 1967 that historians began to comprehend the nexus between ideological thinking and revolution in the eighteenth-century world. Bailyn contended that a systematic body of ideas--the whig ideology--was the major causative factor in the coming of the American Revolution. This ideology drew from classical sources, Enlightenment rationalism, English common law, the political and social theories of Puritanism, and the English radical heritage; its key concepts were those of natural rights, the contrac-

tual basis of society and government, and the uniqueness of England's liberty-preserving constitution.<sup>8</sup> Underlying these beliefs and welding them into a forceful, cohesive whole were certain basic assumptions. Power, for instance, meant the dominion of some men over others, the human control of human life. While not in itself evil, power tended to expand beyond its legitimate boundaries. It was the peculiar capacity of the English constitution and its balanced governmental structure to check such forces. Liberty, on the other hand, was viewed as the capacity to exercise natural rights within limits set by laws enacted by balanced, popularly elected legislatures. The colonists viewed history as the perennial struggle between the forces of power and corruption and those of liberty; they feared, indeed, that a conspiracy was at work to destroy liberty, and that the course of this plot could be clearly observed in history.<sup>9</sup>

Bailyn's work has exerted widespread influence on the course of American historiography; his use of the concept of ideology, however, was often vague and imprecise. Though he clearly identified a crucial, cohesive body of thought, Bailyn had, to some extent, failed to create an appropriate context for these ideas. His definition of ideology, for instance, was so narrowly construed as to leave the impression at times that ideas arose apart from social and political influence and exerted an independent causative force.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, his failure to recognize the dialectic relationship between ideology and the environment has been forcefully

attacked elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> Despite his subsequent volume on the subject, moreover, a great many related areas were left unexplored. How widespread, for instance, was the whig ideology? Were alternative bodies of thought available? Did different social groups respond to the ideology in different ways? Most importantly, how did these ideas arise, and how did they come to be accepted by Americans? While Bailyn made some tentative explorations in the latter area, it remained for historians like J.G.A. Pocock<sup>12</sup> to explore the transatlantic, dialectical relationship between ideology and society. Not all of these questions, of course, can be answered adequately in the brief space of one chapter, but the following pages will examine the changing structure of thought in provincial Massachusetts and explore the transformations which established the basis for the emergence of the whig ideology. We will also assess the nature of the sources that influenced the colonists, trace the growth of the ideology itself, and make some tentative judgments concerning the universality of whig ideas.

Few would quarrel with the notion that ideology connotes a unified system of beliefs that prompt people to action. Underlying the formation of such belief systems, however, are essential changes in values and attitudes. Psychologist Milton Rokeach, for instance, contends that man's organized thought can be divided into two spheres consisting of belief and disbelief systems, each reflecting an individual's conscious and unconscious expectations from the environment.



Each sphere is a politico-philosophical system representing man's attempt to understand his universe.

The systems are divided into central, intermediate, and peripheral regions. The central, or primitive, region is composed of pre-ideological beliefs about whether the world is basically a friendly or an unfriendly place to live in, whether people are to be trusted or feared, whether the future is to be feared or looked forward to, and about self-worth. The intermediate region is concerned with the nature of authority and the information extended by persons in authoritative positions. The peripheral region, finally, consists of relatively unimportant beliefs determined largely by the dictates of authority. The total belief system is integrated and holistic; whatever characterizes the primitive region, for instance, is also reflected in the intermediate region.<sup>13</sup> Changes in any of the component beliefs, therefore, affect the entire belief system, and it would be useful to explore such changes over time in colonial thought.

Franklin Baumer's explorations of European developments in these areas offer some significant guidelines. Baumer contends that between 1600 and 1900, significant change occurred in several areas of thought: perceptions of the nature of God, of nature itself, of human nature, of society, and of history. The transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century in particular, he asserts, involved the emergence, first of all, of a more humanistic view of God. Such harsh doctrines as predestination became less common,

there was a significant increase in reasoned religion, and people placed less faith in the sacred, miraculous, and transcendental. God himself became somewhat more definable in human terms, a bit more accessible to human knowledge.

A second major development involved a growing trend towards mathematical and abstract pictures of nature. Third, man became the starting and ending point of sciences during the eighteenth century, as a belief both in the perfectability of man and in his power to shape his own destiny became paramount. Fourth, the static view of society which had dominated the seventeenth century gave way to a much more dynamic view. In the first instance, society had been viewed as unalterably established by God; in the second, as completely alterable, changing to meet the specific conditions of various historical eras. Politics, in this case, became dominated by political empiricism; government became a more human and rational enterprise based on natural rules and laws and free from the superstition and caprice of traditional governmental structures. The eighteenth-century view of history, finally, incorporated a more modern idea of progress, with much less emphasis on history as the will of God and proportionately more stress on progress as the result of man's own striving.<sup>14</sup>

In a surprising number of cases, the patterns of thought which emerged in eighteenth-century New England followed a similar line of development. As Perry Miller has noted, much of the literature of this period represented "a shedding

of the religious conception of the universe, a turning toward a way of life in which the secular state...has become central. In New England we can see as clearly as anywhere how Protestantism was imperceptibly carried over into the new order...by translating Christian liberty into those liberties guaranteed by statute. Which is another way of saying that religion became the support, not of Winthrop's ideal duty, but of property." Given the scope of this work, it is not possible to provide a detailed history of these transformations. In particular, we will not be able to trace the persistent remnant of conservative thought which course through the literature.<sup>15</sup> The following pages will provide, instead, a summary of the major developments with appropriate examples; the section will conclude with a more detailed examination of the thought of two crucial transition figures; John Wise and Jonathan Mayhew.

Eighteenth-century views of the nature of God and man were radically different from those entertained by seventeenth-century Puritans. The seventeenth century, to be sure, contained its share of both predestinationists and preparationists, while the eighteenth century revealed its partial sympathy for more traditional Calvinism during the Great Awakening. Nonetheless, the decided emphasis of seventeenth-century Puritanism was on the absolute sovereignty of God and the absolute dependency of man on his maker; despite many variations, this remained the core doctrinal belief of most puritans. In the eighteenth century, by contrast, God

was consistently pictured in more benevolent, humanistic terms, and perceived gulf between man and God became increasingly narrower. Man began to be regarded in a rational, more tempered manner. Greater stress was placed on the power of reason in the human personality and on the ability of man to exercise greater control over both his environment and his own destiny.<sup>16</sup>

Our considerations of Wise and Mayhew will throw these assertions into greater relief, but a brief examination of the ideas of several representative thinkers would help clarify the argument, and indicate as well the complexity of the evolutionary process which characterized provincial Massachusetts thought. John Norton, Ipswich minister in the mid-seventeenth century, provides a strong point of departure. For Norton, man was completely dependent on the absolute sovereignty of God; he could do nothing to secure his own justification, which depended entirely upon the actions of God. While Norton believed that man retained a moral sense that gave him at least a modicum of self-respect, he also felt that humanity was totally depraved and possessed an intellect incapable in its natural state of perceiving spiritual things.<sup>17</sup>

Samuel Willard, acting president of Harvard and pastor of Old South Church, reveals a similar loyalty to Calvinist theology, but with a potentially disruptive spark of awe at the wonder of man's gifts. Like Norton, Willard emphasized the complete control God exercised over the universe; while

similarly traditional in essence, his view also incorporates a sense of respect for man's powerful, though limited, abilities. He contended that reason and the pursuit of happiness comprised the essence of man; through his use of reason and guided by the light of nature, man could discover human wisdom and the moral order, he could develop his intellectual skills to study natural theology and to unravel the mysteries of the Bible, and he could use his moral sense to lead a decent life. These skills, however, could not lead to an understanding of the mysteries of faith or to communion with God; they could not bring salvation. In the end, Willard believed man was dependent on the mercy and good will of God; his natural powers could not serve as a substitute for the spirit of the word.<sup>18</sup>

Benjamin Colman's beliefs followed similar patterns, but Colman's temperament also reveals a certain sympathy for the more relaxed tolerance of the age of reason. Colman's Brattle Street Church opened membership and sacraments to all, and Colman himself viewed reason as God's greatest gift to man, "the law and light of Nature...." But if his delight in man went beyond even Willard's, it was man's ability to glorify God that pleased him the most. His belief in the full sovereignty of God remained unshaken, and he maintained that man's reason was useless in the quest for salvation.<sup>19</sup>

Charles Chauncy provides a final example of the changing attitudes towards God and man; indeed Chauncy, together with

Mayhew and Wise, provides the best example of the liberalization of puritan thought during the provincial period. Chauncy's theology was based on the benevolence of God, whose ultimate intention in creation was man's happiness, and who worked his mysteries in orderly, predictable ways that could be completely fathomed by man's reason. Chauncy viewed man, in fact, as an independent moral agent guided by a sense of reason unharmed by the fall. Subject only to the penalty of death, man's integrity remained whole, his nature perfectible even within the confines of temporal existence. Sin came from environmental temptation rather than an inherently corrupt nature; man's failure came when he failed to achieve his innate, dazzling potential. Chauncy's universe obviously revolved around man to a considerable extent, his conceptions clearly influenced by the Enlightenment; and yet in the end he returned to God's sovereignty when confronted with the thorny issue of man's frequent failure to gain happiness. In such cases, Chauncy contended, God's benevolence often forced him to overrule man's free will to ensure his happiness and thus protect the goal of creation.<sup>20</sup>

Chauncy's beliefs were by no means restricted to a small number of well-educated ministers; particularly after 1730, the influence of Arminianism, for instance, became pervasive in several areas of the colony, especially Springfield. Arminian beliefs encompassed the doctrine of self-help, the most logical extreme of the preparationists, whereby man could make his own way toward salvation through exemplary

character and the performance of good works. Ministers such as Lemuel Briant, Ebenezer Gay, Israel Loring, John Baxter, Samuel Wigglesworth, Joseph Parsons, and of course Chauncy and Mayhew all reflected to varying degrees the impact of these doctrines.<sup>21</sup>

Developments of a similar nature were involved in the evolution of Puritan attitudes towards their rules. Of all Reformation ideologies, Puritanism was among the strongest in its questioning of centralized political authority, due in some part, no doubt, to its continual conflicts with Anglicanism and members of the English ruling class. The migration to Massachusetts, however, had served in part to re-assert the traditional lines of authority. Winthrop and other early magistrates were viewed as re-incarnations of Israeli patriarchs; it was their duty to guide society towards the 'typological fulfillment of God's covenant. At the same time, though, there was a clearly modern orientation in many expressed views towards authority. The population no longer accepted a fundamental inequality between the ruler and the ruled, and among its many newly-acquired responsibilities, the state became obligated to manipulate events in such a way as to ensure the continuation of traditional religious and social values.<sup>22</sup> This duty required a centralization of power that was inimical to traditional societies, and the resultant nature of seventeenth-century politics certainly contributed much to the emergence of modernity in Massachusetts.

During the early part of the seventeenth century, then, Massachusetts citizens elected rulers who embodied traditional political characteristics and whose lives reflected loyalty to the Puritan mission; the literature of the first few decades accurately reflects these desires. During the crisis years of the 1670s and 1680s these values were re-emphasized. Rulers, William Hubbard felt, were to be characterized by the "beauty of their order," their "wisdom of conduct," their "unity of Council," and their "strength of courage and resolution." "The sword of civil power," Michael Wigglesworth argued, was "put into their hands by divine appointment...", and that appointment was intended to further God's cause only.<sup>23</sup> During and after the struggles with the royal governors of the early 1700s, however, the expressed concerns of the literature began to change their focus. It was not a doctrinal change, but rather a reaction to the lack of sympathy the executive branch showed to the Massachusetts cause, and a growing realization that the people no longer occupied an equal position in the government. The power of civil rulers was increasingly viewed as derived from the people and limited by them; the ruler could hold office only with their consent, since the right to rule was founded in a compact rather than in mere strength or power. Both ministers and such popular oracles as the New England Courant exhibited considerable skepticism towards rulers and great men, contending that such greatness did not necessarily imply wisdom or goodness, nor did it grant these men the



right to seek their own honor. Too many of them, the Rev. Peter Clark maintained, "have no sense of the Misfortunes of other Men, nor Tenderness for those who suffer them...."<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the 1720s, 1730s, and 1740s, popular rhetoric emphasized that a good ruler incurred personal hazard for the sake of his country and for the increase of its wealth.<sup>25</sup> Such dictums were entirely consistent with seventeenth-century attitudes, but the context was decidedly different; during this period, rulers were generally not sympathetic to the people's needs, and the sermons and essays on the subject carry more of a tone of concern and fear more than of pride and confidence. Increasingly, moreover, rulers were beseeched to provide the people with material wants and civil liberties, often to the exclusion of or at least prior to spiritual concerns. Again, rulers had always been expected to provide such benefits, but certainly both the emphasis placed on them and the secondary position accorded spiritual growth were entirely new developments. Similarly innovative were the thoughts of such ministers as William Williams, who in 1741 characterized the ideal ruler as a man of martial skill and prowess, a cultivator of the art of war. Williams's notions were commonplace among certain proponents of the whig ideology, but they were unusual in their combative connotations.<sup>26</sup>

Similarly, Puritans had always viewed government as a necessary evil resulting from the fall, and as such its general purpose, apart from the worship and glory of God, had

largely been negative, its role to control and repress the evil tendencies in man's nature.<sup>27</sup> During the 1690s, however, as Massachusetts witnessed the evils which could beset a society lacking strong government, a more positive tone began to arise; government acquired new significance as an active promoter of secular and civil prosperity. During the eighteenth century, the popular press in particular began to argue that government's essential function was to further the established wealthy and materially successful society, and to protect civil rights and liberties as well as virtue and religion; religion, the foundation of seventeenth-century society, was now only one goal among many. Ministers like John Barnard, moreover, concerned themselves increasingly with constitutional questions in their discussions of government. Barnard was well versed in the history of the English constitution and in such subjects as balance of power, and they seemed to occupy a predominant place in his sermons.<sup>29</sup>

A more activist, secular notion of government was accompanied by the emergence of a distinctly modern attitude towards the law. We have already discussed the decline of discretionary power in seventeenth-century Massachusetts; lawsuits, fraud, and other problems reflective of the growing complexity of society were also increasing. By the mid-eighteenth century, it was expected that the law itself would provide balance and correction for the disruptions, acting as a safeguard for the rights and liberties of the people. Even Increase Mather, a traditional second generation patri-

arch, contended that laws "are the sinews of the body Politick. Next to Religion, the happiness of a People consists in Civil Liberties...Now civil Liberties are secured by the Establishment of Righteous Laws for that end." The Independent Advertiser argued in 1748 that no one, not even the King, could be considered above the law. Like government, finally, the law was to devote its initial attention to the preservation of property and civil liberties. Only then, Reverend Edward Holyoke contended, would religion be attended to.<sup>30</sup>

The evidence presented thus far has been somewhat summary and fragmentary, limited by the scope and length of the chapter, and designed only to outline the main trends of eighteenth-century thought. It would therefore be helpful to examine in greater detail the thought of two of the most important provincial thinkers, John Wise and Jonathan Mayhew. Wise is well known for his stubborn opposition to Governor Andros, his bitter quarrels with the Mathers, and his close, friendly relations with his Ipswich parishioners. His major works are A Vindication of the Government of New-England Churches, The Churches Quarrel Espoused, and A Word of Comfort to a Melancholy Country; the first two were written in defense of traditional congregational polity, while the third was penned in support of the 1720 land bank scheme.<sup>31</sup> This latter fact is in itself significant, for it indicates that Wise's interests certainly lay as much in the secular field as in the religious.

Wise was a revolutionary thinker in at least three different areas: his thoughts on the nature of man, his interpretation of the role of reason in human nature and in society, and his attitudes towards government. His view of the nature of man, for instance, was decidedly more benign than that which prevailed during the seventeenth century. He asserted that every man's being held the principle of self-love and self-preservation, but that it also possessed a social disposition which bred in the individual a love of mankind in general. Indeed, he argued that it was a fundamental law of nature "That man is not so Wedded to his own interest, but that he can make the Common good the mark of his Aim..." Man, in Wise's view, was "a very Noble Character..." and Wise was more interested in exploring the possibilities of human achievement than in decrying human depravity. He viewed even natural liberty outside the social condition from a benign perspective, whereas a man like Winthrop could not have imagined such liberty as anything but brutish.<sup>32</sup>

Equally significant was Wise's attitude toward the role of reason in human nature. In presenting his argument in defense of traditional congregational polity, he relied heavily on the works of Samuel Pufendorf, a seventeenth-century German philosopher whose works were well known in the English world, and whose views on natural law and reason greatly influenced him.<sup>33</sup> Following Pufendorf, Wise dispensed with biblical evidence in favor of rational proof; reason, he argued, was available to all men and could pro-

vide the individual with a degree of certainty equal to that provided by revelation. Man could be a sociable being, for instance, because his power of reason enabled him to contemplate the human condition and make the appropriate judgments.<sup>34</sup>

Wise's views of government and society, finally, reflect a similar orientation. Civil government, he contended, was the result of "humane-Free-Compacts and not of Divine Institution; it is the Product of Mans Reason, of Humane and Rational Combinations, and not from any direct Orders of Infinite Wisdome...." The particular form of government was left to the people of each society to decide for themselves, from their own reasonable assessment of the situation. The origin of civil power, Wise contended, lay with the people who must give their consent by vote at each stage of the formation of the government. He envisioned a representative democracy, with a General Assembly closely controlled by the whole people. Like many other thinkers of the period, moreover, Wise could calmly discuss the purposes of government without even mentioning the glory and service of God: "The End of all good Government is to Cultivate Humanity, and Promote the happiness of all, and the good of every Man in all his Rights, his Life, Liberty, Estate, Honour...." While a conservative in his views of religious polity, Wise thus combined secular views of God, man, and government into a cohesive world-view far removed from that of seventeenth-century puritanism. This is perhaps best illustrated by his very early use of many of the basic concepts and symbols that

were to characterize the Whig ideology; the peculiarly beneficial nature of the English constitution, the rights and duties of Englishmen, the benefits of the Massachusetts charter, and the hatred of arbitrary power.<sup>35</sup>

Jonathan Mayhew, whose influence reached its peak some thirty years after Wise's career ended, further reflects the liberalization of eighteenth-century thought in social, religious, and political spheres. Indeed, his theology could scarcely have been farther removed from seventeenth-century Puritanism and still remain within the bounds of congregational polity. Mayhew defined God's sovereignty and justice, for instance, solely in terms of goodness; there was barely a hint of the fierce retributive justice that often coursed through seventeenth-century sermons. Rather, he pictured God as showing a tender concern for human welfare, and acting as "a compassionate Parent, a gentle master..., a merciful and faithful Creator." God, in sum, was a master who sought to please and to fulfill the needs of his servants.<sup>36</sup>

Mayhew's view of the nature of man similarly reflected the influence of eighteenth-century rationalist currents. Men are naturally endowed, he contended, with the proper faculties to discern the difference between good and evil, right and wrong: "Men have naturally as clear a conception of the general difference betwixt moral good & evil, antecedent to all consideration of human laws and compacts, yea, to the consideration of the will of God himself, as they have of the difference betwixt light and darkness." However

abused these faculties might be, Mayhew asserted that even the most degenerate men would always possess a real sense of right and wrong. All men possessed an essentially rational nature which could be cultivated and improved upon continually.<sup>37</sup>

Such beliefs naturally had an effect upon Mayhew's religious doctrines, and his work does indeed present some of the most direct statements of religious rationalism among eighteenth-century congregational thinkers. Influenced by Locke's theory of the senses, he believed that revelation was given by God in human language, accommodated to human capacity. Since man's most significant natural capacity was the use of reason, Mayhew contended that all men had not only a right but a duty to judge religious issues for themselves; indeed, it was their obligation even to not believe there was a God until they had impartially examined the issue and arrived at a rational conclusion, supported by the evidence of their senses.<sup>38</sup>

Equally essential to Mayhew's thoughts were the concepts of benevolence and happiness, notions which played a significant role in mid-eighteenth-century social thought. Love, in Mayhew's view, was the essential binding force of society, "the benevolence of rational beings towards their fellow creatures, which supposes, that benevolence is always under the direction of reason, pointing out to it the ways in which it is to exert itself...." Benevolence was essential, moreover, to the attainment of happiness, "the only good end,

the only thing that is valuable for its own sake...."<sup>39</sup> Such concerns were quite different from those of the seventeenth-century patriarchs. In Mayhew's perceptions of God, man, and the purpose of life, he embraced themes that would have been taboo in the Massachusetts of John Winthrop; he believed, in essence, that a sober, ethical life was in itself a guarantee of salvation, and that religious striving would bring worldly success as well.

Mayhew's most famous doctrines are his theories of political society and his assertion of man's right to revolution. Both in his well-known pamphlet, A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and in other publications, he outlined a view of politics which followed directly from his benign views of God, man, and human nature. Mayhew contended that while it was proper conduct to submit to those rulers who exercised their power in the acceptable fashion, it was only a sign of weakness to submit to those who did not; citizens should not even pay taxes to such individuals. Government was constructed for the good of society; rulers retained the right to exercise power only insofar as they fulfilled their duty to further this end. Resistance was both a right and a duty "whenever this shall be necessary to the public safety and happiness." The Revolution of 1688, for instance, reflected the people's defense of their natural and legal liberties "against the unnatural and illegal encroachments of arbitrary power."<sup>40</sup>



Apart from the obvious and oft-noted prophetic implications of this sermon, and in addition to the clear referents to elements of the whig ideology, this pamphlet is notable for two additional reasons. First, Mayhew states explicitly at the outset that his method of scriptural analysis was strictly according to rational proof methodology; such an admission gives some indication of the extent to which rationalism pervaded his thought. Second, it is particularly illuminating, in light of Morton White's recent work in this area,<sup>41</sup> to note Mayhew's assumption that a natural right implies a duty to pursue that right; hence, the right to revolution becomes a duty to revolt against an unjust ruler. He had made a similar claim earlier in discussing the role of reason and self-judgment in religion: "Did I say, we have a right to judge and act for ourselves? I now add--it is our indispensable duty to do it."<sup>42</sup> Mayhew was perhaps the first to make explicit what had been implicit as early as Wise: that man now had a duty to seize control of his world himself, that the burden of judgment and of action lay with him alone.

It is clear, then, that a significant portion of Massachusetts' social, political, and religious attitudes was evolving towards a more secular orientation, greatly influenced by the almost daily dialectical relationship with English governing authorities and policies. The emergence of these ideas also placed New Englanders in the mainstream of sweeping European intellectual changes. The social, political,

and economic transformations affecting Massachusetts were quite similar to those disrupting western European society, though obviously on a greatly reduced scale; the colony both evolved ideas similar to those expressed by European thinkers and adopted appropriate European intellectual constructs for its own use. Thus Massachusetts publications reflected influence by the thought of such writers as Locke, Machiavelli, and Burlamaqui, whose works both influenced the colonists and served as affirmation for their own ideas.

This sophisticated intellectual amalgam was possible because Massachusetts was the most literate, most educated society of the New World. This in itself, for instance, made sermons and other seemingly elitist literature more widely available and more pliable to the force of public opinion than would otherwise have been possible. Most significant, though, was the role of the popular press, which became increasingly pivotal in the dissemination of new ideas. Apart from such innovative thinkers as Wise and Mayhew, in fact, the ministerial pamphlet literature seems to have clearly followed the lead of newspapers and popular tracts in the formation of a new world view. The colony could boast of eight newspapers between 1704 and 1763, and two of these, the New-England Courant and the Independent Advertiser, relied heavily on material from Italian republican thinkers and English country writers. The circulation of these papers was extensive, and it is estimated that there were at least ten readers for every paper sold; a newspaper in a tavern, for

instance, would serve an even larger constituency and promote spirited debate on its contents as well. For the first time, all classes of society had access to information sources that kept them reasonably well-informed and fully aware of local and world events; the theory of self-judgment was thus buttressed by the ready availability of the means to reach that goal. Indeed, the massive influx of information undoubtedly necessitated a change of cognitive style and a new way of formulating individual world views. Tradition and the force of authority were no longer useful when they could be countermanded almost daily in the popular press. The press itself became the new formulator of opinion, and its very nature meant that it would reach more people in a more immediate, profound way than had ever before been possible.

Not all colonists, of course, subscribed to more secular views of ruler, people, and government. Timothy Breen has identified a group of socially and politically conservative thinkers who retained an essentially medieval view of society. Alan Heimert has argued that it was socially conservative evangelicals who provided the impetus for revolution. Heimert's view in particular has been successfully rebuffed by several scholars, but it is the more recent work of Philip Greven that we must deal with here.<sup>43</sup> Greven has concluded that the colonists were divided into three intellectual groups, each identified by its own mode of child-rearing. Evangelicals sought to deny their sense of self-worth,

emphasized the need to destroy the ego in order to experience salvation, and stressed regeneration and new-birth. They taught their children that the body and the self were essentially evil and dirty, unworthy of God without spiritual transformation. These individuals, Greven contends, viewed the world as a dangerous and hostile place, and they projected their own self-aggression onto others.

Moderates, on the other hand, were subject to more gentle methods of self-discipline as children. They themselves saw no need to break a child's will, and they stressed love, respect, and reciprocal duties. They did not feel that authority need be absolute or tyrannical. Yet these individuals did share certain concerns with evangelicals: ambivalent feelings about power, a fear of losing control. Their feelings were in stark contrast to the practices and feelings of the final group, the genteel, who were free of self-guilt and repression, and indulgent of their children. Each of these groups, Greven contends, embraced a particular ideological mode: the evangelicals more paranoid fears of power, the moderates concerns about balance of power and constitutional checks. The genteel group was significantly more conservative, epitomized by the beliefs of Thomas Hutchinson.<sup>44</sup>

There are many problems with Greven's arguments. Theoretically, for instance, he posits a rather unyielding causative connection between child-reading practices and adult personality. This approach is a matter of some contention even among psychohistorians, but it also reflects a lack of

appreciation of recent advances in psychoanalytic theory: narcissistic theory, for instance, and the seminal work of Heinz Kohut and others.<sup>45</sup> Greven fails to pursue the distinct possibility that environmental experiences has as much or more influence on thought patterns as did childhood experiences. At the very least, the two work in conjunction to produce the adult mind.

A second problem concerns Greven's evidence. The vast majority of his sources, particularly on the moderate and genteel groups, come from after 1750, an emphasis which simply ignores the important formative stages of ideology in the colonies. Greven also shows a disturbing habit of quoting the same sources repeatedly, producing questions about the applicability of his findings. Most important, though, Greven does not really prove that there were radically different moderate and evangelical experiences, nor does he show that their ideological beliefs were substantially disparate. The differences seem to be those of degree and accent. Individuals turned to the same sources and expressed their ideas within the same rhetorical framework; their differences were not as significant as the elements that unified them. Eighteenth-century thinkers were a maze of ambiguity and paradox. John Wise expressed radical social and political notions while retaining an allegiance to traditional Puritanism. Benjamin Colman combined a gentle Arminianism with an intense attachment to royal authority. Chauncy, Mayhew, and other political and theological liberals were

decidedly elitist in their daily lives. In various ways, the whig ideology spoke to them and to others, re-unifying the splintered fragments of colonial thought.

The necessity for such unity was furthered by the emergence of cognitive problems introduced by the growing disparity between attitudes and values and the actual social situation. In the midst of the decay of *gemeinschaft* unity and the troubled years of economic and political disruption, renewed emphasis on harmony, unity, and universal values was to be expected; such, at least, is a major function of ideology in transitional societies. Of course, such values as order, peace, and love were prevalent from the very beginning of the Puritan experiment; but in the early years of the colony they were viewed as viable, communal values, capable of being experienced in everyday lives at least on occasion. By the mid-eighteenth century such values seemed unattainable in practice, but they continued to function both as normative goals and as reactions to the frustrations and social inconsistencies of modern life; the desire for such values, moreover, is reflective of the need for a cohesive intellectual force to bind a splintering society. Ministers sought to promote a spirit of love and peace, meekness and humility to counteract the growing emphasis on individual gain. Much of Cotton Mather's work was directed towards attaining such unity, whether through the promotion of piety against factionalism or through his civic activism; both were united, for example, in his "do-good" societies, infor-

mal associations designed to counter the divisive effects of modern society.<sup>46</sup>

Happiness in particular drew strong attention. In the seventeenth century, for instance, a calling was designed to glorify God and to promote his kingdom; now its goal was the promotion of the happiness of mankind. One of the virtues of obeying laws and being honest was that such attitudes promoted public happiness. The New-England Courant, as temporary spokesman for a large number of unhappy people, was much concerned with the proper philosophy of happiness; since perfect happiness was impossible to achieve on earth, the goal of life should be "to enjoy as much of the Benefits of Life, as Persons of Rank ordinarily do..."<sup>47</sup> The thirst for happiness was viewed as inseparable from human nature, and in this belief the colonists once again reflected the dominant trends of European thought.

Such pleas for unity and happiness were more than rhetorical ritual; they were part of a basic restructuring of New England's world view and its own vision of the Providential design. An increased reverence for the colony and its ancestral founders, for instance, had become a dominant ideological element well before 1700. To be sure, after 1689 there had emerged a new wave of admiration for things English; King William himself, as we have seen, acquired divine qualities. But as William had saved England and the Empire, so the colonists evidently felt that their part in the Glorious Revolution would bring them further glory in their own right. We

have already noted the typological significance of these feelings; New England's interests, however, were becoming more secularized, and it was acquiring a heightened view of its importance to the rest of the world. Not only was the English Empire to re-emerge in a blaze of glory; its offsprings in the New World were also to occupy a demonstrative and enlightened position. Many undoubtedly felt as Cotton Mather did when he spoke proudly of "my Country," and the colony's 1692 charter became a protective, prophetic document.<sup>48</sup>

It is clear, then, that the people of Massachusetts underwent intellectual transformations at the most fundamental level during the eighteenth century, since ideology depends upon a belief in the active capabilities of man and his government. But more than appropriate attitudinal changes are required for the emergence of an effective ideology; relevant literary sources and influences, for example, must also be available, and circumstances must lend themselves to the sort of explanations espoused in the ideology.

Colonial perceptions of the world, for instance, often closely paralleled the republican experiments described by Guicciardini, Machiavelli, and other Italians.<sup>49</sup> The colonists read these works, but they were undoubtedly drawn to them by their own experiences with the ephemeral nature of ideal societies, by the ravages of chance and misfortune in the modern world, and by the necessity they recognized



for espousing both personal and institutional solutions to these problems. Leaders, for example, were looked to as exemplars of virtuous men who defied the temptations of corruption and personal gain. It was felt that as great men, they could not be trusted in the private sphere and should thus operate only in the public arena, using their drive for power to good advantage. Similarly, the practices of statecraft and military prowess were deemed to be of the highest importance in the battle to preserve liberty.<sup>50</sup>

Man himself was viewed as a civic animal, and it was felt that Massachusetts, as a republic, could survive only by active citizen participation. Of course, the colony had always functioned on at least the principle of such participation; the citizen militia, moreover, had certainly occupied a position at the core of the Puritan experience and had been perhaps the most democratic body in the colony. Similarly, the colony clearly emphasized structural virtue as well; a balanced constitution, the separation of powers, and the control of financial resources by the House were all necessary elements for the preservation of the republican experiment.<sup>51</sup>

But Massachusetts drew as extensively and more directly from the English republican tradition. Strong defenders of the ancient British constitution, English liberties, Magna Carta, and the legendary period of King Alfred, the colonists certainly offered strong support for a traditionalism that followed in the footsteps of Fortescue. Harrington's concepts

of the changing sources of property ownership, moreover, and the resulting necessity for shifts in the balance of power, seem to have been widely accepted underlying assumptions--not a little because such ideas reflected social and political reality. Bay Colony citizens also felt that corruption was a multi-sourced problem; they believed that it resulted from the decline of civic virtue among individual citizens, but they also felt that it drew its power from an imbalance in the structural virtue present in the English constitution. This imbalance of power gave increasing strength to the Governor and the Council (or at least gave them more than their ownership of colonial wealth warranted), and disrupted the functional constitutional balance which would support virtuous political behavior. Corruption also included, moreover, the concept of the emergence of a new financial system, one which encouraged the use of places, pensions, and standing armies. Such a system was especially apparent during the Andros and Dudley administrations, as well as in the financial pamphlets which shall be examined shortly. Finally, the colonists had taken the first step toward accepting, on a conscious ideological level (though not on a subconscious, value level), the fact of men as factious beings; consequently, they began to look to other methods of fusing society together, such as more universalistic values, exemplary rulers, and the state itself.<sup>52</sup>

The evidence for the preponderance of these ideas in eighteenth-century Massachusetts is overwhelming; even

Bailyn, in his Origins of American Politics, somewhat underestimates their formative and dialectical function. The idea of corruption for example, at least in a wider, societal sense, was already widespread in the jeremiads of the late seventeenth century; as early as Samuel Willard, moreover, ministers argued in the republican vein that the buying and selling of places of government and the formation of parties and factions detracted from the public good. Cotton Mather warned of the "Factious Dispositions with which our Elections were sometimes managed...." Mather also contended that bribery was a real danger and must be guarded against.<sup>53</sup> It matters not that the targets of the remarks were political opponents, the Dudleys. The language is that of republicanism, the situation that of a decaying republic, and the solutions--civic activism, sacrificing leaders, virtue--were republican solutions. The people were cautioned almost daily to be aware of the dangers of covetousness and avarice; Silence Dogood was established in the pages of the Courant as an enemy of vice and a friend to virtue, warning of the dangers of pride and hypocrisy, idleness and selfishness, horse-racing, gambling, music, taverners, and other evils.<sup>54</sup> These concerns were now placed within an increasingly republican context and frequently evinced by lay as well as religious sources.

Attitudes towards power provide an excellent example of the transition from traditional, religious concerns with corruption to more worldly fears of governmental intrigue

and restrictions upon material prosperity. Eighteenth-century Massachusetts writers believed that power had a natural tendency to corrupt and encroach: "the world is governed by Men, and Men by their Passions; which, being boundless and insatiable, are always terrible when they are not controuled. Who was ever satiated with Riches, or surfeited with Power, or tired with Honours." Power "turns Men that have it into Monsters; and therefore the most amiable and unexceptionable Man upon Earth is not to be trusted with it." Rulers overcome by the lust for power could distract Parliament from its proper function by persuading them to support standing armies, national debts, and excise schemes, all measures designed to subvert parliamentary control. Collectively, such measures were labelled corruption and could be countered only by laws freely consented to, free elections, and proper education. The idea that power corrupts is, in fact, the most forceful theme to run through the literature of eighteenth-century Massachusetts. In perpetual battle against royal authority, the colonists saw themselves as "a moral Enemy to arbitrary Government & unlimited Power." The evils of power were argued long and intensely in the pages of the Courant, which asserted that "Power unrestrained is Tyranny ....." Placemen, wicked ministers, and deceitful advisors were all dangers in the administration of government; such men, it was feared, frequently engaged in conspiracy to keep the truth from princes and kings, and more specifically, from colonial governors.<sup>55</sup>

These fears were bolstered by the aggressive actions of French and Indians on the frontier. Fears of French subversion were constantly expressed; popish rule was deemed cruel and repressive, the priestcraft the manipulator of tyranny. A favorite newspaper piece of colonial readers was entitled "Cato's Vision"; in it, a young man dreams of a takeover of England by a popish pretender and of the miseries accompanying the change of government. Predictably, any misfortunes suffered by the Protestant church were attributed to "the Popish Plots & Arms..." The French, the colonists felt, sought to enslave the whole of Europe in a plot "against human Nature, against Freedom, and against Reason..."<sup>56</sup>

The notion of a public spirit to combat such problems first gained prominence in the works of the widely read Mather and was echoed throughout the period by public and ministerial sources. Mather's societies for the reformation of manners, practicing industry and honesty, were precursors of modern day associations, designed to preserve the public spirit. Benjamin Colman concurred with the spirit of Mather's proposals, arguing that the people and the government must do all they could for the good of the country, "proving our Obligations to a General Kindness and Publick Spirit from the light of Nature..." Man must be generous and compassionate, obliging and grateful, acting as had Cato the younger and Cicero, patriots and lovers of liberty. Exhibiting a public spirit for the "common Weal" would make men pillars of the world. The true patriot envied not power or profit, and acted only

with his conscience as a guide and the public spirit in mind. The issue was perhaps best stated in the Courant: "He is the Honourable Man who is Influenc'd and Acted by a Publick Spirit, and fir'd with a Generous Love to Mankind in the worst of Times; Who lays aside his private Views, and foregoes his own Interest, when it comes to competition with the Publick."<sup>57</sup> The modern man would be a civic activist, seeking to sustain a precariously balanced republic by dedicating his life to sacrifice for the common good.

Equally significant are the institutionalized expressions of constitutional republicanism throughout the proceedings, speeches, and debates of the House of Representatives; frequent expressions of similar beliefs by both governor and Council, moreover, indicate that they were rapidly becoming part of an integrated system of eighteenth-century values. It was Shute himself who pleaded for the abolition of parties and factions, who assured the colonists that "with the whole Royal Family are secured, and in them the Protestant Religion, and the Happiness of us and our Posterity." Both House and Council based their claims in various disputes on the rights granted them by the English Constitution and guaranteed by the royal charter, a belief echoed by the popular press: "Our Charter is the great hedge which Providence has planted around our natural rights, to guard us from an invasion."<sup>58</sup>

It was the House, however, which added both a sense of urgency and a historical dimension to the controversy. They traced their heritage back to the Magna Carta and the rights

guaranteed therein; most important, they saw the greatest danger to their republic in the continual attempts by governor and Council to upset the balance of power within the legislature, a balance established by the Constitution itself; "The Three distinct Branches of the Legislature, preserved in a due Ballance, form the Excellency of the British Constitution: If anyone of these Branches should become less able to support it's own Dignity and Freedom, the Whole must inevitably suffer by the Alteration." In a response to the governor during the salary controversy, the House made the comparison more explicit: "...whereas if we resemble the British Constitution, as your Excellency has done us the Honour to declare, We humbly apprehend that no part of the Legislature should be so independent...." Both Council and House, they argued, were already overly dependent upon the Governor; and any change in the balance would bring serious harm to the colony.<sup>59</sup> As we have seen in an earlier chapter, such response dominated the pages of the Journals; fears of chaos and of the destruction of the English system of government were commonplace.

Equally interesting are the House's efforts to base their arguments on historical events, as they sought to create their own form of political mythology. In their disputes with the Governor, the House constantly referred to British or colonial examples to buttress their arguments; particularly significant, however, was their view of the Glorious Revolution. They argued, for instance, that despite their con-

tinued dependency on England, William and Mary had given them full power to make their own laws.<sup>60</sup> With the expulsion of a corrupt sovereign (and an equally corrupt governor) and the arrival of a new Machiavellian prince in the person of William of Orange, the members apparently interpreted the moment as a true Savonarolan apocalypse; many felt that liberty would be restored and permanency of the Republic assured. Throughout the 1720s and 1730s there are frequent references to an idyllic past somehow transposed into present and future.<sup>61</sup> In a very real sense, the colonists felt that the republic had indeed been established, and must therefore be protected against the ravishes of particular time which beset all such noble experiments.

Influenced by their continual struggles with the Governor and by their changing perceptions of history, House arguments gradually came to reflect the colony's growing fears of conspiracy. In reference to one Council message, they argued that it "looks as tho' it could aim at a little short of a Dissolution of the very Foundations of our happy Constitution, and to lay aside one essential part of the Legislature even the Representative Body of the People..." As early as 1721, the House believed that both governor and king were deliberately misinformed of their actions and statements by ill-minded people; some malicious force, they felt, was seeking to subvert the colony and its constitution.<sup>62</sup>

In expressing their fears, the colonists clearly borrowed from the European republican tradition; both Italian



and British influences are pervasive throughout the public and private literature of the period. Colonial concern with personal and political liberty was in no small measure, of course, a practical defensive reaction to stricter British controls. After the crisis years of 1686-1692, the colonists sought to protect what they had already attained; the past was transformed into an ideal republic in the English tradition, and the present reflected efforts to prevent fortune from causing its disintegration. There is also a certain psychological base to the growing strength of the whig ideology. The colonists reacted with some guilt to the 1689 revolt against Andros, the symbolic, surrogate father; to compensate for their rebellious behavior they sought to identify with the English as closely as possible. By internalizing their aggression and identifying with the aggressor, they could protect their own dissipating self-esteem. As conflict with the mother country grew, so did the strident defense of English liberties; the more the sons revolted, the more they sought to assert their loyalty to the father, the king.

The evidence indicates clearly, then, that the evolution from medieval to modern society in eighteenth-century Massachusetts was marked by the emergence of an ideology that created a sense of historical perspective, heightened individual and collective confidence, and countered increased feelings of alienation with "positive ritual and affirmative dogma...." The whig ideology also bolstered an autonomous

political system by providing concepts that made the system meaningful and images that made it easy to grasp.<sup>63</sup>

In this sense, the whig ideology was as much and perhaps more a political mythology as it was an ideology. Myth provides an explanation of the past and a vision of the future; it exhorts man to action through rituals which express "the collective will of the group..." and the individual is subsequently able to merge his identity with that of the group. Mythologies arise in conditions similar to those conducive to ideologies: disintegration of traditional societies, economic collapse, the need for a new perception of man's place in the cosmos. The myth dramatizes the nation's history and destiny, the ritual creates solidarity and cosmic significance.<sup>64</sup>

Myth as a Weltanschauung, a total approach to experience, acts as a collective representation of the ideas and doctrines of a culture, of concepts shared by society's members. On a deeper level, myth represents the retelling of a primordial story, and many political myths do indeed embody themes of loss and recovery, death and rebirth. Their practical use immediately becomes clear; they free men from the burden of the past and help them use it in the service of the present. They often recall, for instance, a past political society which must be restored, or an imagined political society destined to emerge in the future. Political myth, finally, renders an experience more coherent by presenting daily episodes as part of an ongoing drama. It thereby clarifies

the membership and objectives of a group, identifies the group's enemies and promises eventual victory in the struggle for survival, and promotes pride in the group's existence and destiny.<sup>65</sup>

Undoubtedly, the whig ideology functioned in this sense as myth. It dramatized a partially fictional past, offered the colony a relatively secure place in an ongoing cosmic drama, and legitimized institutions such as the House of Representatives. Most important, it helped explain the chaos of the modernizing world by identifying aggressors and victims, forces of both good and evil. It bestowed mystical significance on common values of health, prosperity, peace, and justice. The English historical heritage was, to the colonists, a series of primordial events experienced outside the normal space-time categories; these events represented a supernatural reality, distinct from the profane world.<sup>66</sup>

In psychological terms, ideology and myth help create a similar sense of stability. The breakdown of control in traditional society results in a general, diffuse malaise of the sort Freud labelled anxiety. In such situations, the ego loses its ability to integrate cognitive, perceptive, and other functions; individuals strive to bring the environment back under control and to make daily events more predictable and emotionally satisfying. Previously repressed wishes and fantasies often become conscious and provide a basis for action; such desires serve to explain, rationalize, and legitimize action and help create a new consensus. The damaging

narcissistic blow to self-esteem which often accompanies the transition to modernity and the disruption of traditional ways lends particular urgency to the fantasies. In the recovery of an idealized society of the past, for instance, the individual feels that he has reasserted some degree of control over his physical and emotional future.<sup>67</sup>

Frequently, moreover, the rise of an ideology reflects an identification with a dead or lost group or love object: "In the place of a sense of loss, we then experience an elated certainty of being able to achieve some enormous purpose." This identification also helps the group deny responsibility for the death of the loved one.<sup>68</sup> Thus the whig ideology was in part a defensive reaction to the feelings of guilt which beset the colony during the decay of seventeenth-century society. By glorifying both their ancestors and the republics of the past, the colonists were able to deny their culpability and thereby satisfy intense narcissistic needs. Similarly, the rejection of English rule--something the colonists were, after all, rather reluctant to do--was balanced by an emotional identification with the values of the rejected England.

This problem of narcissism is central to the emergence of a modernizing ideology. Man's sense of self-worth "is constituted symbolically, his cherished narcissism feeds on symbols, on an abstract idea of his own worth..." on a much-needed sense of cosmic significance. Society is structured to further this sense of self-worth, functioning as a symbolic action system, a structure of statuses and roles,

customs for rules and behavior, "designed to serve as a vehicle for earthly heroism." With the decline of religion as a valid hero-system, the need for a substitute arises. Man may sink trustingly into the father figure, but more importantly, he seeks further symbolic assurances; logically, then, "history is a succession of immortality ideologies..." which allow men "to be confident and secure in their personal heroism."<sup>69</sup> The whig ideology provided such assurances and thus served to reintegrate the emotional lives of the colonists.

Psychological needs, however, are often fulfilled in ways directly variant with social reality. Both religion and ideology are symbolic systems which help people regularize and validate their relationships with the social environment; both hold out a hope for fusion with a protective utopia in an effort to tame unconscious desires. Religion was the guiding force of medieval man; it bolstered rigid social relations and offered an explanatory cosmology in an age when men needed such reassurance in a time when authority was accepted as a natural expression of God's will. As economic activity quickened, however, and as political processes were democratized, a new middle class arose, a class which benefited greatly from educational and material advances. Such advances bring heightened powers of abstraction, which in turn allow for the more sophisticated evaluative judgments of ideological thinking.<sup>70</sup>

While a similarly composed middle class may not have been in the numerical majority in eighteenth-century Massa-

chusetts, a substantial portion of the colony's population was undoubtedly affected in this way. Massachusetts was unique in its overall level of educational development, offering unparalleled opportunities for the development of a culture based upon literary sources. The whig ideology mobilized the various deprived groups of that society, legitimating its own dominant position by suggesting that its view of society was the only moral vision possible. Its unifying social power was further strengthened by the presence of a shared ideological framework. The awareness of differences between classes (or between cities and rural areas) was at least partially obscured by less exclusive and more generalized beliefs. The emphasis on peace and harmony, the arguments against social disorder, the glorification of the ancient English constitution and other aspects of the whig ideology were all easily accepted by the populace. Most of the beliefs were, in fact, held much earlier than the eighteenth century, but growing societal contention, evidence of corruption and other attempts to subvert the constitution by the royal governors, and the decline of a unifying nomos lent urgency to the need to re-establish the cohesive and supposedly practical utopia described by republican and Puritan writers. Thus the popular party and its allies were able to maintain control of the province by welding widely accepted utilitarian values into a cohesive ideological force. It was a system of beliefs that spoke to everyone's needs, offering an explanation for social, economic, and political disorder. The middle classes embraced

a world view that explained the relative political and economic helplessness. To be sure, there was considerable class antagonism, and it was often expressed in ideological terms, as the next chapter will clearly show. But the so-called popular ideology never established a truly independent focus for its protests against the forming social structure. The poor often protested, both physically and in print, but even then the sources show a language and cognitive perception of the world that was remarkably similar to that of the middle class. The latter successfully established ideological hegemony with a coherent plan of action that made class antagonism, while still significant, a dwindling exception to majority beliefs.<sup>71</sup>

In many ways, moreover, the ideology's depiction of British-colonial relations was astonishingly accurate. Its notions of luxury and economic deprivation were realistic portrayals of the realities of the empire, while colonial ideas about power and liberty were accurate reflections of British threats to American economic and political development. In short, the whig ideology offered a coherent explanation for the disappearance of seventeenth-century traditionalism, for the economic deprivation that often characterized the colony during these years, and for the baffling emotional relations with England that made the colony's subordinate status all the more unbearable.

Its promises of salvation, however, were illusory, thwarted by British policies and the continued seculariza-

tion of the social order. Ideology itself was an alienating experience. As a distorted set of ideas supporting particular political and economic interests, it offered little to the dispossessed in the way of substantial political and economic power.<sup>72</sup> It was, in effect, an apologist doctrine for a relatively small group of politically active, upwardly mobile entrepreneurs who used its explanatory power and emotional solace to establish a successful hegemonic structure. Both they and the rest of the inhabitants accepted it because it spoke to their physical and emotional needs.



## NOTES

1. One must begin, of course, with Bernard Bailyn's work. See The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, 1967), and The Origins of American Politics (New York, 1968). During the past fifteen years, the literature has become too extensive to list. Two recent volumes, however, contain several useful articles: Alfred F. Young, ed., The American Revolution (DeKalb, Ill., 1976), and John Higham and Paul Conkin, eds., New Directions in American Intellectual History (Baltimore, 1979). Also see Robert Shalhope, "Toward a Republican Synthesis: The Emergences of an Understanding of Republicanism in American Historiography," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., XXIX (1972), 49-80, and Gene Wise, American Historical Explanations (Minneapolis, 1980).

2. See the many appropriate references in the "Introduction."

3. Again, the references in the "Introduction" are most useful, but see in particular the following: Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy, *passim*; Clifford Geertz, "Ethos, World View, and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols," 126-141, and "Religion as a Cultural System," 87-125, both in Geertz, ed., The Interpretation of Cultures (New York, 1973). Also, the article "Religion" in David L. Sills, ed., The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York, 1968), vol. 13.

4. See the following works in particular: Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System" in Interpretation of Cultures, 193-233; "Ideology, in Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia, vol. 7, 68-79; David Apter, Some Conceptual Approaches to the Study of Modernization (Englewood Cliffs, 1969); and James S. Coleman, "The Development Syndrome: Differentiation-Equality-Capacity," in Leonard Binder et al., eds., Crises and Sequences in Political Development (Princeton, 1971), 99-100.

5. Quoted in "Ideology," International Encyclopedia, vol. 7, 76.

6. Berger, Sacred Canopy, 107; "Ideology," International Encyclopedia, vol. 7, 68-69, 72; Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," 63ff.

7. Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," 201ff. For an additional discussion of the Marxist approach to

ideology, see the final pages of this chapter. On the interplay between reality and mind, see Wise, American Historical Explanations, and Berger and Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality, passim.

8. Bailyn, Ideological Origins, Ch. II.

9. Ibid., Ch. III., passim. There are many useful summaries of Bailyn's work, but see in particular Shalhope, "Republican Synthesis," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser. XXIX (1972), 49-80; and Joseph Ernst, "Ideology and an Economic Interpretation of the Revolution," in Alfred K. Young, ed., The American Revolution (De Kalb, Ill., 1976), 166-167.

10. This is not to denigrate the immense value of Bailyn's work. His was a brilliant, timely synthesis that has left a permanent mark on American scholarship, and my reservations are designed to indicate further areas of research implicit in his approach. Bailyn, "The Central Themes of the American Revolution, An Interpretation," in Stephen Kurtz and James Hutson, eds., Essays on The American Revolution (New York, 1973), 3-31.

11. Joseph Ernst, "Ideology and the Political Economy of the Revolution," Canadian Review of American Studies, IV (1973), 137-148; Ernst, "'Ideology' and an Economic Interpretation of the Revolution," in Young, ed., American Revolution, 160-185.

12. J.G.A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition (Princeton, 1975).

13. Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind (New York, 1960), 39-40, 42, 47-48, 50.

14. Franklin Baumer, Modern European Thought: Continuity and Change in Ideas (New York, 1977), 11ff., 88ff., 116ff., 141ff., and passim.

15. Miller, New England Mind, II, 171; Breen, Good Ruler, ch. 6.

16. Morgan, Puritan Political Thought, xii-xlvi; J.R. Jones, The Shattered Synthesis, passim; Miller, New England Mind, II, passim; Conrad Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America (Boston, 1955), passim; Patrick Michael Sheehan, "Harvard Alumni in Colonial America: Demographic, Theological, and Political Perspectives" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1972), passim.

17. Jones, Shattered Synthesis, 7-29.
18. Ibid., 54-72; Ernest Banson Lowrie, The Shape of the Puritan Mind: The Thought of Samuel Willard (New Haven, 1974), passim, but especially pp. 24ff., 42ff., 115, 161ff.; Miller, New England Mind, II, many citations, but especially 213-4, 434-5. Willard's most important work was The Compleat Body of Divinity (Boston, 1726), (see pp. 1-2, 4, 7, 10-11).
19. Jones, Shattered Synthesis, 93-100; Miller, New England Mind, II, which has far too many references to mention, but see in particular 269ff. Jones cites the important primary sources.
20. Jones, Shattered Synthesis, 168-196; Edwin Scott Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England (New York, 1957), ch. 6; Wright, Unitariansim, esp., 45ff., 85ff., 105-6, 118-119, 132ff., 167ff., 187-199. Among Chauncy's own writings, the most useful have been The Benevolence of the Deity (Boston, 1784); The Mystery Hid from All Ages (London, 1784); Five Dissertations on the Scripture Account of the Fall (London, 1785), Twelve Sermons (Boston, 1765); and Salvation for All Men (Boston, 1782).
21. Mary C. Foster, "Hampshire County, Massachusetts, 1729-1754: A Covenanted Society in Transition" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1966), ch. III; Wright, Unitarianism, passim.
22. Breen, Good Ruler, passim; Bercovitch, Puritan Origins, chs. I, III.
23. William Hubbard, The Happiness of a People in the Wisdom of Their Rulers... (Boston, 1676), 7; Michael Wigglesworth, Massachusetts Election Sermon (Boston, 1686), 27.
24. The New-England Courant, May 29-31, 1722; John Barnard, The Throne Established by Righteousness... (Boston, 1734), 14-16; Peter Clark, The Rulers Highest Dignity... (Boston, 1739), 10.
25. The following works are representative of these feelings: Benjamin Colman, A Sermon... (Boston, 1716), 23; Ebenezer Gay, The Duty of People to Pray for And Praise their Rulers... (Boston, 1730), 11; Barnard, Throne Established, 26; Nathaniel Appleton, The Great Blessings of Good Rulers... (Boston, 1742), 58; Gay, The Character and the Work... (Boston, 1745), 12; William Balch, A Publick Spirit... (Boston, 1749), 13. Miller, New England Mind, II, remains the standard secondary work, but also see Morgan, ed., Puritan Political Ideas, and Breen, Good Ruler.

26. William Welsteed, The Dignity and the Duty of the Civil Magistrate... (Boston, 1751), 20; Cotton Mather, Christian Loyalty (Boston, 1727), 16.

26a. William Williams, God the Strength of Rulers... (Boston, 1741), 7-8.

27. Edmund S. Morgan, ed., Puritan Political Ideas, xx-xxi, lxxv.

28. Some Proposals... (Boston, 1694), 11; Willard, Character of a Good Ruler... (Boston, 1694), 2; Breen, Good Ruler, ch. 5.

29. The following works are relevant: The Deplorable State of New-England... (Boston, 1720), 131; New England Weekly Journal, May 21, 1733; Boston Weekly News-Letter, May 9, 1751; May 19, 1755; The Independent Advertiser, Feb. 29, 1748; Colman, Government the Pillar of the Earth... (Boston, 1730), 5; Colman, A Sermon, 23; Williams, A Seasonable Plea, 5; John Webb, The Government of Christ... (Boston, 1738), 18; James Allin, Magistracy an Institution of Christ... (Boston, 1744), 23; A Letter to the Frecholders... (Boston, 1749), 1; Some Observations... (Boston, 1780), 7-8; John Barnard, The Throne Established by Righteousness... (Boston, 1734), 13, 24ff.

30. William Williams, God the Strength of Rulers... (Boston, 1741), 12, 27-28; New-England Courant, Jan. 26-Feb. 4, 1722; Increase Mather, Excellency of a Publick Spirit, 17-18; The Independent Advertiser, Jan. 11, 1748; Edward Holyoke, Integrity and Religion... (Boston, 1736), 9; New England Weekly Journal, May 21, 1733; see also Colman, Government the Pillar of the Earth... (Boston, 1730) 5; Boston Weekly News-Letter, May 9, 1751; May 19, 1755; The Independent Advertiser, Feb. 29, 1748; Appleton, Great Blessing..., 58. Mather's comments, in particular, reflect the complex role of law in a modernizing society. Elements of fiction, for example, maintain the unchangeability of the law despite the on-going changes. Elements of equity act in addition to civil law, and frequently have superior sanctity. Elements of legislation, finally, to which Mather refers, consist of the purposive creation of law based upon authority. In the first instance, the colonists sought stability in the traditionalism of Sir John Fortescue. Secondly, they sought to base their innovations on a solid tradition of basic ethical values. Finally, the General Court, both through actual civil law and through intervention in local conflicts, fulfilled the legislative role.

An analogous situation held forth in China: "The knowledge of Li, of the uniform ethical principles regulating nature as well as human society, meant title to power. Since

the emperor had most of the power, he was expected to know Li well. His statute (fa) were expected to reflect Li and were regarded as binding only as long as the magistrates could see a basic correspondence between the two." The restrictions placed upon the ruler and his earthly dictates were obviously similar to those of eighteenth-century Massachusetts. (Pospisil, Anthropology of Law, 147-148, 25).

31. Wise, A Vindication of the Government of New-England Churches... (Boston, 1707); The Churches Quarrel Espoused... (Boston, 1713); A Word of Comfort to a Melancholy Country... (Boston, 1721). The best discussion of Wise's career and thought remains Miller, New England Mind, II, esp. 299-302, 317-322.

32. Wise, Vindication, 259ff.; Churches Quarrel, 47-48.

33. See esp. Pufendorf, De Jure Naturali et Gentium, trans. F. H. and W. A. Oldfather, (Oxford, 1934). Also see the discussion in Morton White, Philosophy of the American Revolution (New York, 1978), 12, 99-100n, 123.

34. Wise, Vindication, 257, 259-260.

35. Ibid., 258-259, 264ff; Wise, Churches Quarrel, 12, 118ff.

36. For an overview of Mayhew's beliefs see Jones, Shattered Synthesis, 143-164. On God's nature, see Mayhew, Seven Sermons... (Boston, 1748), 107, 125; Two Sermons... (Boston, 1763), 10, passim; Wright, Unitarianism, 141-2, 164-5, 171-3.

37. Seven Sermons, 5, 13ff.

38. Ibid., 36ff, 50ff., 86. On the notion of duty, see note 41.

39. Ibid., 120ff.

40. A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission... (Boston, 1750).

41. White, Philosophy of the Revolution, ch. V.

42. Discourse, 36.

43. Breen, Good Ruler; Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind (Cambridge, 1966); Philip Greven, The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America (New York, 1977).

44. Greven, Protestant Temperament, passim.

45. See, for instance, Christopher Lasch, The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations (New York, 1979); Heinz Kohut, The Analysis of the Self: A Systematic Approach to the Psychoanalytic Treatment of Narcissistic Personality Disorders (New York, 1971); Ricoeur, Freud and Philosophy; Gregory Rochlin, Man's Aggression: The Defense of the Self.

46. Boston Evening Post, Sept. 23, 1738; Comments on the need for unity, even apart from the pleas of Cotton Mather, were frequent; see the following for further examples: Jonathan Russell, A Plea for the Righteousness of God... (Boston, 1704), 19; Joseph Moss, An Election Sermon... (Boston, 1715), 8; Joseph Sewall, Rulers Must be Just... (Boston, 1724), 57, 67, 70, 85, 87; Benjamin Colman, Government the Pillar of the Earth..., 8-10; William Cooper, The Honours of Christ... (Boston, 1740), 12; Williams, God the Strength, 15.

47. New England Courant, Sept. 25-Oct 2, 1725. Similar comments were made by the following: Mather, A Christian at his Calling... (Boston, 1701), 45; John Rogers, A Sermon... (Boston, 1706), 33; Boston Gazette, Aug. 2-9, 1736; The Weekly Rehearsal, June 11, 1733; Nov. 27, 1732; Barnard, Throne Established, 24-25. Also see Brumer, Modern European Thought, 142, 184, 223, 233, 247, 248.

48. Cotton Mather, Distressed People... (Boston, 1696), 42.

49. See Pocock, Machiavellian Moment, passim, but particularly the second half of the book. Also, Caroline Robbins, The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman (Cambridge, 1959).

50. Pocock, Machiavellian Moment, passim.

51. See appropriate sections in the earlier parts of this chapter. Aside from these references, there are many indications of the integration of the republican tradition into Massachusetts' political culture; indeed, they were accepted rather than argued. John Barnard, for example, argued that the proper balance of power among the several branches of government would prevent encroachments of sovereignty and preserve the proper distribution of power, as well as assuring control of the purse to those who should keep it. (Throne Established, 24-25). Similarly, the Courant warned of corrupt men seeking a pretentious leadership while acting in his own interest only; the ultimate example of a good leader was to be found in the actions of Timon: "But such a Man as Timon is envied by none, let his Station be never

so high, for Men look upon his Advancement as their common Interest, and he will find this Consolation in any Change of worldly Affairs, that his Reputation is able to support him against the Malice of his evil Stars. Fortune may, indeed, deprive him of her Favours, but she cannot rob him of the love of his Fellow Citizens, so that tho' the Man should sink, the Patriot cannot fail." (Courant, June 14-19, 1725). The mention of Fortune was no accident, as the colonists were all too aware of her fickle nature; "At her first declaring in our Favour, her Countenance is adorn'd with Smiles and shows nothing but Joy. No sooner does she grow cold, but she shows a Look of Furor, as well as Sorrow." Prudence should offset Fortune: "A Fall seems to be a natural Punishment for a hasty Desire of Rising...The wise Man comforted himself with saying, He left his Honours before his Honours had left him ." (Courant, June 7-14, 1725).

52. In addition to the works already mentioned, see the following on the flood of English and continental secular and religious works: Clifford K. Shipton, "Literary Leaven in Provincial New England," New England Quarterly, XI (1936), 203-217; Pocock, "Machiavelli, Harrington, and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., XXII (1965); pp. 549-583; David L. Jacobson, ed., The English Libertarian Heritage (New York, 1965).

53. Willard, Character, 24; Cotton Mather, A Pillar of Gratitude... (Boston, 1700), 40.

54. New England Courant, April 9-16, 1721; April 30-May 7, 1722; July 16-23; Feb. 1-8, 1725; New England Weekly Journal, Sept. 25, 1727; Dec. 10, 1733.

55. Pocock, "Machiavelli, Harrington, and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., XXII (1965), 565; "Cato's Letters," in David L. Jacobson, ed., The English Libertarian Heritage (New York, 1965), 84, 85, 203; Caroline Robbins, The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman (Cambridge, 1959), 8-9; New England Courant, April 9-16, 1722; June 4-11, 1722; June 14-21, 1725; Boston Evening Post, July 4, 1737; Feb. 25, 1740; Oct. 13, 1740. Most interesting is the connection between power and paranoia, a subject which will be fully explored in ch. 7. Note the suggestive comments of David C. Winter, The Power Motive (New York, 1973), 146: "A story is classified as Fear of Power if any of the following themes are present: (1) explicit statement that the powergoal is for the benefit of some other person or cause; (2) guilt, anxiety, self-doubt, or uncertainty on the part of the person concerned with power; or (3) irony and skepticism about power as shown by the story writer's style. Each of these

characteristics is a kind of check or control on pure power-- either by a force within the person (guilt, anxiety, doubt, irony), or by external forces that operate through social values (altruism, i.e., the use of power only to benefit others). These two kinds of forces, acting to check or restrain power, are similar to Schreber's alternating delusions of being persecuted by powerful others (guilt, anxiety, doubt, fear) and of having been especially chosen to save humanity through his own powers (altruism)."  
Power was in fact growing in an absolute sense, due to the introduction of the concept of legislation and the principle of legality, which "was to come to justify the absolute commission of that liberty to the discretion of a parliamentary democracy." (Bertrand de Jouvenal, On Power [Boston, 1945], 242-243. )

56. Boston Gazette, Jan. 17-24, 1737; Boston News-Letter, March 5-12, 1721; March 7-15, 1723; March 5-12, 1724; Jan. 9-15, 1736. Journals of the House of Representatives, III, 175. New England Courant, April 26-May 3, 1725. In fact, articles in the colonial press offered detailed histories of the emergence of popery and its future course; together with the general awareness of foreign events and their course on the future of liberty, the cruelties and trickery of popery was the press's most popular topic of discussion. (See for example, Courant, March 5-12, 1724).

57. Middlekauff, The Mathers, 269ff.; Colman, Religious Regards, 20-21; Colman, Government the Pillar, 8; Boston Evening Post, March 26, 1739; New England Courant, March 26-April 2, 1721.

58. Journals, I: 129, 130, 171; II: 219; V: 319; New England Weekly Journal, March 18, 1728. For similar references see the following: Colman, Religious Regards, 44-45; Mather, A Pillar of Gratitude... (Boston, 1705), 30ff; Barnard, Throne Established, 2; Williams, God the Strength, 40-41.

59. Journals, V: 21, 331-334.

60. Journals, VIII: 28, 302-303, 318; IX: 68.

61. The colonial view of the nature of time is implicitly important here, but difficult to pinpoint. Colonials obviously felt that the past would somehow transpose itself into the future, and I hope that future research into the historical and philosophical development of notions of time will shed further light on the matter.



62. Journals, V: 331-334.
63. Erik Erikson, Insight and Responsibility (New York, 1964), 127; Geertz, "Ideology in a Cultural System," 63.
64. Tudor, Political Myth (New York, 1972), 15, 29-30.
65. Ibid., 15, 29-31, 43, 123, 132, 128, 139.
66. Max Gluckman, Politics, Law, and Ritual in Tribal Society (Chicago, 1965), 244-245, 284; Max Stern, "Ego Psychology, Myth, and Rite: Remarks about the Relationship of the Individual and the Group," in Warner Muensterberger and Sidney Axelrad, eds., The Psychoanalytic Study of Society. (New York, 1960-1967), III, 76.
67. Weinstein and Platt, Psychoanalytic Sociology, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 25, 33, 37-39. Rochlin, Man's Aggression, 92-93. The Whig ideology gained further strength from the simple fact that much of its content was English in origin, thus facilitating the process of identification with the aggressor so characteristic of such situations. The best work on fantasized identification with the past is Norman Brown, Life Against Death.
68. Franco Fornari, The Psychoanalysis of War (New York, 1974), 121-123.
69. Becker, Denial of Death, 3, 4-5, 190, 197-199. As we have seen in ch. 1, the problem of guilt and ancestors is indeed a complex one. Norman Brown has noted that man seeks to pay a debt to past ancestors; but the more fully the debt is paid, the more complete "are its inroads on the enjoyment of life in the present; but then fresh quantities of aggression are released, bringing fresh quantities of guilt." (Life Against Death, 268). Also see Otto Rank, The Myth and Birth of the Hero and Other Writings (New York, 1964), and Ricoeur, Freud's Philosophy, 127-129, 214, 233.
70. The work of Jean Piaget is particularly important here. See, for example, the following: Howard Gruber and J. Jacques Voneche, eds., The Essential Piaget (New York, 1977).
71. See the books below for Marxist views of ideological development, and also the works of Antonio Gramsci. The primary exponents of the existence of a popular ideology can be found in Young, ed., American Revolution, esp. Gary Nash.

72. On Marx's views of ideology, see the various works works listed in the notes of ch. 2, but especially Meszaros, Marx's Theory of Alienation, and Rader, Marx's Interpretation of History.

## CHAPTER V

### MONEY, POWER, AND INQUIRY: THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

The process of economic modernization is predictably complex and replete with paradox; there are false starts, mere suggestions of future developments, and trends that seem to waver between traditional and modern without orientation or focus. Nonetheless, the impression remains that the early eighteenth century was a major, irrevocable turning point, that the attitudes and economic beliefs so necessary for modern economies existed in a society that was, on the face of it, technologically and structurally traditional. This paradox can be explained adequately only by comparing economic developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and most particularly by examining closely the economic attitudes professed by pamphleteers and newspaper writers during the economic controversies of the period. The chapter will therefore begin with a conceptual overview of traditional and modern economies, progress to an examination of the structural evolution of the Massachusetts economy, and end with a detailed study of the relevant pamphlet literature of the first half of the century.

Traditional economies are characterized above all, perhaps, by an emotional and economic attachment to the land. Land is recognized as the source of all benefits, and each

generation recognizes its right to preserve its legacy for future heirs. The simplest division of labor exists; a person is a farmer, and he and his family also perform most of the other tasks necessary to daily existence. A barter economy, or the direct exchange of goods and services, prevails. People are generally closely acquainted with all of their neighbors, and economic relationships, such as employer-employee, are as much social in nature as they are economic. Both the explicit and implied economic goals of the society are consonant with the goals of all other spheres; in service to the group, for instance, competition is social--and status--oriented, and prestige accrues to those who best serve the local group or community. Such societies also reflect a preoccupation with the daily and seasonal food supplies, with production limited by transportation and storage difficulties and only sporadic external trade. The concept of time, finally, revolves around the rising and setting of the sun, the coming and going of the seasons; agricultural production, in short, has a major effect upon the annual life cycle.<sup>1</sup> All of these features, of course, are characteristic of an abstract, ideal type; most traditional societies reflect such elements with varying degrees of completeness.

The features that characterize a modern economy strongly contrast with those more primitive elements listed above, again with the understanding that the term modern is used here in an abstract context, since undoubtedly a completely

modern society has never existed. An increased division of labor is the dominant feature, resulting in greater specialization and more diversified and isolated economic roles. Contractual relations replace face-to-face economic exchanges, as buyer and seller are no longer tied by social or reciprocal obligations. Competition becomes economic and power oriented; prestige accrues to those who accumulate the greatest wealth. The emergence of a market system is generally the catalyzing element here; Robert Redfield, a prominent student of peasant societies, has argued that the market is the most disruptive force in traditional society since it brings large numbers of people into contact with a wider and more impersonal world. Such a market can be a specific location where goods and services are exchanged, or it can reflect a state of affairs whereby objective laws of supply and demand determine price and quantity; in either case the deviation from traditional ways of doing business is significant.<sup>2</sup>

The transitional period to modern economic structures, moreover, is characterized by strained, uneven development; a particular group, for instance, is often forced into commercial activities by land shortages or some other curtailment of traditional alternatives. Land ceases to become an effective center of social relations, since it becomes a marketable commodity and subject to extensive litigation. Merchants begin to place profit and personal gain ahead of the good of the community. Social relationships thus under-

go a transformation into non-traditional class alignments bringing increased bitterness and social and economic polarization within the community. As Kenneth Boulding has put it, "The trouble with capitalism isn't so much that it doesn't work, as that nobody loves it! It is unloved because it depends so heavily on exchange as its social organizer, and neither merchants nor banks are capable of attracting much affection."<sup>3</sup>

The introduction of a money system is the single, most significant transformation brought about by modernized economy. An exchange system injects the concept of objective evaluation and the imposition of neutral justice on transactions; the worth of objects and people alike is measured solely by their monetary value. In a traditional economy, moreover, a person's dependence is on other persons; with the introduction of money, the individual's dependence extends to countless others who now have significance only insofar as they possess a specific economic function. Money also serves, though, to alleviate the strain of controlling the great number of new objects and personal contacts endemic to complex societies; its impersonality and universality create a readily applicable measure of value.<sup>4</sup>

The importance of money is further clarified when we consider its contrasting uses in primitive and modern societies. In communities with relatively undeveloped markets, land and labor are allocated through community affiliations, and land itself is not sold or purchased. Where there is a peripheral market, there is some buying and selling of land

and labor, but it is extremely limited. In market-dominated economies, however, the reverse is true; most land, labor and goods and services are bought and sold through the market, thereby increasing the latter's importance in the general economic picture.<sup>5</sup>

A more integrated view of these elements of economic modernism can be gained from a Marxist analysis. Marxism conceives of society in terms of associations between individuals involved in the productive process. This process is the primary method "for making the world a part of oneself and oneself a part of the world..." and consists of a series of dynamic relationships between the needs and powers of individuals and the external world (including other men). Without detailing again the process outlined in the introduction, personal interests are transformed into class interests, and with a concurrent change in the economic foundation, the entire superstructure is transformed. In the emergence of capitalist society, a new fixity in human relations emerges, characterized by contractual ties and the replacement of communal politics by a centralized, bureaucratic governing body. In the face of such developments, man attributes significance to the products of his own activity through their measured monetary value. Productive activity itself can no longer mediate between man and nature because it reifies man and his relations and reduces him to the state of animal nature. Second order mediations, such as the specific system of exchange, private property, or the division of labor peculiar

to a certain historical period, subordinate productive activity to the blind natural law of the market, thus reifying labor's own productive efforts. Political systems, finally, lose their own mediating effectiveness since they cannot bridge the bewildering array of diversified interests; money, therefore, comes to serve as the only effective universal mediator.<sup>6</sup>

This thought is expanded in Marx's theory of use-value. A commodity possesses such value if it is capable of satisfying some human needs and creates "a specific relation between the worker and his activity, product, and other men." Use-value in capitalism is not the product itself, but rather that for which it is exchanged, such as property, profit, interest, capital, wages, rent, and money. As a result of alienated labor, money has both use and exchange value: "its use value is its facility in being exchanged; whereas its exchange value, as with capital, is the amount of value it exchanges for. It is in fact a commodity, but differs in being the form in which all the rest "appear as exchange-value to each other...." Money simply facilitates the comparison of commodities by a single standard, value; it is indeed the measure of all things.<sup>7</sup>

There is, finally, a rather significant psychological aspect to the function of money in a modern economy. Geza Roheim, for instance, has posited the role of money as a subtly commercializing factor in people's lives; A gives to B because he wants (psychologically) to receive things



from B, and vice-versa: "We love those who love us; i.e., we love because we yearn for love."<sup>8</sup> This analysis fits nicely with our interpretation of modern culture as an alienating force. In such a context, money becomes a deceptive but nonetheless important substitute for a real love of neighbor.

The work of Norman Brown provides considerable support for such a view. Brown's interpretation of the human condition suggests a reluctance on the part of mankind to accept the corporeal, bodily aspects of its nature. Herein lies an important clue to the emergence of Protestantism as a moving force in the western world; it represents a new conviction of sin, of the spirit belonging to Christ, the flesh to the devil. Capitalism, from this perspective, is the work of the devil; acquisitiveness is bondage to Satan, as is money, usury, and avarice. In the modern world, the prudential calculating character is anal; he represents the drive for possessive mastery over nature and rigorous control over the environment and the pleasure principle. The money complex is the heir to and substitute for the religious complex, "an attempt to find God in things...:"

Cumulative guilt disrupts the archaic economy of gift-giving. The principle of reciprocity is inseparable from cyclical time, while in cumulative time accounts are always unbalanced.... But cumulative time, which disrupts the old solution to the problem of guilt, organizes a new solution, which is to accumulate the tokens of atonement, the economic surplus. Prestige and power, always attached to virtuosity in the arts of expiation, are now conferred not by giving but by taking, by possessing.<sup>9</sup>

Possession, of course, is the essence of capitalism, and its motivation owes as much to emotional as to economic needs.

The evidence presented in earlier chapters has indicated that the Massachusetts economy of the seventeenth century was structured largely by traditional norms, and that this structure began to disintegrate rather soon after settlement; tentatively, modern economic structures began to replace their traditional counterparts. The question is how extensive these inroads became during the eighteenth century. The study of transitional economies is problematic at best; the scarcity of hard evidence for colonial Massachusetts exacerbates the problem. Still, there is adequate statistical evidence to give some idea of the nature of the economic modernization process in Massachusetts; more importantly, the printed literature of the period provides a wealth of suggestive evidence concerning the attitudes and reactions of individuals towards modern economic structures.

Throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, large areas of the colony were experiencing a decline in land available for sons and newcomers. In such towns as Dedham, Andover, Watertown, Sudbury, Billerica, Concord, and Rehoboth, the amount of land available for divisions had dropped considerably, and the story was the same elsewhere. Older towns in particular had smaller amounts of woodlands, unimproved lands, and uncultivated land in general. From 1660 to 1760, land values in Suffolk County tripled, and early in the eighteenth century the General Court

passed a law arranging for double standards for the eldest son and equal shares for the other sons and daughters. Agriculture, the ideological staple of traditional societies, had long been the economic staple of the colony and was still the occupation of the vast majority of settlers, but it was becoming far less remunerative due to a combination of crop disease and stagnant technique.<sup>10</sup>

It is clear, moreover, that eighteenth-century Massachusetts experienced increasing wealth polarization. Statistical evidence presented by James Henretta, Edward Cook, James Shepherd, and Gary Walton all indicates that class differentiation was becoming the rule in all but the least developed areas of the colony. Further evidence presented by Gary Nash and supported by my own research suggests that classes were clearly aware of this polarization and that that the results of this perception were often socially disruptive. Trade investment patterns in the Boston shipping industry led to similar conclusions; gradually, involvement in commerce became restricted to a limited number of relatively wealthy individuals who were specializing in this area.<sup>11</sup>

While there was little in the way of large-scale capital investment or complex market arrangements, there were other developments that indicated the direction in which the Massachusetts economy was moving. Economic specialization was increasing; though merchants still relied on family and personal connections in their trading enterprises, they also

tended with increasing frequency to limit their ventures to more restricted areas and products. Similarly, the division of labor within the colony was changing; though alternatives to farming were not emerging rapidly enough to forestall economic discontent, options were increasing, and the emergence of a landless laboring class reflected the earliest stages of a modern occupational structure. In its very earliest years, moreover, the Bay colony possessed only the most elemental market system, but it had progressed significantly beyond this stage by the time Faneuil Hall was constructed in 1740. While the market debates of the earlier years marked crucial stages in the development of the modern economy, they were little more than delayed symptoms of a rapidly developing commercial economy that, however lightly, had touched upon even the most rural areas of the colony. There is ample evidence that land itself was rapidly becoming a commercial, marketable commodity. Speculation, too, with its decidedly modern economic attitudes, had been common since the second half of the seventeenth century. Credit structures were becoming increasingly complex, informal market arrangements widespread and geographically oriented so as to facilitate trade, social mobility replaced the more medieval class conceptions of the seventeenth century, and overseas trade had gone far to extend the commercial sector into substantial portions of the colony.<sup>12</sup> Most important, though, was the introduction of money into an unsettled economic

situation; its use created an ethical crisis of significant proportions that was widely discussed in the colony's pamphlet literature. Indeed, these pamphlets also offer significant information on attitudes towards a variety of eighteenth-century economic concerns: various paper money schemes, deteriorating economic conditions, the changing social and economic roles of merchants, the value and dangers of credit and markets, and the usefulness of excise bills. Overall, this rather large, often diffuse body of literature reveals a confused concern over the direction the colony was moving in, and a particular awareness of the socially divisive results of modern economic values.

Economic theory prevalent in the eighteenth-century Anglo-American world provides a more precise historical context for these developments. As C. B. McPherson has noted, English liberal theory asserted that society was composed of free individuals related as independent proprietors, subject to the relations of exchange maintained and protected by the political system; economic, spiritual, and legal rights all derived from the possession of property. The only restraint was the denial of the right to unlimited acquisition by an individual. John Locke based this new property right on natural law, and then removed "all the natural law limits from the property right." Locke began with two postulates: that men have a right to preserve their lives, and that a man's labor is his own; he then

justified individual appropriation of the earth's products. Thus a man could use for his own as much land as he could till and cultivate, without the consent of any others. The key, however, was the introduction of money, which removed any natural limitation on the appropriation of land and thus invalidated the notion that "everyone should have as much as he could make use of. Money was also a commodity, which had value as a means of exchange and a producer of income (interest); land itself was only a form of capital, yielding profits through tenancy."<sup>13</sup>

Locke's description of social progress from the state of nature is revealing. In the first stage, man subdues nature by his labor. But gradually, the modest production required to support his family shifts to greater amounts, and rational conduct becomes epitomized in unlimited accumulation. Even with the introduction of money and the resultant unequal distribution of land, Locke argues that the state of nature still, at first, prevails. It is only with time and the appearance of large, unequal properties through rational accumulation "that covetousness comes to the fore and brings the need for a fully sovereign civil society to protect property from the covetous." For Hobbes, covetousness had been honorable; Locke was more traditional and believed man capable of setting up the necessary moral rules themselves.<sup>14</sup>

The applications of these theories to Massachusetts society are many, offering evidence that there was a com-

mon Atlantic reaction to the modernization process. The emphasis on the natural right of property was a major theme throughout the economic pamphlet literature, as was the fear of economic control of individuals by others. Perhaps most interesting, however, are the similarities in perception as to the causes and sequence of events. As both Locke and so many of the colony's pamphleteers emphasized, it was the introduction of money and the accompanying use of commerce, interest, and markets which eventually led to land and wealth polarization, covetousness, and a certain amount of class consciousness. Many accepted such problems and turned to the state or to more philosophical reform programs for solutions; others rejected entirely the very use of money or commerce, while still others, not surprisingly, embraced the new method of exchange and viewed it as a solution to the very problems it had caused. Similar parallels are observable in comparisons with the Republican tradition of thought. The thought of Defoe and Marvell, from different perspectives, was certainly relevant in its observations on the emergence of standing armies and financial and political corruption, as well as in the conceptual connections drawn by Marvell between commerce and power, luxury and corruption, and war. Most important, however, was Montesquieu's connection between commerce and fortuna; with the introduction of war, the unification of society, and the consequential enlargement of knowledge and increase in specialization, corruption and luxury emerged.<sup>15</sup> The resultant growth in trade gave birth to com-

merce as the handmaiden to fortuna and all the disorder it brought with it; certainly many of the writers we will discuss would have agreed that this process closely resembled that which plagued the colony.

The economic and popular literature of eighteenth-century Massachusetts clearly reflects the dominance of these themes. While seventeenth-century Puritanism had placed serious restraints upon accumulation of wealth and the pursuit of profit, much of the literature of the eighteenth century reflects an abandonment, however partial and guilt-ridden, of these restrictive concepts. Apart from an occasional secularly-oriented minister such as John Wise, for instance, the important sources are pamphlets and newspaper articles written from a solely secular point of view; even those authors who voice ethical concerns generally do not do so from a religious perspective. By the early eighteenth century, the colony's intellectual leaders had abandoned the sacred, traditional orientation and embraced the issues of modern capitalism.

The introduction of paper money into the economy, for instance, reflects the accuracy of Locke's assessments of the growth of the liberal economy. We have already discussed the impact of this issue on late seventeenth-century thought and noted the ambivalent reactions of the colonists; the eighteenth century witnessed further developments along these lines. A distinctly modern attitude first arose during the provincial period during preparations for the 1691 Quebec



expedition, when supporters of the emission of bills of credit argued that "The Nature of Money that (as such) it is but as Counter or Measure of Mans Properties, and Instituted mean of permutation."<sup>16</sup> Specie, as an even more conservative monetarist argued at the time, "whether Gold or Silver, is but a measure of the value of other things..." Pressed by the immediate needs of an urgent economic situation, the first writer argued for the institutionalization of a monetary economy. Taxes were absolutely necessary, he asserted, to government and society; those who opposed them were simply opponents of their country's best interest: "would they have no Publick Charges at all defrayed? This would immediately not only dissolve all Government but all Society."<sup>17</sup> The immediate pressures of war aside, such attitudes are recognized prerequisites for the growth of modern economic systems. With continued inflation and the constant need for paper money during the wars of this period, moreover, the colony's economic measures reflected a forced accommodation to modernity; tax payments in kind, for instance, due to transportation problems and institutional pressures, ceased to be accepted by the government. Unfortunately, the emotional bond of payment in kind continued to exercise some influence; "The custom was clothed," as Joseph Felt noted, "in the view of the aged, with veneration and attachment of antiquity. Having associated itself with their youth, business and predilections, as well as with those of their fathers, they could not suffer it to depart without wishful looks and heartfelt

adieux."<sup>18</sup> Methods of payment and exchange came to symbolize the structure and nature of an entire of society; a traditional way of life was disappearing.

These ambivalent attitudes continued to dominate the literature for some time. Often, modern economic practices and attitudes were openly embraced; Cotton Mather accepted the necessity of usury and discussed the just rules of commerce rationally rather than simply condemn such activities. The Cambridge Association, a voluntary association sponsored by Mather to combat moral decline, declared in 1699 that usury was absolutely necessary for human society to continue.<sup>19</sup>

At the same time, though, the evils of money were clearly recognized and delineated. Sermons frequently described the best way to keep out of debt; the rule was simply to owe no money. Mather himself sought to produce a religious reformation that was partially anti-modern in character. His association and societies for the reformation of manners were designed to promote the avoidance of debt through a moderation of expenses. Greatness, Mather argued, could be achieved only through industry, honesty, and a public spirit rather than through debt, ambition, and luxury.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the paradox can be explained by reference to the emotional attitudes that must be nurtured before a modern economy can make its appearance. The emphasis on hard work, industry, and public spirit can be validly interpreted as a promotion of those very forces needed to foster economic growth. While those attitudes listed as iniquities are, of course, products of

modernization in themselves, they also represent negative contributions to economic development.<sup>21</sup> They were thus rejected out of hand both by traditionalists who feared the ravages of modernity and by modernists who embraced the new economic ethos. Similarly, the fear of debt reflects the concern with dependence in modern societies, particularly those colonial areas engaged in the transition from traditionalism.

Publications continued to reflect these various themes throughout the eighteenth century. The role of money in both the economy and society, for instance, was a constant concern of pamphleteers who explored its ethical and practical values. Supporters of the 1720 private bank effort argued that the bills of credit would aid husbandry, towns, and the people, and would bring true equity and love of neighbor. The want of a medium, they claimed, was frequently a cause of division and quarrel. Indeed, they viewed the maintenance of an adequate supply of bills as the key to the success of the colony: "That as Merchants and Farmers, are the Grand Pillars of the Flourishing State of this Common Wealth, so being joyned together are the Atlas which bears up the Great Globe of our Temporal Business: But without a Medium you place your Feet on a Vacuum: or your Standing is but upon Fluid Air."<sup>22</sup> Again, "without a Medium, all things will jumble, Run Retrograde, and Rubble into Chaos; and this must needs fill us with many Evils both of Sin, and Misery; as Murmurings, Revilings of Governments, Injus-

tice, Oppressions...."<sup>23</sup> Only the medium could unite a country torn apart by the forces of modernization. Supporters of later paper money schemes often went even further in their modernistic views; they argued that paper money was essential to any nation that would carry on trade, that the necessity of growth and development forced its use in commerce both at home and abroad. As one supporter contended, "In my opinion, we owe more to Paper Money than any People on Earth, except the Dutch."<sup>24</sup> The political affiliations of these writers were somewhat determinant, of course, of their ideological stances; such men generally sided with the popular party and the local merchants who were seeking to break court and British trade monopolies. Nonetheless, their opinions remain reflective of a distinctly modern attitude towards the curative power of money, and the evidence substantially supports the belief that such views were held by significant portions of the population.

Others held somewhat different attitudes regarding money's social function. Mixed opinions were common; in 1731, for instance, an anonymous pamphleteer argued that an increased money supply was necessary to keep pace with growing levels of business, trade, and population; at the same time, he expressed fears of the destructive power of inflationary paper money.<sup>25</sup> Others were more forceful in expressing their political and social conservatism. Opponents of the 1720 Land Bank claimed that such money usually ended up

in the hands of merchants, landlords, and usurers, and the poor man who first borrowed it was generally short-changed; indeed, if he could not pay the interest he would lose his house and land. The medium, in this rural agricultural view, served only to set father against son, neighbor against neighbor; far from solving society's ills, it only added to them immeasurably.<sup>26</sup>

The merchants' bank proposal of 1733 elicited more cynical and self-interested defenses of traditional monetary policies. Supporters of this plan maintained that it would help stabilize the inflationary currency supply and solidify conservative economic and social relations. Silver, for these men, was the intrinsic measure of the value of trade and all other things; the proliferation of paper money brought only inflation, the defrauding of landlords and creditors, and harm to widows, orphans, and government officers.<sup>27</sup> Most significantly, it threatened to substitute a domestic ruling class for an entrenched, British-supported elite.

Attitudes towards money proved to be bellwether for the colony's reaction to other economic trends; significant attitudinal changes, for instance, emerged with the land bank crisis of 1714. The question of the bank was considered by all involved to be crucial to the future of the colony; for the first time, in fact, a major public issue involved no trace of religious or ethical sentiment.<sup>28</sup>

The arguments proposed by the private bankers reflected the intimacy of liberal capitalism and Whiggish ideas about

power. Their statements equated the private sector with liberty and English rights and implied that public and private were entirely different realms which must not intersect, and that the public sector would serve its duty only so long as it did not become involved in such matters as banks. An empty treasury, from this perspective, was a good thing; it "prevents many fine Schemes of Arbitrary Power; a full Treasury by a stated Revenue has the contrary consequence, and may soon involve the poor people into unknown mischeifs."<sup>29</sup> Public banks tended "to Unite the Power of the Country and the bank together, which all, wise people have endeavoured to keep asunder, in order to preserve their Liberties; it tends to bring all the People into a dependency upon the Court Interest, and consequently to render them Abject and Servile, which I think no Lover of his Country should promote: as it is proposed at present, it tends no way to help the landed Interest in the stocking and improving the Lands." The private bankers' plan, on the other hand, would involve no invasion of the prerogative, no arbitrary power or infringement upon the liberty of the people.<sup>30</sup> More importantly, perhaps, references to the "Landed Interest" make clear that this was a conscious effort of the popular party both to gain increased public support for their cause and to further the growth of an ideological structure which sought to combine domestic, commercial, and agricultural interests to promote the emergence of a strong, economically independent colony. The nature of the bank's support,

moreover, indicates that it was not divorced from political reality; rather, it was a guided attempt by emerging entrepreneurs to create a base both for their own wealth and power and for a more equitable pattern of growth within the colony.

The arguments of the public bankers themselves further reflect the accuracy of these observations. Paul Dudley argued against the creation of a separate government under private control: "Shall a number of Persons, of their own Head, Form themselves into a Body Politick, and Corporate to all Intent and Purposes in the Law, so as to Sue and be Sued, to Purchase and Grant lands to take in Succession, with the Power of Making and Lending at one Stroke...." Such men had little knowledge of the Constitution or English law, Dudley argued, since "all Power Politick, all Franchise, Liberties, Charters, Corporations, and the like, are Derived from the King, as their Original Fountain." In sum, "If such things as these may be Tolerated, 'Twill be a vain thing any longer to talk of Government, a power of making Laws, Regulating Trade, &c."<sup>31</sup> Dudley implied that the English government, not just government in general, should control such affairs, and that the King remained the sovereign source of all such power. Colonial capitalism would be systematically stifled at its birth, through British control of investment and growth funds.

There was yet another side to the controversy, represented by those country interests antagonistic both to

established mercantile elements and to the supporters of the private bank, the rising middle class of expanding urban areas. This group voiced the problems experienced by the lower classes of rural society, those that often suffer most from economic modernization; they contended that absentee proprietors should give up their land, that money to purchase land should be lent to farmers "who observing that the lands are so generally Ingrost, fear that they shall not procure sufficient to settle their Children upon, have straitned themselves, and perhaps run in debt to buy land, to the disabling them to improve the Lands they had before." Modernization, in brief, was destroying the well-being of the small farmer, whose goals were typical of conservative, anti-modernization farmers: to encourage production and reduce the colony's dependence on imports. Silver should be kept in the province but usurers punished.<sup>32</sup> Yet even this attitude, it should be noted, had a goal common to that of the popular party--the promotion of increased production. The push to increase exports and thus to promote the colony's independent economic growth and development was an important bond uniting the various factions of the party.

It was characteristic of the increasingly differentiated situation of these years, however, that the countryman's attacks were inspired by a plea from a Bostonian for aid for his city. The city writer represented the classic stance of the modernizing urban center, seeking to gain hold of the country, "else I fear Ruin and Destruction will come upon



us, and truly it behoves you in the Country to consider this Town for your own sakes, shall the Head say to the Members, we have no need of Thee, or shall the Members say to the Head in like Manner, as in the Body Natural; so it is also with the Body Politick in this Respect, our Interests are inseparable."<sup>33</sup> The countryman had the sharper view of the future; their Interests were indeed quite different and closely reflective of urban-rural splits in modernizing societies. Similarly, many who otherwise supported the growth of commerce as a positive development were disturbed by its more negative aspects. One supporter of the 1714 private bank, for instance, noted with disdain the advent of financial speculators. As a result of the actions of these men, he argued, "Poverty, Misery, and Oppression...is breaking in upon us; and indeed the Country groans under it almost as much as the Town...."<sup>34</sup> Another writer voiced similar concerns, attacking capricious lawyers and their unreasonable fees.<sup>35</sup>

Thus the arguments that characterized this initial bank controversy varied greatly and reflected markedly different views on the value of money and credit. The bank controversy emerged again in 1720, and the published literature during these years reveals an ever-deepening awareness of the social issues engendered by increasingly rapid economic change. We have already discussed the historical background of this controversy and the serious economic conditions that prevailed in Massachusetts at this time; the reactions to these

events span the entire range of emotional and intellectual attitudes toward modernization. Pamphlets published by popular party sympathizers in 1719 and 1720, for instance, attacked the cities' use of luxuries and the merchants' exportation of silver to pay for them; these practices resulted in trade imbalances and higher prices for domestic goods. The visible evidence of imports provided a material indication of British attempts to undermine colonial virtue, particularly since high prices were the direct result. Luxuries, moreover, were realistically interpreted as a drain of valuable resources, a waste of the country's productive power. Again, the culprit was identified as England.<sup>36</sup> Other writers attacked foreign trade itself and the increased number of towns involved, arguing that such trade only furthered the rapidly increasing concentration of landed estates in the hands of a few; such men feared that in the near future, "a few Gentlemen should be Landlords, and all the rest of the Country become Tenants." All cash would then be at the discretion of the bankers and social and financial chaos would result; for one writer, the only answer was to maintain a surplus of produce on hand for export.<sup>37</sup> Such authors clearly reflected the country viewpoint that is common in most modernizing countries. They were antagonistic to modernizing influences, to the city and its effects on the economy, and to the corrupting catalyst of the Empire.

The most conservative country writers questioned the validity of credit transactions of any sort; others, of a

more middling position, maintained the necessity of trade and an adequate medium, of produce to support trade, of a proper trade balance, and of diligence and frugality supplemented by the occasional use of credit. The want of sufficient currency, for these men, was frequently the cause of division and quarrels.<sup>38</sup> The two most extreme positions, however, give still greater insight into both the ideological developments of the period and the bitter political struggles which increasingly reflected wider social divisions. Incipient Massachusetts capitalists sought to promote the domestic development of their colony and to make constructive use of the Puritan traditions of diligence, industry, and hatred of luxuries--virtues extolled, ironically, in the midst of a decline of traditional Puritan values. The conservative, court-oriented merchants, fearful of losing their elitist social positions, drew upon the same rhetorical traditions with quite different emphases. These men put considerable stress upon the protestant ethic: "much Work or Labour is absolutely necessary to our comfortable Living in the World."<sup>39</sup> God, they argued, had made man in this way deliberately; idleness was therefore sinful, diligence and industry virtuous. Luxuries, which frequently accompanied the growth of population, were to be avoided at all costs, as were the plenitude of taverns which seemed to dot the countryside. Bills of credit should be called in to maintain their value and to keep silver in the province, and a

market should be created to renew justice between creditor and debtor.<sup>40</sup> Each of these assertions reflects the growing fear of the wealthy in Massachusetts that social disruption beyond their control was in danger of becoming a reality.

The development of these varied ideas did not end with the 1720 bank proposal. A 1725 article in the populist New England Courant, for instance, outlined plans for a loan fund to encourage the production of hemp and flax; the author proposed that girls and boys should be taught spinning in between their reading lessons, and that spinning schools be established in country towns. Clearly, there is indication herein of concern for planned, economic development free from British interference. Equally interesting is the author's undisguised attack on luxuries and the merchants responsible for them:

'Tis very probable that some foolish Merchants, neither considering their own Interest, nor that of the Country, will, when they find we are about to stop the Importation of any Commodity, send for the slightest and cheapest Wares of the Sort, that our own manufactories may turn to as little Account as possible. But the Country having been several Times cheated out of their Industry by this means, and feeling the smart of it, it will be hard to take them again by an old Bate.

Rapacious merchants, eager only for a profit, were viewed as detrimental to the economic future and growth of the colony.

Not all colonists were as supportive of an independent economy. A 1731 pamphleteer supported increased imports from Britain which would, he argued, ensure the colony's

continued civilized life: "Therefore I say if we will live upon Ground Nuts and Clams, and cloath our Backs with the Excurvia orpelts of wild Beasts, we may then wear our Expences apace, and renounce this Branch of our Merchandize; but if we intend to live in any Garb, or Post as becomes a People of Religion, Civility, Trade, and Industry, then we must still supply ourselves from the great Fountain...."

A cut in imports would decrease overall business and not bring any money in, and trade would suffer as a result. To ensure against such turns, government should be controlled by men of strong influence in matters of trade.<sup>41</sup>

One of the most revealing controversies concerning economic modernization was the debate over the establishment of a market in Boston. Markets, we have seen, have significance both in a physical and metaphorical sense; in modernizing countries they serve to allocate resources more efficiently, to depersonalize economic relations between individuals, and to promote economic liberties. More significantly, perhaps, markets, both physically and otherwise, are fully accepted only when the profit motive becomes socially acceptable itself. The literature of the controversy reflects all of these themes.

The issue had first arisen in 1696 and again in 1719, when the Reverend Benjamin Colman had told town authorities that a regular market was needed; he argued that the fathers "were not quite enough Men of this world for us...were a little too negligent of those mortal Bodies." Though this

was a statement blasphemous enough of Puritan spiritual concerns, Colman also asserted that a market would improve virtue and morals in itself, though the increase in goods might be a temptation to the poor.<sup>42</sup> Most Bostonians, of course, opposed the market, but the mere fact that such a topic should be broached so openly by men of such authority is significant.

The issue was resurrected with greater urgency during the 1730s. Supporters of the new effort, chiefly wealthy merchants, contended that for a town the size of Boston to live without a market was simply unacceptable. A market would ensure that "the Vertue and good Morals, as well as the wordly Estate and Interests, both of Town and Country will probably be much served and better'd hereby." It would abolish the necessity of spending great lengths of time in selling or buying goods: "Time improv'd well in our Callings is so much money got, so much work done, so much life fain'd. To lose out time then is to throw away our money and our life (not to say our Souls) and to injure the Commonwealth, as well as our Families." Instead of spending an entire day to sell goods, one could now spend scarce an hour. Townspeople, moreover, would no longer be obliged to travel all over the town in search of their needs. The process of selling would be more predictable, and the farmer could ease his burden by taking only samples for examination.<sup>43</sup>

A market, of course, would also promote the physical growth of the colony, "would promote Industry, and prevent abundance of Idleness. Industry is of great Account to the

temporal weal of any Country, and without it no land can flourish, Idleness is the parent of all vice, Misery and Wretchedness to any People." By the same token, the establishment of a trading center would further productive competition, as people would try to outdo their neighbors in the quality and quantity of their products. It would also forestall those "Hucksters" who sought to engross all the provisions that entered the town and re-sell them at inflated prices, causing particular grief to the poor, who were often unable to avoid the temptation of overspending. The market would thus provide an equal opportunity for all, and none would suffer indiscriminately.<sup>44</sup> "Not surprisingly, supporters of the market also contended that it would further the cause of social and individual decency," first on the part of the Country-Man, who to my eye and ear debases himself while he trots about the town, crying at every corner what he has to sell; whereas he would else go silently and gracely, in a manner worthy of his Calling..." Citizens would no longer see their gentry travelling to the ends of the town to get a little butter or some other necessity.<sup>45</sup> The class emphasizes on decency and industry again reflect the desire of merchants to establish tighter control over the lower classes. Equally significant, though, are the modern concepts of time and retailing procedures, indicative of growing economic modernization.

But what of the Puritan tradition? Were citizens of the Bay Colony to regard themselves as better than their fathers?

In fact, modernists argued that "The Children of this world are wise in their Generation. In things that belong to the Natural and Political Life, let us hearken to them. Nor let it seem to us a reflection on our Fathers if we should say, that they were not quite enough Men of this world for us; or that they took so much care of our Minds and our Immortality, that they were too Negligent of these mortal Bodies... But indeed the neglect of this comfortable provision of Markets for us, is not to be charged upon the first Generation who had eno' to do to lay the foundation of our Towns; the fault lies upon their increased Posterity, that they have not timely come into these good Orders. We have enter'd into their labours, but have not improv'd upon them as we ought to have done; neither on temporal Accounts nor on spiritual." Material, rather than spiritual, progress was now the judge of success: "We look now to live by the Blessing of God on our Labour and frugality, and not by Miracles. These ceas'd as soon as Israel came to Cities and Villages, to inhabit and till and Trade."<sup>46</sup>

Not all, however, accepted the dawning of this new era; it appears that the majority of Massachusetts residents, particularly rural inhabitants who clung to some of the remnants of traditionalism, opposed the establishment of a market, for reasons elaborated upon in a 1733 pamphlet. The author of this tract contended that an ancient custom should not be exchanged for a new one, except for grave reasons. It would be inordinately expensive to set up such a market



as was proposed, requiring the hiring of clerks and other administrators; the price of provisions would increase as well. The market clearly reflected, moreover, the urban/rural conflict inherent in modernizing societies: "The Town is certainly too big for the Country, and as long as it remains so, That is, as long as there are more Buyers than Sellers in Proportion, we can never expect to have Things at a moderate Rate." Indeed, the market would contrive to deprive the colonists of their liberty and concentrate trade only in the designated areas; it would depreciate the value of estates distant from it, and would create contention and disorder, divisions and animosities. Times were again difficult, and the little money that there was would inevitably fall into the hands of the few.<sup>47</sup>

Reactions to the introduction of modern economic elements continued to evolve through the 1730s, particularly in response to the merchants' bank proposal of 1733. Supporters of this bank reiterated arguments familiar to us by now regarding the evils of paper money.<sup>48</sup> Opponents, often speaking through the sympathetic Weekly-Rehearsal, attacked the merchants for seeking only personal profits from the scheme. They charged as well that the currency scarcity was being aggravated by usurers who were hoarding bills to take advantage of debtors.<sup>49</sup>

The merchants' efforts, moreover, produced one rather startling reaction to such controlled, elitist modernization. The author in question attacked the very structure of colon-

ial trade, contending that "This losing Trade is a Monster, that can't be supported upon the natural Produce & Industry of our Colonies, but must be fed with Silver and Gold; It devours every Year what might serve for the Subsistence of many Families of our Province...." In fact, he continued, it was the increase in trade which first necessitated the introduction of paper money, thereby preventing the growth of agriculture and manufactures and introducing luxuries, vanity, and extravagances. Silver and gold should be restored and made the official medium, "and thereby reduce this extravagant, spendthrift, Trade within the Rounds of our Income; that so we may Traffick for no more foreign Commodities, than what the natural Produce of our Country, our Fisheries and Industry will pay for; and not prodigally consume every Farthing of our Mony in the Importation of unnecessary Merchandizes." For a country to be rich, wise, and flourishing, goods should be manufactured at home, and industry, the arts, and the sciences should be encouraged, for they will "effectually produce a Golden Age; and banish this Dishonest Trash, this imaginary Wealth, and real Poverty from among us." Though the author supported the merchant's scheme, he did so only in the hope that their notes would prevent moral and economic disolution and bring more silver into the colony.<sup>50</sup>

The complexity of the issue is highlighted by the reactions of still another author in the Weekly Rehearsal. This writer maintained that there was no intrinsic value in

anything but the necessities of life and land and labor, and he yearned for simpler, more frugal days. But he was also aware that "all men seem to think Riches the true Happiness of every Country," and he admitted that the richest trading countries had attained their states through the extensive use of paper money. Since force of circumstance dictated that New England rely on trade for its wealth, paper money seemed to be a cruel necessity.<sup>51</sup>

The attack on the merchant notes continued into 1736. A pamphlet published in that year sought relief for those debtors harmed by the rise in the price of silver, seeking to legalize the payment of such contracts in the bills of the province. More importantly, the writer attacked the excessive usury which had resulted from the scheme, asserting that it threatened the imminent destruction of many families. Such results led the author to radical conclusions: "I think every Man is Intitled to Money, as much as the richest Man amongst us; I mean to so much as he Earns; The Tradesmen and Labourers ought to receive their Money as soon as their Work is done...." It was time to aid those "poor Man whose pressing Necessities have obliged 'em to Mortgage their Estates for these Notes...", as they were paying forty per cent interest. Perhaps most objectionable was the ingratitude of the merchants themselves: "It seems very strange, that Men who have raised themselves and Families from nothing by the Help of our Province Bills, should be such bitter Enemies to a Paper Medium...."<sup>52</sup> Money, then, could serve

as an equalizer, as a leveller of the classes arising in the path of modernization.

Perhaps the most significant intellectual developments in the first half of the eighteenth century, however, occurred with the Land Bank crisis of 1739-1741. We have already discussed the political and factional aspects of this crisis; it also bears significant import for an understanding of the colonial mind. Attacks on the merchants and on the new economic forms emerging were common in these years; a letter in the early stages of the conflict, for example, reflecting a transitional point of view, argued that the sinking credit of the province "has in a great Measure subverted commutative Justice thro' the Land...." The fault was not with the Legislature, "for the State of our Trade and Merchandise abroad has been such, that unless we could supposed our Merchants to act with a due Regard to the publick Weal, and the Cause of common Justice and Equity, as well as their private personal Gain, 'tis hard to conceive how it could have been in the Power of any Laws whatsoever to have kept up the Credit of our Bills."<sup>53</sup> Rather than disparage the role of the General Court, the intention of such remarks seems to have been to single out the merchant as the principle cause of evil: "In brief, as the Emission of Bills of Credit, which so well serv'd all the Ends of Trade and Commerce amongst ourselves, put it into the Power of the Merchant soon to send off our Silver and Gold, as he did, so his bidding upon the Silver since imported, has I think been

the sole Cause of the sinking of the Credit of our Province Bills." The merchants should realize "upon how precarious Foundations Justice & Righteousness stand; in the present State of our Affairs, and of how great Importance it is, that proper Care should be taken in the Matter."<sup>54</sup> Others developed similar arguments, noting that objectors to the bank "turn'd out to be principal Merchants, Factors, and rich Usurers...",<sup>55</sup> 'Accusations' were made of duplicity, that the merchant "had better have spoken plain, and said, it is best to take away the Charters, least the People by Vertue of them, should make choice of such as would promote, what they judged for the publick Good...."<sup>56</sup> Again, these were strong reactions to the emergence of a specialized merchant class, one seeking only its own gain rather than that of the colony as a whole.

Little direct evidence remains, of course, of such attitudes on the part of country farmers, but the report of the Pembroke Town Committee on the state of the currency indicates that similar views were indeed held. The committee consisted of two gentlemen, four yeomen, and one laborer or tenant, all from a rural, agrarian community. The resultant report, like many of the pamphlets we have discussed, was strongly conspiratorial in its fears, blaming the crisis almost entirely on the merchants. Those who had established the silver bank were termed "Traitors", were accused of excessive importation practices, and of causing inflation and depreciation through their efforts to keep the supply

of money down. The instructions issued by the Crown to dis-  
mantle the Bank were deemed to be "a Manifest Infracton of  
our Charter Rights & Priviledges, as well as our invaluable  
National Constitution so long enjoyed as well as so dearly  
obtained whereby the people have a Right of thinking & Judging  
for themselves as well as the Prince." The instigators of  
the plot were easily identified:

All the which mischief & notorious per-  
plexities are gradually brought on us,  
by the merchants & traders who Value &  
Esteem themselves as torn to the Country  
in the course of business they are in,  
and asserting [that?] no Country may be  
said to flourish not being in trade &  
c...True [that?] a trade abroad may be  
Servizable to a Country by exporting the  
[ir?] useless or unnecessary produce of  
the Country, & therewith to Import [torn]  
what may be necessary, or that which the  
Country can't produce. But that has been  
far from our case our said Traders seeing  
only their own Advantage and not that of  
the Country, by importing over [much?]  
goods and at extravagant Rates as afore-  
said.<sup>57</sup>

Apparently, the committeemen argued, the country had been be-  
trayed by its leaders: "Thus far they can't be said to be  
fathers to the Country as they torn be Esteemed to be but  
are Rather Enemies to the Country, and if they Continue so  
doing, the Country will be farther destroyed, or at lea [st?]  
engrossed by them." As true Englishmen, these farmers felt  
it their duty "to divert all [torn] attempts of any Sett  
of designing Men against the weal and flo[urishing] State of  
the Country...." Accordingly, the town ordered their repre-  
sentatives "to strictly support their English rights and

privileges regardless of Crown actions."<sup>58</sup> Even at this early date, then, the colony was experiencing serious alienation from the mother country; the sense of trust even in the King was eroding, and the possibility of forceful disobedience was certainly not ruled out.

The merchants themselves were not silent in their own defense. They supported the use of trade as the foundation of the economy's well-being. They also argued that the landed interests were attempting to set themselves up in competition with the trading interests, and that "The Debtor part of the Country (which is vastly the most numerous), are contriving to balk their Creditors by reducing the Denominations of Money (by their huge and ill-secured Emissions) to a small or no Value; that they who had laudably acquired Fortunes by Industry and Frugality, may reap no Benefit thereof, but be upon a level with the Idle and Extravagant..." A conspiratorial view of events was propagated by these merchants, as they attacked the efforts of the popular party and their attempts to unite the urban middle class and the country farmers: "The Managers spirit the People to Mutiny, Sedition, and Riots..." Their motives, the merchants argued, were entirely insincere: "Nothing is more popular than a pretended Patriotism, to cover the most iniquitous Schemes."<sup>59</sup> Again, the unity of the colony was fractured, as debtor was consciously pitted against creditor, colonial against Britisher.

The Land Bank crisis of 1730-1741 seems to have marked an early peak in the development of intellectual attitudes toward economic modernization; the overt expression of such opinions declined somewhat thereafter, though related matters continued to receive considerable attention. The virtues of agriculture were frequently extolled, and the necessity of encouraging domestic manufactures was far from forgotten.<sup>60</sup> The recurrence of war in 1748, further, brought a resurgence of fears of inflation and its effects on soldiers, officers, and widows; much of the evil besetting the land was attributed to the "covetous selfish spirit" arising from inflation, as people neglected, purposefully, to fulfill their contracts. The purported causes of the economic disruption were predictable; conservatives argued, for example, that it was not the fault of merchant or traders, but rather of the pride, luxury, and extravagance of the people.<sup>61</sup> Others, more deeply rooted in republican thinking, spoke of the loss of control over ambition and corruption:

When riches drew to be necessary, the Desire of them, which is the Spring of all Mischief, follow'd. They who could not obtain Honours by the noblest Actions, were obliged to get Wealth, or purchase them from Whores or Villains, who exposed them to sale....They who had sought the Commands of Armies or Provinces from Icetus or Narcissus, sought only to draw Money from them, to enable them to purchase his/her Dignities, or gain a more assured Protection from those Patrons. This brought the Government of the World under a most infamous Traffick....<sup>62</sup>

The importation of luxuries and extravagances, it was urged, had



to be stopped; those who sought to defile and undermine the colony were importing such items "on Purpose, to delude, beguile, intice and cajole the less prudent and wary among us; to work them out of their Money, and reward the Sweat of their Brows, with Trifles and Varieties....Remove the wicked Cause, and then see if the effect ceaseth not."<sup>63</sup> Several points are worth noting concerning the preceding remarks. First of all, money was closely associated with the rise of factionalism and the destruction of communal feeling--a process almost universal in modernizing countries. Secondly, the element of projection is obviously in play, as the miseries of the colony were attributed to those who introduced luxuries--by implication, Massachusetts merchants as well as Britain herself. Finally, the proposed solution was to rid the country of luxuries; while independence was not suggested, all that remained was for a more conscious connection to be drawn between luxuries and England.

The necessity of retrenchment in the use of luxuries, together with comments on the dangers of artificial currency (a marked reaction from the Land Bank days) were subjects that continued to dominate the literature. Similarly, there was renewed concern with the economic stagnation which seemed to be becoming a permanent problem. One writer argued that future taxes must be more closely regulated, an excise posted, a tax on waste land passed, the soil improved, domestic production of hemp and flax encouraged,

and the population increased. Millions of acres, he contended, remained to be cultivated, and the colony should take appropriate measures to make them available.<sup>64</sup> The overall tone of the argument is strikingly varied, representing a mixture of conservative and liberal thought. The most consistent thread to run through it, however, is the necessity of economic growth and development, and of throwing off those shackles placed on the colony by selfish individuals who sought only their own gain.

One of the most interesting expressions of economic discontent can be found in the 1750 pamphlet, Massachusetts in Agony, and its 1751 Appendix.<sup>65</sup> By the time these pieces were published, the colony's situation had deteriorated considerably and, in the author's words, the "oppressed" were in sore need of justice. Only the rich were escaping the poverty and discontent sweeping the province; otherwise, well-being and prosperity were proving to be ephemeral blessings: "Trade and business, (as Birds leave an inclement climate) are flying away. Children leave their aged Parents, and go off among Strangers; Provision is dear, Money scarce, few Inhabitants, Taxes high, House Rent high, Clothing dear, Fuel dear, Creditors aggressive. Such is our Condition that the Hand cannot feed the Mouth, and what is so Rebellious as the Belly!" It seems that at least one colonist, in response to the revages of economic modernization, argued the validity of economic deter-

minism. Envy, pride, lust, greed, and ambition were all infiltrating the colony, striking destructively at liberty and happiness; the more money, riches, and ambition, the less charity and brotherly love. And here the issue becomes clear: "Whenever you see any Sett, or Party of Men prosper, grow Rich and Powerful, they immediately grow haughty, imperious, and spurn at all beneath them...." Such men sought to withdraw all money from commoners, and engaged in deliberate profiteering. More specifically, their actions were traceable to conspiratorial, socially determined roots:

a love of Power, love of Prerogative, love of Money. And as these are the killing Causes of our CONSTITUTION, we never again can possibly be made whole, until these Instruments and Causes are finally removed, and we absolutely betake ourselves to a proper Regimen, by living regularly, temperately, frugally, use suitable Exercise, avoid bad Company, and bad Examples.<sup>66</sup>

This intimate, conscious connection between economic and political corruption was continued in the Appendix. The worst passion of man, it was argued, was clearly his ambitions: "But as the lust of Money ever accompanies the lust of Power, and the lust of Power that of Money, the more Money therefore such an One grasps and heaps up, the more unbounded and tyrannical Power he wants...." The danger extended to the most revered offices of society:

That as fraudulent Merchants are to be abhorred, with all their Profits and ill-gotten Gains; so deceitful and tyrannical Princes (or Rulers) ought not to be

commended for their successful Frauds and Viceinces. 'Tis answered; Princes or Rulers are not usually esteemed for their Truth, Justice, and Integrity, like other Men, but for their POWER, and Cunning, in knowing how to exert both Force and Fraud, upon a happy Conjunction.<sup>67</sup>

In both economic and political terms, then, the problem was inherent in the very structure of society. Money was necessary, but offered a multitude of temptations to the many; rulers were equally desirous, but were subject to the lures of power. There was, however, an answer; the author argued that many people did indeed make proper use of paper money, but the managers of it were the worst sort. They had increased their own fortunes and power, sought to subvert the commonwealth and sell its people into slavery. As a result, the author was led to the conclusion that "No Man has any just and absolute Right to Money, who has not earned it by Labour, nor has any Property to demand it; and no Man has a Right, an absolute Right, to more money than he is bona Fide worth in real Property...."<sup>68</sup> Herein was a rejection of credit and profit, two of the essentials of a modern economy, and more specifically, a rejection of the economic and political power of the ruling elite.

Perhaps one of the most important indicators of the extent to which economic concerns were an inherent part of the whig ideology was the excise controversy of 1754. Excise bills had, of course, been a major issue in the colony for some time, and they illustrated well the town-country split which characterized much of the colony's eighteenth-century

development. It was in 1754, however, with the agricultural towns squarely opposed to Governor Shirley and the commercial towns, that the controversy came to a heated peak.<sup>69</sup> The former towns were increasingly disturbed by the sight of merchants accumulating wealth through smuggled rum which avoided taxation, and a lengthy controversy rent the General Court. Both sides, it should be noted, drew their rhetoric from similar sources, and both claimed to be bargaining for the good of the community. The bent of their arguments, however, was markedly and tellingly different.

With the power of the pro-excise forces lying primarily in their numerical majority in the House of Representatives, only one major pamphlet pleaded their cause. Such a dearth of literary propaganda was only to be expected, since rural communities with lower levels of socioeconomic concentration produced proportionately fewer literary efforts. The author of this particular piece, writing under the guise of a letter to A Boston merchant, argued that the excise was an appropriate and necessary measure to "excise" luxuries from the community. As such, it would promote the consumption of superior domestic cider rather than imported wine and brandy; such a measure was, moreover, inherently better than the city's notion of excising tobacco, a plan which would only hurt the poor, since three-quarters of tobacco was used by labourers and for nourishment. Indeed, it seemed as though city dwellers preferred such a scheme, "while you yourself are desirous of wallowing freely in all the luxuries of life." Rather than resort to such a cruel course, the author argued, the luxuries which were a clear detri-

ment to the community should be attacked; if a man payed large excise fees, it would be his own fault for consuming too many luxuries and thereby harming the community." Consequentially, people would become more frugal, and it would be easier for even the rich to profit through loans and interest payments. The implication, of course, was that the government could and should manage the individual passions which had threatened republics through the course of history: "It is the Business of the Legislature to do all in their Power to put a Stop to these Extravagancies... whereby the greatest Good of every Individual, is preserved; which is the End and Design of appointing the Legislative Body."<sup>70</sup>

Once again, moreover, luxuries were viewed as harmful to the balance of trade; imported wine and rum did not increase domestic produce or exports, and were therefore useless anyway. There were also more philosophical reasons, however, to justify the imposition of the excise. As the goal of society and mankind was to preserve and enjoy prosperity, considerable expense was involved therein, "which ought to be borne, in a just and equitable Manner, otherwise, Property is not preserved on the Terms upon which Men enter into Society." Additionally, economic expansion would increase the stock of property and lessen the burden on individuals, as well as making property safer "from the Invasion of others." Such, in fact, was ostensibly the only reason for forming the original social contract. Quoting directly from Locke, the author argued that in the state of nature

each man was left to the freedom of his own will, provided he did not encroach upon others; the inconveniences of the state of nature, however, had led man to form societies and bodies politic through majority voice. Thus different kingdoms would have different constitutions, according to the opinions of the people. Nonetheless, there was a unifying factor: "The Safety of all Governments, depend on its Numbers, and Riches: and to attain the greatest Proportion of both, is the Aim of all Societys...." Trade and frugality were necessary to attain this goal of constant and unlimited growth; there was thus no reason why an excise on unnecessary luxuries should not be considered "by every Individual who will but strip himself of Prejudice and Self-Interest." The excise would substantially increase public revenue, and the collector, an object of much scorn by the anti-excise forces, would actually have little power; rather, he would simply be able to request payment of the duty, and not enter the home. The author agreed, moreover, with his opponents' contention that property was sacred, but asserted that the wealthy must support the good of the community if they were to receive the influence and honor they desired.<sup>71</sup> The argument combined elements of republican civic virtue, citizen responsibility, and virtue and frugality, with an English emphasis on property and growth; ironically, it embraced the very elements of fortuna and materialism which produced the dangers its proponents sought most to avoid.

Despite the formidable nature of these arguments, the anti-excise forces found it all too easy to mount a massive campaign in a concerted attempt to thwart their opponents. From the start, the opposition tended to be significantly more dramatic in its presentations; their fiery first effort, Samuel Cooper's The Crisis, illustrates this point well in a quotation which reflects the extensive influence of the republican tradition:

For if Liberty is deserted and exposed by its proper Parents, who can expect it will be nurs'd in the lap of Prerogative?-----  
 Be the Event as it will, may Posterity know, that the Sons of New-England were not all asleep; That when pr..v..te Interests, mistaken Views, Ignorance of the Constitution, and in ..q..t...s Compacts to create and discharge a..l..f..sh Obligations, had influenced the Conduct of our A....y, they were not wanting those, who had the Courage to hold the broad Mirrour of Truth before their pernicious Schemes, and represent them in their true Light to their Constituants.----Perhaps it may not be long before we are plunged into the most abject Subjection, and the unconscious Mind of Slavery may sleep over us.... 72

Apparently, the opponents of the bill viewed it as generally representative of a Machiavellian moment, replete with dangers to moral and material independence. Cooper argued that the bill was unconstitutional and would deprive citizens of their liberty; he asserted that it was an indication of "a Scheme which evidently destroys some of our Priviledges, Occasion of Sedition and Contention will not be wanting; to Suppress these a Military Force will be necessary; as this will sharpen the Spirit of Opposition,



that Military Force must be ESTABLISH'D; and when that is the Case we must expect to take an Eternal Farewell of Liberty." Apart from the obvious borrowings from Andrew Marvell, it is clear from this statement that the emergence of arbitrary power would be triggered by the intrusion of government, in the name of agriculture, the poor, and balanced growth, into the property rights of the urban and the rich. The results would then speedily travel up the scale of Machiavellian and Whiggish fears of conspiracy, and would include the imposition of oaths, increased taxation, the death of trade, and ultimate enslavement. Implicitly, Cooper reached the theoretical premise that, in order to insure the survival of colonial society, the cost of maintaining the empire must be borne by England: "And if this severe and dangerous Method is thought necessary to be taken in order to raise Money to defray the Charge of erecting a Fort on our Frontiers ---- What will be the Consequence of our being involved in an Indian war?--- What the Consequence to a People who has such an extent of Frontiers to defend as we have?" When renewed war did come, commercial centers could object to any attempt to extract payment from them; such a strain on colonial coffers would necessitate increased taxation, and result in arbitrary military and political power.<sup>73</sup> Logically, if England caused such involvements, they would, in the colonists' eyes, have the added obligation of dealing with

the resultant financial strain; it was expected, in short, that the mother country would be responsible for controlling fortuna.

Other pamphlets both clarified and expanded upon these arguments. Complaints were voiced by an anonymous opponent of the excise that increased taxes were driving men of estate from the colony, and that the bill would discourage the growth of industry by granting an unfair tax advantage to those who used other methods to support themselves (a thinly veiled attack on country farmers and landless laborers). The author also defended the privacy of gentlemen and their right not to have a collector arbitrarily enter their house or impose oaths upon them. Most important, he revealed an undeniable affinity for the gratifications of the good life: "Every Man I imagine has an indubitable Right (according to the happy Constitution of the English Government) to gratify himself moderately with what Comforts and Conveniencies of life, the Fortune he is honestly possess'd of will entitle him to, and I see no Reason why a Man who can afford to drink Wine in his House should be oblig'd to pay a Tax for it rather than he who drinks Cyder should...." He argued, in fact, that all inhabitants should pay the same proportion of their estates in taxes,<sup>74</sup> a decidedly regressive notion. It seems, then, that the formative stages of American revolutionary rhetoric were marked by a basic concern with material well-being and

economic, as well as political, rights. Lack of economic freedom and individual initiative were equivalent to slavery.

This intimate relation between economics and politics was borne out by other anti-excise writings. John Lovell claimed that the tax was a pernicious attack on liberty and a scheme to enslave the country; a fellow pamphleteer cynically condemned "the prudent, frugal, industrious honesty of Farmers and Husbandmen, who live in Plenty, Peace and Safety, not acquainted with the Way and Manner that others live." The poor and the frontiersmen, meanwhile, were subject to all the dangers necessary to protect the farmer, who should pay higher taxes to offset this cost.<sup>74</sup> A pamphlet portentously entitled The Relapse also attacked the intrusion into the domestic life of the colony's inhabitants, arguing that such action was unprecedented even in the history of notoriously repressive France and Turkey. Reflective of a simple case of extortion, the tax ostensibly put every man to the trouble of keeping exact accounts, required an oath, and subjected all in slavery to the excise farmer. The author wondered "why must we be put to the Necessity of Cringing to a Publican, in order to keep what we have a natural Right to, and no Government can extort from us, without an Injury; I mean, the innocent Secrets of our Families?" He then recited a litany of lost rights which we have by now become familiar with, concerning the loss of freedom and the onset of tyranny and slavery. We have

almost to remind ourselves that this rhetoric is being directed not against the French or even the English, but against the farmers and representatives of rural Massachusetts.<sup>76</sup> The Review, an anonymous effort, repeated the arguments that the tax was a blow against liberty and the constitution, an invasion of privacy, and a trespass upon the old English proverb, "that the Pocket of an Englishman cannot be opened without his Consent, meaning by this the Consent of his Representatives, which is always supposed to be his own." The author claimed to find in his own assembly subterfuges usually reserved for the French, and later, the English.<sup>77</sup>

Finally, an anonymous pamphlet entitled The Voice of the People made with particular pointedness some of the more important arguments brought up during the crisis. The author explicitly asserted the sacred right of private gain: "Every Englishman I apprehend has a Right to enjoy the Fruit of his honest Industry, in what way he pleases, provided he keeps himself within the Bounds of Virtue...."<sup>78</sup> The implication was that neither the poor nor the Empire should be subsidized by the well-off. An excise would only drive out the wealthy and, moreover, set a dangerous precedent for Parliamentary action.<sup>79</sup> Once again the cry was sent out to the past for the spirit and strength necessary to face the problem of an uncertain future:

O New England! which thy own Sons mistaking  
thy true Interest are endeavouring to

establish? Where are those Worthies who  
founded these previous Liberties in Toils,  
in Famine, in Blood? 80

Clearly, Massachusetts colonists were edging toward ideological stances which would cast the blame for their misfortunes on the lack of financial and emotional responsiveness of England. The factionalism over the excise issue is, of course, significant, reflecting the depth of the urban-rural conflict so characteristic of modernizing countries. More important, however, is the use of common ideological language, of a quite similar perception of the world which would eventually unite opposing groups against a common enemy, England.

Evidence indicates that in England it was the emergence of consumption as a constructive activity, resulting in increased spending and demand levels, that created sustained economic growth. Recent research, together with the evidence presented here, indicates a similar pattern in the colonies. To be sure, eighteenth-century economic gains were more extensions of earlier developments than representative of real economic growth; there were no commercial banks, relatively little liquid capital, little true business sophistication. Specialization, the division of labor, and market arrangements were all established, but in restricted areas and with still limited influence--though their impact was growing daily. Nonetheless, there was an extensive credit system, currency was in wide use, and modern class divisions

were undeniably established. More important, there was a deliberate, largely successful effort to raise the standard of living. Increased emphasis on material wealth and achievement motivated individuals to retain the traditional Puritan values of frugality and industry, providing the basis for a disciplined work force. Economic attitudes necessary to the modernization process, while often confused and incompletely developed, undeniably dominated the public and private literature. Money was often viewed in distinctly modern terms, land was increasingly regarded as a commodity, and economic issues were considered on their own terms, with few overtones of religious concern. Together, these traits encouraged common beliefs in possessive individualism and economic rationality; supported by the religious fervor of the whig ideology, they comprise the roots of American capitalism.

More immediately, England and its colonial allies were consistently identified as the perpetrators of many of the colony's economic woes. The very substantial trade imbalance which plagued Massachusetts throughout the century was attributed to the importation of English luxuries by merchants who thereby threatened the colony's economic development; and it is quite clear that discontent with mercantilism, even under the salutary neglect policy of Robert Walpole, was often serious and profound. The more negative aspects of economic modernization, then, were frequently identified with England even in the early years of the eighteenth century.

## NOTES

1. Daryll Forde and Mary Douglas, "Primitive Economies," in George Dalton, ed., Tribal and Peasant Economies: Readings in Economic Anthropology (Garden City, New York, 1967), 16-17, 18, 20; "Economic Anthropology," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, IV, 363; David Barkin and John W. Bennett, "Kibbutz and Colony: Collective Economies and the Outside World," Comparative Studies in Society and History, XIV (1972), 456-483; John A. Hostetter, Hutterite Society (Baltimore, 1974); C.R. Hallpike, "Two Types of Reciprocity," CSSH, XVII (1975), 113-119. Also see the great number of works listed in footnote 3 of the introduction; all of these offer good, general introductions to the characteristics of both modern and traditional economies.
2. Cyril S. Belshaw, Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), 6, 68; Redfield, The Little Community, 128-129; Matsuyo Takizawa, "The Disintegration of the old Family System (Feudal Japan)," in Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, eds., Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey (Princeton, 1964), 347-365; Joyce Appleby, Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England (Princeton, 1978), 14ff.
3. Dalton, "The Development of Subsistence and Peasant Economies in Africa," in Dalton, ed., Tribal and Peasant Economies, 164-167; Kenneth Boulding, "Toward the Development of a Cultural Economies," in Louis Schneider and Charles Bonjeau, eds., The Idea of Culture (Cambridge, 1973), 51, 55. Similar developments have been observed among the Orissa tribe in India ("Economic Anthropology," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, IV, 363), and on the Javanese north coast during the fourteenth century (Clifford Geertz, Peddlers and Princes: Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns [Chicago, 1963], 43.)
4. Berger, et al., Homeless Mind, 125; Nicholas J. Spykman, The Social Theory of Georg Simmel (New York, 1966) 220-222, 228-231, 246-247; J.E. Crowley, This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America (Baltimore, 1974), 7; Appleby, Economic Thought, 201ff.
5. Dalton, "Primitive Money," 265-266, 280.
6. Meszaros, Marx's Theory of Alienation, 35; Ollman, Alienation, 14-15, 79ff., 127, 129, 138. On the transition from feudal to early modern society, wherein class divi-

sions emerge, see ch. 2. Marx and Engels have the following to say about the relationship between material production and consciousness: "man, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this, their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life." They insisted, moreover, on the extreme complexity of the process, chastising both strictly materialist Hegelians and ideologists. (Marx and Engels, The German Ideology (1846), 13-16; Engels, Letter to Conrad Schmidt (1890), Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, 472-5; Engels, Letter to Franz Mehring, 510-2. All from Howard Selsam, David Goldway, and Harry Martel, eds., Dynamics of Social Change: A Reader in Marxist Social Science (New York, 1970).

7. Ollman, Alienation, 184, 190, 193, 194. Analogous attitudes were expressed, of course, throughout the controversial economic literature of the colony. There is also considerable similarity with McPherson's interpretation of the rise of the theory of possessive individualism. (MacPherson, Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, 203ff).

8. Geza Roheim, The Origin and Function of Culture (New York, 1971), 122. Also see Roheim, "The Evolution of Culture," in Mazlish, ed., Psychoanalysis and History, 78-79.

9. Norman O. Brown, Life Against Death (Middletown, CT, 1959), 170, 211ff., 278.

10. Lockridge, "Land Population, and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1970," Past and Present, 39, (1968), 62-80; Douglas McManis, Colonial New England: A Historical Geography (New York, 1975), 99, 101. Most of the standard works on New England towns cited throughout this study support these contentions. McManis, in fact, has noted that land values by the early eighteenth century were such that most rural New Englanders could not afford to buy a self-sufficient farm (71).

11. James Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., XXII (1965), 75-92; Bernard and Lotte Bailyn, Massachusetts Shipping: 1697-1714 (Cambridge, 1959); Edward M. Cook, The Fathers of the Towns, chs. 3, 7; Gary M. Walton and James F. Shepherd, The Economic Rise of Early America (New York, 1979), ch. 7; Nash, Urban Crucible.

12. Crowley, Sheba, 38-39; Walton and Shepherd, Economic Rise, chs. 4, 5, 6. Labaree, Colonial Massachusetts, 153ff. Also see the evidence presented in ch. 1 concerning speculation, and that presented later in this chapter on the land bank of 1740.



13. C. B. McPherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke (New York, 1962), 18, 25, 35, 59, 63-65, 142-144, 154, 199-201, 203, 205-206.
14. Ibid., 232-234, 237, 239.
15. For a relevant discussion of the work of Defoe, Marvell, and Montesquieu, see the appropriate sections in Pocock, Machiavellian Moment.
16. Some Considerations on the Bills of Credit... (Boston, 1691), 2ff.
17. Ibid., 3; Some Additional Considerations... (Boston, 1691), 2; Crowey, The Sheba Self, 12, has noted the importance of money in commercialization.
18. Felt, Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency, 51-54.
19. Cotton Mather, Lex Mercatoria, Or, the Just Rules of Commerce Declared... (Boston, 1705), 10-12; Magnalia, II, 259; Miller, New England Mind, 309.
20. Cotton Mather, Concio ad Populum... (Boston, 1719), 13-16. These latter qualities may be viewed as the colonial equivalents of fortuna. The Way to Keep out of Debt, in Three Sermons... (Boston, 1714), 6-7, 29.
21. See in particular Joyce Appleby, Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England (Princeton, 1978), and Bruce Mazlish, The Revolutionary Ascetic (New York, 1976).
22. Amicus Patrius, A Word of Comfort... (Boston, 1721), 1.
23. Ibid., 1-2.
24. The Weekly-Rehearsal, March 18, 1734; March 25, 1734. A letter submitted on April 1 attempted to defend the merchants.
25. Amicus Republicae, Trade and Commerce... (Boston, 1731), 8-10, 15, 19, 35-36, 42.
26. The Second Part of South-Sea Stock... (Boston, 1720), 20, 24.
27. New England Weekly Journal, Jan. 14, 1734. Money, in sum, serves as the binding force of a contractual society.

28. A Letter From One in Boston to His Friend in the Country... (Boston, 1714), 20-21; see Appleby, Economic Thought, on emergence of economics as a separate field of concern.
29. Ibid., 23, 28-29.
30. Paul Dudley, Objections to the Bank of Credit... (Boston, 1714), 8, 14.
31. Some considerations Upon the Several Sorts of Banks... (Boston, 1716), 15.
32. The Distressed State of Boston... (Boston, 1720), 9.
33. A Letter from a Gentleman... (Boston, 1720) 8, 12-13.
34. The Second Part of South-Sea Stock... (Boston, 1720), 20, 24.
35. The Present Melancholy Circumstances... (Boston, 1719), 1-3; A Letter From One in the Country... (Boston, 1720), 1, 203, 7-8, 11-13, 20.
36. A Letter From One in the Country... (Boston, 1720), 1, 2-3, 7-8, 11-13, 20.
37. Benjamin Gray, A Letter to an Eminent Clergyman... (Boston, 1721).
38. An Addition... (Boston, 1719), 2.
39. In Addition... (Boston, 1719), 3-4, 6-7, 8, 10, 18, 19, 22.
40. New England Courant, Jan. 11-18, 1725.
41. Ibid.; Amicus Republicae, Trade and Commerce... (Boston, 1731), 8-10, 15, 19, 35-36, 42.
42. Quoted in Miller, New England Mind, II, 400; J. E. Crowley, This Sheba Self, p. 6, has noted the significance of market participation and its effect on changing attitudes toward economic gain.
43. Benjamin Colman, Some Reasons and Arguments...for the Setting Up Markets in Boston... (Boston, 1719), 1-2, 3, 4, 5, Predictability, of course, is a major factor in the emergence of the modern market system. On the importance of time in the modern personality, see Alex Inkeles and David Smith,

Becoming Modern, ch. 21; see Warden, Boston, ch. 5, for details of the market.

44. Colman, Some Reasons, 4-5, 6. Such arguments suggest the development of an achievement motive in the colony. On this point, see David McClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton, 1961).

45. Colman, Some Reasons, 7.

46. Some Considerations Against Setting Up of a Market in This Town... (Boston, 1733), 1-4. Also see A Dialogue Between a Boston Man and A Country Man... (Boston, 1714), which voiced many of the same objections. The author rejected the concept of imposed specialization, wherein shop-keepers who practiced as many as twelve trades be forced to concentrate on one; he also argued that the market would lead to "The taking away the Ancient Rights, and undoubted Property of our Voting at Town Meetings, which we now enjoy." Both writers, then, reflected the influence of the republican tradition and the endemic conflict between town and country.

48. New England Weekly Journal, Jan. 14, 1734, and Feb. 18, 1734. Money, in sum, serves as the binding force of a contractual society.

49. The Weekly Rehearsal, March 4, 1734.

50. Boston News-Letter, Feb. 28, 1734. There is a strong similarity here to Montesquieu's view of trade as the root cause of corruption.

51. The Weekly-Rehearsal, March 18, 1734. Also see The Weekly-Rehearsal, March 25, 1734. A letter submitted on April 1 attempted to defend the merchants.

52. The Melancholy State of the Province... (Boston, 1736), 1, 10-13.

53. A Letter... (Boston, 1740), 3. The most convenient recent summary of the controversy is in Labaree, Colonial Massachusetts, 166-168. Also see the references in ch. 2.

54. Ibid., 5, 12.

55. A Letter From a Country Gentleman... (Boston, 1740), 3.

56. A Letter to A Merchant in London... (Boston, 1741), 21.

57. J. M. Bumsted, "The Report of the Pembroke (Massachusetts) Town Committee on the Currency, March 24, 1740/41,"

The New England Quarterly, XL(1967), 560.

58. Ibid., 60.
59. Ibid., 8, 9, 12; A Second Letter to a Merchant in London...(Boston, 1741), 2.
60. Boston News-Letter, Oct. 11, 1750.
61. Mylo Freeman, A Word in Season...(Boston, 1748), passim; Nathaniel Appleton, The Cry of Oppression...(Boston, 1748), 36-39, 44.
62. The Independent-Advertiser, June 13, 1748.
63. Appleton, Cry of Oppression, 4, 12.
64. Some Observations...(Boston, 1750), 9, 12-13, 14-15, 17-19.
65. Vincent Centinel, pseud., Massachusetts in Agony...(Boston, 1750); Cornelius Agrippa, pseud., Appendix to Massachusetts in Agony...(Boston, 1751).
66. Sentinel, Massachusetts in Agony, 3-7, 12-13.
67. Agrippa, Appendix, 3-5, 7, 13-14, 17.
68. Ibid., 17.
69. Paul S. Boyer, "Borrowed Rhetoric: The Massachusetts Excise Controversy of 1754," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., XXI (1964), 328-351.
70. The Good of the Community...(Boston, 1754), 4, 5, 10, 12.
71. Ibid., 12, 32, 34, 35, 40, 45, 49. Again, note the overtones of a contractual society, and the demand for equal treatment of town and country.
72. Samuel Cooper, The Crisis...(Boston, 1754), 4.
73. Ibid., 5, 9. Thus, both city and country were developing anti-British views. The city viewed England as the sources of disruptive warfare and undisciplined expansion, while the country viewed it as a source of luxury, corruption, and ostentatious wealth.
74. A Letter, 2-3. In this sense, the city was decidedly pre-modern in its attitude towards wealth.

75. John Lovell, Freedom... (Boston, 1754), 1-3; A Plea for the Poor, 3-6 and passim. As in similar situations in the past, the conservative, pro-excise forces came to the defense of the poor, while proposing an excise on rural cider and malt.

76. The Relapse... (Boston, 1754), 2-4. The emphasis on private rather than communal rights is interesting; it was felt that the excise would be "a Burthen upon the People, which would be inconsistent with the natural Rights of every private Family in the Community."

77. The Review... (Boston, 1754), 6, 7.

78. The Voice of the People... (Boston, 1754), 3.

79. Ibid., 6.

80. Ibid., 8. He and other authors felt the bill would initiate the downfall of the English constitution, and one writer connected rural efforts with French perfidy (Some Observations... (Boston, 1754), 7-10.)

## CHAPTER VI

### CULTURAL TRANSFERENCE AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

The theory of generativity and, in particular, its application to the problem of identity crisis provides a remarkable array of insights into the transitional nature of provincial Massachusetts society. According to Erik Erikson, generativity is the essential need to transmit emotional and cultural experiences across time; it "derives from the fact that man experiences life and death--and past and future--as a matter of the turnover of generations." Indeed, something quite basic happens to man when his needs for generativity are not fulfilled; adults suffer inordinately, but so do their children: "The sins of the fathers are visited upon their children."<sup>1</sup> Herein lies the clue to the proper use of ego psychology in history. The basic contention of many psychologists is that man's character is formed through an interaction with his environment, over which he seeks to assert control through the use of his ego. Ego psychology stresses the positive nature and essential benignity of such conflicts; while Freud did not ignore such aspects, he placed more emphasis on the painfulness of the individual's relationship with the outside world. The two approaches are essentially at odds, since Freud felt that the happiness of the individual and that of society

were incompatible.<sup>2</sup>

In discussing the role of the ego in the psyche, ego psychologists argue that it serves as a central organizer of experience "by gearing the individual for shocks threatening from sudden discontinuities in the organism as well as in the milieu; by enabling it to anticipate inner as well as outer dangers; and by integrating social opportunities. It thus assures to the individual a sense of coherent individuation and identity: of being one's self, of being all right, and of being on the way to becoming what other people, at their kindest, take one to be."<sup>3</sup> The ego keeps one attuned to the reality of the historical day, "testing perception, selecting memories, governing action, and otherwise integrating the individual's capacities of orientation and planning." Its defense mechanisms promote compromise between id impulses and super-ego compulsions, restricting the development of anxiety. The implications are of confidence in the continuity of identity and of one's meaning for others.<sup>4</sup>

As we shall gradually see, however, Freud was right in stressing the discordant role which the ego plays in the psyche, at least in eighteenth-century minds. In the unsettled society of the early modern world, the ego was unable to cope successfully with its changing environment; its defense mechanisms betrayed it with promises they were unable to keep, compromise that forbode only future dis-

illusion, as the forces of both id and superego were too strong to permanently defuse.<sup>5</sup> The eighteenth-century ego was a weak and tentative one, and simply did not have either the time or the opportunity for successful development. The growing power of external authorities, moreover, weakened the ego's need to struggle for survival; the more its course was charted by non-familial figures and institutions, the less it was able to confront social problems on its own terms. In this light, the growing power of the colonial state takes on new significance. The role of the frontier, moreover, acquires renewed importance as a source of struggle and independence to those who yearn for such individualistic freedom and, indeed, need it to maintain the integrity of a weakened ego in social conditions that demand forceful action.

Nonetheless, the theories of ego psychology, modified by those of Freud, are peculiarly applicable to the area of adolescence and the problems of generativity. Since its introduction by Karl Mannheim, the concept of generativity has maintained a tenuous, elusive hold on sociologists and some few historians. Mannheim posited that a generation is first distinguished when it undergoes a significant collective experience. Others have added the concept of a cohort, defined as a group of individuals undergoing a collective experience, regardless of age or other variables.<sup>6</sup> Certainly each has an application to colonial Massachusetts;



generations, for example, were of clear importance during the half-way covenant crisis and the Great Awakening, while cohorts were undoubtedly formed during the Andros regime, the Land Bank crisis, and other traumatic experiences. During each event, the colonists reacted similarly to a common experience, ensuring partially uniform socialization and ideological orientation.

The problem is further clarified by the work of Margaret Mead. Mead distinguishes three types of culture based on generational relationships: post-figurative, cofigurative, and prefigurative. The first two are of concern to us here. A post-figurative culture is one where change is slow and grandparents play a major formative role; in fact, "The past of the adults is the future of each new generation...." Generally, such continuity depends on the physical presence of at least three generations and the implicit lack of critical consciousness. A cofigurative culture, on the other hand, "is one in which the prevailing model for members of the society is the behavior of their contemporaries." The elders in such situations are still dominant and are often looked to for final approval of youth's actions, but the behavior of youth will differ dramatically from parents and grandparents, and they will look to adolescent age mates for behavior models and approbation. Cofiguration begins with a break in the post-figurative system, such as a catastrophe in which the old, traditional leaders are killed; migration to a

place where the elders are not achieves much the same result. Of particular importance is the removal of the grandparents.<sup>7</sup> Such a situation apparently characterized the passing of the first generation in seventeenth-century New England; the death of these men and the culture they brought with them was, psychologically, strongly connected with the disaster of the Andros government. The transition to a cofigurative culture, however, was spasmodic and premature, resulting in an attempt to combine the two forms during the Awakening. Thus the parent-child conflict becomes more than a recurrent social phenomena, and emerges instead as a major indicator of the rhythmic growth of modern society.

Concern for cultural transference, of course, filled the literature of colonial Massachusetts. The foundations of religious thought and the ideological bases of society were being drastically revised; the resulting uncertainties created dilemmas for parents as to what they should teach their children, and equally intense quandaries for children who were unsure of the validity of what they were being taught. This "identity crisis" was no doubt further aggravated by the ambivalent attitude of the colonists toward England and Englishmen, particularly when children saw parents and their ideals attacked and ridiculed by English officials purported to be the colonists' protectors and providers. The desire of Puritans to transfer their sense of mission to succeeding generations increases the sug-

gestiveness of these contentions. Education, for instance, was a mainstay of both the Puritan mission and the Whig ideology.<sup>8</sup> The literature of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, moreover, was still characterized by the frequent use of the jeremiad, often specifically directed at the perceived decay of Puritan youth; Cotton Mather, for instance, provides excellent examples of this concern throughout his published work. As early as 1693 he argued that the worst fault in all of New England was "the lamentable want of REGENERATION in the Rising Generation." The younger generation would have to repent and follow the chosen path of God if they were to be saved from temptation and given the gift of true religion; likewise, Mather argued, parents owed attention to the needs of their children.<sup>9</sup> Mather was specifically aware of the problem of the passing of the torch from one generation to another: "One Generation of them goes off, and another comes on, and all with a Dispatch that is astonishing!" In his diary Mather frequently spoke of the duties of both parents and children, of the necessity of regenerating youth; this, in fact, was the basis for the establishment of his youthful religious societies. Mather's pastoral concerns also reflected his efforts to sustain familial unity within his parish.<sup>10</sup>

The key point of many of the jeremiads, then, was the dimming of the original brilliance of the Puritan mission: "Our Ancestors have been a Generation of Godly Men...;

O Children, Beware of Degenerating from the Godliness of your Ancestors..." Mather feared a fulfillment of scriptural prophecy: "All that Generation were gathered unto their Fathers, and there arose another Generation after them, which knew not the Lord." Fearfully, he warned the coming generation of the import of their mission: "But now, Beware, O Succeeding Generation, Beware, that a Glorious Work of God, be not lost in your Apostacy...Generation Coming on, Harken to the Demands which the former Generation makes upon you."<sup>11</sup> Indeed, Mather recorded his view of the history of the colony in specifically generational terms; he spoke of the original fathers who left the

pleasant land of England for the desert land of America. Now, one generation passeth away and another cometh. The first generation of our fathers, that began this plantation of New-England, most of them in their middle age, and many of them in their declining years, who, after they had served the will of God, in laying the foundation (as we hope) of many generations, and given an example of true reformed Religion in the faith and order of the gospel, according to their best light from the words of God, they are now gathered unto their fathers. There hath been another generation, succeeding the first, either of such as come over with their parents very young, or were born in the country, and these have had the managing of the publick affairs for many years, but are apparently passing away, as their fathers before them. There is also a third generation, who are grown up, and begin to stand thick upon the stage of action, at this day, and these were all born in the country, and may call New-England their native-land.<sup>12</sup>

Noticeable too is the emphasis on nationality and a sort of muted patriotism, considerably more secular than that ex-

pressed by the founding fathers. Most important, however, was Mather's continuing view in the Magnalia of the decline of the third generation from the standards set by their ancestors. God's displeasure of New England grew from the decline from godliness of the third generation, and as a result "he has taken care, that his own dealings with his people in the course of his providence, and their dealings with him in the ways of obedience or disobedience, should be recorded, and so transmitted for the use and benefit of aftertimes, from generation to generation..." The original design of the plantation would thereby be preserved forever, and the present generation would not lose its way.<sup>13</sup>

Mather's concern with his own children, moreover, shows a delicate, more practical care for the needs of youth. He expressed tender concern for those of his children who died young, would delight them with stories while they were alive, and perform innumerable kindnesses to please them.<sup>14</sup> It is entirely possible that he was reacting to the strong control which his own father Increase had exercised over him in his youth, a control which undoubtedly repressed the son's oedipal strivings with unusual force.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, this notion is borne out by an incident which his own son experienced with Increase, an incident which illustrates well the validity of Margaret Mead's work:

My little Son waite upon his Grandfather every day, for his Instructing, as well as upon other Tutors and Teachers. This day I sent him on an Errand, where the

person imposing on his Flexible Temper, detained him so long so late; and his punishment was, that his Grandfather, did Refuse to Instruct him, as he used to do. The child, unable to bear so heavy a punishment, as that his Grandfather should not look favorably upon him, repairs to me, full of weeping Affliction, whereupon, I applied my self with a Note, unto my Father, as an Advocate for the Child, I asked, that I might bear the displeasure due for it, because of what had passed relating to it.... I thought, the Lord ordered this little Accident this Day, to raise in my mind, the Thoughts of the Reconciliation, which the Son of God, who is my Advocate with the Father, would obtain for me, with God.<sup>16</sup>

This brief story provides us with several insights into Mather's temperament and also into the implications of the familial practices of the early Puritans. First of all, it shows quite clearly the impact which the presence of a grandfather in or near the household can have. In addition to the obvious problems of intrusion into daily life, Cotton's son was presented with yet another authority figure symbolic of the past, thereby increasing the burden of guilt he had to bear. Of course, how many settlers were presented with this sort of problem is a question difficult to answer; one must remember, however, that it was the first generation which refused to allow the third into the half-way covenant. The burden of guilt thus imposed on the third generation must have been enormous; moreover, ambivalent feelings on the part of the second generation towards their fathers must also have increased. By the end of the seventeenth century, then, Puritan attitudes toward authority were already

confused, and their reliance on an external figure such as the king became all the more significant.

Many other Puritan ministers evidenced a similar concern with the upbringing of their children, though this concern was as often as not marked by a more selfish fear about their own well-being, a desire to see their mission perpetuated in their children. Note the feelings of Benjamin Pemberton:

From this it is that Parents sympathize with them in all their Suffering, bear the Burdens, and prompts them to engage for their Security and Happiness, in the greatest Dangers, as to Life, Name and Estate. For them they can rise early, and sit up late, run any Hazzards, and esteem their Prosperity to be a sufficient Reward of all their Care, Toyl, and Cost: When they are about to leave the World, if they can but see their Posterity happy, they can pass off the state with Joy and Triumph; but if they see them agonizing under distressing circumstances; their future Comfort and Felicity threatn'd by some adverse Storm, they are filled with the most uneasy Anxiety of Spirit, and retire from off this Earth with aking Hearts, trembling Hands, and weeping Eyes.<sup>17</sup>

Pemberton added, as if to console himself for the loss of all material advantages for his children, that "The Happiness of a Child does not depend upon having his Fathers Estate and Revenues, his Predecessors Titles of Honour, Attendance, or splendid Equipage, but in the presence of God being afforded to him."<sup>18</sup>

Others were not so sympathetically inclined, and undoubtedly followed the more traditional advice of Benjamin

Wadsworth. Wadsworth argued that the death of young people should awaken parents to ask of their children, "What would have become of you, if you had been thus suddenly snatch'd away? Would your Souls have gone to Heaven, or to Hell; which of them? Well, prepare speedily for death, you don't know but you may both Speedily & Suddenly be turned into Eternity." He too showed fear of being disgraced before God through his offspring: "We have taken great care of you, great pains with you, and will you ill requite us by going on in sin, to the dishonour of God, to our shame and grief, will you bring our heads with Sorrow to the Grace?...will you forget God, and neglect the blessed Jesus, whom we dearly love, and to whom we have consecrated you?" Wadsworth admonished parents to follow the actions of their children even after they had married and set up their own families, and argued that the way for religion to flourish was for every household to guard its own hearth, sending its message out to society. Surely, this was a seventeenth century, more medieval conception of the role of the family, emphasizing as it did the coherence of three generations and primary, rather than secondary, socialization.<sup>19</sup>

But the question remains: which attitude prevailed-- that of Mather or that of Wadsworth? As is usually the case in transitional societies, something of a mixture was the rule, as the prevalent characteristic of child-oriented literature was a warning to avoid temptation, to worship the



ancestors, and to preserve their heritage intact, all the while, of course, actual developments were leading in a quite different direction. There was some doubt, moreover, concerning the ability (or even the justice) of the old generation to control the actions of the new. Typically, modernizing societies experience just such problems, socializing children for a world which no longer exists.<sup>20</sup> It is clear, moreover, that there was a great deal of sympathetic feeling toward children in colonial Massachusetts. Expressions of grief over their deaths were common, and the colonists' concerns about their upbringing, however selfish in some ways, reflected strong affective attachments. Even in those cases where affection was not clearly present, the circumstances indicated otherwise; in the daily presence of death and disease, emotional distance often lessened the pain of loss. Perhaps the most accurate observation is found in Philip Greven's recent work. Greven overemphasizes the degree to which Puritan parents sought to break the child's will, but he does perceptively sense the strong ambivalence in their attitudes, which reflect both a deep love of children and a sense of distrust and fear. The eighteenth-century family was not yet modern in structure, role, or emotional bond, but neither was it the emotional desert suggested by the work of Ariès and Stone. The people of the colonial period possessed their own attitudes and concerns, shaped by cultural limits and emotional necessity.<sup>21</sup>

In such a context, the pleas of Thomas Foxcroft, for example, become more comprehensible. Foxcroft feared that his times were "abounding with Temptations, to our Young People in Special, to desert the Interest of pure Religion, and betray the Cause of God, in which our Forefathers were engaged." Again, the answer was a simple one; "Let us always maintain a peculiar Esteem for the Memory of our pious Progenitors, and train up our Children in the Same Veneration: be often telling them of the excellent Character and Spirit of our Forefathers, their Errand into this Wilderness, the Covenant wherein they've bound their Posterity to the Lord, and their many ardent Prayers for succeeding Generations." They, truly, were "the Fathers of NEW-ENGLAND."<sup>22</sup>

Predictably, there were continued social problems of various sorts with the colony's youth; complaints of their misbehaving in church, for example, were fairly common even before the Awakening, and they frequented taverns, drank, and gambled.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps the problem was best expressed in a letter to one of the colony's newspapers, late in 1736: "by too much Abundance they became forgetful of the Means, which made them Great & Opulent; like young Spendthrifts come to the Possession of a vast Estate, acquir'd by the Labour, Industry, & Frugality of their Ancestors, they squander'd away in a few Years, what had been the Work of Ages to acquire."<sup>24</sup> Not only were youth rejecting the sacred heritage, but there was some implicit doubt as well as to the effects and goodness of this heritage itself. Again, ambi-

valence seems to have been the strongest feeling in these complaints. Prosperity contained within itself the seeds of corruption; unspoken was the fear that there was no exit from this circle of decay.<sup>25</sup> As we have suggested before, moreover, the content of the culture to be transmitted was undergoing significant evolution. For many, the heritage received from their ancestors was decidedly materialistic and reflective of political and social rather than religious concerns.

Thus Puritans quite clearly expressed a mixture of attitudes towards their children, and obviously the subconscious struggle between good and evil and the concerns over the cultural transmissions were projected onto the child. But so was the ambivalent attitude toward authority and self-assertion; undoubtedly much of youth's rebelliousness was partially fantasized. Many among the most devout, moreover, evinced strong sympathetic reactions to the plight of their offspring. Perhaps the paradox can be explained in the light of long-term trends in upbringing. By the early nineteenth century, the raising of a child was directed more towards socialization than suppression; the Awakening, as a transitional form of socialization, marked an important part of this process. The seventeenth century had been a time to break a child's will, while the eighteenth century witnessed the development of a projective attitude—children could help salvage the failure of their parents' efforts to construct a

new tolerance toward the needs of children as children and as individuals.<sup>26</sup>

The transitional nature of these developments is reflected in the emergence of all three age-groups generally associated with modernizing societies: schools, adult-sponsored youth agencies, and spontaneous youth organizations. The latter two appeared most prominently during the Awakening, though the religious societies sponsored by Mather and others at the turn of the century also come under this heading. The subject of education, however, offers a signal opportunity to study one aspect of the decline of the family as a controlling social agency, a process which is central to modernization. The Puritans themselves had initiated the decline by apprenticing their children out between the ages of ten and fourteen, thus evading the inevitable conflict between adolescents and their parents and allowing a strong bond of personal affection to remain.<sup>27</sup> The process was further modified by changes in religious education. In the early years, the General Court simply enforced the role of the family as the primary educator, with the individual towns lending some assistance.<sup>28</sup> In the second half of the century, however, a new trend emerged, as church catechism began to gain in popularity; the church thereby replaced the family as the primary religious educator. The church's new role was affirmed by the expansion of its influence in the community through more open baptism, church-sponsored covenant renewals, and church-sponsored religious societies.

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It appears, moreover, that it was not the power of the church that forced the transition, but rather the unwillingness or incapacity of families to perform the necessary duties.<sup>29</sup> Every family might have had a Bible, but not every father was a theologian, and not all parents could provide the necessary emotional security in a time of changing cultural configurations.

These events found significant parallels in educational developments. The original colonists had inherited Renaissance traditions stressing the household as the overseer of education, and the early settlers, by necessity, took on even greater responsibilities. Indeed, in these early years the family itself was the critical agent of institutionalized change. Thus early schools were an inconsistent and mixed lot. Nonetheless, education gradually slipped from family hands and progressed to the public realm--from the control of the town meeting to that of the selectmen and committees of selectmen, with strong overall involvement on the part of the General Court.<sup>30</sup> More important, the role and purpose of education began to undergo considerable modification. In a world of increasing complexity, education seemed more and more the key to advancement; such devices as almanacs and self-instruction manuals rose in popularity, and libraries increased in importance. Apprenticeship became too long and costly a form of education in Boston after 1689, and a wide variety of teachers began to advertise private instruction in an equally wide variety of subjects.

Parental influence over the choice of occupation was declining. At a higher level, the Enlightenment exerted a decisive influence over the content of the college curriculum, and specialized professorships developed.<sup>31</sup> In sum, schooling began to provide for both the elite and the masses, a genuine life alternative.

The dissipation of familial solidarity was, it seems, a central theme of eighteenth-century social life. We have already examined considerable evidence of antagonism between generations, and the family as a whole was apparently beginning to lose some of its economic power.<sup>32</sup> There were several other ways, moreover, in which the family was losing control over its own destiny. As early as 1668, the Court found it necessary to order the towns to comply with laws relative to single persons, and also that "Idle, spending husbands to be put under guardianship."<sup>33</sup> The Court was frequently involved in these years with family matters, such as divorce, fines for men living away from their wives, and preventing incestuous and clandestine marriages. The latter problem apparently became particularly acute in 1727-1728, since a law was passed in that year requiring a certificate of publication of intention at least fifteen days prior to the ceremony.<sup>34</sup> Divorce petitions likewise became more numerous and more serious in this period. Hannah Marshall, for instance, filed for divorce in September 1730, stating that "As it grieves my very heart thus to address your Honours by way of Complaint against my own Husband; and the more, be-

cause of the Sacred Office Invested on him. Yet I am persuaded (with great Submission) that the law of Self preservation even constrains me thus to do...." Hannah spoke fearfully of her husband's "unkind carriage and uncommon threatening Speeches", and stated that "he hath frequently threatened to beat out my brains." The Court advised her to live with her father until further orders.<sup>35</sup>

Other petitions reveal similar situations. Sarah Bloget was forced to live with neighbors and friends for her health and safety. More significant, perhaps, was the drastic rise in the number of divorce cases during the 1740's and 1750's, related, undoubtedly, to the increased military activity of the French and Indian War. Matthew Joy petitioned the Court for relief, arguing that his wife had married one Henry Yaw, who had persuaded her that Matthew was dead, having been captured by the Spaniards. Yaw went so far as to sell the household goods for money, and threatened to take the life of his new wife when Matthew finally did return.<sup>36</sup>

In the same year, Ann Leonard petitioned for a divorce, stating that her husband kept her from worship "and with most horrid curses told her she should lead a life with him as bad as a cat in hell without claws." He beat her, played around with other women, and threatened to send her to Newfoundland with no belongings; to escape such cruelty, she attempted to commit suicide by hanging.<sup>37</sup> One final example comes from a 1748 petition by one Abigail Hamen. Her husband, Samuel Call, had gone to Cape Breton with the colony's

military expedition; she and her children had followed him, but he was subsequently killed. John Hamen, a soldier at the fortress, then made suit to her and married her, only to abandon her at York, on the pretense of visiting children by a former marriage; he then proceeded to marry yet another woman. While not common, such cases occurred with some frequency. And while many of the social patterns reflected in the petitions indicate a traditional family structure, there are other reflections of a more modern orientation--the emphasis on neighbors rather than kin, and the coldly economic concerns of many of the petitioners.<sup>38</sup> The family's loss of social power was evidenced in other developments as well. Boston had always been the scene of some violence and lawlessness, but petty crime began to increase significantly in the early eighteenth century. The more commercialized areas, such as Essex County, showed a similar increase in the variety of offenses. Warnings out increased, as did the number of orphans, bastards, and indigent children and poor in general. Service in a family was no longer viewed as a cure for dissolute living; such persons were rather sent to the House of Correction or supervised by the selectmen. Idle and disorderly persons who were unable to care for their children; moreover, were likely to lose them. Parental authority, it seems, was losing much of its discretionary power to the state.<sup>39</sup>

In the context of modernization and its long-term impact on the family, there is another issue that bears



detailed investigation--whether or not there was a developmental period known as adolescence in Puritan society; the problem increases in importance when one considers that such a stage of development normally appears only in modern societies. The evidence indicates that such a period did in fact exist. Conversion, for example, as well as subsequent acceptance into adulthood, seems to have occurred about the age of sixteen.<sup>40</sup> Even before the Awakening, young persons were consistently recognized as independent entities, deserving treatment appropriate to their ages.<sup>41</sup> A child under the age of sixteen, for example, was not considered legally responsible. Thus, while some authors have argued that "adulthood" began around the age of seven, there is no evidence that it was taken seriously until at least sixteen. Since marriage generally took place at an earlier age during the eighteenth century than it had during the seventeenth, and since land was acquired at considerably later age, there was also a significant gap between formal entrance into adulthood and social and economic entry into the adult community. Adolescence, then, was extended even further beyond its normal time span.<sup>42</sup>

From this perspective, the Great Awakening can be viewed as an identity crisis of adolescents, reflecting the latter's problems in a modernizing society; consequentially, the crisis spread as well to adults whose ego-syntonic personality structure was similarly called into question. The problem, first of all, is intimately related to that of generativity.

Identity is a result of mutual response; the individual must feel he is part of a successful group identity.<sup>43</sup> This solidarity is threatened by the societal discontinuity present in certain periods of history, and in such times of rapid change, "the meaning of confirmation changes. Some ceremonies..., while ancient and profound, no longer speak to young people; others, while sensible and modern, are somehow not magic enough to provide that superlative shudder which alone touches on the mystery of experience." This conflict is particularly evident in adolescence because only then "does the individual feel so exposed to anarchic manifestations of his drives; at no other time does he so need oversystematized thoughts and overvalued words to give a semblance of order to his inner world." An ideological control over the environment, then, becomes essential for the ego, in organizing experience "according to its specific capacities and its expanding involvement." The adolescent ego seeks identity, a constant meaning for others, a historical perspective within which to place itself, and a complementary support from the group identity.<sup>44</sup>

The work of Peter Blos expands and adds depth to the Eriksonian paradigm sketched above. Rather than using the concept of identity as an organizing principle for the entire life cycle, Blos focuses on adolescence itself. Following Erikson, he argues that the designation of a role or status is of the ultimate importance for the adolescent; it offers him "a self-image which is definite, reciprocal, and group-

bound; at the same time, the societal assimilation of the maturing child is promised. Without this kind of environmental complementation or reinforcement, the adolescent's self-image loses clarity and cohesiveness; consequently he requires constant restitutive and defensive operations to maintain it." Blois is, then, more pessimistic than Erikson; he questions implicitly the ability of the ego to maintain control in situations of serious historical change.<sup>45</sup>

Blois divides adolescence into periods; pre-adolescence, for example, is generally characterized by the conflicts we have just discussed. It is followed by attempts to separate from primary love objects, a process characterized in the period of early adolescence by "close idealized friendships with members of the same sex...; a lowpoint in sustained interests and creativity is apparent, and a clumsy groping for new--not merely oppositional--values emerges." The central period of adolescence follows, characterized by "a tendency toward inner experience and toward self-discovery... hence the religious experience, and the discovery of beauty in all its possible manifestations. We recognize that this development is a form of sublimation of the child's love for the idealized parent and a consequence of the final renunciation of early love objects." This marks the decisive break; the new achievements are incorporated and worked out in later periods of life.<sup>46</sup>

At the same time, the adolescent seeks to gain more active control of his outside world, of object relations

and role predicaments. A common result, however, is the emergence of polarities--"submission and rebellion, delicate sensitivity and emotional coarseness, gregariousness and withdrawal of object-cathexis and the impoverishment of the ego, resulting in a feeling of void. Fantasy-relationships and make-believe endowments can follow, representing false attempts to control the external world. More realistic control develops only if the individual becomes disengaged from the original love and hate objects, allowing more realistic ego-functioning.<sup>47</sup> There is some question, unfortunately, as to whether the Bay colonists were able to achieve this difficult transition; in both their ideological and revivalistic attachments, they sought to recover rather than to abandon the past.

The study of youth societies, finally, offers further insight, particularly as formulated in the comparative work of S. N. Eisenstadt. Eisenstadt's approach is generally Eriksonian, and follows the main analytical lines denoted by the ego psychologists; he argues that roles must emphasize a person's relations with other people, and that rites and rituals are necessary to ease an adolescent into the adult role. But when traditional family continuity and values fail to regulate society, a break in socialization occurs, and societal solidarity based on age-heterogeneous groups deteriorates. Subsequently, a tendency emerges towards age-homogeneous groups "directed towards the

transference of identification and extension of solidarity from one set of relations to another, different one, structured according to different criteria." In particular, when the main integrative principles of the family become different from those of the social structure, the transfer of culture becomes problematic. In a modern society, then, the individual must learn to act according to universalistic standards rather than particularistic ones; he seeks objects which offer emotional security and ascriptive relationships not based on blood ties. Relations with age-mates meet all of these needs, as they offer a sharing of common emotional strains and a more distinct life definition. Age-homogeneous groups thereby aid the process of cultural transference by taking the individual out of the particularistic family setting and extending his relations to all tribe members of a similar age.<sup>48</sup>

Similarly, the adaptive adolescent seeks to make distinctions between what is himself and what is not and in the process must be able to separate himself from the external world." By the time he reaches adolescence and has accomplished this different task, "ego development is affected in an important way by his absorbed participation in age-mate groups." He may threaten to break off adult relations in his desperate efforts to pass from being an economic liability to an economic and social asset. The ego must be anchored anew in the face of inconsistent treat-

ments and expectations, and on-going instability only contributes still further to the formation of adolescent groups and identifications with idealized persons.<sup>49</sup> The youthful "gangs" which we shall examine in the literature reflect the initial formation of such groups, while the more stable religious groupings of the Awakening itself, dominated by youth, conform more closely to truly useful age-groups. Their standards were decidedly universalistic, they were led by such idolized figures as Edwards, and, most important, they sought to emphasize societal cooperation and the development of complementary, progressive role structures. It was only in these latter groups, moreover, that truly reciprocal relations between generations were developed.

To give some initial illustration of the applicability of these ideas to early Massachusetts society, we shall examine some of the concepts expressed in the New England Primer. Aside from the common admonishments to obey God, King, and parents,<sup>50</sup> there are several indications of uncertainty regarding the fate of the Puritan mission. Take, for instance, the familiar Puritan platitudes regarding death:

Time cuts down all  
Both great and small

Youth forward slips  
Death soonest nips.<sup>51</sup>

In light of the problems we have discussed, such aphorisms take on new meaning signifying growing uneasiness about the course of the colony's future. The Christocentric nature of eighteenth-century Puritanism, most evident in the work

of Edwards, is also apparent here: "The Spirit applieth to us the Redemption purchased by Christ, by working Faith in us, & thereby uniting us to Christ in our affectual Calling."<sup>52</sup> Again, "The Souls of Believers are at their Death made perfect in Holiness, & do immediately pass into Glory, & their Bodies being still united to Christ, do rest in their Graves till the Resurrection." Baptism as well served to seal the union with Christ.<sup>53</sup> Such concerns offered a less harsh route to salvation through a Christ somewhat more accommodating than his father.

Perhaps most interesting, however, is the "Facsimile of the New English Tutor", written between 1702 and 1714, and consisting of a dialogue between Christ, Youth, and the devil. Christ seems to represent a superego graced by the more merciful side of the Puritan conscience, the devil the darkest and most unrestrained portions of the id, and youth a vacillating, uncertain ego. When viewed in this context, in fact, the character of Puritan converts throughout the two centuries becomes more comprehensible. Possessed of an ego weakened by the misfortunes of rapid cultural change, the typical Puritan often found himself buffeted by the contrary winds of good and evil, id and superego. By the time of the Awakening, the problem was complicated by the incorporation into the id of a eulogized utopian vision of the world of the founding fathers.

Youth's view of its own early years corresponds closely to the undifferentiated pleasure id:

So I resolve, in this my Prime,  
 In Sports and Plays to spend my time.  
 Sorrow and Grief I'll put away,  
 Such things agree not with my Day.  
 From clouds my morning shall be free,  
 And nought on Earth shall trouble me.  
 I will embrace each sweet delight  
 The Earth affords me Day and Night.  
 Though Parents grieve and me correct  
 Yet I their Counsel will reject.<sup>54</sup>

The danger of persisting in such ways, however, is shown by the invitation of the devil to follow his evil ways, so that "when others Read, be Thou at Play...." Do not obey parents or teachers, the devil pleaded, "And I'll thee raise to high Renown."<sup>55</sup> At first youth eagerly follows this advise:

These Motions I will cleave unto,  
 And let all other Counsel go.  
 My heart against my Parents now  
 Shall hardned be: I will not how,  
 No, nor submit at all to them,  
 But all good Counsel will contemn....<sup>56</sup>

Whereupon Christ enters the scene, urging youth to obey authority:

The Devil and his Ways defy,  
 Believe him not, he doth but lie.  
 His ways seem sweet, but Youth beware,<sup>57</sup>  
 He for thy Soul hath laid a Snare....

Retreat, in short, from the urgings of the id; it promises much but offers little of lasting value. Real salvation lies instead in repression and obedience.

At first youth repulses Christ's overtures, turning to peer association instead:

My Heart shall chear me in my youth,  
 I'll have my Frolicks in good Truth  
 Whate'er seems lovely in mine Eye,  
 My self of it I cann't deny.  
 In mine own Ways I still will walk,  
 And take delight among young Folk,  
 Who spend their days in Joy and Mirth



Nothing like that I'm sure on Earth.  
 Thy Ways, O Christ, are not for me,  
 They with my Age do not agree.  
 If I unto they Ways should cleave,  
 No more good days then shall I have.

.....  
 To thee, O Christ, I'll not adhere,  
 What thou speak'st of doth not appear  
 Lovely to me, I cannot find  
 Tis good to set or place my mind  
 On Ways from whence my Sorrow spring,  
 And to the Flesh such Crosses bring.  
 Don't trouble me, I must fulfill,  
 My fleshly Mind, and have my Will. 58

Eventually, though, youth recants in a fearful submission  
 typical of the effects of the superego:

Amazed, Lord, I now begin,  
 O help me, and I'll leave my Sin:  
 I tremble, and do greatly Fear  
 To think upon what I do hear.  
 Lord! I Religious now will be,  
 And I'll from Satan turn to thee. 59

In bowing to the force of religious demands, then, the Puritan  
 opted for a fantasized vision of both past and future, re-  
 pressing personal pleasure and self-control.

Further illustration of these feelings can be found in  
 the revelations of Jonathan Edwards regarding his own conver-  
 sion process. His early life, too, was characterized by a  
 rebellion against authority: "From my childhood up, my mind  
 has been full of objections against the doctrine of God's  
 sovereignty, in choosing whom he would to eternal life,  
 and rejecting whom he pleased....." After his conversion,  
 however, he began to feel that the doctrine of predetermina-  
 tion was "exceeding pleasant, bright, and sweet. Abso-  
 lute Sovereignty is what I love to ascribe to God." Indeed

so great was his ecstasy that he thought "how happy I should be, if I might enjoy that God, and be...up to him in heaven, and be as it were swallowed up in him forever!" Edwards wished only "to be with God, and to spend my eternity in divine love, and holy communion with Christ." These millennial views of heaven, clearly, were indicative of a yearning for relief from earthly agonies, perhaps of a strong death wish: "It was a comfort to think of that state, where there is a fulness of joy; where reigns heavenly clam, and delightful love, without alloy; where there are continually the dearest expressions of this love; where is the enjoyment of the persons loved, without ever parting...." Appropriately, Edwards also evinced a strong attachment to Christ, and his greatest desire was the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world. He sought to be "swallowed up in Christ..." to escape his own sinfulness and vileness, his own pride, hypocrisy, and deceit.<sup>60</sup> Christ, it would seem, was the key for the eighteenth-century Puritan; even Charles Chauncy, staunch rationalist critic of the Awakening, argued that any man in Christ was a new creature, and in him, "old things are past away; behold, all things become new."<sup>61</sup> God himself, of course, presided over the Christian family: "He feeds them with a Fathers Heart and Hand...." But God was only the provider; only in Christ could men be "born again and created anew..."<sup>62</sup> There are several points of interest in this renewed emphasis on Christology. It is particularly notable that this shift from an emphasis on God as an authori-

ty figure (though here Edwards was more authoritarian than most) was concurrent with the emergence of a representative political system. Psychologically, moreover, the implications are even more far-reaching. Christ's death, we have seen, serves to expiate the guilt of the sons caused by their revolt against the father--in this instance, represented by the gradual rejection of the traditional culture of the founders. Eighteenth-century man admitted his guilt; he also, however, became somewhat of a god himself through association with the divine son. Again, then, "The religion of the sons succeeds the religion of the father...;" the old totem feast is revived, through communion or through ritualistic, expiatory services.<sup>63</sup>

In the preceding pages we have described the emotional and psychological bases for eighteenth-century Puritanism. We shall now attempt to apply the findings to the experiences of the Great Awakening. Why did this severe identity crisis take place between 1740 and 1744, and not ten years earlier or later? There are several points to be made here, all of them mutually supportive and pointing to the same conclusions. First, puritanism as a "nomos" had declined considerably in the first four decades of the century; it was no longer a total experience. It had, of course, always been short of ritualistic support, and the rise of covenanted rituals and the sacramental revival of the early 1700's were designed to deal with this problem.<sup>64</sup> Its emotional impact had been lessened even more by the advent of universal baptism and

the accompanying decline in full church membership. Colonists thus lacked a means of catharsis, an outlet which could offer them a sense of community in hard times and of self-importance in the cosmic panorama. Such assurances were certainly necessary in times of economic unrest; the Awakening generation, further, had matured in the 1720's and 1730's, a time of hectic struggle with royal power, of growing uncertainty regarding the colony's own future, and its position within the empire. The prolonged psychosocial moratorium caused by declining land availability could only worsen the crisis for adolescents, who were predictably seeking stable, supportive positions in society. The contagiousness of the crisis was undoubtedly heightened by the responsiveness of adults whose own father-figures were failing them, whose expectations of the future were turning out to be no more than empty, unfulfilled hopes.

Thus the entire crisis of cultural transference and splintered identity structures reached its peak during the years of the Awakening. The situation was lucidly characterized by Nathan Bucknam, who confessed that "We are a sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters, we have forsaken the Lord...; the whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint...." The vices besetting the colony, according to Bucknam, were equal to those which had sapped the strength of Rome and were doing the same to England; parents were being disobeyed, sons went where they pleased and stayed

out late at night, ignoring their family duties: "It is even come to that in some Families the Children command and Parents must obey.... And this Sin is not only to be found among Children to their natural Parents, but in Inferiours towards their Superiours of all orders, the Younger towards the Elder, Subjects towards their Civil Rulers, People toward their Spiritual Guides and Overseers. Disrespect and disobedience in all relations grows upon us and abounds among us, but it chiefly takes its rise from the want of Family Government..." Intemperance, unchastity, adultery, fornication, lying, slandering, backbiting, covetousness-- all these, Bucknam argued were unknown among the ancestors but only too common in his own time. The problem, in sum, was the differentiation of communal society: "Division and Contention is a Sin that abounds in this Land; and a very grievous Sin it is: For if Love is the fulfilling of the Law, as the inspired Apostle says it is..., then Division and Contention must be the violation of it, and tends to the Destruction of the very principle in the Soul. This Evil is become epidemical among us; it is to be found in Families among the nearest Relations, Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children, Brethren and Sisters; so that a Man's Enemies are they of his own household....Towns get in parties, striving one against another...." Contemporary men, Bucknam felt, had slipped from their celestial strivings: "Mammon is their God, and they mind earthly Things."<sup>65</sup>

In a similar vein, William Williams argued in his 1741 election sermon that "Nothing can be more weakening to a Kingdom or State, than to be broken into Parties, having separate and opposite Interests set up and pursued....Thus it is in Families, and Towns and Churches, and thus in larger Bodies & Societies: Disaffection and Discord occasioning many troublesome and disorderly Passions...; on the other Hand, where a Spirit of Love and Unity prevails, as it gives a Beauty & Lustre to every Society..." Cities, towns, and country, then, should recognize their interdependence, since "They are Brethren, Members of the same Community..." Man should combat "Stiffness and Unyieldableness towards one another..." and enforce the use of charity.<sup>66</sup>

Bucknam's arguments suggest that the more immediate causes of the Awakening can be traced to various kinds of breaks in the operation of the Puritan gemeinschaft ideal. It represented, for example, a sort of psychological safety-valve for the orgiastic response to the Land Bank; this recourse to secular involvement, harshly rejected by the mother country, was followed by an equally enthusiastic orgy of self-guilt, pleas for a return to a past paradise, millennial visions, and renewed emphasis on a more universalistic ideology. Ministers, too, were ripe to be affected, as they were experiencing a severe professional crisis.<sup>67</sup>

The Awakening itself was a rapidly spreading phenomena. In its initial burst, in 1734-1735, it seems to have been spurred by a series of internal and intra-town squabbles and

a regional growth of Arminianism;<sup>68</sup> this pattern would prevail in later revivals as well. The ultimate causes, however, were more general. Urban areas, to be sure, were most susceptible, but equally responsive were the rural and semi-rural regions whose boundaries were being increasingly encroached upon by the "immoral" commercial influence. Of the ten major county towns identified by Edward Cook, for instance, all but two had major Awakening experiences, often central to their regions. In contrast, none of the suburban or self-contained towns similarly listed were so influenced.<sup>69</sup> Obviously much work remains to be done with other of the colony's towns before valid conclusions of this sort can be affirmed, but the indications are that the Awakening did not occur in towns which remained both predominantly rural and untouched by the larger society. Several other revival towns also experienced marked population increases between the 1690 and 1765 censuses, while most Awakening towns (apart from Hampshire County) had significant numbers of land bank subscribers within their boundaries.<sup>70</sup>

The work of J. M. Bumsted on southeastern Massachusetts lends considerable support to these and other conclusions. Bumsted shows that before the Awakening, 36.4% of admissions to the church had held town office, while only 13.2% of those admitted during the revival were so endowed. Of pre-Awakening admissions, 79.1% had owned ten or more acres of land, while during the Awakening, 36.3% owned a similar amount, and another 36.3% owned no land at all. Before 1740, only 9.4% of the admissions were laborers, while during the

Awakening 25% professed such an occupation. Bumsted's figures also show conclusively that the largest bracket of admissions came from those between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, among unconnected, relatively landless and unmarried individuals. Southeastern Massachusetts, of course, was an old, settled area, offering few occupational alternatives; it was also the source of several significant migratory moves to Maine. Nonetheless, these figures support the evidence to be gleaned from the literary sources of the period, and the two together leave few doubts as to the nature of the colony-wide movement. In Northampton itself, only 1.3% of third-generation sons received town grants; somewhat more than half received land from their fathers, but often when they were over thirty and had postponed marriage.<sup>71</sup>

Initially, the Awakening affected primarily the youth of the colony, spreading to other age groups who became caught up in their own delayed identity crises. Youth societies were common during these years; values of peace, love, and harmony were stressed in reaction to the increased competitiveness and litigation of a particularistic society. These same values, moreover, exemplified as well facets of what is known as a "peak-experience"--the experience of the individual as a whole person, as "being." Such an experience frequently represents an attempt at renewal or rebirth, both common concepts during these years.<sup>72</sup>



The works of Jonathan Edwards provide ample evidence of the dominance and central role of youth in the Awakening. Edwards had, even in his own youth, spent "much time in religious talk with other boys; and used to meet with them to pray together." He noticed the revival pattern which emerged among youth in Northampton in 1734-1735: "The young People also have been Reforming more and more; They by degrees Left off their frolicking, and have been observably more devout in their attendance on the Publick worship. The winter before Last there appeared a strange flexibleness in the young People of the Town, and an unusual disposition to Hearken to Counsel..." In fact, the revival was partially spurred by the sudden death of a young boy and a young married woman. Even more important, though, was the conversion of "a young woman who had been notorious as a leader in scenes of gayety and rustic dissipation." The news of her conversion "seemed to be like a flash of lightning upon the hearts of the young people, all over the town, and upon many others."<sup>73</sup> As in the later revival, the town's youth began to meet for religious purposes: "our young People when they Get together instead of frolicking as they used to do are altogether on Pious subjects; tis so at weddings & on all occasions. The Children in this, & in the neighbouring Towns have been Greatly affected & influenced by the spirit of God, & many of them hopefully changed..."<sup>74</sup>

Edwards' experiences apparently characterized the Awakening which swept through the colony five years later.

In 1744 for example, the Reverend Joseph Seccombenoted that there "came four young men to me under considerable awakenings and concern about their spiritual state...who had been of too loose a life and conversation in times past...."<sup>75</sup>

The Reverend Oliver Peabody observed in 1743 that "there have been very observable strivings of the ever blessed Spirit on the hearts of many, especially young people."<sup>76</sup> The ministers of Wrentham agreed that "the work of God's Spirit seemed to be chiefly on young people...;" here too, youthful religious societies were apparently common.<sup>77</sup> The Reverend John Porter of Bridgewater stated in 1743 that "many of our young people convinced of the sin of spending away days and nights in singing and dancing, and other youthful sins, which they were much addicted to before, and greatly delighted in." Two young Connecticut men in fact, formerly of Bridgewater, visited the town with astonishing results.<sup>78</sup>

In Sutton, there had been a brief revival among the youth of the town, together with the formation of youth societies, as early as 1735.<sup>79</sup>

Even where all ages and social ranks were affected, as in Northampton, the emphasis was apparent: "The Bulk of the young People have been greatly affected; but old Men, and little Children have been so now." The pattern held at Sunderland, South Hadley, and the West part of Suffield.<sup>80</sup>

In Halifax, a nine year old fell down, and "it seem'd as if Hell lay before her, that she was ready to fall into it":

The Wrath of GOD was dreadful to her."<sup>81</sup> In Brookline, the tragic death of a young boy convert spurred revivalistic impulses; the Awakening in Harvard began in late 1739, when four young men came to their minister and renounced their previous sinful habits in order to embrace the church fellowship. From then on the revival thrived, and many religious societies were formed by the youth of the town.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, the catalytic nature of youthful conversions was specifically recognized by the Harvard minister: "This visible Reformation among the young People was (under GOD) a Means of stirring up many middle-aged and elder Persons to think more seriously about their Souls, and what they should do to be saved."<sup>83</sup> In Gloucester, "Children of five, six, seven years, and Upward, would pray to Admiration." The revival in Middleborough was even more remarkable: "to hear the young People crying and wringing their Hands, and bewailing their Frolicking and Dancing, their deriding public Reproofs thereof, was affecting.... Their Mouths are at once filled with Arguments to justify GOD in their eternal Damnation, and condemn those Principles and Practices they had been ruled by and led into...."<sup>84</sup> In Sutton, youth revivals were experienced both in 1735 and 1740, together with the customary religious societies. In the latter year, after a five year re-occurrence of youthful debauchery, "Tavern-Hauntings and Night-Assemblings of Young People for wanton Pastime seem'd at once to disappear." Similar proceedings characterized the revivals in Taunton and Boston.<sup>85</sup>

It is apparent, then, that youth predominated in and spurred the revival, and that the adults who served as raconteurs of the event saw them as the most important element of the proceedings. It is equally clear that youthful religious societies were a central element of the Awakening experience; generated by young people themselves, they were maintained under the guidance and supervision of ministers. Men like Edwards thereby served as appropriate male role figures in a transitional society rent by emotional, generational conflict.

The emotionalism which brought opposition from more rationalist thinkers such as Charles Chauncy was, of course, also apparent throughout the course of the revival. In Taunton, for example, "The whole acted with such gravity & tears of good affection, as would affect an heart of Stone. Parents weeping with Joy seeing their Children of the church in Neighboring Towns who came & joined with us in it."<sup>86</sup> The thoughts expressed herein further emphasize several themes which run throughout the Awakening literature--the reunion of parents and children, the presence of joy and love, and the renewal of amicable relations between neighboring towns. As we have suggested, the latter is a particularly relevant causative factor; in towns such as Northampton and Springfield, internecine conflict had been rampant for some years.<sup>87</sup> More important, perhaps, is the fact that Edwards himself viewed the problem in such terms: "I suppose we have been the freest of any part of the land from unhappy

divisions and quarrels in our ecclesiastical and religious affairs, till the late lamentable Springfield contention."<sup>88</sup> Such quarrelsomeness was traceable to the side effects of modernization, as licentiousness, nightwalking, lewdness, and the constant use of taverns had all become serious problems. With the Awakening, however, "the minds of people were wonderfully taken from the world, and it was treated among us as a thing of very little consequence. They seemed to follow their worldly business, more as a part of their duty, than from any disposition they had to it; the temptation now seemed to lie on that hand, to neglect worldly affairs too much, and to spend too much time in the immediate exercise of religion."<sup>89</sup> Nonetheless, sobered by accusations of enthusiasm and attracted by the ambivalence of new, secular values, the converts remained, often reluctantly, within the world they were attempting to reject.

The remainder of Edwards' narrative again illustrates several of the themes which dominated the Awakening. He spoke of beautiful public assemblies, of talk of Jesus and salvation filling the air, of "hearts filled with Love to God and Christ, and a disposition to lie in the dust before him." The converts themselves seemed "to be united in dear Love, and affection one to another, & to have a Love to all mankind. I never saw the Christian spirit in Love to Enemies so Exemplified...."<sup>90</sup> They sought peace, "poverty of spirit, holy resignation, trust in God, divine love, meekness, and charity...;" such peace brought a solace that did

not exist in worldly happiness, and Edwards perceptively argued that it was "what all men are in pursuit of."<sup>91</sup>

Edwardian theology, as complex as it was, offered one consistent message during the Awakening years: seek happiness in the love of God and one's neighbor. George Whitefield, too, was an attractive figure precisely because of his universalistic theology. As one student of the Awakening has noted, "his human sympathies real, his denominational prejudices negligible, and his superficial Calvinism adaptable and inclusive, Whitefield was admirably equipped to appeal to persons of widely divergent stations and loyalties." His lone theological effort was a letter reproving John Wesley for his Arminianism.<sup>92</sup> Many of the other so-called New Lights, of course, were similarly inclined. Frequently operating as itinerant ministers, these men offered neutral alternatives to traditional ministerial or familial father-figures; in conscious efforts to revitalize Puritan society, they resorted to the most universal, most basic levels of ideology and religion--peace, love, and harmony. Only to such a code could men of increasingly differentiated interests respond.

A work which deserves special mention in any discussion of the Awakening is Thomas Prince's Christian History. As an extended commentary on the events of these years, Prince's work offers a somewhat wider perspective; it also serves to confirm the impressions of more restricted accounts. Therein lies its true value--as a work of history,

offering evidence that the Awakening was viewed as a universal experience, crucial in the colony's evolution. Above all else, for example, Prince was acutely aware of the burden placed by the forefathers on his generation; the ultimate purposes of the Awakening was, for him, to "first commemorate the righteous and signal Works of GOD towards us, both in our own Days and in the Days of our Fathers; and then consider the great and special Obligations they have laid upon us with the Nature of our Carriage towards him for the Time past." Prince's vision of the early years is quite typical of nationalistic history; so popular, he argued, was early New England, "such vast Numbers were coming, that the Crown was obliged to stop them, or a great Part of the Nation had soon emptied itself into these American regions." The colony bore witness to its fateful destiny almost immediately bringing peace, growth, and righteousness in what had been a wilderness." New England thereby became more than an image for the rest of the world; it was an open challenge to God's enemies. Still, the country had undeniably declined from the examples set by the first settlers, and Prince argued that the memory of those events should be used "as a Means to retain what is, and to recover what is lost, if it may be." If this were done, the problems besetting the colony could be overcome, the people returned to the unity and love of the first decades.<sup>93</sup> For Prince, the Awakening could bring solutions to all the pressing problems of colo-

nialism and modernization. Significantly, Prince traced the origins of Massachusetts' decay to about the year 1660, laying emphasis on the death of the first generation and the emergence of a new British imperial policy. Only by regressing to a semi-mythical period before this date could the colony hope to regenerate itself.

Prince's reaction to the events of the Awakening further emphasizes his restorative, healing view of the revival. His account of events in 1735, for example, speaks of the joy and love brought to Northampton through the actions of Christ. The renewed religiosity of youth brought comfort to all, and to such, for many, doubts about their religious state." Indeed, while Prince reenforces the centrality of youth to the Awakening experience, he also emphasizes the resulting universality of conversions, "affecting all sorts, sober and vicious, high and low, rich and poor, wise and unwise." When the wave of emotion had subsided, "A loose careless Person could scarcely find a Companion in the whole Neighborhood..." Young people and children were "overcome with a sense of the Greatness and Glory of divine Things, and with Admiration, Love, Joy and Praise, and Compassion to others..."<sup>94</sup> The Lockean state of mind, apparently, had crept even into the ecclesiastical world.

Emotionalism, of course, was a major factor wherever Edwards or Whitefield preached; the former called meetings at this house of persons sixteen to twenty-six years of age,



where the youth experienced "Humility, Self-Condernation, Self-Abhorrence, Love and Joy: many fainted under these Affections." Many were so profoundly affected that "their Bodies were so overcome, that they would not go home, but were obliged to stay all Night at the House where they were."<sup>95</sup> Of particular interest, though, is the covenant entered into on March 16, 1741/2 by all the inhabitants of Northampton over fourteen years of age; it illustrates once again the essentially anti-modern nature of the Awakening:

In all our Conversation, Concernes, and Dealings with Honesty, Justice, and Uprightness; that we don't overreach or defraud our Neighbour, in any Matter, and either wilfully, or thr' Want of Care injure him in any of his honest Possessions, or Rights; and in all our Communication, will have a tender Respect, not only to our own Interest, but also to the Interest of our Neighbour...And particularly we will endeavour to render to every one his Due; & will take Heed to our selves, that we don't wrong our Neighbour, and give them a just Cause of Offense, by wilfully, or negligently forbearing to pay our honest Debts.<sup>96</sup>

There must be no backbiting or slander, no thoughts of revenge; men should rather

take great Care that we do not, for private Interest, or our own Honour, or to maintain our selves against those of a contrary Party, or to get our Wills, or to promote any Design in Opposition to others, do those Things which we, on the most impartial Consideration we are capable of, can think in our Consciences, will tend to would Religion, and the Interest of CHRIST's Kingdom...in the Management of any publick affair, wherein there is a Difference of Opinions, concerning any outward Possessions, Priviledges, Rights or Properties; we will not wittingly violate Justice, for private

Interest; and with the greatest Strictness and Watchfulness, will avoid all unchristian Bitterness, Vehemence, and Heat of Spirit...; to avoid all unchristian Inveighings, Reproaching, bitter Reflections, judging and ridiculing others, either in publick meetings, or in private Conversation, Either to Men's Faces, or behind their Backs; but will greatly endeavour so far as we are concerned, that all should be managed with Christian Humility, Gentleness, Quietness, and Love. And furthermore we promise that we will not tolerate the Exercise of Enmity and Ill-Will, or Revenge in our Hearts, against any of our Neighbours... .<sup>97</sup>

All of these themes were central to the purpose of the revival. Love of Neighbor must be "inward and hearty, and not in Shew and Pretence only...;" brethren, it was argued, should "dwell together in Unity!" Beneath the superficial differentiation of modern society, there were characteristics common to all men: "There is in all the Children of God the same Spirit of LOVE and CHARITY towards Mankind." The revival would restore "loving and faithful Husbands, loving, faithful, and obedient Wives..." and would ensure that children show the proper obedience and subjection to their parents. Most important, it would provide an opportunity for "Nothing short of an inward, renewing and sanctifying Charge, on all the Powers, and Faculties of the Soul, by the powerful Energy of Divine Grace...."<sup>98</sup>

The experience of a number of other towns provide ample evidence that similar concerns characterized the colony's entire Awakening experience. In Harvard, Massachusetts, for example, where the revival was spurred by the conversion of four young men of rather loose life styles, events proceeded

under the prompting of "the preaching of the Word...like a FIRE, and like a HAMMER that breaketh the Rock in Pieces." Penitent converts reacted, significantly enough, "as new-born Babes desiring the sincere Milk of the Word that they might grow thereby..." Some could not sleep at night for fear they would go to hell, while others awakened under alarming Fears of CHRIST's sudden Coming to Judgement, Expecting to hear the Sounding of the Trumpet to summon all Nations to appear before him." As a result of this experience, people supposedly became better husbands, wives, parents, children, masters, and servants, free of the censorious spirit. The hopes for rebirth and re-invigorated role performance are evident; in this sense, at least, the Awakening sought to make the journey to the modern world somewhat easier to bear.<sup>99</sup>

The role of the minister as ancestral father-figure was also illustrated, in Prince's view, by the career of Peter Thacher of Middleborough. Thacher's character followed that course pioneered by his ancestors: "his habitual and prevailing Temper was great Seriousness and Solemnity: and the older he grew, the more he grew in Sanctity, and the more habitual and strong this Solemnity appeared in his Countenance, Converse, & Behavior." He ruled his family with authority, was hospitable to neighbors and strangers, and held in proper esteem the Puritan founding fathers. He was, moreover, "deeply affected with the late astonishing

Decays of vital Piety and Growth of Irreligion and Immortality." As a man of such nobility, Thacher led an Awakening similar to that of many others; throughout Middleborough, one could "hear the young People crying and wringing their Hands, and bewailing their Frolicking and Dancing, their deriding public Reproofs therefor...." Upon conversion, however, "they both prayed and read and sang with such unusual Freedom, Life and Fervour, as was very engaging & affecting to others; far greater Numbers chose to stay in the House at Noons...."<sup>100</sup> Perhaps William Cooper summed it up best: "The Apostolic Times seem to have return'd upon us...."<sup>101</sup>

The Awakening in Sutton also provides a good illustration of the unifying nature of the revival. Family meetings became common in all four parts of the town, and the inhabitants "engaged themselves to exercise a most peculiar Watchfulness over each other; to be free in brotherly Admonition; and frequent in religious Conversation one with another, & c. A Number of Young Men among us also about the same Time for'd themselves in a Society; to be Helpers of one another in the Way of the Kingdom of Heaven." Despite a five-year return back to the old ways, the revival returned in 1740, "and Tavern-Hauntings and Night-Assemblings of Young People for wanton Pastime seem'd at once to disappear."<sup>102</sup>

The situation in Plymouth was much the same as elsewhere. Degeneracy, gaming, and profanity prevailed; con-

ditions were deemed to be so bad that "The Authority of this Town endeavored to put a Stop to the growing Intemperance, by clearing the Taverns at nine o'clock in the Evening, and punishing loose and disorderly Persons that frequented them..." all, however, to little avail. But in March, 1741, the coming of Gilbert Tennant spurred the onset of a revival, one further intensified by the later work of Andrew Crosswell. From then on, "Meekness, Humility, Sobriety" characterized the behavior of the many new converts.<sup>103</sup> Similarly, the pre-revival period at Taunton had been characterized by "Tavern-hauntings, Divisions and Animosit-ies, Contentions,..., every evil Work, Merry Meetings, and Frolickings." Arminianism prevailed as well, and the people had "degenerated from the primitive Piety of their Ancesters!" Then, in March 1740, religious talk mounted in frequency and intensity, youth societies were formed, and Rogers and Eleazar Wheelock spurred an onset of emotional conversions. As elsewhere, "It was the young who were most affected. Here, too, it was observed that many now neglected their secular business."<sup>104</sup>

The revival also spread to Bridgewater, Raynham, Berkeley, Norton, Attleborough, Martha's Vineyard, and many other places, but it took its most spectacular course in Boston. Here again, it was primarily noticeable among the young. Some such conversions had resulted from the 1727 earthquake, but other, similar disasters, such as the throat distemper of the middle and late 1730's, apparently

had no effect whatsoever, despite the large number of children the latter attacked. From 1738 on, however, with news of Whitefield's fame spreading rapidly, more and more Bostonians evinced a strong desire to hear the renowned preacher. Awareness was growing of the painful diversification and rise in conflict so prevalent in modernizing societies: "In every Party, there is always more or less of Blindness & Partiality, & a powerful Bent, on all Occasions, to misconstrue, cavil, misrepresent, defame & vilify. So were the ancient Puritans the pious Fathers of this Country, treated in the Reigns of K. James the I and Charles the I., 'till they came over hither between 1620 and 1640." Again, though, the Awakening seemed to spur renewed interest in those mythical times, as "Both the People and Ministers seem'd under a divine Influence to quicken each other. The People seem'd to have a renewed Taste for those old pious and experimental Writers." In Charlestown, too, youths were deeply affected." Here as elsewhere, it was contended that man was but of weak and frail flesh; thus, the desire "That we may be born again, not of corruptible Seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God..." Men must ask for "a new Heart," and "put on the new Man...."<sup>105</sup> Only then, apparently, could he hope to avoid the worldly temptations which had destroyed the new-found utopia of Winthrop's Massachusetts.

Perhaps the most searching explanation of the Awakening, however, was provided by Joseph Secombe in a 1743 sermon.

Seccombe argued that "Our Notion of Happiness is social. Who can be easy, joyful and pleasant alone; without Regard to some others....The Estimate of Society moves the Merchant in his Adventure, the Politician in scheming; and Planter in his Husbandry; For every separate Interest is included in the whole." Seccombe envisioned a higher unitary order, one which would both embrace and control proliferating modern roles; thus was born the concept of the "common good": "He who sets up for a Happiness contrary to the common Good, like a dislocated Bone or distorted Member, must be uneasy and unhappy." The roles of each member must be carefully orchestrated: "We should see the grand Monarch, the loyal Subject; the grave Magistrate, the submissive People; the knowing Priest, the listening Audience; the loving Husband, the ingratiating Wife; the tender Parent, the obedient child; striving to render themselves agreeable, and promote each others Happiness; and finding their own Felicity in the attempt.... But when Indiscretion and Indecorum prevail, there creep in whispers and surmise, Jealousy, and Envy and Detraction; there endless Divisions and Disputes, Hatred and Fury wreck every Member, torture every Breast." Proper behavior was founded on the law of nature, and human order drew its strength from a modern conception of law that would not only adhere to moral concepts, but also protect person and property, "prompt Industry and Frugality, move us to acquire and use the Comforts and Conveniences of Life...."<sup>106</sup>

Seccombe's pleas served two purposes. He hearkened back to

a peaceful past, free of conflict; the emphasis on order and conservative fulfillment of roles certainly recalls the writing of Winthrop, Cotton, and others. But he also stressed the need of social order if society was to progress and survive. The meld of conservative utopianism and capitalistic industry was characteristic of eighteenth-century Massachusetts society.

This tension between idealistic past and pragmatic present is a concern of many approaches to the phenomena of religious revivals, among them the anthropological concept of ritual. To all men, the sacred is a source of real and powerful meaning, and it is through various rites de passage that man enters the world's providential drama. These rites entail a return to primordial totality, a period when "all the creative and meaningful acts were effected by the earth-born totemic ancestors." These men created the essentials of life, lived in a paradisaical age free from frustrations and inhibitions. Ritualistic orgies, in a very real sense, represent "ephemeral returns to the freedom and beatitude of the ancestors." Such returns are frequently accomplished through a kind of (adolescent) initiation, a radical modification of a person's religious and social status, an "ontological mutation of the existential condition." A process of ritualistic death and rebirth is involved, wherein the initiates "pretend to have forgotten their past lives, their family relations, and their names, and their language, and must learn everything again." Childhood and ignorance



are ended, the initiate learns the sacred myths and traditions, the relationship between the "tribe" and the supernatural beings, and is imbued with the notion that the sacred history is paradigmatic, laying the foundations for all human behavior. Clearly, the expectations and experiences of the colonists reflected these processes. The resultant group is characterized by the desire for cooperative work and a regressive wish for maternal symbiosis--both in the face of anxiety-producing events; such were the origins of sixteenth and seventeenth-century puritanism, the period of "sacred history" for eighteenth-century Massachusetts citizens. When anxiety later arises anew, the magical ritual act inherits the added responsibility of itself warding off the anxiety, "through the imaginary re-establishment of the mother-child union with the help of ecstatic dancing, singing, etc. This liberates the ego for the realistic conquest of reality; it creates the split between profane and sacred reality...."<sup>107</sup>

These fantasies of symbiosis function as a protection against fears of abandonment and loss of love. Threats of rejection by England, for instance, forced regression to the maternal symbiotic group. Such magical thinking, however, involves dangers: it "favors the transference of parental images onto reality, and with this the breakthrough of dangerous unconscious wishes." The critical confrontation, in short, is with the reality of finite existence. When

reality threatens self-esteem, man's feeling of control, a tenacious clinging to infantile wishes emerges. The lack of compromise inherent therein transforms slight traumas into incomprehensible tragedies, particularly during such major psychological crises as the Oedipal period. As applied to the Massachusetts experience, the 1720's and 1730's can be viewed as the period of emerging adolescence, when colonial strivings for independence (the oedipal period having been unsuccessfully and ambivalently "resolved" immediately after the Glorious Revolution) were rebuffed by England; in reaction to these blows to self-esteem, the colonists resorted to aggressive action during the Land Bank crisis, only to be forcefully put down. Thereafter, during the Awakening, aggression was turned inward in an outbreak of self-guilt.<sup>108</sup>

It is evident from the preceding comments that ancestor-worship of one sort or another is intimately connected with ritualistic behavior, and Puritan society offered no exception to this general rule. While providing some sense of security and stability in a world of change, however, ancestor-worship promotes cultural stagnation as well. There are always ambivalent emotions towards ancestors, similar to those present in a parent-child relationship. Once one realizes that the ancestor believed in things that are unacceptable in the contemporary world, for instance, all of their doctrines and beliefs are subconsciously questioned, particularly religious beliefs and political regulations;

the problem of revolt and resultant guilt against one's father symbols thereby enters the picture once again. The revival followed both a gradual religious and cultural secularization, culminating in the materialistic orgy of the land bank and most decisively contradicting the aphorisms of the fathers. As such, the recourse to religious fundamentalism represented the attempted expiation of the guilt aroused by these transgressions. But the past is composed of remembered and anticipated sensations and images, all of which may impose themselves on actuality; as a result, "Remembrance retrieves the temps perdu, which was the time of gratification and fulfillment.... But insofar as time retains its power over Eros, happiness is essentially a thing of the past.... The lost paradises are the only true ones not because, in retrospect, the past seems more beautiful than it really was, but because remembrance alone provides the joy without the anxiety over its passing and this gives it an otherwise impossible duration. Time loses its power when remembrance redeems the past."<sup>109</sup> Thus eighteenth-century Puritans contrasted a utopianized past with a more unsuccessful present, all too often simply obliterating any remembrance of interim anxiety. Utopias thus seek to override the existing order, to replace it, while ideologies seek merely to improve and change it.<sup>110</sup> In Freudian terms, the satisfaction of a wild, instinctual impulse of the untamed id provides an intense feeling of happiness. But as the ego becomes increasingly guided by reason and becomes

the center of rationality "phantasy" emerges as a separate mental process, "left behind by the organization of the pleasure ego into the reality ego."<sup>111</sup> Id is thus characterized by an increasing degree of negativity. Concurrently, the experiences of the past become more and more a part of an ego seeking to expand its control of reality; the id becomes an integral part of the ego, and when the reality-control of the ego weakens, id is ready to take over within the ego itself, giving the false impression of continued reality-control. The end result is a reduction of thought to the process of "oughtness," what could have been instead of what was. The utopian pulses of the past become reality, and the revival, in this context, became a magical solution which changed nothing in the conditions affecting the tension level of the community, and which merely permitted the colony to distract its attention to another set of equally irrelevant symbols.<sup>112</sup>

In a very real sense, then, millennial movements seek to return to a partially non-existent, peaceful order of the past. For instance, the Ghost Dance religion evinced such a desire in the face of disaster. Like other, similar movements, it came to expect total, this-world salvation and a miraculously harmonious secular order. And, like the Awakening, it was characterized by intense emotional expression, sweeping societal aims, a desired control of historical processes, charismatic leadership, denunciation of the exist-

ing social order, and an association with periods of disaster, change, social upheaval or breaches of accepted norms, laws, and taboos. Such movements draw strength from a population on the margin--peasants with little land, laborers, or people who lack the emotional support provided by traditional groups; they respond to a prophet to voice their grievances, a prophet who offers them the opportunity to participate in a mission of divine infallibility.<sup>113</sup>

All of which helps explain millennial movements that occur during periods of modernization. Such militancy provides an encompassing belief system, one which explains concurrent societal problems and offers personal security. Hallucinations, motor activity, paranoid feelings of conspiracy--all are common accompaniments, together with a willingness to abandon daily activities and feelings of rebirth and personality transformation. Such events can, from one point of view, offer positive benefits, such as societal revitalization. The need for such an influx of new energy occurs, according to Anthony Wallace, when the "mazeway," the peculiar ordering of perception in a society, breaks down, requiring the construction of new cognitive maps. In response to the increasing stress of perceptual uncertainty, the revitalization movement "produces a radical re-synthesis of existing beliefs and values, in essence the abrupt creation of a new culture." Logically, this situation occurs frequently in colonial contacts with alien cultures; a prophet figure reconstructs

the maze way, promoting feelings of rebirth.<sup>114</sup> In colonial Massachusetts, the Awakening represented, in part, such an attempt, but one which failed, simply because it provided too few practical answers. Subsequently, the colonists turned more and more to the Whig ideology as a source of revitalization.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the perspective of a societal disaster. In such cases, traditional frames of reference disintegrate and repetitive disasters chip away at the structure of reality; the supportive environment of a perceived millennium "constitutes an alternative to a macrocosm perceived as evil, decaying, and doomed..." and helps promote individual commitment and group cohesion. Later disasters, moreover, sum up and enhance the effect of earlier experiences. The Land Bank crisis, then, may have served as a repetitive focus of the volatility of a young adulthood characterized by serious economic depression, social change, and conflict with the mother country. The concept of a lengthy series of disasters is particularly appealing, as their cumulative effect is sufficient to socialize entire generations (or cohorts) to a milieu of anxiety. The social environment thereby "supports rather than contradicts the yearning for escape and transformations critical to messianic movements."<sup>115</sup>

A related approach to the problem lies in viewing the colonists as psychologically and practically low in political

efficacy; people with such a problem are more likely to become involved in either political or religious extremism, since feelings of powerlessness are often accompanied by feelings of both anxiety and aggression. Such circumstances often produce political extremism. This was clearly the case with the Land Bank; it was an aggressive political movement directed against a source of deprivation which had previously been regarded with extremely ambivalent feelings. Until Shirley's appearance, however, England attempted to crush the bank with little show of sympathy, thus causing the colonists to repress their aggressive tendencies in the face of the angry parent, resulting, as we have seen, in strengthened guilt feelings. The situation which then resulted was extremely complex: "Powerlessness unaccompanied by aggressiveness will lead to religious extension. Outward displays of aggression denote hostility directed toward the environment, which psychologists terms extrapunitiveness. However, the absence of manifest hostility does not necessarily denote the absence of aggressive tendencies." As we have seen, hostility is then directed inward, a condition termed intropunitiveness. This latter tendency is most conducive to religious extremism, as the guilt of aggressive disobedience becomes transformed into religious submission. Thus Greven's contention that revivalism liberates feelings of anger and hostility towards repressive parents, self, and the world in general is only partly accurate; the immediate

social environment clearly plays a crucial role in determining the nature and expression of such feelings.<sup>116</sup>

A surprisingly close historical parallel to these developments can be found in Japanese history. Here, guilt was no more dramatically expressed than it was in the early years of Massachusetts, being related rather to a failure to meet the expectation of family duties. Laziness seemed to hurt the parents, enhancing already present guilt feelings. Such situations are not rare when there are high standards expected of the child; indeed, in such cases the child is more likely to develop ambivalent feelings towards the source of his ideal. In Puritan New England, moreover, behavioral ideals were reinforced by the early stages of the educational system, enhancing guilt feelings. The child may then react against parental expectations, as he did in Japanese culture, by dissipating his energies in profligate behavior. On the other hand, he must, sooner or later, seek peace of mind, turning to activity which is increasingly virtuous and successful.<sup>117</sup> In Massachusetts, these events coursed through tavern-hauntings and religious revivals, paving the way for the industrious virtue of capitalistic behavior.

Quite obviously the social group plays an important role in all of these developments, particularly as a protection can lead to panic, with frantic attempts to re-establish group contact. As we have suggested, this sense of group belongingness is characterized above all by fantasies of fusion: "The positive aim of fusion is the establishment of



the peace, tranquility, and magical fullness of the early mother-child symbiosis. It is the return to Paradise, the achievement of Nirvana. Its defensive aims include coping with the hunger and emptiness and the chaotic distress which the original union with the mother warded off. It is also a flight from conflict and an avoidance of differentiation, which is inevitably accompanied by ambivalence and separatedness." The group thus endows the individual with a therapeutic sense of fraternity and laws; problems of authority are cast into the background, particularly when such problems have brought only guilt and ambivalence in the past. Substituted are the concerns of member-member intimacy, an attempt to rise above competition and to establish solidarity, harmony, and love. The group becomes all, the individual nothing, again weakening the critical powers of the ego. Ego, in fact, is declared alien.<sup>118</sup> The revival's rhetoric, then, clearly reflected the desire for maternal succor and solace from the problems of modernization and colonial relationships.

The recent work of Italian psychoanalyst Franco Fornari has added credence to such a view. Fornari argues that "since the group ideal (as an object of love and identification) is fantasized as that which gives life to the individuals within the group, the preservation of the common love object is felt as a primary function as compared with the preservation of the individual." The relationship is epitomized by the group's ties to its ancestors and their

guilt feelings resulting from the failure, or supposed failure, to defend the tribe. Such feelings can be alleviated only through the "paranoid mechanism of projective identification", through which evil is projected onto a real or imagined enemy; as we shall see, this was an important source of the emotionalism which dominated the French and Indian wars. Unfortunately, such complex psychological problems are not so easily dealt with. Depressive guilt arises when the child realizes he has hated and in fantasy destroyed the love object, particularly, it seems, when such transgressions involved economic competitiveness. The first answer which the group attempts is precisely that process which characterized the Awakening: "Participation in a collective experience which unites the group through fantasy identification with the maternal image. Group members thus come to share a sort of autonomous source of validity, based only upon their nurtural relations and devoid of reality testing. The resulting solidarity is of the "symbiotic-narcissistic type" and "causes the social experience to coincide with itself as a criterion of its own validity..."<sup>119</sup> Reality, in short, is rejected, and social progress is based upon the deepest emotional needs. In a somewhat similar vein, though in more historical terms, Sacvan Bercovitch has perceptively noted that Edwardian revivalism helped cement a new sort of belief in America's mission: a belief which included all new-born American saints among the chosen people.

Liberty, equality, and property became divine as well as civic goals, and free enterprise acquired "the halo of grace, progress the assurance of the chiliar, and nationalism the grandeur of typology."<sup>120</sup>

Thus far we have viewed the Awakening largely as a defensive, reactionary movement, even in cases (such as mazeway reconstruction) where it would normally have more positive effects. Nonetheless, the revival did serve to further the acceptance of universal values, and hence modernization itself. As Durkheim noted, the more general the common conscience becomes, "the greater place it leaves to individual variations.... There is nothing fixed save abstract rules which can be freely applied in very different ways."<sup>121</sup> Such generalized standards as love and peace, unenforced by seventeenth-century sectarian rigidity, leave much to individual imagination. On the other hand, this universality is, in reality, merely another expression of alienated action. In the Marxist view of modernization, "egoistic partiality must be elevated to "universality" for its fulfillment..., which in turn is only an "ideological-negation of effective, practically prevailing partiality." Institutionalized legality, for instance, serves this purpose very well; it "can only externally relate itself to man as abstractly public man, but never internally to the real individual."<sup>122</sup> The onset of universal and abstract principles, then, results only in alienation, since particularistic institutions and processes remain the dominant forces of reality.

The Awakening as a vehicle of universalism clearly yielded mixed results, and the same can be said of the application of "peak experience" psychology. Maslow's definition of a peak experience is explicit: "The acute emotion must be climactic and momentary and it must give way to nonecstatic serenity, calmer happiness, and the intrinsic pleasures of clear, contemplative cognition of the highest goods." The immediate experiences of the Awakening clearly coincide with the main features of this definition. The drive for "being" begins when an organism is damaged; it strives and fights to become whole again. In the peak experience, it seeks to regain truth, beauty, wholeness, dichotomy-transcendence, uniqueness, perfection, justice, order, and simplicity. All of these qualities characterize what Maslow labels "Being Cognition," a state of existence which rises above what he terms "deficiency cognition," characterized by incompleteness, membership in a class, humanness, temporality, and antagonism. It is obvious that the Puritan sought the first in order to escape the second. Their lack of success in doing so can be attributed, in Maslowian terms, to their lack of self-actualization. People must first be gratified in their basic needs of belonging, affection, respect, and self-esteem before they can enjoy a peak experience; neither the colony's inter-personal nor colonial relations had developed to this point.<sup>123</sup> In a similar vein, Edwards viewed beauty itself as the ultimate reality; he used the concept to probe to the very ontologi-

cal heart of the universe, arguing that the beauty of being was present in every particularity of the universe rather than simply hovering over them, Beauty thus provided a model of unity and order which would culminate in the ultimate unity of the millenium and inaugurate the rule of a great society of brotherhood, peace, and love.<sup>124</sup>

Implicit in all of these arguments is the underlying truth that the modernization process has its most seminal effect at levels where cultural socialization takes place. The role of the family, for instance, undergoes considerable transformation in the transition from a traditional to a modern society. In the first case, the family predominates as the primary, and largely only, socialization force, as secondary socialization is minimal. Gradually, however, as society grows more complex, serious difficulties arise in making the adjustment from the world of primary, family socialization to that of secondary socialization characterized by increased contact with more-familial persons and institutions. Indeed, the transition from an agrarian society to a modern one, particularly without sufficient historical preparation, can easily result in widespread irrational behavior. The traditional society is controlled by tried and tested methods of action; such as custom and the inner demands of the "collectively shaped super-ego...." The life of the parent always takes place before the eyes of the children, and patriarchal authority is relatively easy to maintain. The modernized or transitional society is characterized by both fathers and sons who have seen their

"productive" work destroyed or ridiculed and must live in a world psychologically unrewarding and lacking adequate emotional or social roles." In eighteenth-century Massachusetts, utopian ideals no longer held, agriculture was increasingly ridiculed by the urban, mercantile world, and the place of the father both in his world and in the world of his sons was increasingly insecure. Later, even the substitute utopia of the Whig ideology was belittled by the irreverent actions of the mother country.<sup>125</sup>

In itself, socialization is an intrinsically difficult process and can succeed only with constant interaction with others who already have cathected the culture as a whole. Thus when traditional family continuity and values fail to regulate society, a fracture in the normally smooth structures of identity transference occurs. In such cases, education assumes an important role in the socialization process; teachers become the absent father. A serious problem can arise, however, if the primary and secondary fields of socialization are not properly or sufficiently coordinated. Religious socialization, for example, such as characterized seventeenth-century and Awakening culture, depends upon punishment for reinforcement and often results in traumatic fixations. It cannot, moreover, teach individuals to accommodate themselves to ambivalent feelings, since it promotes the archaic defenses of repression, denial, and projection.<sup>126</sup> From this perspective, the Awakening as a de-

fensive mechanism was a tragic failure; despite its recourse to the homogeneous age-groups of modern society, its emphasis remained on traditional primary socialization.

## NOTES

1. Don S. Browning, Generative Man: Psychoanalytic Perspectives (New York, 1973), 163.
2. Alexander Mitscherlich, Society Without the Father (New York, 1973), 35. The best available work on the subject of ego psychology is Browning, Generative Man, passim.
3. Erik Erikson, Childhood and Society, 2nd ed. (New York, 1963), 35.
4. Ibid., 193. Also see Erikson, Insight and Responsibility (New York, 1964), 93; Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History (New York, 1958), 111-112; Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York, 1968), 50.
5. Herbert Marcuse, Five Lectures, Psychoanalysis, Politics and Utopia (Boston, 1970), 50, goes so far as to argue that the weakening of the father's ego and his replacement by external authorities weakened ego's libidinal energy and its life instincts.
6. Mannheim, Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge (New York, 1952); Alan B. Spitzer, "The Historical Problem of Generations," American Historical Review, LXXVIII(1973), 1353-1385; Norman Ryder, "Cohort Analysis," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, II, 546-550. Cohorts are especially differentiated by the introduction of formal schooling and the increased distance between parents and children, in addition to a lengthening of the social period prior to a commitment to adult roles.
7. Margaret Mead, Culture and Commitment; A Study of the Generation Gap (New York, 1970), 1-3, 17-18, 28-29, 32, 44.
8. New England Weekly Journal, July 13, 1730; Sept. 25, 1732.
9. Cotton Mather, Unum Necessarium... (Boston, 1693), 1; Early Religion Urged... (Boston, 1694), 1, passim; A Family Well-Ordered... (Boston, 1699), 6. Also see Mather, Cares About the Nurseries... (Boston, 1702), passim.
10. Mather, Successive Generations... (Boston, 1715), 4, passim. Mather's concern with youth was perhaps the one domi-



nant theme throughout his life's work. See, for example, the following works: Diary, I: 201, 319, 418-419, 531, 534-9; II: 24, 50, 634; Addresses to Old Men... (Boston, 1690); The Serviceable Man... (Boston, 1690), 56, where he prayed "that the Rising Generation here, might not come behind their Father in Zeal...." See too Mather, Fair Weather... (Boston, 1691); Early Religion Urged...; Help for Distressed Parents... (Boston, 1695); Best Ornaments of Youth... (Boston, 1709); Youth in its Brightest Glory... (Boston, 1709); Repeated Warnings... (Boston, 1712); Ways and Joys of Early Piety... (Boston, 1712); Young Man Spoken To... (Boston, 1712); Advice from the Watchtower... (Boston, 1712).

11. Mather, Successive Generations, 32; see too 35-36, 39.

12. Mather, Magnalia, 13.

13. Ibid., 14-15, Middlekauff, The Mathers, 209-230; Bercovitch, Puritan Origins, 130.

14. See, for example, the incidents recounted in Barrett Wendell, Cotton Mather: The Puritan Priest (New York, 1963), 87; 120, 191.

15. As we shall see throughout the course of this chapter, the dominance of first-generation male Puritans was to cause considerable psychological difficulty for second, third- and fourth-generation descendants. The problem of independence, in fact, found its roots in generational relationships.

16. Quoted in Wendell, Cotton Mather, 160.

17. Ebenezer Pemberton, Advice to a Son... (London, 1705), 4.

18. Ibid., 5.

19. Benjamin Wadsworth, The Well-Ordered Family... (Boston, 1719), 66-68, 84.

20. See Lucian Pye, Politics, Personality, and Nation-Building (New Haven, 1963), 46; Pye, "Introduction: Political Culture and Political Development," in Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton, 1965), 18; Pye, "The Legitimacy Crisis," in Leonard Binder et. al., eds., Crises and Sequences in Political Development (Princeton, 1971), 145. Good examples of this problem can be found in Burmese and Mexican contemporary history.

21. Philip Greven, The Protestant Temperament; Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience and The Self in Early America (New York, 1977); Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (New York, 1962); Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800 (New York, 1977).

22. Thomas Foxcroft, Observations, Historical and Practical... (Boston, 1730), 1.
23. Stephen Paschall Sharples, ed., Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England (Boston, 1906); 128-130. In Massachusetts Bay Records, V, 59-61, there are complaints of long hair among boys, together with reports of disorder and drunkenness.
24. The Weekly Rehearsal, Sept. 28, 1736; also see Mather, Concio ad Populum, 26-9. In the Magnalia, 63, Mather noted astutely that "Religion brought forth Prosperity, and the daughter destroyed the mother."
25. In one sense, prosperity represents a strong taboo for Puritans from the beginning; their continual trespass, accordingly, provoked guilt feelings of a profound nature.
26. Joseph E. Illick, "Child-Rearing in Seventeenth-Century England and America," in Lloyd deMause, ed., The History of Childhood (New York, 1974), 303-350; John F. Walzer, "A Period of Ambivalence: Eighteenth Century American Childhood," in deMause, 351-382. One plausible reason as to why seventeenth-century parents seemed so callous is simply that such an attitude was necessary to create emotional distance between the child and parent and to imprint upon the child's mind the necessity of his or her spiritual well-being, since death was a daily occurrence. (See David Stannard, "Death and the Puritan Child," American Quarterly, 26 [Dec., 1974], 456-476.)
27. Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family; Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth Century New England (New York, 1966), ch. 3.
28. James Axtell, The School Upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England (New Haven, 1974), 22-23.
29. Hall, The Faithful Shepherd, ch. 11.
30. Lawrence Cremin, American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783 (New York, 1970), 124, 135, 137, 181. Court concern began, of course, with the seventeenth-century orders regarding the establishment of local schools; see Max Farrand, ed., Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts... (Cambridge, 1929), 11.
31. Cremin, American Education, 387. The diaries of Samuel Sewall and Ebenezer Parkman illustrate the decline of parental control over career choice. Similarly, the conclu-

sions of Susan Norton regarding the pattern of Essex County marriages seem to support this view; Norton has found that many marriages involved one or both parties from another town, usually less than ten miles away but often as much as fifty to one hundred miles away. (Norton, "Marital Migration in Essex County, Massachusetts, in the Colonial and Early Federal Periods," Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXXV, (1973), 406-418. Certainly these findings coincide with those of Ariès for the European situation. Ariès noted the evolution from a medieval conception of education as a life-long experience to a modern view, wherein education is concentrated, more formally, in the childhood years. (Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (New York, 1962), 330, 368-369.

32. See, for example, Greven, Four Generations, *passim*.
33. Massachusetts Archives, IX, 49.
34. Ibid., IX: 3-4.
35. Ibid., IX; 6-7.
36. Ibid., IX: 211-212.
37. Ibid., IX: 260-262.
38. Ibid., IX: 321. For other divorce, fornication and bastardy cases, see pp. 268-294; also, Nancy F. Cott, "Eighteenth-Century Family Life and Social Life Revealed in Massachusetts Divorce Records." Journal of Social History, 10 (1976), 20-43; Cott, "Divorce and the Changing Status of Women in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd. Ser., XXXIII(1976), 586-614.
39. Stephen Foster, Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England (Yale, 1971), 42; David Flaherty, Privacy in Colonial New England (Charlottesville, 1972), 59, 174, 186; ch. 3; Patricia Tracy, Jonathan Edwards, Pastor: Religion and Society in Eighteenth-Century Northampton (New York, 1980), 88ff.
40. Axtell, School Upon a Hill, 99; Acts and Resolves 1692-1763, I, 17, 53, 55, 101, 120, 172. Greven, "Youth Maturity, and Religious Conversion: A Note on the Ages of Converts in Andover, Massachusetts, 1711-1749," Essex Institute Historical Collections, CVIII (1972), 119-134, has indicated that in many instances conversion was closely associated with the maturity process; we shall witness later the function of ritual in this context.

41. R. W. Beales, "Cares for the Rising Generation: Youth and Religion in Colonial New England." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1971, ch. 1.

42. Axtell, School Upon a Hill, 99; Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York, 1970), 101; Sandford Fleming, Children and Puritanism (Yale 1939), 60-61. Young persons were usually seated separately in meeting houses; see, for example, "Byfield Parish Records." Essex Institute Historical Collections, LXXXIX (1953), 171, 180. The term "Youth" it appears, could be extended to include those generally recognized as adults in our society; the town of Dorchester in 1684, for example, noted that "two of the tithing mens squadrons should, in addition to catechizing those 8-16, call all youth 16-24 & discourse with them. (Massachusetts Bay Colony Records, II: 4). Parental economic control, finally, was often extended into the sons' thirties. (Greven, "Youth, Maturity, and Religious Conversion," 120). Also see Joseph Kett, Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present (New York, 1977), 12-13, 17.

43. Browning, Generative Man, 166; Erikson, Dimensions of a New Identity (New York, 1974), 33, 42; Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, 50. Affirmation by the group, Erikson points out, puts more energy at the disposal of the individual.

44. Erikson, Young Man Luther, 114, 134; Identity: Youth and Crisis, 27, 50; Childhood and Society, 263.

45. Peter Blos, On Adolescence; a Psychoanalytic Interpretation (New York, 1962), 10, 12, 54.

46. Ibid., 72-73.

47. Ibid., 74, 76.

48. S. N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill., 1966), 25, 31, 43, 44-48, 161-162, 237-238. The main values of society are normally presented to youth very idealistically, with little practical advice; as a result, spontaneous age-groups shown an ambivalent attitude towards the adult world. This situation further aggravates the inability of youth to make mature choices so necessary for this period of development. While solidarity is served, social maturity is hindered.

49. Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-Involvements: Social Attitudes and Identifications (New York, 1947), 199, 223, 277.

50. Paul L. Ford, ed., The New England Primer: A History of its Origin and Development... (New York, 1897). See, for example, 69-70.
51. Ibid., 68.
52. Ibid., 106.
53. Ibid., 109.
54. Ibid., 226.
55. Ibid., 226, 228.
56. Ibid., 228.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., 230, 231.
59. Ibid., 232.
60. Edwards, "Personal Narrative," in Clarence H. Faust and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., Jonathan Edwards: Representative Selections... (New York, 1962), 58-59, 62-63, 65, 67, 68.
61. Charles Chauncy, The New Creature... (Boston, 1741), 5. For Puritans, Christ's love was "the dying Love or our REDEEMER..." (Appleton, God, and Not Ministers to Have the Glory of all Success Given to the Preached Gospel (Boston, 1741), 18.)
62. Benjamin Colman, The Lord Shall Rejoice in His Works... (Boston, 1741), 41-42.
63. Marcuse, Eros and Civilization.
64. Berger, The Sacred Canopy, 19ff, on the concept of "nomos", and Miller, New England Mind, II, passim, for the best available discussion on the decline. On ritual, see E. Brooks Holifield. The Covenant Sealed: The Development of Puritan Sacramental Theology in Old and New England, 1570-1720. (New Haven, 1974).
65. Nathan Bucknam, Ability to, and Fidelity in, The Ministry... (Boston, 1743), 9, 15-16, 25-26, 27, 28-30, 33, 34, 51, 58. Edward Holyoke, Duty of Ministers..., 24.
66. Williams, God the Strength of Rulers..., 15-16, 18; Jonathan Ashley, The Great Duty of Charity... (Boston, 1742), 4.

67. The wealth of self-commentary on their own precarious situation reflects the emergence of interest groups in a modern society, even among those formally considered "sacred" in a more traditional context. See, for example, the following works: William Hooper, Christ the Life... (Boston, 1741); Ashley, The United Endeavours... (Boston, 1742); Ebenezer Gay, Ministers Insufficiency... (Boston, 1742); Ellis Gray, The Fidelity to Ministers... (Boston, 1742); Israel Loring, Ministers Insufficiency... (Boston, 1742); William Rand, Ministers Should Have a Sincere and Ardent Love... (Boston, 1742); Appleton, Faithful Ministers of Christ... (Boston, 1743); Thomas Barnard, Tyranny and Slavery... (Boston, 1743); Bucknam, Ability...; J. William T. Youngs, Jr., God's Messengers: Religious Leadership in Colonial New England, 1700-1750 (Baltimore, 1976).

68. Mary C. Foster, "Hampshire County, Massachusetts: 1720-1754. A Covenant Society in Transition." (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1966), ch. 4; Joseph Tracy, The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield (Boston, 1842), 8ff; Tracy, Jonathan Edwards, ch. 4, 5.

69. Edward M. Cook, "Local Leadership and the Typology of New England Towns, 1700-1785," The Political Science Quarterly, V (1971), 586-608; Cook, Fathers of the Towns, passim.

70. George A. Billias, Massachusetts Land Bankers, 1711 and 49-53, is the best source of information on the towns involved in the land bank crisis.

71. J. M. Bumsted, "The Pilgrims' Progress: The Ecclesiastical History of the Old Country, 1620-1774." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Brown University, 1965) II, 828ff. The work of D. S. Smith indicates that this may have been a widespread problem, with a frontier not opening fast enough to absorb a growing population. See Smith, "The Demographic History of Colonial New England," Journal of Economic History, XXXII (1972), 165-183. Concurrently, the Puritan conception of "calling" was granting "increased autonomy to man's natural desires and abilities..." helping form the intellectual foundation for a more flexible secular response. See Michaelson, "Changes in the Puritan Concept of Calling on Vocation," New England Quarterly, XXVI (1953), 315-336. On the situation in Northampton, see Tracy, Jonathan Edwards, 100.

72. A. H. Maslow, The Farther Reaches of Human Nature (New York, 1973), passim.

73. Edwards, "Personal Narrative," 57; Edwards, "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," in Faust and Johnson, 73; Edwards, quoted in Joseph Tracy, The Great Awakening, 12. The central role of the young in rapidly changing societies has been noted by Browning, Generative Man: "Yet he accomplishes this task by keeping in close contact with the needs and energies of the young, both in himself and in others. Institutions are kept strong because they are constantly made to contribute to the acquisition of strength and virtue in the young. When institutions actively contribute to the strength of the young, they in turn will receive energy and devotion from the young." (p. 205).

74. Edwards, "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," 80-81.

75. Tracy, Great Awakening, 20-21.

76. Ibid., 121.

77. Ibid., 122-124; Thomas Prince, Jr., ed., The Christian History, Containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great-Britain and America... (Boston, 1744), I, 236, 239.

78. Tracy, 128-129.

79. Ibid., 162-165.

80. Prince, Christian History, I, 127.

81. Ibid., I, 262.

82. Ibid., I, 395-396; II, 13.

83. Ibid., II, 14.

84. Ibid., II, 44, 90.

85. Ibid., II, 164-165; 107, 326, 347, 377, 379.

86. Samuel Hopkins Emery, The Ministry of Taunton, with Incidental Notices of Other Professions (Boston, 1853), 257-260. Quoted in Bumsted, ed., The Great Awakening: The Beginnings of Evangelical Pietism in America (Waltham, Massachusetts, 1970), 26.

87. Tracy, Jonathan Edwards, ch. 4; Henry Burt, A History of Springfield (Springfield, Massachusetts, 1898), 243.

88. Edwards, "Faithful Narrative," quoted in Bumsted, Great Awakening, 28.

89. Ibid., 33-34.
90. Edwards, "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," 77-78.
91. Edwards, The Peace Which Christ Gives His True Followers, in Faust and Johnson, 137, 139, 146.
92. Edwin Scott Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England (New York, 1957), 28-29. For a discussion of the evolution and significance of such theological developments, see Berger, The Sacred Canopy, passim.
93. Prince, The Great Awakening, I, 58, 64, 69, 76, 94.
94. Ibid., 121, 125-126, 127.
95. Ibid., 369ff. In traditional and primitive societies, it is customary for novices to go to bed only late at night, showing proof of will and spiritual strength "to remain awake is to be conscious, present in the world, responsible." (Mircea Eliade, Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth (New York, 1958), 15.)
96. Prince, I, 374ff.
97. Ibid., I, 374. The concern for public spirit penetrated even to the religious level. Certainly this indicates that republican thought was grasped by a modernizing society seeking ideas reflective of its problems, rather than acting as an imported ideology molding society into a pre-ordained shape.
98. Joseph Sewall, The Second Commandment... (Boston, 1742), 12, 18, 28; Appleton, The Dearest and Surest Marks... (Boston, 1743), 19, 138, 154, 161, 162; Marston Cabot, Christ's Kingdom... (Boston, 1743), 11.
99. Prince, Great Awakening, II, 13-15, 19-20.
100. Ibid., II, 78-79, 80, 90, 98.
101. William Cooper, "Preface" to Jonathan Edwards, Distinguishing Masks... (Boston, 1741), quoted in Gaustad Great Awakening, 59.
102. Prince, Great Awakening, II, 164-165.
103. Ibid., II, 313, 314-316.



104. Ibid., II, 324-326, 347, 354.

105. Letter of William Tennent, quoted in Gaustad, Great Awakening, 35; also see William V. Davis., ed., George Whitefield's Journals... (Gainesville, Fla., 1969), 461-462.

106. Joseph Seccombe, A Specimen... (Boston, 1743), 4, 5, 13, 15-17, 19. The emphasis on the proper performance of roles is a common phenomena in colonial Massachusetts and in most modernizing societies (also see the Northampton pact), Max Gluckman (Politics, Law, and Ritual) notes that ritualization details particular social relationships--rulers, and subjects, men and women, etc., among the African Swezi tribe; norms and values thereby "become saturated with emotion, while the gross and basic emotions become ennobled through contact with social values." In Puritan terms, the taboo of intense emotional involvement is graced with the presence of higher goals. Similarly, "when you ritually act...your institutionalized hostility, it is to strengthen the moral values implicit in the system. On these ritual occasions people are united and unanimous." (256, 259-260. Also see Browning, Generative Man, 22-23, on Erikson's concept of ritual as a creator of patterns of mutual regulation and activation "which simultaneously order behavior and meet human needs.")

107. Mircea Eliade, The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion (Chicago, 1969), 79, 83, 85, 112, 114; Eliade, Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth (New York, 1958), x. xi, xii, xiii, xv, 4, 39-40, 132, 135. Tribe members quite literally believe that the ancestors received their cultural revelations from the supernatural beings, "and since traditional societies had no historical memory in the strict sense, it took only a few generations, sometimes even less, for a recent innovation to be invested with all the prestige of the primordial revelations." The years of Winthrop's rule, the charter, the House, and other traditions all reflect this situation, particularly as discussed in supposedly "biased" Puritan histories.

Regarding the process of death and rebirth, it often begins with a symbolic regression to chaos (analogous to the physical gyrations of eighteenth century converts), perhaps represented by the womb (or images of being swallowed by Christ, a favorite theme of Edwards in particular), then entails a symbolic and actual separation from the mother--apparent most readily in the various youth societies.

The following quotation from Cotton Mather indicates yet another dimension to these processes: "REGENERATION, is a Real and Thorough Change, wrought by the Holy Spirit, in a

Man, through the Infusion of a Gracious Principle into him, which Restores in him; the Lost Image of God, and therewith Inclines him to comply with the Calls of the Gospel." (Unum Necessarium.. (Boston, 1693), 7. This attitude is similar to the phenomena of communitas described by Victor Turner. Communitas is an existential, mystical movement designed to restore communion among equal individuals through rites de passage delivered by the ancestors. Men who released from social structure into communitas and back again, "revitalized by the experience of communitas." (Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure (Chicago, 1969), 95, 127; 129, 137-138). On the concept of mother-child union, see John J. Hartman and Graham S. Gibbard, "A Note on Fantasy Themes in the Evolution of Group Cultures," in Gibbard, Hartman and Michael D. Mann, eds., Analysis of Groups (Washington, 1974), 315-335.

108. Norman D. Brown, Life Against Death, 162. The regressive orientation affects the cognitive function: "The essential precondition for the institution of the functions of testing reality is that objects shall have been lost which have formerly afforded real satisfaction." The cognitive ego seeks the lost object, giving consciousness an amnesiac aim. On the confrontation with one's own finitude see Backer, Denial of Death, passim. Aggression against the love object, as we have seen repeatedly, produces excessive levels of guilt. See Rochlin, Man's Aggression, passim. Equally important, though, is the observation that blows to self-esteem, particularly the colossal narcissistic disappointment connected with oedipal crises and similar psychological problems, induces a strong desire for lost paradises, elysian field solutions. (Rochlin, 92, 141, 216; Max Stern, "Ego Psychology, Myth and Rite: Remarks About the Relationship of the Individual and the Group," The Psychoanalytic Study of Society, III, 84.)

109. Erickson, Childhood and Society, 247; Insight and Responsibility, 206; Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, 233. Brown, Life Against Death, 97, notes that "The Abolition of history..., which is the ultimate aim of the repetition-compulsion, is also the attainment of Nirvana, which is the ultimate aim of the pleasure principle." The situation is worsened by a situation unique to modern man, wherein guilt grows to the point wherein it can no longer be expiated by ritual: "Cumulative guilt imposes on modern societies a historical destiny; the sins of the father are visited upon the children even unto the third and fourth generations...Faustian time and Faustian money, to use Spengler's metaphor, are the time and money of the irredeemably damned." (Brown, 278).

110. The classic work in this area is Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York, 1936).

111. Freud, Civilization and its Discontents, 26; Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, 141-142; Brown, Life Against Death, 267.

112. Erikson, Childhood and Society, 189; Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, 195. Brown (161-163) argues that the ego derives from the pleasure principle the energy to sustain its exploration of reality and that, in fact, it attempts to make itself as much like the lost love-object as possible; by such an identification, object-libido is transformed into narcissistic libido.

113. Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, 2nd ed. (New York, 1961), 13, 285. Similar movements were the Melanesian Cargo Cults, which arose in reaction to the intrusion of German culture into a traditional environment. (See Hans Tuch, The Social Psychology of Social Movements (New York, 1965), 39-42, for a brief discussion. While we have viewed the entire Awakening as an implicitly millennialistic movement, there were also many expressions of explicit millennialism. See the following works: William Cooper, One Shall be Taken... (Boston, 1741), 7, 12; William Hooper, Christ the King... (Boston, 1741), 15ff, 28; Phillips Payson, A Professing People... (Boston, 1741), 1; Joseph Caldwell, The Scripture Characters... (Boston, 1741), 13; Joseph Sewall, God's People Must Enquire... (Boston, 1742), 30; Samuel Finley, Christ Triumphant... (Boston, 1742), *passim*; Ebenezer Turell, Mr. Turell's Dialogue... (Boston, 1742), 5.

114. The discussion is drawn from Michael Barkun, Disaster and the Millennium (New Haven, 1974), 138-139. The early stages of modernization are often marked by the emergence of fundamentalist movements--the Moslem brotherhood in Egypt, Buddhist movements in Ceylon and Vietnam, all of which "combine modern organizational methods, traditional religious values, and highly populist appeals." (Huntington, Political Order, 38). Often the mixture is an explosive one, seeking to restore a traditional, religious way of life. (Rustow, World of Nations, 118-119). Also see R. T. C. Williams, "Revitalization Movements", AMERICAN Anthropologist, LVIII (1965) 264-281; and William G. McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings and Reform (Chicago, 1978).

115. Barzun, Disaster and The Millennium, 129.

116. Stone, The Psychology of Politics, 198; Greven, Protestant Temperament Ch. III.

117. George De Vos, "The Relation of Guilt Toward Parents to Achievement and Arranged Marriage Among the Japanese," in Robert Hunt, Ed., Personalities and Cultures (New York, 1967)

262, 265-267, 273.

118. Gibbard et. al., eds., Analysis of Groups, 145, 317-318, 320-321; Mittscherlich, Society Without the Father 47, 130, 217, 220.

119. Franco Fornari, The Psychoanalysis of War (New York, 1974).

120. Bercovitch, American Jeremiad, 95ff, 105-106, 111, 141.

121. Durkheim, Division of Labor.

122. Meszaros. Marx's Theory of Alienation, 32.

123. Maslow, The Farther Reaches of Human Nature.

124. Edwards would have found some solace in the thought of Schiller and Kant, who argued that imagination is a central faculty of mind and beauty a necessary condition of humanity. Schiller was perhaps closer to Edwards in this regard, as he felt that to solve the political problem "one must pass through the aesthetic, since it is beauty that leads to freedom." The Puritan divine's views would have been somewhat modified, of course, by his hardened view of God and his belief in predestination.

125. Mittscherlich, Society Without the Father, *passim*.

126. Ibid.

## CHAPTER VII

### MASSACHUSETTS, FRANCE, ENGLAND AND THE PROBLEM OF COLONIAL IDENTITY

The decades that followed the Great Awakening were marked by a continued dialectic between events and ideas that produced a nationalistic frame of mind antagonistic to British imperialism. The advent of religious toleration was accompanied by the worsening of the economic problems that often accompany the modernization process; concurrently, internal political disruption and serious conflict with the British administration continued to provide impetus to the formation of a more cohesive ideological structure. Such events as the impressment controversies and the Louisbourg siege heightened colonial feelings of abandonment and loss of self-esteem. Ideological and intellectual developments themselves, finally, clearly reflected the importance of these events; not only did the tenets of the whig ideology find final formation in this period, but feelings that approximate clinical descriptions of mania and despair began to characterize colonial reactions to domestic and imperial disappointments. The decades immediately preceding the Revolution, in sum, were marked by social disruption, growing societal complexity, and extreme emotional reactions, developments that bode ill for the success of British ventures in the post-1763 period.

Congregational church pretensions of monolithic religious control, never entirely reflective of reality, disappeared completely in the years following the Awakening. The revival itself had signalled the beginning of the end, as dozens of ecclesiastical quarrels arose between pro- and anti-revival forces. Parish separations were inordinately common, and neighbor was pitted against neighbor in intense ecclesiastical disputes. Yet in the long run, toleration emerged as the dominant theme. Puritanism could no longer claim to be either a unifying force or even a strong sectarian experience; religion became a saleable market commodity, guided by equal and universalistic doctrines.<sup>1</sup>

The post-Awakening period was also characterized by the continued growth of urban problems generally associated with relatively modern or transitional societies. There was a significant increase in commercialized vice and perceived sexual laxity, and litigation rose dramatically throughout the colony. In Suffolk County, for example, one-half of the cases tried between 1744 and 1750 were for riot, and assaults, burglary, and theft rose as well. Indicative of the increasing disorderliness of society were the Bristol County tax riots, the 1745 Pope's Day riot, and the series of riots at Swanzey in late 1746.<sup>2</sup> The concern of the populace was reflected in the presentation of fifty different bills to suppress riots in the 1750 legislative session; in 1751 an appropriate act was passed, followed two years later by a law prohibiting disorderly, riot-conducting pageants. The

impact of these measures was apparently negligible, since in 1761 a special legislative committee was formed to consider various means to suppress riot and disorder. The committee noted the rise in nighttime disorders, the breaking of meetinghouse and residential windows, the endangering of lives and the general contempt for law. It called for a renewal of prosecution efforts and for payments to informers to help detect the culprits.<sup>3</sup>

Bostonians were beset as well by a variety of familiar economic problems. The fuel shortage, for instance, was an ever-threatening concern; one lure of Louisbourg was its rich coal mines, and Shirley was forced to provide protection for wood-cutters on the frontiers during the war. The city also suffered heavily from the strains of war financing; in addition to pouring money and taxes into the effort, the lengthy presence of troops in the town drained its already depleted resources. One inhabitant complained in 1755 that the soldiers, "tho' they Scatter some Money in Town, yet we grow very tired of them, and think it high time they should be on Duty." The same person argued that the war was having a disturbingly negative effect on the colony's trade.<sup>4</sup> Louisbourg privateers were a constant menace; insurance premiums were becoming increasingly expensive, and on the day of the second capture of Louisbourg the Evening-Post printed the bankruptcy notices of twenty-eight merchants, shopkeepers, and master craftsman. Characteristically, Britain later disallowed the Massachusetts law that permitted this form of

relief to take effect, arguing that most of the creditors were not resident in the province itself.<sup>5</sup> Boston industry suffered serious declines; shipbuilding, the leather trade, meat-packing, hatmaking, axe and hardware manufactures, cheap export furniture, and the fabrication of such horse-drawn vehicles as chaises, chairs, and chariots all suffered from war, taxes, and emigration from the city, as tradesmen were especially hard hit.<sup>6</sup>

The war also caused severe trade dislocations. Embargoes restricted the movement of goods, the West Indies suffered a glut of American goods, currency problems continued, and tax moratoriums were often necessary. In both 1759 and 1760 there were serious droughts. The embargoes were particularly galling, since they were imposed by the despised Earl of Loudoun, commander of the imperial forces. Loudoun was unmoved by pleas of hardship; and sought to subordinate the powers of the lower house to military necessity. Concurrently, British merchants were constantly pushing for economic expansion into the colonies, and the overall structural problems of the economy were further exacerbated by the precipitous decline of the fishing industry due to the preying of French privateers. Even attempted adjustments were made difficult by questionable imperial policies. Throughout the 1750's and 1760's, for example, the tonnage index reflected a decline of the southern European and Canadian trades, with a concurrent rise in the importance of the Caribbean. Un-



fortunately, stricter enforcement of the Navigation Acts by the royal navy made the latter trade increasingly dangerous and unprofitable.<sup>7</sup>

Concurrently, poverty was becoming a social problem of serious proportions. In 1748 a manufacturing house was established to deal with the rising numbers of poor. By 1754, the Boston almshouse was overcrowded with refugees and sick soldiers sent at provincial expense, resulting in dramatic increases in poor relief taxes. Natural disasters such as the smallpox epidemic of 1752 and the great fire of 1760 added to the urban problems plaguing the colony.<sup>8</sup> The refugee problem in particular was a pressing one; Boston's population was continually drained by the movement of people seeking to escape the burdens of war, and the migrants were replaced by refugees from Nova Scotia and the nearby countryside. The selectmen found it necessary to retain one John Savell "to inquire into the business of every newcomer, especially poor, sick, and lazy sailors." Citizens who failed to report the presence of outsiders in their houses were prosecuted.<sup>9</sup>

Most significant for long-term economic well-being was the emergence of the colonies as a principal market for British manufactured goods. Before 1755, there had been sufficient returns from shipping and exports to pay for the processed goods, but beginning with that year the colonists found themselves deeply in debt to the mother country, due in large

part to the dramatic rise in imported commodities caused by the above-mentioned pressure of British merchants. Thus depression was an ominous certainty, even despite the general prosperity of an export sector stimulated by European grain shortages. Imported goods were not being paid for out of current earnings, but rather by a lien on future production; indeed, only British troop expenditures helped offset the huge deficit. Military spending thus constituted the crucial factor in the determination of the economy's performance throughout this period. With the onset of war, men, arms, and money arrived from England, and the demand for goods and services brought sudden prosperity to farmers, artisans, and merchants. But the subsequent rapid decline in military spending brought the artificial boom to an abrupt end, and Americans could maintain the high import levels only by going in debt to British suppliers. Unfortunately, a post-war depression also brought bankruptcy to many who had over-extended, and a tightening of the customs service together with a stringent new currency act, further worsened the situation.<sup>10</sup>

Second only to the economic problems, in seriousness, were the political conflicts within the Empire during these years, conflicts that often revolved around the pressing problems of warfare. From 1739 to 1763 the colony was almost continually at war; to finance the French and Indian war alone, it borrowed over £1,380,000 local currency and levied

almost £650,000 in land taxes. At the close of the war, the debt was £800,000, even after allowing for Parliamentary reimbursements. As one author has calculated, "These figures exceed half the per capita increase in the British national debt between 1754 and 1763, and they represent the efforts of a colony much poorer in capital accumulation and currency. Moreover, in most summers between 1754 and 1760, Massachusetts called to arms about one-fourth of its eligible males--a performance which no European country could match...." A large number of men, then, undoubtedly had begun to make their living in the military; often, in fact, families were represented by more than one son. For others, such as the Boston laborers among William Pepperrell's troupes, the army offered an escape from a life of drudgery and economic uncertainty.<sup>11</sup> Both characteristics are important as reflectors and catalyzers of the modernization process.

Perhaps most revealing of political dissension were the hopes and despairs that characterized the course of Governor William Shirley's administration. Shirley was, in many ways, an exemplary ruler; a master of compromise, he convinced the colonists that Britain still cared for her children, and time and again served as a vehicle for their expressions of anger against the French. While his opportunistic rise to power and strict enforcement of the trade laws earned him the lasting enmity of a group of merchants led by former governor

Belcher, he successfully resolved the Land Bank crisis and reached a viable compromise in the timber cutting controversy. His political power base was also extended by the rise of defense spending, as speculators, contractors, and merchants all prospered in the early phases of the fighting. In the Louisbourg expedition, for example, Shirley used patronage carefully; Samuel Waldo and William Pepperrell represented Maine with its timber, fishing, and land speculation interests; Robert Hale and John Choate, coastal Massachusetts, which desired soft money and increased trade; and John Hancock and other merchants, the Boston area, concerned with the Indian trade, defense needs, and land speculation. The pattern of military command appointments followed the same pattern. The governor thus depended on a coalition of business and agricultural interests, held together by a complex system of war contracts and commissions.<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately, conflicts within the colony and disagreements with imperial policy overshadowed Shirley's successes. Initial and persistent problems were raised by the remnants of the Land Bank controversy. Many partners in both proposed schemes had become insolvent, while others simply refused to comply with royal orders to pay creditors, even putting their property in the names of friends to avoid paying accounts. The total number of suits involved was enormous, drawn out into the 1760s and involving the General Court intimately throughout. Typical was the plight of Samuel

Stevens, a partner in the land bank who filed a petition with the Court asking mercy. Initially his request was rejected, but he filed again, claiming that the Directors were persecuting and exploiting him. This petition and numerous others were dismissed; even the claimant, Nathaniel Martyn, was censured for scandalous speech by the House.<sup>13</sup> Again, neighbor was set against neighbor, debtor against creditor, and colonial against imperial; the guilt was undoubtedly increased by the fact that the conflict had been set in motion by a secular orgy initiated by the colonists themselves.

Another serious controversy emerged over the regulation of legal fees. In an effort to diminish the growing number of lawsuits in the colony, Shirley sought to persuade the House to establish a higher level of fees to help keep the volume of litigation down. He argued that in New York, New Jersey, and Hartford County, Connecticut, where fees were significantly higher than in the Bay Colony, there was a disproportionately lower number of court suits; closer to home, a doubling of the fees in Suffolk County Court in 1725 had dramatically reduced the number of court cases. Shirley contended that the multiplicity of lawsuits resulted only in a tremendous loss of time for all concerned, which meant as well a loss to the public; since the fees were less than the suit, indefinite delay was encouraged and the creditor suffered unjustifiable losses. The entire process created habits of dishonesty and insensibility to paying just debts;

inexpensive fees, moreover, were "a cruel Snare to the Poor to become Litigious, and exhaust their Little Substance, which should go to the maintenance of their Families, in maintaining Disputes and Quarrels in Court, to the Neglect of their Business, and Ruin of their Industry."<sup>14</sup> The poor, in sum, were to maintain their proper place in society and contribute constructively to the economic growth of the colony.

With the bill failing of passage the controversy continued into the following session, as Shirley began to explicitly back the plight of the creditors. He again proposed a system of higher fees, stressing the better regulation of the Courts of Judicature, where defendants could not appeal to the Superior Court if they defaulted in the Inferior Court. He argued as well for the relief of orphans, and other creditors as an act of justice which could help promote general prosperity.<sup>15</sup> The entire situation indicates an interesting and revealing set of attitudes towards the modernization process. In seeking to become a spokesman for the middle and lower classes, the House sought to preserve the right of litigation for all; this outright acceptance of social contentiousness marked a significant departure from the more conservative social ideals of both the ancestors and the Great Awakening.

Concurrently, House and governor once again became embroiled in a renewed dispute over royal salaries, indica-

ting at the same time an ever-increasing rhetorical reliance on the whig ideology. In 1742 the House responded to a Shirley salary request with the predictable arguments concerning the protection of their liberties and privileges. House control of the salary, they contended, followed the British constitution by serving as a check on the governor's powers. A permanent salary would destroy this balance, with

the Council depending on him for their very Being, and both Houses depending on him for every Law and Act of Government; since not one Penny can be rais'd, nor disposed of when raised, either for the Protection of the People, or to transact any other publick Concern, without his Consent; --since he can call them together, and keep them so at Pleasure, or Adjourn, Prorogue or Dissolve them at his Will, and can act in very many other Instances in a sovereign Manner: and if he should be disaffected to them, then it may be to the great Grievance of His Majesty's Subjects, who since their Residence so remote from His Majesty their common Father, may want speedy and seasonable Redress.<sup>16</sup>

Again, the concern was with the overbearing power of the governor and the geographical distance of the Freudian father. The admission of distance and implied weakened control of the King may perhaps indicate an early weakening of familial ties within the Empire.

For his part, Shirley asserted that past assemblies had given governors more than sufficient support, but the House responded that they were not bound by past actions, since this would have begged the issue of their power. The intent

of their messages had been simply that the governor should receive an ample support, namely, a grant of £1,000 in the last emission.<sup>17</sup>

In the next session, Shirley continued his argument by contending that the House had falsely drawn a parallel between their position and that of Commons, as well as ignoring the necessity of a balanced constitution. He then proceeded with a detailed refutation of the various arguments presented by the House. In their answer, the House held their position, and maintained the necessity of their keeping the salary within reasonable bounds. Shirley's retort was less diplomatic than some of his past ones; he felt that the small sum allocated would not provide him with the necessary dignity of his station: "The Privilege of being exempted from the Necessity of walking the Streets in bad Weather, or the Extremity of a rigorous Season, for discharging the publick Service, and other Duties of Life." The colony was more than prosperous enough, he contended, to give a larger grant; indeed, the House should be eager to do so "merely because his Majesty requires it..."<sup>18</sup>

Despite these clashes, the House continued to express fond, if ambivalent, feelings toward the governor. In September 1743 they praised his work in fortifying Castle William and expressed general pleasure in the accomplishments of his administration. Similarly, with the governor apparently unsettled by the contentious experience of the first few



sessions, the year 1743 saw a more cautious Shirley emerge. Desirous of putting a stop to ruinous inflation, he played on the House's sympathy for the plight of the debtor (though not ignoring the interests of the creditor) by stressing the unjust effects of inflation on debt and by emphasizing his continued sensitivity to burdensome taxes and the needs of the economy.<sup>19</sup> The following year, however, witnessed a renewal of troubles. Rioters at Bristol rescued prisoners from a jail and fled with them to Rhode Island, arousing Shirley's ire. More important, however, were renewed requests of the colony by Shirley to fuel the war effort. He asked the House to consider a large ship to defend the province; he himself, in the midst of a severe winter, furnished provisions and clothing for the troops at Annapolis Royal. But the House offered only stolid resistance; in their view, they had shouldered enough burdens, and they refused to maintain even the traditionally supplied Fort Dummer.<sup>20</sup>

Chief among the issues of 1745 was that of impressment. Problems had first surfaced in 1740 with a brutal gang operation from the ship Astrea and a press by the Portland, causing Bostonians to seethe in anger.<sup>21</sup> Concern was re-awakened in March 1741/2 when Shirley succeeded in obtaining the release of a small group of impressed men. Late in 1742, however, the governor brought to the House's attention a complaint lodged by England that merchant ships from Massachusetts were luring away British seamen; he ad-

vised that the General Court pass a law condemning such actions. The House, disturbed by the acrimonious nature of such an accusation, replied contentiously that the complaints were groundless; rather, it was the British who depressed colonial trade with their impressments, "and distressed the Inhabitants thereof in their lawful Business, by keeping the necessary Supplies of Provision, and Firing out of the Town, to the Ruin of some Families..."<sup>22</sup> Now the issue arose again. Shirley himself issued a warrant for the H.M.S. Wager to press fifteen men; Sheriff Hasey of Suffolk County, "knowing he had some dirty Work to do, with several officers and sailors from the man-o'-war, went after mariners just in from the sea, and in so doing stirred up a great uproar in which two seamen were horribly hacked with cutlasses. On November 20 the Suffolk County Court found Boatswain John Fowls and a boy, John Warren, of the press gang guilty of murder, but a flaw in the indictment prevented sentencing."<sup>23</sup> The House responded vigorously; they denied the power of the governor and council to impress without the consent of the Court, condemning such actions especially "at a Time when exhausted of Seamen, and when such tragical Consequences have attended the Execution of a Warrant issued for that Purpose, notwithstanding the great Care and Caution observed...." Yet the House ended its address with a note of conciliation which must have angered the people of Boston: "pleading that they ought not to upset the constitutional balance, but rather only to maintain the peace and harmony

which had heretofore characterized the administration."<sup>24</sup> As might be expected, the townspeople were not so conciliatory. A 1746 town meeting deplored the impressment, arguing that it had "been executed in an oppressive manner, before unknown to Englishmen, and attended with Tragical Consequences." Boston, they continued, had lost three thousand seamen and could not send out privateers or even properly man its own merchant vessels. The press gang had forcibly "entered the Houses of some of the Inhabitants in the night to their great Terror." Such conduct by a "lawless Rabble", concluded the petition, was a breach of Magna Charta, the province charter, a parliamentary act, and a violation of the pledge of the government to "those brave men: who volunteered for the attack on Cape Breton."<sup>25</sup>

Britain's lack of parental sympathy in these impressment controversies provides a most appropriate introduction to one of the most traumatic events of the colonial period--the Louisbourg expedition. The fall of Annapolis Royal during the war bore serious implications for all of New England; there was the very real possibility of irreparable damage to Massachusetts commerce, since the fishing banks would be lost, the Northern trade imperiled, and the frontiers of Maine violated. A relief party was thus absolutely necessary, and Shirley even hazarded his own personal funds to promote the expedition. But while Shirley stressed the tactical necessity of re-taking the fort, the legislature branded the

move as foolish and impractical. The key, to the resistance of the colonists, perhaps, was their realistic sense that success would demand massive assistance from the mother country; their skepticism was apparently a matter of hard practicality. Shirley, meanwhile, had received instructions from London to raise men and solicit cooperation from the other colonies. That his vision went beyond even that of England, however, appears undeniable; he drew up serious plans for the invasion of Canada, took up matters of patronage with Pelham, and expressed his desire to become commander of a British regiment, to achieve favors for his family, and a baronetcy for himself.<sup>26</sup> Shirley was neither an American nor a colonial; his visions were of a British empire and personal reward. Massachusetts was crucial to the achievement of these goals, but despite the governor's personal sympathies the well-being of the colony was entirely secondary.

The Louisbourg campaign itself was a landmark of despair in the colony's history, signifying a permanent change in colonial attitudes towards Britain (if only unconsciously at first). Trouble plagued the expedition from the very start. On May 9, 1745, a council of war advised commander William Pepperrell "of dissatisfaction among officers and soldiers over a planned but dangerous night attack." On May 25, Pepperrell himself expressed concern over the difficulties of communication between the army and the shipping, the tremendous amount of sickness in the army, and his fear of sur-

prise attack from the rear by the French and Indians. Several days later further advice was that given "that, inn considering of the hard labour the army is obliged to perform, Together with the almost continual fogs and unwholesomeness of this climate, &c., &c., the commissaries be directed to continue to give the soldiers the allowance of a gill and a half of rum per day." Even more disruptive difficulties were encountered on September 17 in the form of a mutiny, as

a great number of the soldiers in his Majesty's service in this garrison had combined to lay down their arms the day following, under pretence of some grievances, and it appearing upon inquiry that there is a spirit of discontent very much prevailing in the army, and which there is some reason to fear may be immediately attended with very ill consequences without speedy application of some suitable measure for prevention thereof, and it appearing further that the cause of their discontent, besides their being detain'd here so long already, contrary to their expectations when they engaged in the expedition, their prospect of being detain'd a considerable time longer; their being unprovided with cloathing and other necessaries; and their not being paid nay part of their wages due, - is their being obliged to continue in the service on the very low pay of 25/p<sup>r</sup> month, especially as their have been disappointed of the chief part of the plunder to which they were intitled by his Excellency's proclamation....<sup>27</sup>

It seems that the men of Massachusetts had gained very little from their enlistment and had even less to be thankful for.

Temporary appeasement was achieved by an increase in wages,

but sick rolls continued to grow and drunkenness emerged as a new and serious problem. The stock of provisions and stores declined, and fatigue and illness spread further. The issues at hand, moreover, were of the most basic sort; as John Barnard wrote to Pepperrell, "for all that is dear to us in our country, our flourishing, yea, our very subsistence..., yea, our religion, all lyes at stake."<sup>28</sup>

Most revealing of all, however, were the personal experiences of the men involved in the siege. The attack was a grueling experience:

Never was a place so mauled with cannon and shells; and we killed from our advanced battery a considerable number of the enemy with our small arms, neither have I read in history, of any troupes behaving with more courage, when I consider the difficulty we had in landing our cannon, provision, &c., by reason of the sea filling on shore in an open bay, the miserable swamps and hiulls in transporting the cannon to the several batteries we erected so near their fortifications, in doing which we had several of our men killed and wounded, with small arms, that when I look back, it is a matter of surprise to me to think of the hardships and difficulties we have gone through in a cold, foggy country; the Almighty of a truth has been with us....<sup>29</sup>

Such was the situation that Pepperrell was afraid to leave his command even for a short time, fearing that if he did so mass desertion would result.<sup>30</sup>

The comments of the chaplains, soldiers, and officers involved further these impressions of extensive unrest and ill-feelings. Several of the journals are rather morbid and depressing, speaking constantly of death and sickness. Enlist-

ing had itself been an ordeal for many of the men; one stated that he had left his home "having had the Consent of my friends (and asking their Prayers), (Which was A great Comfort to me. Even all the Time of my being Absent.)" The soldier's comment on the death of a man from consumption is revealing: "I See the Dr. open Him who found his Inwards Very Much Consum'd. Not So Much Affected were his Ship Mates when Digging his Grave as many are only at the Sight of a Dead Horse. But would Curse and Damn Each other while a Doing of it. which to me appear'd Very Melancholly and Strange." On the day the first of his company (from Hampshire County) died, he noted that "Many of that County are Sick at present and what God Designs for Us in a Way of Righteous Judgment (for our Iniquities) I know not." Shortly thereafter he reported "This Day Dies Seven which belong'd to the Land Army. it's an Awful and Distressing time with Us in this City. and when I call to Mind what God has Done for Us Heretofore. I've been Ready to Say in words Much like to Sampsons in Judah 15, 18 Lord Thou hast givin this Great Deliverance into the Hands of these Thy Servants and now Shall they Die by the pestilence." He spoke as well of the great unrest among the original members of the expedition, since they had not yet been dismissed according to their contracts.<sup>31</sup>

Another anonymous journal gives details of a near-mutiny, while still another speaks bitterly of officers and the expedition in general:

Faire Well Cape: Britton  
 faire well all you faces  
 that Bread Such Dis:greases  
 against Solders that are True to their King  
 for I Boldely Do Say  
 If they once git a way  
 You will Be hard Poot to it to Catch them again.<sup>32</sup>

The journal of Captain Stephen Williams of Longmeadow further reflects the morose atmosphere, speaking of infested barracks, the ceaseless demands of the sick and wounded, and dark and rainy days.<sup>33</sup> Seth Pomeroy's journal clearly reflects the fatalistic acceptance of the war situation; before departure, for instance, he wrote to his wife: "My dear wife; if it be the Will of God, I hope to see your pleasant face again, but if God in his sovereign Providence has ordered otherwise, I hope to have a glorious meeting with you in the Kingdom of Heaven, where there are no wars nor fatiguing marches, no roaring cannon, nor screeching bombshells, not long campaigns, but an eternity to spend in peace and perfect harmony." He too noted the growing number of sick and expressed relief that only one person he knew personally had died, while none had yet succumbed in his own company. Still, he warned his spouse, "When anxious and uneasy thoughts come into your mind, cast them off. Remember to submit to an overruling hand in Providence, which orders all events." Such melancholic pessimism was evident elsewhere; a chronicler of the siege instructed his wife to trust in God and resign herself to his will. Even the prospect of personal business gains failed to mollify his grief, "as he wished only to see his friends and family again."<sup>34</sup> Officers themselves were not exempt from the



depression which seems to have characterized most of the expedition. Daniel Giddings of Ipswich also left his home with a heavy heart; and spoke of rainy days with welcome news from a home far away, of a kinsman and others being killed by barbarous Indians, of a man who had lost both of his legs, "a melancholy Sight itt was." Towards the end of his sojourn, whatever optimism might have graced his mind at the start was gone: "A Very unsettled Life I live hear and But Little of y<sup>e</sup> Divine Presence." Even upon his return home, the sorrow was dragged out by a visit to the widow of still another sad victim.<sup>35</sup>

Yet many of the colonists were certainly well aware of the strategic importance of the expedition, and there remained a certain amount of missionary inspiration guiding it. James Gibson regarded Louisbourg as "the Key of Canada, and North America." He held great hopes for the expedition, expecting to add to the King's dominions and to humble the enemy to the extent that "we may reasonably expect to see the Halcyon Days throughout his Majesty's extensive Dominions, and secure our most Excellent Constitution both in Church and State." This last phrase reflects the interesting combination of religious and secular thinking which underlies the intellectual development of this period. The process is further illustrated in a series of letters written to the Tradesman's Journal which were ostensibly about trade, power, and mercantilist competition among nations. The author was equally

concerned, however, with establishing a religious base for the extension of commerce and power: "And Further, let it be considered, that honest Industry is the Daughter of true Religion, and the Mother of fair Trade, and well gotten Wealth; and such Objects only are worthy of a national Care and Regard...." His desire was both to further secular enrichment and to spread the gospel and true religion, "Humanity, Faith and good Morals, instead of Cruelty, Ignorance and Jesuitical Principles, destructive of all the former."<sup>36</sup> His attitude, moreover, is strikingly reflective of an early belief in a worldly millennium, catalyzed by a patriotic call to arms.

Predictably, the reaction of England to the Louisbourg expedition did not improve the already ambivalent relations between colony and mother country. The Bay colonists had made a major economic and emotional investment in the campaign, but Britain drew back. Shirley did not receive the accolades he had expected; his grandiose 1746 and 1747 campaign plans were all but ignored even by his own patrons.<sup>37</sup> The Massachusetts House, repeatedly rebuffed in its requests for reimbursement from the Crown, continued to refuse to grant the governor a raise or a fixed salary and reacted negatively to his suggestions of the necessity of greater war efforts. House leaders complained, moreover, that Shirley had outfitted the brigantine Boston-Packet while they had been in session and without consulting                    they objected as well to

his expressed desire for a new impressment. There was also a serious dispute over the sending of more troupes to Louisbourg, as the House argued that there were not yet any signs of English troupes arriving there as reinforcements and replacements; Shirley, in turn expressed dismay over the colony's failure to act, lest Nova Scotia be lost once again to the French. The House finally gave in; despite their fears that they could not afford the added expense, they agreed to send the troops and suggested as well that additional repairs be affected at Castle William and Governour's Island. Further than this they would not go; they felt that economic conditions would not allow even for the defense of his frontier.<sup>38</sup>

Most damaging to colonial self-esteem, however, was the resurrected issue of impressment. The details of the actual event--the formation of a Boston mob to counter the attempts by British seamen to forceably impress Americans for service in the royal navy--have been related to informative detail elsewhere. The reaction of Bostonians to these events, however, warrants further comment. Shortly after the skirmish, Shirley publicly deplored the raucus behavior of Boston citizens in a series of letters to the Boston Weekly Post-Boy. In reaction, a committee of the town meeting petitioned the governor "to consider the disadvantageous Light he has set the Town in, to the World." Committee members argued that the town had not aided the rioters, despite the fact "That the Rights and Priviledges of the Town had been invaded by the unwarrantable Impress...." Shirley subsequently apologized profusely.<sup>39</sup>

The House, meanwhile, had noted during the events in November that there "still continues a tumultuous, riotous assembling of armed Seamen, Servants, Negroes, and others in the Town of Boston, tending to the Destruction of all Government and Order." Surprisingly, then, the House resolved to support the Governor in the suppression of the disorders, though they did promise to take all possible measures to ease the sufferings the people had been burdened with. Perhaps the key to the more restrained approach lies in the person who then occupied the speaker's chair, Thomas Hutchinson. A member of the merchant community who truly loved the empire, Hutchinson would condone no destruction of property or violence, no matter what the cause. In this instance, he was supported wholeheartedly by the Boston town meeting, which unanimously agreed that the riots had consisted of such persons "of mean and vile Conditions...;" they stated their support of using the proper channels to seek redress of grievances.<sup>40</sup> Both House and town meeting, of course, had been much more strenuous in their opposition to impressment in 1745, when economic and psychological pressures were more immediate. The 1747 incident leaves the impression that independent action by the seamen was not to be tolerated.

Nonetheless, unhappiness with impressment practices did not cease, and later in the year the Independent Advertiser became a spokesman for the victims. Correspondents to the new paper complained of the deleterious effects of both enlistments and impressments on population and economic growth, and warned

that citizens could bear with thoughtless treatment and destructive policies for only so long:

There is scarce anything for Instance that breeds a greater Discontent than the Prospect of Poverty and Ruin...the People have seen with Calmness and Resignation Their Estates crumbling to Nothing, their Trade stagnate and fail in every Channel, their Husbandry and Manufactures render'd for Want of Hands almost impracticable, and an insupportable Weight of Taxes. They have at the same Time seen, and almost without Envy, Others Thriving at their Expence, and rising to Wealth and Greatness upon their Ruin. These are Facts which you cannot be unacquainted with, and must allow they are the Trials of a sever Kind and call for the Exercise of every manly Virtue.<sup>41</sup>

The people were being victimized, the rich and the merchants neglecting their proper social duties. Most harmful, perhaps, was the loss of population, amounting in three years to "near one fifth of our Males; and the most of these in the Flower of Youth." In this context the impressment riot could be pictured as the peaceful assembly of a people seeking only to "defend themselves, and repel the Assaults of a Press-Gange." When the government proved incapable of dealing with such injustices, the people had the natural right "to repel those Mischiefs against which they can derive no Security from the Government."<sup>42</sup> Again, ultimate power lay with the people, and when necessary, they were possessed of the ethical and legal power to act accordingly.

Understandably, the colonists sought to fathom the reason for their falling fortunes; it should not be surprising that their eyes looked to England, particularly since it was England's imperial policies which singled out Massachusetts as the main victim. Opponents of British policy complained that the colony was exposed to the greatest military threats and asked to shoulder the most demanding burdens, and yet England offered little protection in return:

And in these Circumstances, to deprive the People of all the Means of Safety, To give us up a Prey to every Lawless Plundered, is too shocking to be born: It is from the United Resolution of the Citizens they must derive their Safety, and depriv'd of this they can form no other Prospect than their utter Destruction. They must contentedly behold their Wives abus'd before their Faces, as had been heretofore practis'd and their Brethren drag'd away or murder'd as formerly.<sup>43</sup>

English land officers, it was feared, would soon turn to initiating the practices of their naval counterparts, "and this Province become the Sear of Rapine and Plunder and be reduced to the extremest Distress."<sup>44</sup> That such language should be used at all is indicative of the seriousness of the unrest plaguing the colony; that the chaos should be attributed directly to the actions of the mother country is even more shocking.

Of equal interest, however, is the above writer's forcefulness in questioning the ability of the government to pro-

tect the people from the press gangs; even the Assembly, he noted, had failed to pass a resolve against the actions. The governor was cowed by a few ships when perhaps he should have more closely reflected the soldierly courage of a Machiavellian prince: "Wouldn't his Excellency's Spirit have led him to tame this haughty Commander with something more suitable to the Dignity of his Station, than meer Entreaties and Persuasion? Do not these Things prove to a Demonstration, that all the Government can be expected to do for us, by divesting themselves of their proper Character, and becoming Suppliants for the People?" When government and leadership fails, the people "have a natural Right to defend themselves, in Cases where no effectual Defence is to be had from the laws is indisputable." In such cases they "are really in a State of Nature; and of Consequence have an undoubted Right to use the Power belonging to that State."<sup>45</sup> The Lockean and republican emphases are too obvious to ignore.

These attitudes were undoubtedly strengthened by yet another blow to the colony's pride, the already-alluded-to peace with the French. The settlement involved returning Louisbourg to France, and resulted in very general public indignation and a weakening of Shirley's hold on the temperament of the colony. Here was a psychological and emotional issue which all could feel, with an opposition swelled in seacoast towns by returning veterans. Adding to the unsettled atmosphere was a worsening money situation, as the public

attacked the governor's moves toward currency reform. Demands were concurrently made for reimbursement for the expenses of the Louisbourg expedition and for an investigation into the mismanagement of men and funds during the campaign. Drastic action, in fact, was urged: "Our present melancholly Situation evidently demands the Exercise of this publick-Virtue from every Man who truly loves his Country..." Through 1748, moreover, the salary issue continued to be a source of major concern, despite the warnings of the House to the governor that if revived, the dispute would disrupt the colony's political harmony.<sup>46</sup>

Most important, of course, were direct expressions of discontent regarding the settlement; again the primary vehicle was the Independent Advertiser. The barrage opened with a letter from a gentleman in the country attacking William Douglass's History for short-changing New England and its role in the Cape Breton expedition. Douglass sought to "deprive the New-Englanders of the Glory of an Action that has gain'd the Attention of all the Courts in Europe." He gave all the credit to the sea-force, the writer noted, and underplayed "the most important Event that can be related in a History of North-America..."<sup>47</sup> in which New England troupes played a most heroic role.

In the Aug. 1 issue of the paper, the editor printed an excerpt from the Westminster Journal which praised the past contributions of the colony to the British Empire: of the



men of the two companies sent to Jamaica in 1739, only five or six returned; "That of the 500 Men sent to the Cuba Expedition, but 50 returned; and that of the 4000 Men, Volunteers upon the Expedition to Cape-Breton, one half died of Sickness; and they who returned came home with a Habit of Idleness." The effect was to bring poverty to hundreds of families. Even the officers, the cream of New England's men and those who had made the greatest sacrifices, were ruined by the expedition: "But what has been their Reward? Why Truly the Satisfaction of having served their Country with a glorious Zeal at the Expence of great Part of their Estates, and the Ruin of most of their Constitutions." As for the prizes of war, they were taken by those who never fired a shot; the soldiers were refused booty, the officers denied royal commissions.<sup>48</sup>

Some months later an additional letter expanded upon these feelings of abandonment. The author noted that the colonists had undertaken their mission with a spirit of true brotherhood: "as we were all united in the same common Interest, we seemed in this inspir'd with the same common Wish." The emphasis on unity as brought about by war is particularly interesting; in the face of a common danger, the colony had made notable sacrifices. One-sixth of the population had readily enlisted and "boldly committed themselves to the tempestuous Sea--an Element untried and unknown to the greater part of of them.--The trading Part of the Province chearfully

submitted to a long Embargo, (which the Neighbouring Governments excus'd themselves from, and so had an opportunity of supplying foreign Markets to our very great Loss.-Our fishery and Husbandry were almost entirely neglected-and every Man's private concerns seemed to be swallowed up in this Grand Concern of the Publick....Thro' the remarkable Assistance of Divine Providence this most hazardous and surprising Attempt succeeded!" The effort gained the attention of all of Europe; and yet, for their service, the men of Massachusetts received little in return. French privateering remained a problem, while British impressments continued to produce deeply unsettling social disruption, "Insolence and Wantonness, which it will be as difficult to forget as to atone for: Such Scenes of merciless Rapine, Barbarity, and even Murder have been opened to us, as in any other Country would have called down the distinguishing Rigour of Justice upon the guilty Actors...."<sup>49</sup>

England's cruellest act, though was "the Restitution of Louisbourg- a Place of equal Importance to the Nation with Gibraltar- Louisbourg gained at the Expence of New-England Blood, and with the Ruin of half the Estates throughout the Province." The fisheries were in danger once more, the population had decreased, a heavy debt remained, the balance of trade had shifted against the colony, and commerce was deteriorating, "sunk by our most laudable Achievements - whilst every other Province gains the Advantage of our Zeal,

and their own Indolence...."<sup>50</sup> The situation was hardly an encouraging one:

Upon the whole, it is impossible for any Man who truly loves his Country to be unaffected with the present melancholly Situation of its Affairs. To behold the Fruits of all our Labours, Toils and Hazards, given up at once to our proud insulting Enemies.... The Mind opprest with Grief, anxious and fearful, cannot help raising to itself most frightful Prospects. Who can tell what will be the Consequence of this Peace in Times to come? Perhaps the goodly Land itself- Even this beloved Country, may share the same Fate with its conquest....I conclude, therefore, that New-England under all these Distresses, must be reduc'd to a very low Ebb, being drain'd of its Inhabitants; its Trade and Fishery ruined; the Gentlemen and Officers despised and superseded; their Soldiers and common People humbled and impoverished; whilst they have all been exerting themselves, with uncommon Zeal, to promote the Interest of the British Empire.<sup>51</sup>

Clearly the colonists deeply resented the failure of the mother country to carry out its promises of imperial glory. They had sacrificed their material and emotional well-being, only to be met with humiliating rejection.

Following the shock of the loss of Louisbourg, affairs quieted down somewhat. Nonetheless, intra-colony conflicts continued to appear with disturbing regularity. Thomas Hutchinson succeeded in shepherding a redemption bill through the House in 1748, a move which angered the colony sufficiently to bring severe losses for the pro-specie party in the 1749 elections; by 1750, in fact, Shirley's new conservative alliance was destroyed. Early that same year, a rather interesting disagreement occurred which reflected the still-

firm ties between the House and local government in the commonwealth. As part of his plan to regulate the size of the House and thus control opposition to royal policy, Shirley refused to allow a west, or second precinct of Leicester to become a separate township. The House made their distaste for such interference with self-government explicit,<sup>52</sup> and while Shirley's attempt may have been an intelligent tactical move, in the long term it merely deepened local opposition to the Crown and solidified the central role of the House as the voice of the colony.

Disagreement continued into the next session, when a major constitutional dispute arose over the proper method of choosing the attorney-general of the province.<sup>53</sup> A similarly heated controversy involved the requirements for the colonial office of treasurer, as the House sought to control illegal disbursements by the Council by requiring that the Treasurer give security before entering office; arguments on both sides were predictable in defense of their wasted rights.<sup>54</sup>

The treasurer issue was a mild dispute, however, compared to the 1754 excise controversy. We have already discussed the ideological aspects of this contest, and its historical development has been adequately treated in several narratives. It suffices to note here that it marked yet another milestone in the development of House-Council, rural-urban, and farmer-merchant splits. The conflict must also be viewed, though,

within the context of Shirley's increasingly precarious hold on the colony. The governor had experienced some difficulty in gaining additional defense expenditures and had failed again to gain a permanent salary. In the May elections of 1754, however, held in the midst of another French coastal scare, he came away with an overwhelming victory. The legislature rapidly provided all he requested for a Maine expedition, and he gained additional strength from the election of new leaders from the coastal towns. Even then, there was insufficient money to appropriate for the defense of Western Massachusetts. James DeLancey, in an attempt to wrest control of the military provisions trade away from Shirley, was concurrently leading an attack on him in London.<sup>55</sup> He was aided in his plan by the sudden and complete collapse of colonial confidence in both Shirley and England. The Albany plan was rejected by the General Court for ideological reasons, since it would apparently undermine the colony's constitution and give too much influence to the Southern colonies. The misbehavior of British recruiters in Nova Scotia caused additional discontent, resulting in fewer volunteers and angrier mobs; Braddock's 1755 loss increased bitterness and cynicism. Finally, the colonists refused to allocate Massachusetts funds for the proposed 1756 Canadian expedition; they felt that Britain should foot the entire bill, arguing that "they had defended themselves for more than a century with little help from England."<sup>56</sup> These feelings of alienation were

heightened by the treatment of colonial soldiers during the Great War. Until late 1756, colonial troops were more or less autonomous. The Earl of Loudoun, however, sought to unify the troops under his command, thus exposing Americans to the harsher British discipline. American "gentleman" officers, poorer than their English counterparts, and American soldiers, far richer, both suffered losses in prestige and rank and were treated with disdain by the British. They refused to adhere to the English discipline code, and desertion rates subsequently mounted. Volunteers declined still more in numbers, and the colony was forced to resort to draft laws; evasion, of course, was frequent.<sup>57</sup>

Such was the state of imperial relations when Shirley finally left office. His successor, Thomas Pownall, seemed to bode only good for Massachusetts. Ideologically, he was viewed as a strong friend to the colonies, and his initial message to the Court was a conciliatory one, reflecting his generally liberal and sympathetic attitude towards their role in the imperial system and his respect for their government and liberties. Indeed, he readily accepted the central role of the House in the governance of the colony, particularly in financial matters. Even this brief political honeymoon was marred somewhat, though, by a controversy over enforcement of the Quartering Act. Loudoun again began the trouble by insisting upon the act's strict application to Massachusetts; in arguing against such a policy, the House

asserted that they retained the natural rights of Englishmen and the power of self government. "This," they said, "will animate and encourage them to resist, to the last Breath, a cruel invading Enemy...." The term "Enemy" has a somewhat ambivalent reference, but there can be little doubt that the general thrust of its intent lay in the direction of Britain. Pownall was also involved in a lengthy imbroglio over dismissal of the colony's agent, and his attempts to suppress factionalism and to bring political unity to the colony failed.<sup>58</sup>

The remainder of Pownall's term was relatively friendly and quiet, with both governor and House frequently giving expression to their mutual respect. The House, for instance, congratulated the governor on his zealous position against bribery and corruption. Pownall, in turn, again lauded the central role of a representative body in preserving the liberties of the people, admitting that "Without this Deputation from the People, the Rights of the People could not exist...." He also bowed to the Court's wishes in disputes over supplying the Treasury, keeping for himself a lesser, advisory role. Clearly this was a prince in the true Republican tradition; even this view of the French and his belief in the existence of a "Machiavellian moment" within the Empire approximated the beliefs of the colonists. The French, Pownall argued, had callously gone beyond the civilized boundaries of war; if the opportunity to defeat them were neglected, he asserted, "from this Hour we may date the

decline of the British Empire; from this Hour we may date the Ruin of us and our Posterity, by an inevitable Train of Evils. Our Affairs are not only wrought up to a Crisis, but now is the very Crisis."<sup>59</sup>

Thus when Quebec finally fell, an era of permanent political peace seemed just ahead. There had been promises from Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia, moreover, that he was prepared to distribute to new settlers one hundred acres of the ploughlands and an equal amount in pasture, orchards, and gardens that had once belonged to the Acadian exiles. The impact of this statement on land-hungry New Englanders who had a long history of close contact with the area, was enormous. After such promises, in fact, the Court eagerly acquiesced when the prospect of a standing guard at Acadia was raised.<sup>61</sup> The resultant optimism, though, was short-lived; England, for example, granted no aid to the colony during the great 1760 fire, though most of the other colonies sent a considerable amount. Concurrently, troops continued to express discontent at being detained at Louisbourg and Nova Scotia and the mother country failed to fulfill promises of total reimbursement for the war effort. The excessively rigorous enforcement of the Acts of Trade, apparently unique to Massachusetts, elicited public objections in the press. Only Pownall could keep the colony relatively calm; this much was clear from the tenor of the House's address to him on the occasion of his departure: "'Tis your knowledge of the Country, the Mildness and Probity of your Administration;



Attention to public Economy, spirited Efforts in every Measure for his Majesty's Service; Care of our Civil and Religious Liberties, and Tender Concern for the Distresses of this Barrier Colony...<sup>62</sup> These were the qualities of a caring and protecting father, one who would seek to promote spiritual and material development under the guise of justice.

But with Pownall's departure post-war problems continued to increase, and the new governor, William Bernard, was confronted with a delicate situation. Bernard's initial address was promising enough; he stressed his and the Crown's intention of preserving the rights and liberties of the people, and avoiding disruptive factionalism. The House responded with gracious acknowledgment, and Bernard expressed satisfaction that one of the most pressing problems of the Empire was now permanently settled: "It is one of the happy Consequences of this War, that the Connection between these Provinces and the Mother-Country, is now so well understood and put upon the best Footing that of filial Obedience and parental Protection mutually promoting each other." From Bernard's point of view, the father had regained control of the aberrant children; the House, having been granted the warmth and understanding they desired, were only too happy to agree: "We are fully convinced that the Connection between the Mother-Country and these Provinces, is founded on the Principles of filial Obedience, Protection and Justice.... Our Breasts, Sir, glow with those grateful Sentimens of Duty and Loyalty: The Principles of which were transmitted to Us from our loyal

Fore-Fathers...." The daily business of life could now be attended to with the explicit goal of satisfying the needs of the Massachusetts people: "Under the auspices of a caring, appreciative parent."<sup>63</sup>

Quite clearly, then, colonial deprivations were to play a major role in coming events. It is apparent the colonists foresaw an era of millennial republicanism, free of the rancorous divisions of the past: "Party is no more; it is resolved into Loyalty... Lay aside all Divisions and Distinction whatsoever; especially those...that are founded on private views...."<sup>64</sup> But the utopia was never to arrive; the issue of ship seizures, in fact, brought disruption almost immediately. Such seizures had become part of the daily course of events in the colony; illegal cargoes were often confiscated, with supposedly equal sums being paid to the Crown, the colony, and informers. The House began to notice, however, that informers were receiving exorbitant sums and the colony itself very little. Assuredly, they did not wish to infringe upon the authority of the prerogative or to transgress the law; they only wished to recover the money they felt was their due.<sup>65</sup> The language used by the Court throughout the controversy reflects the fear of excessive, formal legalities and the corruption of modern bureaucracy replacing empathetic paternalism.

Bernard himself proved to be a less than agreeable factor. Again, the catalyst was finance, as Bernard returned

to the traditional royal contention that in emergencies, the Council possessed the power to vote necessary taxes. The House forcefully and immediately protested against "such an unlimited discretionary power, as unsafe to be lodged in any Hands but the Legislative Body of a Country; in all regular Governments the ultimate Judge of the Good of a people."<sup>66</sup> The arguments were the same as those of three and four decades before; only the House, as the representative body of the people, was competent to judge what benefited them. Unforeseen financial needs could be covered by a House-approved contingency fund, which even then would be the only check on the actions of governor and Council when the Court was not in session.<sup>67</sup> In this maneuver, moreover, the members consciously emulated Commons, which had in the past denied such power to the King. The contending parties joined battle in a similar fashion over the power to appoint the colony's attorney-general. The House turned to precedent in great detail, arguing that just as the king's attorney stood above any particular court and represented instead the whole government, so must the person who occupied that office in the colony; thus the charter, they argued, logically granted the appointment power to the House alone.<sup>68</sup>

The import of these arguments was heightened by a gradual change in Britain's post-war attitudes. Bernard, it should be remembered, had assured the colonists that peace would bring nothing but bliss, and the House had expressed

both thanks and expectations, acknowledging as well their dependence on the king.<sup>69</sup> Now, however, the governor warned the colonists that the end of the war meant that much revenue would be cut off and that the colony would thus have to improve its agricultural practices, its fisheries, its spirit of industry, its frugality and economy, and preserve its currency and credit. The House apparently felt it had constructively dealt with such burdens, since the world was no longer a place of chaos and disorder, but rather a scene of predictable security. With the aid of a sympathetic ruler, they felt that faction, disunity, and corruption would all cease, and utopia would finally reign in the British Empire.<sup>70</sup> The destruction of the external enemy, it was assumed, would bring internal harmony. Bernard's demands, moreover, reflected mercantilistic goals similar to those espoused by the colony itself, and his promises seemed to indicate a paternalistically lenient imperial policy.

The ecstasy of victory, in fact, seemed to transform the mood of the entire colony.<sup>71</sup> Both geographical expansion and moral regeneration could now proceed hand in hand. Of course, life got rather worse than better. High taxes, unemployment, poverty, and fire all ravaged the colony with the same consistency as before. Yet optimism remained undaunted even in the face of such disasters. With the fall of Canada, panegyric poems were published regularly, giving the highest praise to all that was British. The fall of Montreal was

viewed as the final defeat of the anti-Christ and the fore-runner of a great new millennial empire; a time "when these American Desarts which for Ages unknown have been Regions of Darkness, and Habitations of Cruelty, shall be illuminated with the Light of the Glorious Gospel! And when this sort of the World, which, till the later Ages, was utterly unknown, be the Glory and the Joy of the Whole Earth!..."<sup>72</sup>

The interesting mixture of religious and secular utopianism is evident here and elsewhere, creating that peculiarly emotional devotion which has always characterized American capitalism: "Our new settlements may now push out in Safety on all Sides....A VAST and fertile Country is now subjected to the British Sovereignty.... May it prove a happy Seat of the Redeemer's Kingdom...."<sup>73</sup> The vision was of an Anglo-American empire blessed by God, one that would both fulfill and overshadow the mission of the "Citty upon a Hill."

These general ideological hopes, drawn from newspapers, the House Journals, and ministerial pamphlets, clearly reflected both republican and puritan influences, and provided the framework for the growing dominance of the whig ideology in the colony. Thus concerns for English liberties, the maintenance of a proper constitutional balance, and the preservation of the empire from tyranny became commonplaces in both the official and public literature of the period. New England itself, of course, was regarded as a particularly important stronghold of these liberties, a source of missionary

growth: "Thou broughtest a Vine out of Egypt, so hast thou out of England: Thou hast cast out the Heathen, and planted it. Thou preparest Room before it, and didst cause it to take deep Root, and it filled the Land." It was only logical that the people of New England, given the sacrifices they had made, "should bring forth the Fruits of Righteousness."<sup>74</sup> Particularly notable is the use of plant imagery and the emphasis on productive growth, indicating a fostering of capitalistic motivation and a reflection of the desire for expansion and material fulfillment. When the British threatened to block the opportunity for that fulfillment, the colonists rebelled. Growth itself, moreover, is not to be taken in a mere geographical sense; it reflects as well attempts to strengthen the ego and to gain control over both a hostile environment and the traumatic internal injuries to the colony's self-esteem.

Beyond this renewed concern for New England's particular place in the world, the maturing whig ideology began to reflect the increasing secularization of religious thought. Ministers, for example, were expressive of an ever greater appreciation of civil liberties, and the British constitution, headed by a righteous king, provided solace even to Congregational leaders; encouraging the abolition of parties, it promoted the maintenance of the public good through a proper apportionment of constitutional power. New Englanders, in fact, avowed that the situation now resembled the "prophet's vision of the LORD sitting upon his throne, surrounded

with his ministers, the holy angels, who are celebrating his glory and saiving his government...." These leaders were now "men of a publick spirit, seeking the good of all their people, and not to enrich themselves."<sup>75</sup> While papists built rich churches at the expense of the poor and while princes enslaved the people under the tyranny of arbitrary power, Protestant countries fashioned public spirit into a conciliatory, unifying force.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, elements of the Republican tradition continued to dominate the popular literature, reflecting the final stages of the formation of the Whig ideology. In the popular view, the Constitution continued to provide a stability which rose above individual interests and desires, and served as legal recourse in an age "when the gentler Arts of Persuasion have lost their Efficacy."<sup>77</sup> With the aid of the Constitution every man retained the right to seek his own happiness, but only "subsequently to the general Welfare, and consistent with it."<sup>78</sup>

Under the British Constitution, then, riches, power, and commerce could all be controlled to an extent that only the Romans, in all of history, had approximated. In both ancient Rome and Sparta, rulers and great men had "looked on the whole community in the sight of one family; and every able man strove to approve himself a father to his country." Similarly, the ultimate goal now was the protection of liberty, the most precious blessing of the empire: "Children ought to be instructed in it, as soon as they are capable of Instruction, Why should not the Knowledge and Love

of Liberty,--his best Gift--which is, the certain Source of all the civil Blessings of this life?...And why should not the Dread and Hatred of Satan, be accompanied with the Dread and Hatred of Tyrants, who are his Instruments, and the Instruments of all the civil Miseries in this Life?"<sup>79</sup> Liberty, founded in "Grecian greatness" and "Roman pride," protected nations and destroyed tyrants, increased commerce and agriculture." As tyranny was the subordination and slavery of the nation for the benefit of the few, so liberty would force all to make their contribution to the general and national welfare.<sup>80</sup>

Increasingly, however, the public spirit and liberty of England seemed to be falling prey to the tyranny that had destroyed the rest of the world. Rome itself, after all, had been victimized by the introduction of such vices as bribery and the evolution of a "monarchical tyranny", as "her Citizens grew corrupt, luxurious, and factious, and laid the Foundation of the Republic's Ruin." Similarly, it was argued, luxury and extravagance were threatening to destroy the constitution and liberty of England and to introduce depravity and voluptuousness at a time when the final victory over tyranny was at hand. The situation was becoming fearfully simple: "Pride had blinded you to your own Interest: You call Your selves Lords of the World, yet are you Slaves (and do not see it) to Your Avarice." Only a united community could deal with "The Flood of Luxury and Extravagance...", and only the virtues of industry, frugality, and self-denial could restore liberty.<sup>81</sup>



Neither was this decay a matter of chance or ill luck; its roots were deliberately laid in a pattern consistent throughout the history of republicanism and reflective of the conspiratorial tone which increasingly dominated the whig ideology:

It is impossible that a whole Nation should be ruin'd all at once, or when they behold the Engines of their Ruin at Work. This must be brought about by a Succession of Acts adapted to the innumerable Weaknesses of our Make, which render the Incautious and Honest the Prey of those who make Mankind their Study, in Order to make them their Property. It has always been the Subtlety of ambitious Men to affect Generosity and Publick Spiritedness, Humility and Self-Denial, 'till they have attained a Degree of Power, that stands in no Need of the Reputation of any Virtue to support it. Indeed Power may sometimes find Men virtuous, but even then it debauches their Minds, by flattering the innate and darrling Foibles of Pride, applying strongly to all their Appetites...."

Power, again, was the culprit; it "intoxicates and abuses the Mind" and "raises a Man's Opinion of himself, it sinks his Opinion of Others, and his Estimation of the Importance of their Happiness." The powerful man seeks only his own interests, destroying in the process those of the people; Julius Caesar had deceived even the people of Rome because he "cover'd his ambitious Designs with the Semblance of Popular Virtues."<sup>82</sup> Again, the influence of the major thinkers of the Republican tradition is obvious.

The whig ideology had gradually come to embody the entire world view of the colonists. Political, ministerial, and popular forces expressed a unified view of both past and future,

a common notion as to the nature of the problems facing the colonists. Apocalyptically phrased, supported by historical evidence, reflective (though manipulative) of social reality, this cohesive, metaphorical body of thought served as an alternative source of values and, ultimately, an incendiary call to arms. Equally important, however, were other aspects of ideological development. The rhetoric of happiness, love, and unity, for example, continued to expand, together with a further secularization of popular thought. The French, moreover, acquired darker and more dangerous vices than ever before, presenting a clear contrast to the virtue and beauty of the English way of life.

As we have suggested throughout the last few pages, the happiness of the community rather than that of the isolated individual continued to be a primary focus of public concern and were viewed as the goal of all social policy. Likewise, the much-desired sense of public spirit was designed to promote social contentedness; it served to protect "both our Religious and Civil Interests; the Preservation of our Natural and Charter-Rights; the flourishing of true and pure Religion, and of useful knowledge and learning among us; the due Administration of Justice and Government; the Practice of Virtue and Righteousness; and in a Word, all that may tend to make us a happy People." Happiness was reflected in social unity and an avoidance of contention, "for men considered as social creatures, must derive their happiness from each other; Every

man being designed by Providence to promote the good of others...." Social relations, from this viewpoint, were more than contractual necessities: "They were the very basis of human existence. The ultimate sources of personal satisfaction."<sup>83</sup> It is here, then, where modernization was most destructive, that the whig ideology concentrated its concerns: to hold together a society rent by contention and increased pluralization, to attempt to combat the growing diversity of interests through an overriding unity.

Thus a system of universal benevolence was to be encouraged, wherein each citizen "prefers the Welfare of Communities to that of Individuals...." Such a state of mind was the greatest and last resort of a tortured community: "Benevolence is the Cement and Support of Families--of Churches--of States and Kingdoms--and of the great Community of Mankind. It is this single Principle, that constitutes and preserves all the Peace and Harmony, all the Beauty and Advantage of Society."<sup>84</sup> The benevolent mind sought public prosperity, peace and plenty for all mankind. Ebenezer Gay, for example, a well-known Arminian, argued that men should be dove-like, pure, sincere, steady, and of a harmless spirit "to keep from offending". The individual should seek to please people in all things, and serve as a "sociable, uniting, Spirit." The honest simplicity of Cincinnatus was an example to be followed by all men: "I love my Friends well; I love my Country better; but I love the World of Mankind best of all."<sup>85</sup>

To be sure, the constant emphasis on happiness, love and unity served in large part as an antidote to the emotions which actually prevailed--misery, hate, contention. Some colonists thus felt that true happiness could be attained only in the next world.<sup>86</sup> For such men human grandeur remained an entirely uncertain course:

How vain is Man! how flutt'ring are his Joys!  
When, what one Moment gives, the next destroys.  
Hope and Despair fill up his Round of Life,  
And all his Days are one continual Strife;  
Still struggling to be Rich, yet always Poor,  
Because Ambition makes him covet more:  
Reason (which ought to be his only Guide)  
He wildly barter for an anxious Pride;  
And all his Hopes are but Uncertainty,  
The Parent of Despair and Misery.<sup>87</sup>

Riches and sensual gratification were not the answer, and one could rely only on "the Hope of future Rewards." The orderly and beautiful rule of Christ offered its only permanent solace in a world beset by revolution and poverty.<sup>88</sup>

Predictably, the combination of republican traditions, Puritan other-worldliness, rapid social change, and disruptive English policies also produced a searching concern for the moral and ethical implications of modern society. Some writers, of course, viewed the growth of riches and power as entirely beneficial to man and society; to such men ambition and even the love of power could easily "contribute to the Happiness, Wealth, and Security of Societies." Future generations would receive material rather than spiritual prosperity and would live, implicitly, in an earthly utopia. Employment rather

than God would abort contention, employment guided by the state rather than through prayer. In such a society, ruled and guided by freedom and liberty, the future acquired a beneficial but decidedly materialistic tone: "These people will dare to own their being rich; there will be most People bred up to Trade, and Trade and Traders will be most respected; and there the Interest of Money will be lower, and the Security of possessing it greater, than it can ever be in Tyrannical Governments...." Freedom, to this writer, meant wealth, free trade, low taxes, and economic stability.<sup>89</sup>

More frequently, however, and certainly more reflective of the philosophical uncertainties of the New England population, were decidedly negative comments on the ultimate ramifications of modern society. As always, the prevalent habits of luxury and increasing debt drew frequent attack, though increasingly within a republican framework tinged by a materialistic millennialism that had not altogether lost its religious flavor. For some, however, even a life of virtuous poverty was to be preferred to the common forms of ostentation. Legal solutions provided no cure; only a more modest, more virtuous life style, together with a resurrection of "the old New-England Spirit" could bring salvation to Massachusetts.<sup>90</sup>

The mother country's persistently capricious actions gave rise as well to philosophical ruminations on the nature of life itself:

This Life is but a Penelope's Web, in which  
we are always doing and undoing: A Sea that

lies open to all Winds, which sometimes within, and sometimes without, never cease to blow violently upon us: A weary Journey thro' extreme Heats and Colds, over high Mountains, steep Rocks, dangerous Desarts.... Nay, what Evil is there not in Life.

There is no Period of it exempt from Misery. We enter it in Tears: We pass through it in Sweat and Toil, and many afflictions: We and it always in Sorrow. Great and little, rich and poor, not one in the whole World can plead immunity from this Condition.

Man, in this Point, is worse than all other Creatures: He is born unable to support himself; neither receiving in his first Years any Pleasure, nor giving to others any Thing but Trouble, and before the Age of Discretion passing infinite Dangers....<sup>91</sup>

The stages of life themselves were mere landmarks of progressive despair: "And what is the Beginning of Youth, but the Death of Infancy? And the Beginning of Manhood, but the Death of Youth?... Therefore such a one implicitly desires his Death, and judges his Life miserable; and cannot be... in a State of Happiness or Contentment." Upon entering the world and leaving the protective care of their parents, youth encountered only treachery: "Behold then the Happiness of a young Man! whom in his Youth, having drunk his full Draught of the World's vain and deceivable Pleasures, is overtaken by them with such dull Heaviness and Astonishment, as Drunkards fell on the Morrow after a Debauch... And even he that has made the stoutest Resistance, feels himself so weary, and so bruised and broken with this continual Conflict, that he is either upon the Point to Yield, or to die..." Manhood in turn gave way only to avarice and ambition, old age to weakness and imbecility, physical de-

cay: "Therefore we may conclude, That Childhood is but a foolish Simplicity; Youth a vain Heat: Manhood a painful Carefulness; and old Age, an uneasy Languishing: That our Plays are but Tears; our Pleasures, Favours of the Mind; our Goods, Racks and Torments; our Honours, gilded Vanities; our Rest, Inquietude: That passing from Age to Age is but passing from Evil to Evil, and from the less unto the greater; and that always it is but one Wave driving on another until we be driven into the Port or Haven of Death."<sup>92</sup> Waves of dark despair, indeed. In Eriksonian terms, generativity finds no fulfillment whatsoever, leaving unconsummated one of man's most basic needs.

Contrary to those who viewed properly controlled riches as essentially beneficial, this writer argued that prosperity itself was the ultimate cause of many of these evils, a state in which "Good Fortune is apt to delude us with its Smiles, and strangle us in its embraces. It unbends the Kind, and slackens the Powers of it; and, by a fraudulent Gratification of Sense, it insensibly steals away the Use of our Reason."<sup>93</sup> One answer to this problem was to rely on millennial beliefs; such feelings were exceedingly common throughout the 1740s, 1750s, and 1760s. The feelings of most colonials, however, were rarely so precisely defined, and they turned instead to an equally intense but vaguer and more general emotion, hope, "which sweetens the Bitterness of that which we enjoy from the Hands of our Creator: But farther, it is the Soul

of the Universe, and a Spring the most powerful to maintain the Harmony thereof. It is by Hope that the Whole world governs itself."<sup>94</sup>

This longing for escape stemmed, to some extent, from the profound melancholia that had accompanied such events as the loss of Louisbourg. The colonial sense of betrayal by the British was strong, reflecting the fear that the mother country was deserting her maturing child in a time of need. Concurrently, of course, the mythical experiences of Seventeenth-Century Puritanism seemed further away than ever. The feelings that accompanied these historical processes were deeper than a simple mourning for a lost past. Mourning is no more than a reaction to the loss of a loved one or an abstraction such as the fatherland; melancholia, on the other hand, is a more profound state of grief which involves "abrogation of interest in the outside world, loss of the capacity to love, inhibition of all activity, and a lowering of the self regarding feelings to a degree that finds utterance in self-reproaches and self-revilings and culminates in a delusional expectation of punishment." This traumatic loss of self-esteem is a characteristic peculiar to melancholia; but in fact, these self-reproaches are "reproaches against a loved object which have been shifted onto the patient's own ego."<sup>95</sup> The hold of the superego on ego is thereby strengthened, and the ego, feeling hated rather than loved by the super-ego (father), "sees itself deserted by all protective forces and lets



itself die."<sup>96</sup> The colonists did indeed resort to such a solution in the despair which permeated the 1740's after the release of Louisbourg to the French; more lasting, however, was the "identification with the aggressor" which characterized the colonial psyche during and after the French and Indian war. Through this psychological defense mechanism the colonists grasped the whig ideology, and indeed all things English, with renewed fervor. To become the aggressor "relieves ignominy, satisfies the self, and thus restores self-esteem. It involves the recovery from narcissistic injury."<sup>97</sup> The whig ideology thus served a new level of psychological usefulness, staving off, at least temporarily, total societal despair.

Such new-found euphoria, however, may go astray; groups often experience the psychological "mania" which swept the Bay colony in the wake of the Louisbourg conquest and which characterized the various millennial movements so characteristic of eighteenth-century America. In such cases, ego and ego-ideal fuse, producing a mood of triumph and self-satisfaction uninhibited by criticism. Millennial movements in particular present a strong temptation to withdraw from reality in order to better master it; they represent a reaction to the "disaster" of a decaying society, materialized in this case by punitive earthquakes and military defeats. Trapped in conspiratorial cognition, such movements divide the world into good and evil, the sacred and the damned, result-

ing in an increasing tendency to place the blame for setbacks on the enemy and solidifying trends towards paranoia.<sup>98</sup> After the victory at Quebec, the colonists looked forward to an unblemished utopia; problems were simply not expected, and when they came, a scapegoat had to be found.

The question of scapegoating introduces an issue of significant theoretical concern—paranoia. Were the colonists paranoid? The term has been bandied back and forth by scholars for some time, with little or no awareness of its psychological, more specific meaning. Like all mental illnesses, paranoia exists on a continuum; pure paranoia is "a chronic delusional state, logical and well systematized..." A paranoid personality, on the other hand, may simply involve rigidity and suspiciousness in an otherwise well-integrated personality. Even in pure paranoia the personality remains intact and in most instances functions normally. What is involved is a breakdown in the cognitive process and a distortion of perception. The import of certain events is dramatically misinterpreted.<sup>99</sup> Quite clearly, we cannot examine individual eighteenth-century personalities for evidence of paranoia; aside from the enormity of the task, there are significant and probably unconquerable theoretical problems involved. The whig ideology, though, reflective of the colony's affective and social concerns, offers adequate opportunity to judge whether the colonists' ideological orientations were, in some way, paranoid.

Paranoia often results from narcissistic blows by a love object; in individuals, for instance, a lack of trust in the parent-child relationship is frequently crucial. Aggressive feelings cannot be expressed against the love object, however, since the level of guilt would be unbearable; they are therefore turned inward, compounding the original narcissistic injury. There are several further ways of dealing with this problem; by identifying with the aggressor, for instance, through such methods as the adoption of an ideology, guilt and aggressive feelings are somewhat assuaged.<sup>100</sup> Thus Britain's deprecatory behavior forced a narcissistic attachment on the part of the colonists to the whig ideology, which in turn heightened their need for an affectionate response from the mother country.

Uncertain affectiveness thus began the process of alienation from England. During paranoia, moreover, the individual develops an antagonistic relationship with the external world, "a continuous and preoccupying concern with the defense of his autonomy against external assault." Such people are conspicuously aware of power and rank, "relative position, who is boss and who is obliged to take orders, or who is in a position to humiliate whom." The presence of authority weighs heavily upon their emotions and minds; aggressive action against them results in "automatic intensification of the whole paranoid apparatus of mobilization, including, particularly, the cognitive apparatus."<sup>101</sup> The

perception of the world is distorted in a very fundamental sense. By 1763, in sum, the world was simply not seen in the same terms as it had been in 1680; elements of paranoia were more dominant in the cognitive process. Most important, the process of cognitive breakdown was accompanied by events which were realistic enough in themselves; when neurotic adaptation is prompted by real events, the new cognitive process is generally clung to with all the more fervor.

The ultimate solution to these problems is often sought in projection, the displacement of inner anxieties "onto public objects so that overt enemies can be blamed and social supports created." By treating others as the guilty parties, the image of the self as having been deprived is more easily supported, and the responsibility lies elsewhere. Unlike paranoia, projection does not involve a breakdown of the cognitive process or perceptual distortion. It is, rather, an "autoistic interpretative distortion of external reality." Its subject matter deals not with the apparent and the actual, "but with the potential and the hidden, with the intentions of others, their motives, thoughts, feelings, and the like. Projection invariably consists of an interpretively biased cognition of actual events or behavior."<sup>102</sup> The colonists, in short, interpreted world events to fit their own affective needs. They were not simply victims of delusional paranoia; they were able to find a marginally healthier outlet for their neuroses by projecting their fears

of decay onto appropriate subjects, France and England. Prejudices ward off guilt and fear of retribution for trespassing upon the dictums of the group; it is others who are guilty of such barbarous thoughts and actions.<sup>103</sup> Bay colonists could thereby escape the psychic trauma of having destroyed their own utopia by shifting the onus of guilt outward. Social decay and the birth of modern society could be attributed to the debilitating actions of an increasingly unsympathetic parent, rather than to the complex mechanisms of internal societal and psychic adjustment.

The entire structure of paranoid and projective thought, facilitates as well the rise of ideologies which, through a "myth of separation", ease the identification with the dead person "through introjection of his magic qualities":

In place of a sense of loss, we then experience an elated certainty of being able to achieve some enormous purpose. In this manner we are able not only to deny the death of the loved person, but actually to feel that it is possible to prevent his destruction by denying the evil impulses to which we attribute his death. Because hate has to be confronted in its projected rather than in its original form, it is to be eliminated not so much from our own heart, where we deny its presence, as from the external world. From here we may go on to evolve a new system, or to adapt an old one from religion or philosophy, for the salvation of mankind.<sup>104</sup>

Thereafter, "the dogmatized ideology becomes an omnipresent object, a god on earth...."<sup>105</sup> In a very real and final sense, the whig ideology eased the passage from Puritan traditionalism and Anglo-American empire to independence by idealizing the ethical perfection of the past.

## Notes on War and The Puritan Character

## I

A psychological condition known as "war neurosis" offers some further insight into these crucial pre-Revolutionary years. In such a mental condition, the individual's ego can no longer face the real dangers involved in war, and he turns his aggressiveness either against himself or against his leaders. The officer as leader is culpable when he exposes his men to danger, thereby becoming the bad father; if the situation persists and progresses still further, "it is on the point of making us perceive the sovereign state as the bad father who no longer guarantees the survival of the citizens." The danger exists, therefore, that while the citizens perceive the state as a non-acceptable superego, their hostility (unconsciously felt against the state as the bad father) may lead to a paralyzing sense of guilt, which would prevent them from facing realistically the need to alter the relationship between themselves and the state in reference to sovereignty."<sup>106</sup> This analysis can be applied on two levels: first, in a Marcusean sense, the individual becomes more bound to the state through a repression of these guilt feelings. Secondly, if applied to the colonial relationship with England, it becomes apparent that the colonists opted for independence only after a slow and agonizing recognition of betrayal.

## II

The connection between war, public spirit, and ultimate salvation was also evident in many Puritan writings. Samuel Phillips, for instance, argued that the tribes of Israel owed its cursed fate to the fact that they had refused to join the other tribes of Israel in their holy wars, because of their selfish involvement with private covetous concerns rather than the public interest. Men dying in such a just cause would receive the commendation of God himself. War thus served as a vehicle of personal reformation, one which actively aided the individual in sacrificing personal for public interests.<sup>107</sup>

Even more interesting, however, is the evidence of the recognition of a strong Machiavellian tradition in the colony's attitude toward martial arts and a military spirit. There had been, of course, such references in the second half of the seventeenth century, but with the escalation of the French conflict they became more common and more explicit. Phillips boasted of New England's reputation abroad for its consistently excellent military spirit; the artillery company of Boston was founded so that all persons "might have the Opportunity to become more and more skillful in the Use of Martial Weapons." Military skill and discipline were public goods, "that Men of this Character be respected as, under God, the Guardians of our Liberties, Property and Religion..." The art of war should be cultivated to a degree second only to religion; war was a necessary and inviolable part of the

Christian character:

They greatly mistake, who imagine men necessarily enervated and rendered effeminate, by having their spirits ruled by the gentle laws of religion, so as to be less disposed to engage in the military service, when properly invited thereto by providence; or less likely to act up to the character of valiant soldiers. Far from this:-None have so tender a concern for their country; none will be more ready to exert themselves for the public good; none can face dangers with so much fortitude of mind; none can view laughter and death spread before them; in all its gloomy horrors, with so rational a courage... as they whose spirits are greatly christian; and whose hopes of happiness beyond the grave, are rendered strong and bright, by a long and intimate acquaintance with the power of religion.<sup>108</sup>

Similarly, a sense of military expansion and the conquest of one's enemies underlay the belief of religious propagation.

Perhaps most important, however, was the recognition by the colonists that the onset of war would release passion of intense danger to man's integrity. On the one hand, a place could be found in the social scheme for an individual's love of fame; on the other, it was not an easy thing to control. Ministers argued that care must be taken to govern the passions aroused by war and that justice and benevolence had to come even before love of country. The occasion of war itself, in fact, necessitated domestic reformation:

Surely, while our Brethren are abroad to defend us, and drive away our Enemies from us; it highly concerns us to be fighting against these Enemies in our own Bosoms, in our Hearts, and Lives: To humble our



Souls before GOD; confessing and bewailing our Sins; to Fast, and Weep, and Pray and earnestly Endeavour to obtain Pardon, and a thoro' Reformation; to engage the Divine Presence with us, and with our Armies.<sup>109</sup>

The most dark, and discouraging of all Things respecting our present Undertaking, is, the Sinfulness of this People. And how dismal a prospect of Misery are we presented with, in that Spirit of Murmuring, and Discontent that in this difficult Juncture is stirred up, and Industriously Propagated, in the prospect of our Charges, and Expence?<sup>110</sup>

The Louisbourg siege in particular awakened such fears in the hearts of Bay colonists, fears which retained their import for years thereafter:

Alas! that there is so much horrible Profaneness and Impiety in Armies, and that it is the Case in such numerous Instances, that when young Men, many of whom have always lived in agreeable Families and who have themselves been decent and agreeable in their Manners, yet when they come to enlist as Soldiers, at once throw off all Restraints and grow wain and frothy, and rude and profane....<sup>111</sup>

To be usefully acquainted with the art of war, you must not be strangers to the religion of the prince of peace. Would you conquer others, you must not be conquered by yourselves, -by your own lusts and affections. Slavery breaks the spirits, and subdues the forces of the mind, and certainly no slavery can be more effectual to do it, than to be mastered by your own passions.<sup>112</sup>

The paradox was both obvious and disheartening: the art of war symbolized the ultimate in public spirit, and yet it

created as well domestic problems of massive import. The ambivalence was heightened by Great Britain's reluctance to even sympathize with the internal disruption wrought by the great Wars for Empire.

## NOTES

1. C.C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800 (New Haven, 1962), 310-318. In Massachusetts alone, there were sixty-six separations. On the market quality of religion and its role in modernization, see Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy, *passim*.

2. Archives, 88:158-9; Journals; XXI: 80; XXII, XXIII, *passim*; Acts and Resolves, III: 544; Snell, "County Magistracy," 172-177; Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt (New York, 1955), 114-5, 117-29; Harold B. Wohl, "Charles Chauncy and the Age of Enlightenment in New England" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Iowa State University, 1956), ch. 3. Particularly noticeable is the increase in anti-social criminal trials such as those for theft and excise evasion. Such trials indicate a breakdown of communal responsibility and an increase in egocentric behavior.

3. Acts and Resolves, III: 160-170, 117, 114-115; Archives, 88: 171-174. The change in tactics is significant. In the seventeenth century, personal observation often was sufficient to control personal behavior; as problems rose in scale and seriousness, however, so did the elaborate machinery designed to ascertain and control them.

4. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, 26. The effects of war on modernizing societies are, of course, significant; one of the most difficult to deal with is the demand which hostile, organized action places on the society's resources.

5. Ibid., 60-61.

6. Ibid., 76; Archives, 88: *passim*. By 1758, bankruptcies had also risen dramatically--see Journals, XXV: 38-39, 52-59; XXVI: 74-76. Lotteries, of course, were anathema to traditional Puritans since they substituted human chance for the carefully wrought divine plan. Shufro, "Boston in Massachusetts Politics," 237, 263, Nash, Urban Crucible, 241ff.

7. Alan Rogers, Empire and Liberty: American Resistance to British Authority, 1755-1763 (Berkeley, 1974), 95ff. Marc Egnal and Joseph Ernst, "An Economic Interpretation of the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly, XXIX (1972), 3-32; Economic problems also contributed, of course, to the decreasing self-esteem of the colonists.

8. Journals, XXIX: vii-viii; Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, 124-126. Such methods of dealing with the poor indicate as well a desire to increase production and speed economic growth--a consciously expansive attitude towards the modernization process.
9. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, 123.
10. James A. Henretta, The Evolution of American Society, 1700-1815 (Lexington, 1973), ch. 4.
11. Murrin, "Anglicizing an American Colony", 118-119.
12. John A. Schutz, William Shirley, King's Governor of Massachusetts (Chapel Hill, 1961), chs. 3, 4, 7.
13. A. M. Davis, "The General Court and Quarrel Between Individuals Arising from the Land Bank," Proceedings, The American Antiquarian Society, n.s. XI (1897), 353-360; Metz, "Politics and Finance," 531-532.
14. Journals, XIX: 200, 203, 224, 225.
15. Ibid., XX: 9-10.
16. Ibid., XIX: 230.
17. Ibid., 231.
18. Ibid., 234ff, 248-249, 252-253.
19. Ibid., 274; XXI: 206, 111-113.
20. Ibid., XXI: 153-154, 159, 165-166, 229-230.
21. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, 114-115; for a brief history of impressment in the colony, see Shufro, "Boston in Massachusetts Politics," 182-188.
22. Journals, XX: 84.
23. Ibid., XX-84.
24. Ibid., 222.
25. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, 115; events in 1754 showed continued resistance to impressment. In that year, the House reacted to a Shirley impressment request with the observation that it was "a Thing abhorrent to the English Constitution and particularly odious in this Country...." (Journals, XXXIII, pt. 2: 434).

26. Schutz, William Shirley, ch. 5.
27. "Pepperrell Papers", Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, ser. 6, X, 22, 24, 347-51.
28. Ibid., 45, 47, 54, 62, 116, 266, 329-330, 437-442, 447-448.
29. Pepperrell to Shirley, Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, ser. 1, I, 52.
30. Ibid., 52-53.
31. "Anonymous Journal", in Louis DeForest, ed., Louisbourg Journals, 1745 (Boston, 1932), 33, 37, 42-43.
32. "Anonymous Journal", in DeForest, ed., Louisbourg Journals, 96.
33. "Journal of Captain Stephen Williams", in Ibid., 121.
34. "Journal of Seth Pomeroy", in Ibid., 52-54, 61, 63, 65.
35. "Journal Kept by Lieut. Daniel Giddings of Ipswich During the Expedition Against Cape Breton in 1744-5," Essex Institute Historical Collections, XLVIII (1912), 293-304.
36. James Gibson, A Journal of the Late Siege by the Troops From North America, Against the French on Cape Breton... (London, 1747), iii, iv, 28, 29, 31, 41, 42, 43. Our discussion of contemporary sermons later in the chapter will further buttress this argument.
37. Schutz, William Shirley, ch. VII.
38. Journals, XXIII: 64-73, 67-68, 9-11, 57-58, 95-96, 121-125, 134, 142-143, 163-171, 173, 200, 328; XXIV: 142-144, 204, 239-240. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, 60-61; Schutz, William Shirley, ch. 6
39. Boston Weekly Post-Bay, Dec. 14, 1747; Dec. 21, 1747; Boston Weekly News-Letter, Dec. 17, 1741; Boston Evening Post, Dec. 21, 1747, The Independent Advertiser, Dec. 18,
40. The Independent Advertiser, Nov. 19, 1747; for a description of the rioters also see George Francis Dow, ed., The Holyoke Diaries, 1709-1856 (Salem, Mass., 1911), 42.
41. The Independent Advertiser, Feb. 22, 1748, Feb. 8, 1748.

42. Ibid, Feb. 8, 1748.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. The Independent Advertiser, April 4, 1746; Journals, XXV: 33-34, 66-68; also see pp. 81-82, 52-53, 101, 123-128. Pitt, of course, had promised the colonists generous and speedy reimbursement.
47. The Independent Advertiser, June 27, 1748.
48. Ibid., Aug. 1, 1748.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Journals, XXVI: 152; Shufro, "Boston," 241-254.
53. Ibid., XXVII: x, 71-74.
54. Ibid., 16-17; XXX: 24, 29.
55. Schutz, William Shirley, ch. 9.
56. Rogers, Empire and Liberty, 10-11, 19, 45-46, 47-49, 35.
57. Ibid., 59ff. A typical British attitude was expressed by Col. James Robertson: "The Provincials sufficient to work our Waggons, and fell our Trees, and do the Works that in inhabited Countrys are performed by Peasants." Certainly such an attitude brought with it all the problems of colonial self-esteem which we have discussed in earlier chapters.
58. Ibid., 84ff; Journals, XXXIV, pt. I; 33-34; pts. I & II, passim.
59. Ibid., XXXIV, pt. II: 388; XXXV: 8-10, 265.
60. Lawrence Henry Gipson, The Great War for Empire: The Victorious Years, 1758-1760 (New York, 1949), 322.
61. Ibid., 323-325.
62. Journals, XXXVI: viii-ix.

63. Ibid., XXXVII, pt. I: 84-85, 89-90; 44-46.
64. Ibid., XXXVIII, pt. I: II.
65. Ibid., XXXVII; pt. II: 239ff., 242-243, 244.
66. Ibid., XXXIX: 143.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., 374ff., 276-77.
69. Ibid., 245.
70. Ibid., XL: 9, 292-293.
71. See, for example, The Boston Evening-Post, Oct. 27, 1760; Samuel Cooper, A Sermon... (Boston, 1760), passim; Amos Adams, Sons... (Boston, 1760), passim; Terry Trask, "In the Pursuit of Shadows: A Study of Collective Hope and Despair in Provincial Massachusetts During the Era of the Seven Years War, 1748-1764," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1971), 265, 270, 275-276, 288ff.
72. The Boston Post-Boy, Jan. 21, 1760; Sept. 29, 1760; Nov. 17, 1760; Nathaniel Appleton, A Sermon Occasioned by the Surrender of Montreal... (Boston, 1760), 8, 36.
73. Samuel Dunbar, The Presence of God... (Boston, 1760), 5, 10; John Mellen, A Sermon... (Boston, 1760), 24, 29-30; David Hall, Israel's Triumph... (Boston, 1760), 16. Also see Nathan O. Hatch, The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New-England (New Haven, 1977).
74. James Allin, Magistracy an Institution of Christ Upon the Throne... (Boston, 1744), 8, 23, 24; Cornelius Agrippa (pseud.), Appendix to Massachusetts in Agony... (Boston, 1751), 4-5; An Address to the Freeholders... (Boston, 1752), 1; Nathaniel Appleton, The Cry of Oppression... (Boston, 1748), 30-31.
75. Allin, Magistracy..., 36.
76. The Boston Newsletter, March 14, 1746. The tyranny and decay of French papism, of course, was continually contrasted with English liberty. France was a "perfidious and encroaching curse", backed by a superstitious, ignorant church. Priests lurked everywhere, "in every Corner, in every Shape...", reducing by lies, corrupting by Rewards, and perverting to Fully the Minds of the People." Reportedly, the Pope spoke of ten of "boiling in Oil, tearing off the Breasts of Women, ripping

up them that are with child, and throwing children into Flames..." France had come under the yoke of the anti-Christ; the implication was that if she could be overcome, the millennium was spontaneously attainable. (Newsletter, Dec. 31, 1741; Feb. 26, 1746; June 12, 1747; May 5, 1746. Also see Trask, "In the Pursuit of Shadows," passim; Paul Menig, "Public Opinion in Massachusetts Relative to Anglo-French Relations, 1748-1756" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Washington University, 1962), passim.)

77. The Boston Newsletter, March 14, 1746; Dec. 29, 1757; June 15, 1758; The Independent Advertiser, Aug. 8, 1748. The typically republican fear of mass action and despotic power is apparent; the Constitution would serve as a vehicle of political and legal stability in the midst of massive social change.

78. Independent Advertiser, Jan 11, 1748.

79. Ibid., Aug. 8, 1748; The Boston Post-Boy, March 20, 1749; Independent Advertiser, Dec. 19, 1748.

80. Boston Post-Boy, Oct. 16, 1752; Boston Gazette, May 10, 1756; Boston News-Letter, May 24, 1750.

81. Boston Post-Boy, March 20, 1749; Boston News-Letter, Sept. 15, 1748; July 12, 1745; Dec. 3, 1747; May 17, 1750; July 19, 1750; Aug. 23, 1750; Aug. 14, 1758; July 26, 1750; Independent Advertiser, March 6, 1749.

82. Independent Advertiser, Feb. 1, 1748.

83. News-Letter, Aug. 2, 1750; Post-Boy, April 1, 1753; Jan. 6, 1753; William Balch, A Publick Spirit... (Boston, 1749), 3, 13, 16.

84. Samuel Cooper, A Sermon Before the Society for Encouraging Industry and Employing Poor... (Boston, 1753), 6, 13.

85. Ebenezer Pemberton, Election Sermon... (Boston, 1757), 5, 8; Independent Advertiser, Feb. 29, 1748; Samuel Cooper, A Sermon Preached to the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company... (Boston, 1751), 18; Nathaniel Walter, The Character of a True Patriot... (Boston, 1742), 5; Samuel Dunbar, Brotherly Love... (Boston, 1749), 6.

86. Post-Boy, July 23, 1753.

87. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1752.

88. Ibid., Jan. 20, 1752; Allin, Magistracy an Institution, 22.



89. Thomas Prince, Extraordinary Events... (Boston, 1745), 15; Independent Advertiser, June 20, 1748; June 26, 1749.

90. Boston Gazette, Jan. 17, 1744; Nov. 17, 1747; Jan. 19, 1748; Independent Advertiser, Feb. 15, 1748; July 3, 1749.

91. Boston Gazette, March 13, 1753; March 27, 1753. Also see Nathaniel Appleton, The Cry of Oppression... (Boston, 1748), 36-39, 44; James Fairservice, Plain Dealing... (Boston, 1750), *passim*.

92. Gazette, March 13, 1753: The comments reflect an early awareness of the sort of difficulties outlined in the work of Erik Erikson.

93. Gazette, Feb. 20, 1753.

94. Boston Gazette, July 31, 1753.

95. Freud, Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego, 51; Freud, General Psychological Theory, 164ff., 170. The loss of the love-object provides a clear opportunity for feelings of ambivalence to resurrect themselves; all the past situations of being wounded or neglected re-assert themselves with renewed force. (General Psychological Theory, 172). Feelings of guilt over having possibly killed the love-object oneself, moreover, also strengthen themselves; one feels that one has personally had a part in the killing. (Lifton, ed., Wellfleet Papers, 284).

96. Freud, Ego and the Id, 43.

97. Rochlin, Man's Aggression, 255. Through such identification, one becomes aggressive oneself, bolstering the narcissistic identity.

98. On mania, see Freud, Group Psychology, 81-82; on the concept of disaster and the tendency towards paranoia, see Michael Barkun, Disaster and the Millennium (New Haven, 1974), *passim*. Also see Hartmann, Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation, 58. Millennial movements, of course, fill the bill admirably.

99. Armand M. Nicholi, Jr., ed., The Harvard Guide to Modern Psychiatry (Cambridge, 1978), 243-249; Philip Solomon, and Vernon O. Hatch, Handbook of Psychiatry (New York, 1969), 189; Freud, General Psychological Theory, 42-43, 75.

100. Ibid., 78-80. Becker has approached the problem from the perspective of transference heroics, an attempt to be healed and to be whole "through heroic self-expansion in the "other." Transference represents the larger reality that one needs." (Denial of Death, 156-157). England and the whig ideology served for the colonists as the "other", the means of attaining immortality. Even more important is the sympathy expressed by parental figures towards the personal ambitions of the subject: "To the son the lack of loving paternal and maternal support, combined with their great demands on him, meant the growth of an intolerable sense of inadequacy, a reinforcement of guilt feelings reaching deeply into the unconscious. To the child his father's severity meant retribution for his aggressive wishes directed against him.... Such a child never experiences 'basic trust' and later has no secure foundation on which to build his autonomy." (Mittscherlich, Society Without the Father, 152). When Britain failed to compensate the colonists for the Louisbourg expedition, old fears and guilt-feelings were resurrected and any hope of healing the division was lost. Indeed, in a very real sense, the United States has never had a secure foundation for autonomy since it lacked the necessary 'basic trust' in its growing, adolescent period. Also see Christopher Lasch, The Narcissistic Personality of Our Times (New York, 1978), 38, 73, 79-80; and Fornari, Psychoanalysis of War, 123.

101. David Shapiro, Neurotic Styles (New York, 1965), 83, 85, 89.

102. Edelman, Politics as Symbolic Action, 65. War is particularly valuable in projection, since the expression of hostility in actual conflict "permits the maintenance of relationships under stress, this preventing the group dissolution through the withdrawal of hostile participants." (Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, 39). More importantly perhaps, as Rochlin has noted, "To feel the hostility of others, originating outside ourselves, is far more bearable than the experience of our own aggressive wishes." (Man's Aggression, 119). Historically, for examples, Jews have been pictured as the "bad" father. (Norman Cohn, Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion (London, 1967), 258. The self-contained, closed group becomes the ideal standard; only members are deemed human, and others become barbarians and heretics. (Mittscherlich, Society Without the Father, 9). The Anglo-French conflict, of course, was seen in just such terms. Also see, Shapiro, Paranoid Style, 70; Mittscherlich, Society Without the Father, 111, 246; Lasch, Narcissistic Personality, 84.

103. Mittscherlich, Society Without the Father, 234, 246. Koval has put it simply: "Thus, according to the external ambivalence of the human species, men have always, in all cultures, divided the world up into dirt, suitable to be expelled from the self, and property, suitable to be included into the self. One function of a culture is to designate what is to be dirt in the world, and what is to be property." (White Racism, 271) Also see Freud, Civilization and Discontents, 14; Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, 306. At the most basic level, of course, war permits a re-assertion of the social "we". (Lasswell, World Politics, 65).
104. Fonari, Psychoanalysis of War, 121-122.
105. Ibid., 123.
106. Ibid., 80.
107. Samuel Phillips, Soldiers Counseled and Encouraged ... (Boston, 1741), 1, 2, 5, 6.
108. Ibid., 2, 12, 15, 18, 19.
109. Solomon William, The Duty of Christian Soldiers (New London, 1755), 31.
110. Ibid., 32.
111. Thaddeus Macurty, The Advice of Job... (Boston, 1759), 38.
112. Jason Haven, A Sermon Preached to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company... (Boston, 1761), 33.

## CONCLUSION

When John Winthrop stepped upon the shores of Massachusetts Bay in 1630, he saw before him a forested wasteland populated with "savages" Winthrop intended to transform this land into a tribute to his God, into vibrant proof of the righteousness of God's ways. He hoped to show that it was possible to build and maintain an earthly community that followed the laws of God. It was to be, in the oft-repeated words of Winthrop himself, "A citty upon a hill."

One-hundred and thirty years later, Sam Adams looked over that same land. The thoughts which coursed through his mind undoubtedly bore both striking similarities to and marked differences from those which Winthrop had pondered. Adams certainly possessed the same dedication to cause as his earlier counterpart, and his drive for social perfection, equally intense, was motivated by similar fears of corruption and loss of liberty. The nature and purpose of his envisioned world, however, had been radically transformed by the events of the intervening century. By 1760, Massachusetts' concerns were secular, its definition of success (and salvation) decidedly more materialistic. Its motivating goals were civil liberty and material prosperity rather than religious purity. This work has attempted to explain how this remarkable transformation came about. It has also been a study in how the struc-

tures of the earlier age shaped the form and course of those changes. Its conclusion can be represented at three levels: the nature of the historical process during those years, the relevance of modernization theory to an understanding of the changes, and the application of the findings to a further comprehension of the causes of the American Revolution.

Winthrop and his fellow Puritans left an England engulfed in disruptive social and economic change; enclosure, depression, poverty, disease, and religious persecution had combined to make much of the country an often unpleasant place to live. These men sought to re-establish a society traditional in both its religious and secular terms. In doing so, they transformed their inherited English traditions into a culture of their own, a society differentiated from the rest of the world and marked by its own symbolic expressions, social and emotional accommodations, and ways of justifying itself to the world. Seventeenth-century Puritans were joined by a deep sense of common experience which they consciously sought to transmit to their offspring. They constructed a sacred, traditional society that reflected an inability to surrender the past, and they sought to ensure the cohesion of this society with a shared core of religious beliefs.

The ideological and social web of Puritanism retained its relative purity for some time. Winthrop himself saw no signs of declension to the day of his death in 1649. But

though the social paradigm had not yet changed, traditional social, political, and economic structures soon began to give way to the pressures of individual economic gain, social mobility, and political factionalism and centralization. Puritanism itself ceased to offer an adequate explanation of reality and was concurrently torn by divisive doctrinal tensions. In the face of internal polarization, wars, economic distress, and English interference, the colonists sought a viable method of reuniting their society and of reformulating their sacred mission. Clinging to their past, they hesitantly began to move into a more secular world, mixing the existing doctrines of republican theory and English rights with their traditional, religious goals.

The revolt against Andros represented an early climax of these developments. It was followed, however, by a period of social and political instability. In the midst of this disruption, the General Court emerged as the focus of provincial power and the symbol of ordered society. The House of Representatives underwent significant institutional growth as a corporate body, attempting to meet head-on, through legislative intervention, the often bewildering variety of problems confronting the colony. It sought as well to expand its control over the governing powers of the region, engaging in a lengthy series of disputes with the royal governors and their councils. Professionally, politics emerged as an independent entity, a source of modern,

achievement-oriented leadership rather than a focus of traditional legitimation and ascription. The House itself, finally, became a vehicle for middle-class goals and values. A small group of men often controlled its decisions and goals, furthering their own economic ends in the process. The emergence of a cohesive ideology helped to further buttress the legitimacy of the new political order. Amidst the decay of the Puritan symbolic code and in the face of growing secularization and social pluralization, ideology gave the individual a sense of control and order. By emphasizing universal values, it rose above the scattered remnants of traditional unity; by incorporating past and future in a collective identity, it helped stave off fears of chaos and feelings of helplessness. Through its emphasis on public spirit, virtuous behavior, and constitutional balance, it offered both individual and structural solutions to the decline of Puritanism and to the economic and political hegemony of England over the colony's affairs. Finally, the whig ideology reflected changing attitudes towards rulers, government, law, religion, and the role of people in society. Faced with the disappearance of a mythical Puritan society, Massachusetts citizens responded aggressively with an ideology that promised them symbolic immortality and a lasting place in the pantheon of liberty-loving nations. Perhaps most important, it reflected the persistent attraction of traditional Puritan values and beliefs, creating a world

view that sought moral salvation in a society dominated by secular goals.

As much as the whig ideology was a response to the decay of traditional values, it was also a reaction to the disruptive force of economic change. Throughout these years the Massachusetts economy suffered under the burden of war, inadequate currency supplies, balance-of-trade deficits, and unstable exchange rates. The economic power of the family was deteriorating, commercial farming was increasing, land became an increasingly scarce commodity, and the majority of the population now lived not in rural areas, but rather in towns that had populations in excess of one thousand. The introduction of paper money and credit systems combined with these developments to produce a variety of ideological splits within the colony, along both class and geographic lines.

Such changes were quite contrary to the ideals of the first settlers. To make matters worse, the religious and social values transmitted to youth through primary and secondary institutions remained traditional, while the society into which these adolescents graduated was rapidly growing into an individualistic, secular world. Deprived of the old emotional assurances and stripped of the occupational identity provided by traditional agricultural practices, young adults in Massachusetts led the colony into an orgy of religious traditionalism, a group effort at rebirth and renewal. The Great Awakening served as a catharsis for



pent-up guilt feelings over the colony's growing secularism. By showing their emotional attachment to traditional religious values individuals could, in effect, absolve themselves of blame for the decline of their idealized Puritan utopia, and then go about their worldly business with a clear conscience.

The emotional hold of Puritan traditionalism was not so easily cast aside. Events of the succeeding twenty-five years give strong credence to the thesis that the Great Awakening did not succeed in resolving the colonial identity crisis. Economic distress continued, rationalized commercial relations became more prevalent, and political rhetoric evinced an ambivalent attitude toward the fortunes of modernization. The whig ideology further solidified its hold on the colony's consciousness, uniting the colony's inhabitants around a sense of their own grandeur and moral rectitude. As Britain continued to batter colonial self-esteem and as social unity of traditional Puritan society disappeared, Massachusetts' citizens projected their frustration and guilt onto an international theater, identifying the French as the source of the evil that beset them. But while the French were soon defeated, the essential problems remained.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this historical overview. It is clear, for instance, that Massachusetts underwent a basic cultural transformation during the colonial

period. Society in 1763 had changed radically at every level. And yet to a surprising extent the emergence of individualistic, capitalist society was constrained and molded by the experiences of the first-generation Puritans. Religion and ideology continued to use the terms embraced by the founding fathers, and they continued to seek personal, moral solutions to political, economic, and social problems. Politics became more centralized and rationalized, and its social obligations more extensive, but its essential duty remained: to serve as a guardian and promoter of the colony's moral and ideological purpose. Even economic thought bore the imprint of traditional beliefs; modern economic structures were accepted with a good deal of ambivalence, and for many, money rather than selflessness and brotherhood became the measure of value. At the same time, though, the colonists perceptively applied these beliefs to their frustrating relationship with England, identifying rather accurately a principal cause of their sufferings.

With all this said, can we describe Massachusetts society in 1763 as essentially modern? In terms of an abstract, idealized version of modern society, no. But we have seen that such an approach is both theoretically and practically fruitless. The colony certainly qualifies by the "check-list" approach: most of the traits outlined in the introduction and elaborated upon in succeeding chapters were present to a significant extent by the mid-eighteenth century; political centralization and professionalization,

ideological thinking, burgeoning economic sophistication, and, by the measures of the times, a growing urban orientation. If these characteristics were not always dominant (and they often were), they do seem to have occupied a very large share of the colony's concerns. The overall "feel" of society, moreover, was significantly different in 1763. The concerns of the colonists were increasingly secular, their interests political and economic rather than predominantly religious.

Nonetheless, the colony was far from a completely modern society, if indeed there can be such a thing. Its insistent grasp of traditional principles, in fact, helps stress one of the least understood principles of modernization: that it in itself is composed of large doses of restricting traditionalism. The world of Sam Adams was still enmeshed in a mixture of contradictions, paradoxes, and unsettled dilemmas. It was a society entering the modern era without a clear resolution of its most basic social, economic, and emotional concerns. It was a society whose politics and most basic beliefs expressed a profound yearning for the calm assurance of a stable, conflict-free world, for a certainty regarding its place in God's plans, and for a guarantee that God would not desert them. This is not a picture of a self-assured people casting off the bonds of medieval superstition. It is, rather, a portrait of a people puzzled by the lack of direction and certainty in their lives, hurt by the aban-

donment of traditional concerns for the welfare of the whole. It was a society seeking confirmation of its identity.

It is in understanding these concerns that modernization theory has offered its most useful insights. To be sure, the theory has a number of significant weaknesses: it tends to be ethnocentric and teleological, to assume equilibrium as a natural social state, and to embrace abstract categories that overlook the incompleteness and complexity of the process. It also tends to underestimate the significance of issues specific to individual societies, such as the nature of economic relationships or the precise sense of internal periodization. But modernization theory at its best avoids these errors, embracing contradictions and complexity as natural to the process and seeking a functional compromise between rigid determinism and formless sets of empirical topics. It notes, for instance, that traditional societies often contain strong elements of modernism, and that modern societies often retain significant strains of traditionalism; that there is no simple passage from a traditional society to a modern one. Most important, the best of modernization studies are guided by historical evidence. They are willing to respond to empiricism dialectically, and they eschew grand designs in favor of a program with limits and carefully guided conclusions.<sup>1</sup>

Within this framework, sociological modernization has, to a certain extent, simply confirmed what other scholars

have ascertained from a more conventional perspective: that Massachusetts society evolved from a relatively traditional, sacred culture to a relatively secular, modern one. Beyond this, however, the theory provides new insights into the complexity of the process, highlighting the unique significance of such areas as political development, ideology, economic thought, social classes, and the growing importance of secondary institutions in the socialization process. Perhaps most important, it provides a paradigm which both creates theoretical limits and indicates new direction for future research.

The interaction between modernization theory and the Marxist interpretation of history has also produced fruitful results. Marxist theory, for instance, has helped highlight the emergence of the middle class as a dominant force in provincial society. Its approach to ideology as hegemony and as an expression of alienation has proved most useful, and it has been suggestive in assessing the significance of the emergence of credit and money in Massachusetts society. Most important, modernization and Marxist theory have reinforced each other in their general perspectives on the evolution of western society. Used within the context of modernization, Marxism reveals a more subtle focus on the interrelationships between economic forces and political and cultural elements. Similarly, Marxism helps correct a major weakness of modernization theory by pointing out the causative significance of econo-

mic change and by noting the specific interplay between economics, politics, and ideology.

Perhaps the most significant weakness of both modernization and Marxist approaches is the lack of a sophisticated psychological theory. The body of this work has dealt with this problem. Perhaps the central theme to emerge is the impact of the past on events in eighteenth-century Massachusetts. If the colony is at all typical of the modernization process, it is clear that Freudian analytical theory, with its emphasis on wish-fulfillment and the force of the idealized past, is an essential tool. Countries in the throes of massive social change do not escape their pasts with a clear emotional slate. The experiences of the early years continue to exert an often decisive emotional, intellectual, and even institutional influence. Similarly, narcissism theory, with its emphasis on the delicate structure of human self-esteem, has proven enormously useful in studying the emergence of mass movements in a colonial society.

David Stannard's recent objections to the use of psycho-history, at least in this case, would seem to be largely without substance.<sup>2</sup> Disdaining the use of metaphor, identifying only the most extreme critics of psychoanalysis, ignoring or down-playing surveys that disagree with his conclusions, and putting all too much emphasis on scientific judgments of psychoanalysis, Stannard transforms an over-

stated, somewhat dubious study of psychoanalysis's therapeutic value (which admittedly does make some interesting and valid points) into a damning judgment on its interpretive and explanatory value. In this startling evaluative leap, Stannard fails his own most rigid test: that of logic.

Contrary to Stannard's assertions, psychoanalytic theory does have some contributions of enormous value to make to historical study: its emphasis on "origins, antecedents, and patterns of repetition," its insistence that reality always interacts with personal and social pasts, and its realization that the emotional meaning of events and symbols is determined by individual and group fantasies. Modernization cannot be fully understood without an awareness of these processes. In the transition away from a traditional society, group structures are battered, transformed, and even destroyed, leaving the individual to seek new means of security. Cast adrift from the secure ties of tradition, people often seek refuge in ideas and institutions that recreate what they perceive to be satisfying experiences of their own and the group's past. Old symbolic patterns generally lose their efficacy and relevance in modern society. They worked in more stable, communal, predictable situations, but the individualism and rapidly changing values of modern society render them ineffective. The individual's emotional needs for reassurance remain, and he clings all the more tightly to symbolic

and institutional forms that remind him of a mythic, cohesive, past society. In the process, moreover, he guides and shapes events towards ends similar to those of his past, but they are goals which take on an air of unreality in the presence of situations molded by different realities.

The result? The individual lives in a dialectical relationship with his environment. His perceptions of reality, his mode of functioning in the world create ideas which in turn guide his life. In formulating a symbolic view of the world, he simplifies and orders reality both to comprehend and to transcend it. When reality no longer coincides with formulated ideas, the entire symbolic structure is threatened.<sup>3</sup> As Massachusetts emerged from the traditional world into the modern one, the colony confronted such a situation. The emotional trauma was heightened by the continual blows to self-esteem England provided. Not only did the mother country fail to provide support; it also aggravated and distorted the very process of change by arrogantly stressing the colony's subordinate role. England's unsympathetic and punitive behavior towards the inevitable colonial maturation process makes the emotional fervor that accompanied the Revolution all the more understandable.

Modernization theory creates, finally, a bridge to some of the best European scholarship dealing with the emergence of modern society in the Western world. Annales



researchers such as Lucien Febvre have focused on the binding intellectual structures that thwart and shape new forms. In a similar vein, Michel Foucault has based a life's work on a study of the inertial power of the traditional. Forms, Foucault argues, acquire an autonomy of their own and survive over generations to become imbued with new meanings unrelated to their original purpose. In other research, Philippe Ariès has emphasized the individual's growing confidence in his capacity to control his environment and to make change more predictable. In doing so, Ariès contends, he has relied increasingly on modes of external discipline, particularly the school and the state. Norbert Elias, following the same theoretical approach, has explored the growing emotional constraints imposed by increasingly rigid rules of social behavior, similar in some ways to the whig ideology's calls for moral discipline and rectitude.<sup>4</sup> The parallels in all of this work to the American colonial experience are numerous, and we have been able to do no more than to suggest possibilities here. It is obvious, though, that comparisons are worth pursuing.

Our final area of concern is the relevance of this work to the study of the American Revolution. Here I can only engage in speculation. The Revolutionary era has become a scholarly field of such magnitude, and one in which, paradoxically, so many questions remain unanswered, that

a proper application of modernization theory would require a far more substantial research effort than is possible here. But following John Adams's dictum that the Revolution took place in the minds and hearts of men long before 1763, we can assume that much of the impetus for revolution originated in the years in which modern social structures and values first took shape. Indeed, it is a major contention of this work that the Revolution was an integral part of the modernization process itself, the logical culmination of processes of change that had been growing for well over a century.

The Revolution marked, first of all, the physical expulsion of those structural aspects of colonial society that were retarding development: British economic and political restrictions that represented a more manorial view of colonial development. In this sense, the Revolution was perhaps the major step toward modernization, allowing the full development of political and economic institutions necessary for the emergence of a rational, carefully guided capitalistic society. Freedom to expand geographically, moreover, gave the colony additional freedom to cope with the pressures of modern class structures and uneven economic development. The nationalistic feelings engendered by the Revolution gave added impetus to these developments; the qualities of thrift and public virtue stressed during the colonial years became American values, patriotic and morally essential.

In psychological terms, such events as revolution have

an import far beyond the surface transition of power and the breaking of political and economic restraints. The colonials came to use the British as scapegoats for many of their social and personal ills. The British, to be sure, were in fact responsible for many of these problems: it was they who exacerbated the process of modernization through their policies of imperial control. But a semblance of reality always lends greater credence to projection. The modernization process would have occurred without British interference, and there would have been severe tensions regardless, particularly considering the profound traditionalism of early seventeenth-century Puritanism. But the intensity of the Revolution drew its fuel from the juxtaposition of fantasy and reality. Massachusetts pined for an idealized lost utopia, and England's incendiary actions created a perfect focus for the displacement of aggression. By blaming England, the colonists could avoid questioning the forefather's lack of foresight, and they could escape blaming themselves for the abandonment of the original Puritan mission. But the exorcising of one's most obvious and worldly devils does not guarantee the attainment of happiness. What would the colonists do once they no longer had the British to blame?

## NOTES

1. In addition to the various works cited in the introduction, see Peter Stearns, "Modernization and Social History; Some Suggestions and a Muted Cheer," Journal of Social History, XIV (1980), 189-210.

2. David Stannard, Shrinking History: On Freud and the Failure of Psychohistory (New York, 1980). For a recent example of the sort of thing Stannard overlooks, see Bruce Mazlish, "The Next 'Next Assignment': Leader and Led, Individual and Group," Psychohistory Review, IX (1981), 214-237.

3. The best example of this approach is Berger and Luckmann, Social Construction of Reality.

4. This survey has been taken from Patrick Hutton, "The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History," History and Theory, XX (1981), 237-259.

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