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THE TRANSPLANTATION AND  
TRANSFORMATION OF THE ENGLISH  
SHIRE IN AMERICA: ESSEX COUNTY,  
MASSACHUSETTS, 1630-1768

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**THE TRANSPLANTATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE ENGLISH  
SHIRE IN AMERICA: ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, 1630-1768**

*University of New Hampshire*

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THE TRANSPLANTATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE ENGLISH  
SHIRE IN AMERICA: ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, 1630-1768

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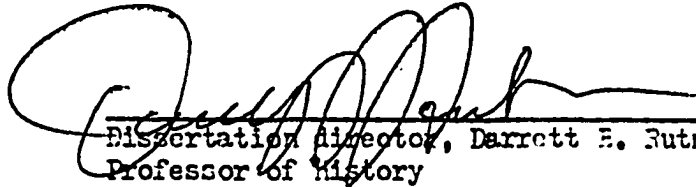
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Submitted to the University of New Hampshire  
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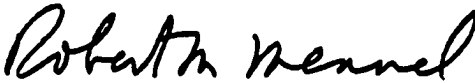
Doctor of Philosophy  
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## PREFACE

This dissertation is an outgrowth of a long fascination with local history. Because most of my previous writing has focused upon the individual community, this venture into regionalism is especially challenging. The inclusion of all localities within a selected area poses unique problems of organization; however, the potential for drawing meaningful conclusions about communal behavior and structure make this study well worth the effort. As a resident of Essex County, I find that this undertaking offers an intimate historical perspective, particularly in the relative roles and functions of Salem, Ipswich, and Newburyport and the subregions that developed around them. On the one hand, the residue from colonial subdivision is evident even today; on the other hand, the emergence later, after the concluding date of this essay, of influential communities within the county suggest new subregions-- the extraordinary growth of Lynn and the incorporation of Lawrence in the nineteenth century are specifically important elements. Thus for one interested in local studies, the fascination is not limited to a particular place or time; the possibility of new studies is always present.

Several professors at the University of New Hampshire and colleagues at Salem State College have rendered considerable assistance in this endeavor. To Professor Darrett B. Rutman, I owe a special debt of gratitude, not only for his tireless efforts as the supervisor of the dissertation, but for the ways he opened my eyes to the potential for applying social science methodology and the computer to the study of history. I am much obliged to Professor Charles E. Clark for his helpful criticism and suggestions on organization and style. Professor Robert M. Mennell deserves a note of thanks for pointing out the value of urbanism and regionalism to community studies and making me realize that their

applications are not restricted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The suggestions of Professors Marc L. Schwarz and Richard E. Downs have helped me to understand how late medieval institutions and values were transplanted from England to America, which is significant in the early parts of this work. In addition, two friends and colleagues at Salem State College-- Professors Charles F. Ames and Terrence P. O'Donnell-- offered continual encouragement and critical commentary on parts of this study for which I am very grateful.

Among the numerous archivists, librarians, and data processing specialists assisting me over the years, Mrs. Arthur R. Norton, Reference Librarian at the Essex Institute and Thomas Lathrop at the Salem State College Computer Center-- now deceased-- were the most helpful. Both spent many hours helping me directly and unselfishly. I must thank the caretakers of the records in most of the twenty-one towns (1765) in Essex County for their cooperation and assistance.

It is to the members of my immediate family, however, that I dedicate this dissertation. Their support, encouragement, and patience during a lengthy period were essential to the completion of the work. To my wife Christine, above all, who shared the moments of exuberance and frustration associated with this project, I dedicate my efforts.



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## ABSTRACT

### THE TRANSPLANTATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE ENGLISH SHIRE IN AMERICA: ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, 1630-1768

by

HAROLD ARTHUR PINKHAM, JR.

University of New Hampshire, December, 1980

This study of Essex County, Massachusetts, emanates from a dissatisfaction with the disjointed and segmented histories available for the counties of colonial Massachusetts. Because little effort has been made to examine towns systematically, to place localities within the context of the larger county structure, and to investigate a variety of public records, the importance of the county in understanding the roots of American urban, state, and national history has been neglected. Rather than integrated treatments of locality and region, county histories are commonly organized around community and biographical sketches, both introduced in alphabetical order. This dissertation offers an alternative.

In order to examine in detail all twenty-one localities over 130 years, it is necessary to limit the characteristics studied to the political, economic, transportation, and marital and the periods sampled to 1653-1655, 1679-1681, 1719-1721, and 1763-1765. By measuring the internal development and external contacts of each town for each of the characteristics and periods above, a locality can be ranked by the complexity of its internal institutions and positioned in a network of interconnections among the communities. Comparing and superimposing the several networks for each period, subregional networks (South, 1650; Middle and North, 1680) and finally regional networks (1720-1765)

appear. Thus to the extent that political, road, trade, shipbuilding, and marriage links represent significant intra-county communal ties, Essex underwent regional integration and to the extent that particular towns expanded their services and functions, while increasing their outside contacts, they made important contributions to integration.

The expanding complexities of Salem, Newburyport, and Ipswich were crucial to the transition of Essex from a collection in 1643 of diverse plantations, influenced more by Old World values than New World experiences, to a relatively interdependent group of "American" towns by 1768. On one hand, around Salem and Newburyport--densely populated and wealthy ports--clustered several satellite towns, each tied closely to the growing primary center nearby through transshipment and other functions. On the other hand, several specialized, intermediate centers surrounded Ipswich--a politically and economically diverse town--each linking itself loosely to that primary center and to each other. Salem and Newburyport merchants had become active participants in the transatlantic trade world by the late seventeenth century and accommodated themselves increasingly to British interests until the middle of the next century. The men from Ipswich, by contrast, defended their landed interests vehemently, were less accommodating to the mother country, and built an effective coalition of Essex towns in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, with which to pursue American interests and win concessions from the Crown. By 1768 the three subregions became more interconnected, more supportive of each other, and better balanced, which was reflected in their more united opposition to Britain under Ipswich's leadership.

The regional approach provides insight into American history not generally found in other types of accounts. By focusing on the functions

of communities, it is apparent that one must not generalize too freely and assume that the towns in colonial Massachusetts were similar. Communities in the same area could be quite different. Geographically, for instance, the growing complexity of Salem Town contrasts sharply with the isolated, uncomplicated locality of Wenham, only five miles away. Chronologically, the small village of "Portside," clinging tenaciously to the bank of the lower Merrimac in 1642, can hardly be equated with the relatively complex urban center of Newburyport, which it had become by 1768. Counties, too, were quite dissimilar. The original four counties of Massachusetts, Essex among them, incorporated by powerful gentry bent on maintaining control of the proliferating towns in their Commonwealth, were vital organizations in the seventeenth century. Yet, the shire of the eighteenth century was simply a convenient administrative unit for controlling the province's westward expansion. Furthermore, the urban process must not be dismissed as irrelevant to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All towns were not simply variations of a standard agricultural-commercial model; some localities performed significant urban functions and provided important services, while concentrating population and wealth.



## CHAPTER I

### ESSEX AS A REGION AND COUNTY: AN OVERVIEW

To the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Company the establishment of the shire was second only to the creation of the town. Although much attention has been given to the efforts of the English settlers in the 1630's to draft covenants for their communities, win representation for these localities in the General Court, and secure acts of incorporation for their townships, there has been little regard for how these places were interrelated.<sup>1</sup> The colony's founders laid the foundations for their settlements so thoroughly that they discovered by the early 1640's that their creations amounted to a collection of semi-autonomous towns. In addition to their Calvinistic impulse for religious and social control through covenanted localities, the leaders-- largely from the gentry-- were interested in the acquisition of land, seeking continuously more and ever-larger plantations upon which paradoxically they could establish their closed corporate communities. The dual impulse -- local and regional-- were contradictory; the creation of shire government offered a solution to the dilemma. The object of this study is to examine the implications of this dilemma in northeastern Massachusetts.

The prominence of northeastern Massachusetts in American history has been well demonstrated. Only Westmoreland County, Virginia, which placed four of the first five presidents in office, is a possible rival to Essex County, Massachusetts. Narratives dealing with the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries frequently mention the

importance of Salem's merchants in privateering during the Revolution, in the Asian trade following the war, in the Federalist administrations of Washington and Adams, and, finally, in opposition to Republican policies during the Essex Junto, Embargo, and Hartford Convention crises.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, the role of Essex men in the colonial period is less well documented, but equally important. The county's deputies seriously challenged John Winthrop and his Suffolk County supporters for the control of the Commonwealth in the 1640's; Essex magistrates led the movement for territorial expansion in the 1650's and 1660's; the shire's landowners were paramount in opposition to the efforts of the Crown and the Mason family in asserting their claim to both the colony and the lands of Essex; and, in the end, the men of the county adjusted rapidly to the conditions of government under the New Charter, the merchants accommodating themselves to imperial policies and the political leaders exploiting the potential of the newly-created House of Representatives.

When the English immigrants in Massachusetts created Essex County-- along with Middlesex, Suffolk, and Norfolk counties-- in 1643, tradition undoubtedly led them to expect much from it. The familiar English county had been essential to stable government in the mother country long before the introduction of the Calvinistic notion of a closed religious locality. The shire was a medieval institution going back to the tenth century.<sup>3</sup> Thirty-three of the forty English shires existing today have basically the same boundaries that they had in 1066.<sup>4</sup> The Justice of the Peace and the Quarter Session, whose origins were also in the Middle Ages, furthered regional integration by providing authority and regulation to all parts of the county. The Tudors

increased the number of Justices in the late sixteenth century and gave them greater executive, administrative, and judicial responsibilities.<sup>5</sup>

At the same time two new political offices were created, the lord lieutenant of the shire and his deputy.<sup>6</sup> Even the lesser divisions of the county (hundreds and wards), through their susceptibility to modification provided flexibility within the county and contributed to the shire's regional integration.<sup>7</sup> The shire, however, gained new importance as the local political unit for the gentry who were emerging on the national scene as members and leaders of Parliament. Within the counties the vestrymen and churchwardens provided the day-to-day government of the county's parish-subdivisions and made the organization work.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to its political significance, the English county by 1630 had attained a high level of communal and economic integration as well. Market towns had proliferated over the centuries; there were some 760 in Tudor-Stuart England. These localities were clustered most closely in the counties of East Anglia and the West Country, the home shires of the majority of the founders of Essex County, Massachusetts. As roads became more adequate and hinterlands larger, certain market towns became shire towns: Colchester and Chelmsford in Essex and Bury St. Edmunds and Ipswich in Suffolk, for example. These larger East Anglian centers contained from 40 to 100 different occupations.<sup>9</sup> As the responsibility for road building passed from the courts of leets to county councils between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the road network within the counties linking the market and shire towns expanded. Following legislation in 1555 every parish became responsible for its highways under the supervision of the Justices of the division in which the parish was situated. Thus by 1630 the towns and parishes

in the counties of East Anglia and the West Country were well connected.<sup>10</sup>

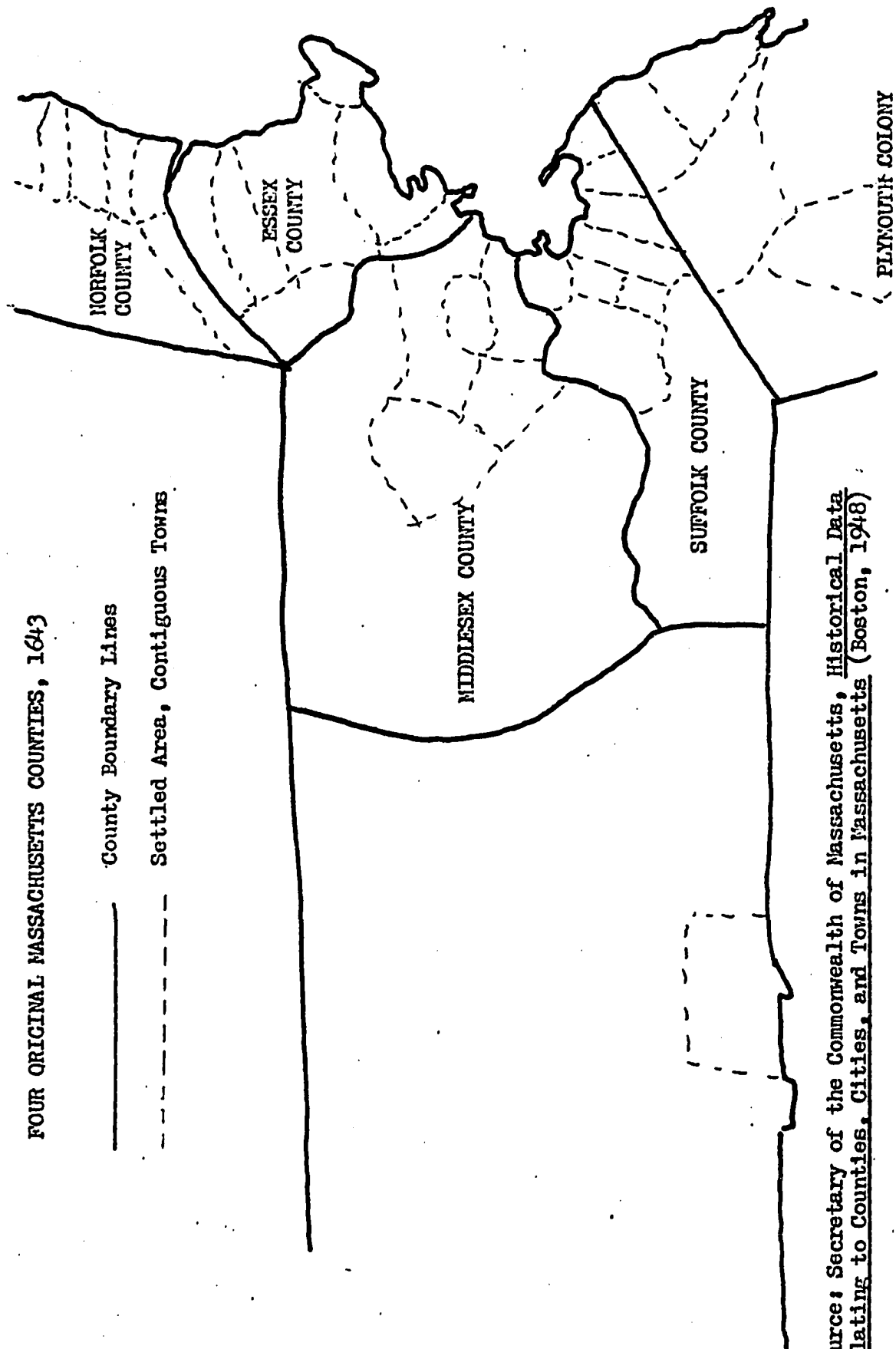
By the early seventeenth century a new "county self-consciousness" had emerged.<sup>11</sup> The shire was being recognized as a vital element in the government of the nation. Beginning with Christopher Saxton's county atlases in the 1570's, county surveys and histories proliferated. In the 1590's John Nordon wrote descriptions of at least eight counties. With these writings came powerful feelings of county identification and allegiance.<sup>12</sup> Specific county economic and political interests combined with shire dialects to intensify the differences among the counties in the gentry representing the shires in Parliament.<sup>13</sup> The local Justices, carefully picked by the monarchy, meeting regularly in sessions, and traveling to every corner of their counties undoubtedly stimulated a feeling for county among Englishmen on the eve of emigration.<sup>14</sup>

For Winthrop and the gentry who emigrated with him, the shires of England were the instruments that provided the outlet for their personal, social, and political aspirations. Through county government the squires controlled local military, administrative, judicial, and executive posts, while simultaneously gaining vital avenues for satisfying their higher ambitions through the contacts with national officials that their roles as local authorities afforded them.<sup>15</sup> Everywhere the county seemed the vehicle for regulating the colonization of unoccupied or hostile lands, whether in sixteenth-century Ireland or seventeenth-century Virginia.<sup>16</sup> And for the men of Massachusetts, faced with hostile Indians, the continuing presence of the French on their frontiers, and continual land disputes involving the territory north of the Merrimac, county government offered an effective means of defending both their persons and their territory.

Transplanting the County to Massachusetts

While each of the new counties in Massachusetts appears to have fallen far short of the expectations of their English founders in varying ways and differing degrees, Essex seems to have offered relatively more unity and stability. The county filled in rapidly, the towns founded quickly, and subregions formed early-- subregions which ultimately coalesced into a comparatively integrated region. Between the incorporation of the original counties in 1643 and the establishment of the next county-- Hampshire-- in 1662, significant concentrations of population, wealth, and political power formed in the south and north because of the presence of a harbor and broad river mouth respectively. In the middle of the county, a centrally-located town surrounded by rich agricultural lands had already begun to tie the southern and northern subregions together. As seen in Map I:1, Essex appeared early, developed quickly, and remained undivided. The majority of its localities were founded in the first two decades; thirteen (62%) of the twenty-one towns established by 1768 were incorporated by 1650, while four (19%) were incorporated after 1700.<sup>17</sup> Thus the county, having the bulk of its settlements incorporated early, benefited from the relative stability and maturity that one might expect from older communities.

In addition to its longevity and territorial integrity, Essex had significant geographical advantages over the other counties in Massachusetts. That it was removed from Boston appears to have been an advantage, the county seeming to draw strength from its distance from the larger governmental center. By the 1640's the county's leaders were becoming quite alienated from the Boston leaders, a Salem-Ipswich faction of merchants and landed men having emerged from among the deputies and magistrates in the General Court. These men quickly



Source: Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Historical Data Relating to Counties, Cities, and Towns in Massachusetts (Boston, 1948)

assumed legislative, executive, and judicial influence through their positions as magistrates in the quarter court sessions, officers in the militia, and deputies in the General Court.<sup>18</sup>

Because of the attachment of its original settlers to the Charles and Mystic rivers in the southern part of the county, Middlesex did not develop the geographical balance of Essex. Too closely associated with Boston and too negligent of its northern area along the Merrimac, Middlesex developed neither the subregional nor regional tendencies of Essex. Because Charlestown, Cambridge, and Watertown-- the original settlements in the county-- were founded by people from Boston and upon relatively less-contested land than in Essex, Middlesex appears not to have experienced the long period of alienation, confrontation, and independence of Essex. In the beginning settlements were few and located near Boston in the southern part of the county. Only twelve (29%) of the forty-one towns eventually established were incorporated by 1650. Conversely, Middlesex incorporated twenty-one towns (51%) after 1700.<sup>19</sup>

Suffolk County initially was large, stretching from Boston in the east inland as far as what is today Oxford (forty miles), but the rapid concentration of population, wealth, and political power around Boston created a sharp dichotomy between the growing coastal urban area and the rural localities of the interior. Of the county's ten towns in 1662, nine (90%) were incorporated between 1630 and 1650. Except for Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, however, the remainder grew at a modest pace.<sup>20</sup>

Between 1643 and 1662, Norfolk County was disunited and unstable. Calvinist and Anglican communities disagreed with each other; Massachusetts

leaders challenged the earlier claim of John Mason for title to the land; and Essex men dominated the government of the county.<sup>21</sup>

In 1662, when Essex-- in the eastern part of the colony-- appeared at the zenith of its executive, legislative, and judicial powers under the government of the Old Charter, a new phase in county development began in the western areas of Massachusetts. In that year, a county-- Hampshire-- was created for the convenience of only three isolated towns, Springfield, Northampton, and Hadley. The General Court, acting upon a petition from William Pyncheon in Springfield, designated Springfield the shire town. The new county appears to have been established essentially for judicial and administrative purposes-- registering deeds and settling local property disputes. The towns of Hampshire were hardly in a position to influence legislation through their small delegation of deputies, nor could they expect to have a strong voice among the magistrates in Boston.<sup>22</sup>

By the late 1670's and early 1680's the county in Massachusetts, in the early years the repository of executive, legislative, and judicial powers, had become a tool of the Crown in its efforts to reorganize Massachusetts and New England. In 1678 an English court removed Norfolk County from the jurisdiction of the Bay Colony and the Essex men who dominated that shire. Two years later the Mason family, supported by the monarch, pressed its claim upon the lands within Essex County and forced the shire's leaders into a strenuous defense of their title rights. In 1685 the British government had the Plymouth Colony absorbed into Massachusetts and divided into three counties, each of which exercised little power because the colony's charter was under suspension and the General Court not functioning.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the lack of access to customary institutions of influence



due to the disruption of Old Charter government during the 1680's, the men from the towns in the middle of Essex remained prominent in their opposition to Britain. Relying upon their reputations for strong leadership, emanating from their previous service as deputies and magistrates, county officials in the Middle persuaded local representatives to meet in conventions. From the precedent of direct participation by assemblies from the localities, whose petitions supported the attempts by Boston's officials to preserve the Old Charter, emerged a coalition of Essex towns in the House of Representatives alienated from the royal government at Boston after 1691. The diminishment of the power of county government between 1678 and 1692 did not seriously handicap the Essex men, who, relying upon their past political prominence, adjusted to the new political conditions of the day.

Unlike the towns of Middlesex and Suffolk counties, whose development tended to make them increasingly oriented toward urban Boston. a growing number of Essex towns stood in opposition to Boston. The continuing heavy concentration of population, wealth and political power in the towns along the Charles and Mystic rivers of Middlesex and in Boston, Rowbury, and Dorchester of Suffolk in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries brought county government closer to Boston. In Suffolk the dichotomy between the area around Boston and the rural towns was becoming so sharp that thirteen of that county's rural localities would later (1793) form a new county-- Norfolk, leaving only four towns in Suffolk County.<sup>24</sup> By contrast, the three subregions in Essex became more nearly equal in population, wealth, and political power. Although the ports of Salem and Fortside (Newburyport) in the southern and northern parts of the county frequently supported royal policies, the expanding group of agrarian-manufacturing towns

in the middle of Essex County opposed British initiatives.

Between 1731 and 1768 county government had its third phase of development; it became strictly an instrument for the legal and judicial administration of the western parts of the province, which were being settled rapidly. Even the limited legislative power accorded the counties through their delegates in the colonial and provincial assemblies, as in phase two, was increasingly denied the towns created after 1731. In the two new counties-- Worcester (1731) and Berkshire (1761)-- many localities were designated by the Governor and Council as districts rather than towns and were thus prevented from sending delegates to the House of Representatives in Boston.<sup>25</sup>

County government did not emerge immediately. The Governor and Court of Assistants, who dominated the company's General Court, apparently saw no need for it. Geographically and politically they seem to have equated the company with the familiar English county, intending to exercise the rights and privileges of the shire knight or Lord Lieutenant themselves. However, as the company leaders began, first, to grant plantations and then incorporate them into towns and make freemen of the towns' inhabitants, their control over the company began to wane. Shire government, if initiated properly, promised to shore up their declining authority. Finally in 1643, the General Court created the first four counties, the Governor and magistrates placing themselves in control as judges of the Quarter Courts in each of the counties.

For the next thirty-five years, in the face of challenges from an expanding number of towns with an ever-stronger voice in the chamber of deputies, a French and Indian presence on the frontiers, and growing British bureaucratic intervention, the magistrates greatly

influenced life in the counties of the Commonwealth. Magistrates dominated all levels of government. As members of the General Court, they controlled legislation; as members of the Great Quarter Court (Court of Assistants) they received appeals from the county courts; as members of the Inferior Quarter Courts they exercised executive and judicial powers; and as individuals they heard and judged small cases. Thus for the gentry of the first and second generations, county government provided a satisfactory way to address local demands, while expanding their influence over larger areas. County Courts, in addition to their executive and judicial functions, appointed men to manage the shire's records, highways, licenses, wills, inventories, and assessments.

The 1680's were a period of transition for county government. After 1678, when the Crown removed Norfolk County from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, a rapid series of events made county government more volatile. In succession, Essex County was nearly lost to the Mason family, the Charter dissolved, a provisional government established, new counties created from the Plymouth Colony, Dominion government imposed on New England, a second provisional government organized, and finally, in 1692, a new charter instituted. During the confusion county government passed from the hands of the magistrates--a landed-mercantile gentry quite independent of British rule--to the hands of a new mercantile group, much more accommodating to British interests. Accordingly, county government became the domain of Anglo-American placemen appointed by the Royal governor.

After 1692, county government lost its earlier prominence, becoming largely an administrative and judicial arm of royal government. Justices of the Peace, named by the British-appointed governor, kept

the peace within the counties through their Courts of General Sessions of the Peace. In addition, an Inferior Court of Common Pleas was established in each county, also with royal appointees, to hear civil cases. Probate was in the hands of the same authority.<sup>26</sup> If the men of the counties hoped to exercise the decision-making powers and enjoy the relative autonomy of their predecessors, they needed an outlet for their energies other than that provided by the formal county governmental structure of the eighteenth century. It appears that only a county attaining at least a minimum level of integration prior to the take-over of shire government by the Anglo-American interests could become more independent. Of the counties of Massachusetts, Essex appears to have attained that minimum level.

Tracing the efforts of the first arrivals and their successors to establish shires in Massachusetts, leads to several basic observations, which, in turn, give rise to a number of questions. Our observations reveal that in some areas counties were subdivided (e.g., Plymouth, Suffolk, Middlesex, and Norfolk), in some elongated and developed at one end (e.g., Middlesex and Suffolk), in some sparsely settled with large areas unoccupied (e.g., Hampshire, Worcester, Berkshire, Bristol, and Barnstable), and in one eliminated (e.g., Norfolk). Leaders in three of the four original counties passed through Old Charter, Transition, and New Charter phases and had opportunities to develop strong traditions of political autonomy, while those in counties last established knew only the administrative and judicial phase of the eighteenth century. In contrast, to other counties, Essex became populated quickly; remained undivided, while even adding three towns; and went through all three stages of development. From these observations emerge several basic questions relative to the growth and prominence of northeastern Massachusetts. The foremost

question is, did the towns have characteristics and patterns that might suggest an explanation for the area's early growth and later prominence? Other questions lead directly from this one: do these characteristics indicate a regional configuration for the area? To what extent does the regional outline parallel the boundaries of Essex County?

The extent of regional integration at a given time cannot be measured with any assurance of precision; the pace and configuration of regional formation are highly dependent upon the individual characteristic being examined. Because it is impossible within the limitation of this study to consider all characteristics bearing upon county development, specific things--political ties, road interconnections, trade contacts, and marital linkages--have been selected. These characteristics appear to be the most accessible and promise to produce the most discernible patterns. Other possibilities, of course, exist: towns represented by ministers attending regional councils and synods; towns represented by officers serving at company, battalion, and regimental levels; and towns represented in legal and tort actions in court sessions. Despite the limitations imposed by the necessity to select from among numerous characteristics and time periods, the patterns emerging suggest subregional and regional configurations. Three complementary subregions appear to have evolved, which in turn, seem to have come together to form a relatively integrated region, whose outline conformed to the boundaries of Essex County in 1643.

#### Characteristics to be Measured

Essential to understanding the extent to which Essex developed as a region is the need to identify the significant attributes of the towns within the structure. Each town, to varying degrees, becomes the product

of a balance between two dimensions: the internal and the external.<sup>27</sup> On one hand, the central place represents the ultimate in internal development, excelling in its level of functional elaboration, size, and population concentration. That same town also inevitably leads in external development, having more numerous and stronger ties to the towns outside its own borders than other localities in the subregion or region. On the other hand, the most remote town in the hinterland will have the lowest possible level of internal development and the least possible number of contacts with other places. Thus the central place is highly complex and outer-oriented, while the remote town in the hinterland is undeveloped and self-contained. The remaining towns-- between the functionally elaborate and outer-oriented and the undeveloped and self-contained towns-- form a network of interconnected localities according to their ability to perform service functions and maintain contacts beyond their boundaries. The various towns are distinguished in two ways: by their geographical positions within the network and their complexity of function. Thus indices can be constructed to measure the relative positions of the localities, the most complex, outer-directed, and centrally located at the top.<sup>28</sup>

The indices in the study are designed to aid in explaining both the process of county development and to describe the function of individual towns within the region. Basic political, economic, transportation, and demographic characteristics have been treated in the construction of the indices. Four sample time periods-- 1652-1654, 1679-1681, 1719-1721, and 1763-1765-- provide the chronological framework for the study.<sup>29</sup>

In measuring the functional elaboration of the localities to ascertain the strength of their central place-place functions, detailed examinations of economic and urban features are necessary. As the towns

formed new associations beyond their boundaries, key buildings--such as mills, warehouses, and wharves--were constructed. Most towns within the county--even Ipswich, itself an influential locality--depended upon the functionally elaborate port communities of Salem and Newburyport because of the services that these places alone could provide. However, the prominence of the ports did not preclude other towns from rendering services as well. Localities that lagged behind in the growth of external associations would likely remain classified near the bottom of the indices for each of the periods sampled, while places gaining urban functions such as exchange, collection, storage, distribution, and manufacturing could advance in position on the indices.<sup>30</sup>

Political, economic, transportation, and demographic activities will be assessed according to the external and internal dimensions. From the external viewpoint, political affairs centered on efforts to create intra-county military districts, to establish a second county by dividing the original one, and to build a political coalition among the towns. From these activities emerged political subregions (frequently called districts), followed by increasing interaction among the subregions. Because the leadership behind these inter-town organizations emanated from the politically more influential localities and because only places that were the most influential were likely to supply the leadership necessary for such organizations, the political structure within the towns--the internal dimension--must be explored.<sup>31</sup>

The examination of economic characteristics is essential to recognizing the rise of urban centers. By studying the economic structure of towns one can measure the strength of associations among localities in a subregion and identify the central place of that subregion. From a broader perspective, one can also assess the forces bringing about the ultimate transformation

of subregional configurations into the single regional configuration.<sup>32</sup>

Once the direction and strength of trade, road, and marriage ties are plotted, the degree of connectivity and centrality within each subregion and within the county become apparent. Connectivity standardizes the measurement of the size and shape of the subregion (the external perspective), while centrality provides a criterion for recognizing the most influential towns and villages in the same area (the internal perspective).<sup>33</sup>

Demographics provide the basis for assessing the direction and strength of flow of people within the subregion and region. When the county is seen as a whole, the number of marriage migrants, the direction of travel, and the distance covered produced outlines of subregions within the county. In the converse, if the focus is placed on the strength of the migration into various towns, the concentration of people within certain towns becomes evident.<sup>34</sup>

#### The Development of Essex County, 1623-1768: An Overview

Essex County began in the second quarter of the seventeenth century with a mere collection of plantations identified primarily by their English origins; by the third quarter of the following century the assemblage of plantations had become a relatively interdependent structure of towns and villages. Regardless of their old country differences, the towns and plantations of northeastern Massachusetts were placed together under county government in 1643. Because of the rise of a strong mercantile faction on the peninsula, Salem very early became the focal point for the formation of a subregion which encompassed the original Salem grant in the southern part of the county. By 1653 the formation of military organizations, creation of county courts, building of roads,



subdivision of towns, settlement of disputed claims, and expansion of trade all suggest the presence of a subregion in southern Essex. The Salem peninsula became increasingly complex in function and large in population, which was already becoming quite dense. As Salem Town (the peninsula only) developed, it expanded its ties to localities nearby and these places, in turn, linked to each other. By 1650 Salem had economic and political ties to the towns along the Lynn-Salisbury Road.<sup>35</sup>

By contrast to the South, the remaining northern portion of the new county continued to be ill-defined at mid-century, its boundaries vague and shifting. Although Ipswich in the center of Essex and Newburyport on the Merrimac to the north showed signs of growth, neither reached the degree of functional complexity nor made the external contacts of Salem Town. Boundary disputes and threats of Indian attack prevented a more formal organization among the towns in the area.

By 1680 three subregions, each in a different stage of development, had appeared: South, North, and Middle. The towns of the South emerged during the first period and had become well established. Salem Town increased its economic sophistication and trade ties accordingly. Despite jurisdictional issues and defensive requirements, the towns of the Merrimac Valley had begun to coalesce around Newburyport, which was assuming central-place functions.

The towns in the Middle shared sufficient common interests to suggest a loose subregion. Although the localities surrounding Ipswich had political and other links with the town, giving Ipswich a large measure of centrality, the outlying communities had few contacts with each other. Centrality among the places in the Middle was minimal. Ipswich--unlike Salem and Newburyport, which had already become central places within their respective parts of the county--was dispersed, lacking

the functional sophistication, population concentration, and geographical unity of the two ports. The town had several politically active and semiautonomous villages within its boundaries.<sup>36</sup>

By 1720 the subregions were becoming more complex, but their outlines less distinct as they appeared to have been merging together. Although the towns in the South and North increased their trade, marriage, and highway links to the Middle, it was the Middle that was gradually becoming the catalyst for integration. After a period of intense localism in the 1680's and early 1690's, the Middle increased its contacts with other parts of the county. Despite its resurgence after the turn of the century, Ipswich remained large and dispersed. Salem and Newburyport meanwhile gained from urban growth and economic expansion. However, Ipswich enlarged its political coalition of surrounding towns, a coalition founded upon a defense of charter rights in the early 1680's and expanded through an increasing alienation from the economic and political policies of the pro-British administrations in Boston during the eighteenth century.

When the confrontation with Great Britain occurred in the 1760's, the towns of Essex responded with greater unity than they had ever before demonstrated. The strong impulse by the Salem and Newburyport leaders for accommodation with the British, so evident at the end of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century, had moderated by mid century. Similarly, the tendency toward localism in the coalition of the towns in the Middle had moderated in favor of a set of broader objectives. Through skillful political leadership in the House of Representatives, the Ipswich men, controlling an expanding assemblage of localities, were contributing to a greater unification of the county. Economically, too, the localities in the Middle--under the direction of Ipswich men--

through a large volume of agricultural production, complemented the large capital accumulation in the central places to the south and north.

Despite the differences between the ports of Salem and Newburyport and the dispersed agricultural town of Ipswich, the leaders in all three communities and their hinterland towns came to realize, by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the advantage from pursuing a common course in Essex County and promoting the "American" cause in the conflict with England.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the inherent obstacles preventing the direct transplantation of the English shire in Massachusetts, of the several counties established Essex appears to have been the most effective in meeting the objectives of the founders when they incorporated the county in 1643-- that of providing intermediate-level government between the town and the colony. The Essex leaders seem to have dealt more satisfactorily with the several basic hindrances facing county government: the excessively high expectations emanating from their English experience; the frequently diverging motives, of religious, landed, and commercial interests; and the distinct differences among the towns because of their English regional backgrounds. Regardless of the limitations in this study-- a reliance upon selected characteristics and time periods, a stress on the common to the detriment of the unique, and an emphasis upon the controversial notion of region-- it is possible to trace distinctive patterns of regional development and to ascertain the conformation of that course of development to the original boundaries of Essex County. Even the modest regional integration in 1768 seems noteworthy in light of the sharp English regional differences among the towns in the beginning, which is the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER II

### A COLLECTION OF TOWNS

The process by which Englishmen were introduced to northeastern Massachusetts during the second quarter of the seventeenth century was uncertain and sporadic. They shared no common origin; they came from several parts of the mother country. The settlers from Devon, Somerset, and Dorset in the West of England arrived first. They were followed successively by those from London, the Home Counties, Kent, Sussex, and East Anglia in southeastern England and those from Lincoln, Norfolk, and the Midland Counties in northeastern England; those from Wilts and Hants in the South; and finally, those from Yorkshire in the North. There is little evidence of the Puritan preplanning so evident in the New Jerusalem of John Winthrop at Boston or John Davenport at New Haven. Rather, the founding of each early town appears to have been haphazard-- West Countrymen from Cape Ann migrating down the coast to Salem's peninsula, looking for a more hospitable site; East Anglians discouraged by the scarcity of good locations around Boston, moving to Salem and Ipswich; Wilts-Hants settlers and Yorkshiremen, after spending a winter at Ipswich and Salem respectively, petitioning the General Court for land of their own upon which to settle; and the founders of the Merrimac towns appealing to England and other Massachusetts towns for colonists in order to fill the conditions of their grants. From the confusion of unplanned settlement, however, three loosely structured subregions emerged by 1650.

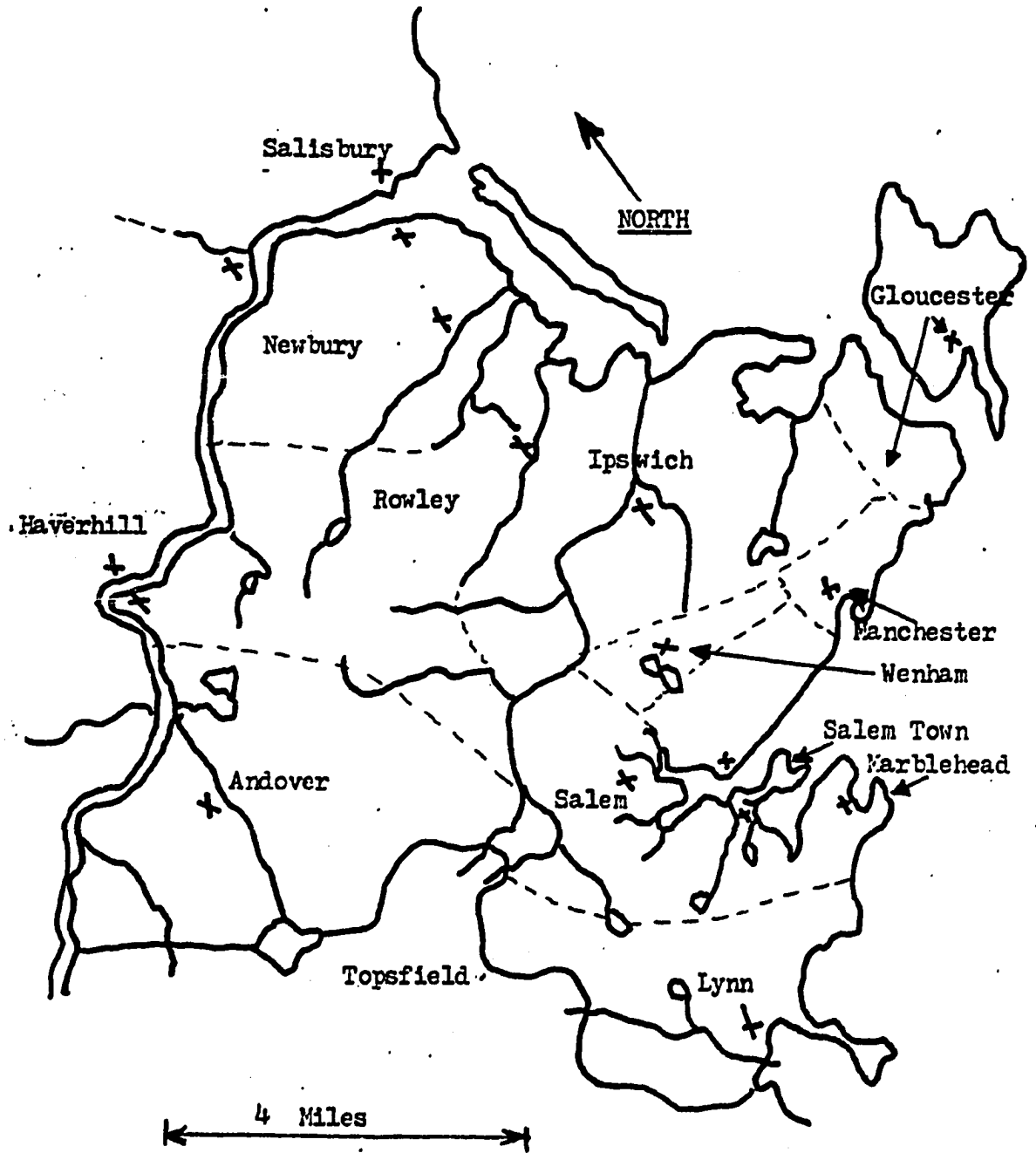
### Site and Situation: The Settlement Phase

During the first two decades of settlement in northeastern Massachusetts, site and situation to a large degree determined the role of particular localities in furthering the integration of Essex County. The place selected for settlement (site) must be assessed in terms of its relationship and accessibility to other locations (situation). Defense, communication, transportation, and the availability of food was essential to site selection. Each settlement was the product of the interplay of these four factors, but few localities enjoyed the advantages of each in full measure. The needs of settlement led the newcomers first to the harbors in the south, later to the rivers in the north.<sup>1</sup>

Two of the earliest sites were on large harbors, the first at the tip of Cape Ann, settled in 1623, and the second ten miles to the southeast, established in 1626. As seen on Map II:1, the Cape Ann settlement provided excellent protection for ships and an accessibility to the open sea for those engaged in coastal trade and fishing. But because of poor soil the locality could not sustain itself-- fishing alone could not compensate for the lack of agriculturally productive land. The same group that founded and then evacuated the community at Cape Ann moved to the point at the confluence of the Naumkeag and South rivers. Salem offered all the advantages: defense, communication, transportation, and food. The fertile area surrounding the peninsula, including the marshlands to the west, the Bass River to the north, and the North and South fields across the rivers from the peninsula, provided an ideal location. From the several tributaries flowing into the settlement, people could move to the estuarial land to the south,

MAP II:1

Essex County, Massachusetts, ca. 1650



the north, and the west.<sup>2</sup>

After 1630, rivers provided sites for settlement and the migrants moved south and north of Salem Town (the peninsula area). A village (later Lynn) was established in 1630 on the Saugus River, four miles south of the Salem peninsula. The site was located within an area of extensive coastal marsh and meadow which encouraged the raising of cattle. In addition to the grass and meadow lands, bog iron was a natural resource ultimately exploited. Grass and iron subsequently gave rise to several villages along the Saugus. In 1633 Agawam (later Ipswich) was founded on the Ipswich River, five miles north of Salem Town. Like the village on the Saugus, it was surrounded by expansive salt marsh and meadow lands and as a result developed a significant cattle industry. The Ipswich River, penetrating the interior and having several tributary streams, served as a passageway to the westernmost reaches of the county. The advantages of these locations for cattle raising more than counterbalanced the maritime deficiencies of restricted harbors.<sup>3</sup>

During the latter half of the 1630's settlements appeared northward from the Ipswich, on the Rowley, Parker, and Merrimac rivers. In 1635 a group migrated from Ipswich to Newbury on the Parker. Although the river was not navigable as far inland as the Ipswich River, it offered the means for exploiting the hay crop on the large marsh area adjacent to the river. Colchester (later Salisbury) was established on the northern bank of the Merrimac River in 1638. Here, too, the settlers benefited from extensive marshlands. In 1639 Rowley was founded in an enormous marsh between the Parker and Ipswich rivers.<sup>4</sup>

The broad middle part of the county was next settled. Topsfield was founded about 1639 and incorporated in 1650. The town was

located about nine miles from the mouth of the Ipswich. The navigability of the river and extensive meadow and bottom lands proved a major attraction for the people who ventured far from the security of the more well-established communities to the east. The Bay Colony's efforts to reestablish a fishing village on Cape Ann between 1639 and 1642 resulted in the incorporation of Gloucester in 1642.<sup>5</sup>

Once the Merrimac River had been traversed and the town of Salisbury founded, localities appeared upstream. The first settlers arrived at Haverhill, located at the first falls of the Merrimac, in 1640. A combination of falls and forests proved a boon to the locality. From the falls came a plentiful supply of fish and from the forests nearby came oak to make barrels in which to pack the fish for shipment downstream to the river's mouth. Cochickewick (later Andover), settled in 1643 on the Shawsheen River, marked the westernmost reaches of Essex County. Although the Shawsheen valley was fertile, the town's great distance from the larger settlements downstream retarded the development of the community.<sup>6</sup>

The twenty years between the initial village at Cape Ann and the founding of Andover saw development in three stages: harbor, coastal plain, and interior. Settlement focused on Salem harbor between 1623 and 1632, the villages founded on coastal inlets. Later in the 1630's, the rivers penetrating the coastal lowlands of the harbor area became the sites for several more villages. Finally, in the early 1640's, the Merrimac Valley to the north and the upper Ipswich valley in the west were settled. Thus by 1643, when Essex County was incorporated, the new shire could be subdivided roughly according to



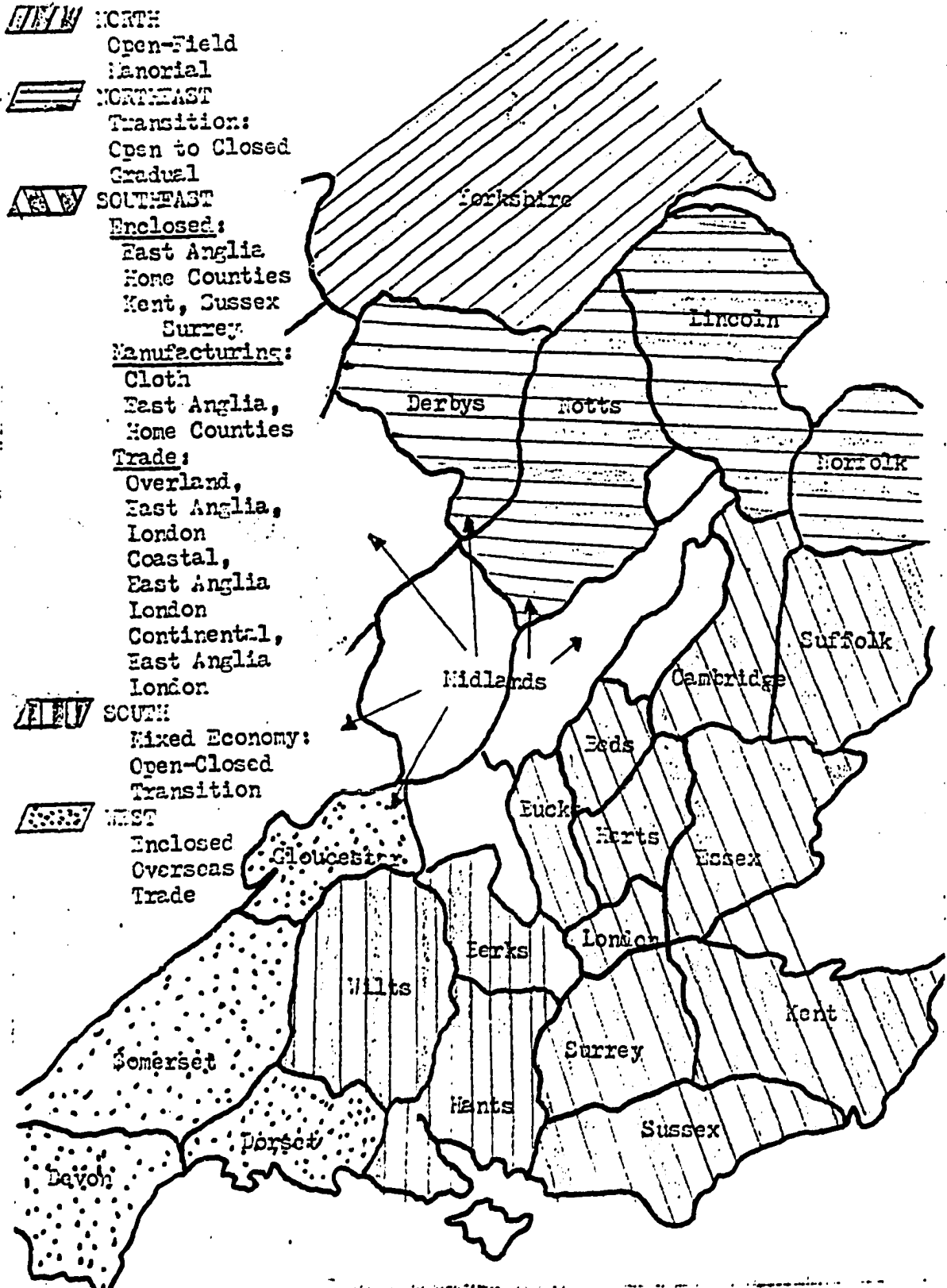
the type of settlement (harbor, coastal, and interior) and by geographical location (South, Middle, and North).

#### The English Origins of the Settlements

During this settlement period immigrants arrived from the several areas of England depicted in Map II:2. West Countrymen who settled along the coastal inlets in the South were quickly overwhelmed by settlers from East Anglia who diminated the Massachusetts Bay Company. Following a settlement at Ipswich by people from England's Stour Valley, between Essex and Suffolk counties, Newbury and Rowley were established by groups from Wilts and Hants in the South of England and York in the North respectively. East Anglians from Boston and Salem, as well as West Countrymen, resettled Gloucester shortly afterward. Next, the valley of the Merrimac was populated by migrants from the Massachusetts towns of Ipswich and Newbury, resulting in the establishment of towns with combined populations of Wilts-Hants and Stour-Valley settlers. As seen in Table II:1, both Wenham and Topsfield were founded by individuals from Salem and Ipswich. Both Salem and Ipswich, towns adjacent to each other, had pluralities from the Eastern areas of England.<sup>7</sup>

The settlements on Cape Ann and the Salem peninsula were founded by "Old Planters" from the West Country. Such fishermen and traders as these had been active in American exploration since the time of the Cabots and Raleigh in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the early seventeenth century John White, a West Country clergyman, was recruiting settlers for America and helped to form the Dorchester Company of Adventurers for that purpose.<sup>8</sup> The company established the first two settlements in northeastern Massachusetts-- Cape Ann and Salem. The West Countrymen, however, did not long remain the majority

## Principal English Regions Sending Emigrants to Essex County, 1623-50



Sources: Thirsk, ed., Agrarian History of England; Hoskins, English Landscape; Tate, English Village and Enclosure; Darby, Historical Geography; and Powell, Puritan Village.

on the peninsula. Following the arrival of successive waves of settlers from Eastern England (including the northeast, the southeast, and London) between 1622 and 1636, the Old Planters left the peninsula.<sup>9</sup>

Lynn did not undergo the traumatic transition experienced by those in Salem--there were no Old Planters to resist the immigration from Eastern England. As indicated in Table II:1, the origins of the settlement at Lynn, composed of fifty families from Winthrop's group at Boston and several families from Salem, were primarily divided between England's northeast (the Midland, Norfolk, Lincoln, and Essex counties) and the southeast (London, Suffolk, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex).<sup>10</sup>

The settlers to Ipswich came from the Stour valley in the geographical center of Eastern England. As Table II:1 illustrates, 37% of the inhabitants were from the Stour valley portions of Suffolk, Essex, and Herts counties. By contrast with Salem and Lynn, which had substantial minorities from Norfolk, Lincoln, and the Midlands in northeastern England, Ipswich drew most of its settlers from the southeast of England.<sup>11</sup>

In 1635 settlers from Wilts and Hants in the south of England planted themselves directly north of Ipswich on the Parker River. In that year a grant of land between the Ipswich and Merrimac rivers was given to a minister, Thomas Parker. Parker and about 200 followers spent the winter of 1634-35 in Ipswich before moving on to found Newbury. A high proportion of colonists were from Wilts-Hants, over 50%, as illustrated in Table II:2. Unlike Ipswich, which had a preponderance of East Anglians, Newbury had but 5.4% from that region of England.<sup>12</sup>

The Northerners were the next to arrive. Ezekiel Rogers and 200 Yorkshiremen founded Rowley. Table II:2 portrays the predominance of Yorkshiremen among the founding group. Like their predecessors from the South, who had arrived in Ipswich four years previously before

TABLE II:1

## ESSEX COUNTY TOWNS WHOSE INHABITANTS WERE LARGELY FROM SOUTHERN ENGLAND

Town	Place of Eng. Origin	No.	%	S.E. Eng. Via Essex Town	No.	%	
Ipswich (1642)	Suffolk, Essex, Herts	41	37	-----	00	00	
	London, Home Counties, Sussex, Surrey, Kent	3	8	-----	00	00	
	Midlands	9	8	-----	00	00	
	Norfolk and Lincoln	4	4	-----	00	00	
	Wilts and Hants	5	4	-----	00	00	
	York and Lancashire	2	2	-----	00	00	
	West Country	1	1	-----	00	00	
	Unidentified	40	36	-----	00	00	
	Totals		111	100		00	00
Lynn (1650)	London, Home Counties Sussex, Surrey, Kent	20	40	-----	00	00	
	Midlands	9	18	-----	00	00	
	Norfolk and Lincoln	7	14	-----	00	00	
	Suffolk, Essex, Herts	3	6	-----	00	00	
	York, Lancashire	1	2	-----	00	00	
	Wilts and Hants	1	2	-----	00	00	
	West Country	1	2	-----	00	00	
	Unidentified	1	2	-----	00	00	
Totals		50	100		00	00	
Wenham (1650)	Suffolk, Essex, Herts	4	31	Salem	6	46	
	London, Home Counties Sussex, Surrey, Kent	2	15	Ipswich	3	23	
				Newbury	1	8	
				Unidentified	3	23	
Totals		13	100		13	100	
Topsf'd	Suffolk, Essex, Herts	3	18	Ipswich	10	59	
	London, Home Counties, Sussex, Surrey, Kent	3	18	Salem	2	12	
	West Country	2	11	Lynn	1	6	
	Unidentified	9	53	Unidentified	4	23	
	Totals		17	100		17	100

Sources: Charles Edward Banks, The Planters of the Commonwealth (Boston, 1930); James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, 4 Vols., (Boston, 1860-62); David Grayson Allen, "In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay, 1600-1690," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974); Charles Henry Pope, The Pioneers of Massachusetts (Boston, 1900); Edward Spaulding Ferzel, "The First Generation of Settlement in Colonial Ipswich, Massachusetts: 1633-1660," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1967); Ricard P. Gildrie, Salem Massachusetts, 1626-1683: A Covenanted Community (Charlottesville, Va., 1975);

## TABLE II:1 (Continued)

John J. Waters, "Wingham, Massachusetts, 1631-1661: An East Anglian Oligarchy in the New World," in Stanley N. Katz, ed., Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development (Boston, 1971); Charles M. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763 (New York, 1970); Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century (Boston, 1955); Robert Lord Goodman, "Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635-1685: The Social Foundations of Harmony and Conflict," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1974); Patricia Trainor O'Malley, "Rowley, Massachusetts, 1639-1730: Dissent and Delimitation in a Colonial Town," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Boston College, 1975).

departing from Newbury, the Yorkshiremen spent the winter with their Eastern hosts at Salem prior to leaving for the site on the Rowley River. So effective had Rogers been as a Puritan preacher in East Riding, that Winthrop welcomed him warmly and permitted him and his followers to create a parish in any unoccupied land of Ipswich and Newbury. The territory, having been purchased from the two towns, took the shape of a three-mile corridor, expanding as it progressed westward to a maximum width of eighteen miles. The western line of the parish was located on the Merrimac River, twelve miles from the settlement at the mouth of the Rowley River. The town was much larger than either of its two neighbors. The persistence of Rogers in his arguments for additional land before Winthrop and the General Court was obviously effective. At one time in his presentation before the magistrates, Rogers even claimed the Andover grant.<sup>13</sup>

Easterners and Southerners combined to settle the towns of the Merrimac Valley. Men from Ipswich and Newbury joined in petitioning the authorities of the Bay Company for land in the valley. Table II:3 traces the migration of the valley settlers from their English origins via Essex County. Despite the differences between the Wilts-Hants men from Newbury and the East Anglians from Ipswich, a common desire for settlement united them. They formed proprietary organizations and negotiated with the Governor and General Court for grants and recruited settlers to emigrate to designated plantations. As a consequence of these bilateral efforts in land acquisition, the towns of Salisbury, Haverhill, and Andover were founded between 1638 and 1643.<sup>14</sup>

Both Easterners and Westerners were involved in the settlement of the unoccupied middle portion of the county. Topsfield, situated between and overlapping both the original Ipswich and Salem grants, was settled

TABLE II:2

ESSEX TOWNS WHOSE INHABITANTS WERE LARGELY FROM SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND

Town	Place of Origin	No of Inhabitants	%
Newbury (1642)	Wilts and Hants	48	53
	London, Home Counties, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent	8	9
	Suffolk, Essex and Herts	5	6
	Norfolk and Lincoln	4	4
	Midlands	3	3
	West Country	6	7
	Unidentified	16	18
	Totals	91	100
Rowley (1660)	Yorkshire and Lancashire	34	58
	Norfolk and Lincoln	3	5
	Suffolk, Essex, and Herts	3	5
	Midlands	1	2
	Unidentified	18	30
Totals	59	100	

Sources: Banks, The Planters of the Commonwealth; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary; Allen, "In English Ways;" Pope, Pioneers of Massachusetts; Goodman, Newbury, Massachusetts; and O'Valley, "Rowley, Massachusetts."

by men from the two towns-- both of which were Eastern in composition. That a majority of the founders were associated with the Eastern towns in Essex County is seen in Table II:1.<sup>15</sup> The Bay Colony leaders at Boston, by ordering that Gloucester be resettled as a fishing plantation induced diverse elements to locate in the fishing village there. West Country fishermen came to live among the East Anglians sent there by Winthrop.<sup>16</sup>

The chronology of settlement produced three stages of development within the three discernable geographic areas of the county. However, little unity existed among or within the three areas. By 1650 West Countrymen and East Anglians were coexisting, but in a somewhat precarious relationship in the southern part of the county-- the East Anglians were solidly entrenched in Salem Town and Lynn and the West Countrymen clung tenaciously to the small fishing villages along the shore. The West Countrymen provided the fish needed by the predominant East Anglians. In the northern part of the county, too, people from two parts of England lived together, those from the Stour valley in the East and the Avon valley in the South. Here, however, the relationship was more harmonious, each having a common interest in land acquisition and development. The middle of the county-- West Countrymen in Gloucester, East Anglians in Ipswich and Topsfield, and Yorkshiremen in Rowley-- was varied in composition and dispersed geographically.

#### The Characteristics of the English Locations

Upon arrival the settlers began manifesting many of the characteristics of their homeland areas. The transplantation of these attributes varied in degree, some towns demonstrating strong similarities with the place of their origin, others far less. Several English scholars



TABLE II:3

ESSEX COUNTY TOWNS WHOSE INHABITANTS WERE LARGELY FROM THE SOUTH AND EAST  
OF ENGLAND VIA A SECOND ESSEX COUNTY TOWN, 1639-1643

Town	Place of Eng. Origin	No.	%	Via Essex County Towns	No.	%
Salisbury (1639)	Wilts and Hants	11	50	Ipswich	11	50
	London, Home Counties,			Newbury	6	27
	Sussex, Surrey, Kent	4	18	Haverhill	2	8
	Suffolk, Essex, Herts	3	14	Salem	1	5
	Norfolk and Lincoln	1	5	Lynn	1	5
	West Country	1	5	Unidentified	1	5
	Unidentified	2	8			
Totals		22	100		22	100
Haverhill (1640)	Wilts and Hants	5	17	Newbury	12	41
	Suffolk, Essex, Herts	3	10	Salisbury	8	28
	London, Home Counties,			Ipswich	7	24
	Sussex, Surrey, Kent	2	7	Unidentified	2	7
	Midlands	2	7			
	West Country	2	7			
	Unidentified	15	52			
Totals		29	100		29	100
Andover (1643)	Wilts and Hants	5	19	Newbury	3	31
	London, Home Counties,			Ipswich	4	15
	Sussex, Surrey, Kent	1	4	Salisbury	1	4
	Norfolk and Lincoln	1	4	Unidentified	13	50
	Suffolk, Essex, Herts	1	4			
	West Country	1	4			
	Unidentified	17	65			
Totals		26	100		26	100

Sources: Banks, Planters of the Commonwealth; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary; Pope, Pioneers of Massachusetts; D. Hamilton Kurd, ed., The History of Essex County, Massachusetts (Phila., 1888).

have studied in depth the regional characteristics of England during the seventeenth century--Joan Thirsk, W.G. Hoskins, W.E. Tate, Peter Laslett, and Mildred Campbell. Although various aspects of their classification schemes raise questions of compatibility and even appear contradictory in some details, it is possible, for the purposes of this study, to identify the basic attributes of the different English locations sending emigrants to Essex County.<sup>17</sup>

Four factors--the form of land management, the basic economic structure, the governmental system, and religious beliefs--central to life in each of the English locations will be used as criteria for comparison. The same features later influenced the development of individual towns in Essex County.

There were two types of land management: the open field and the enclosed agricultural systems. In most areas the ancient open field structure had been undergoing a transformation. The rigid land tenure system, which had kept land under a static and communal form of regulation, was giving way, in varying degrees depending upon the locale, before rising pressure for individual ownership of the land. In localities where the movement for enclosure had been successful, a system of scattered and dispersed individual farmsteads had replaced the nucleated villages and assigned lots of the open-field structure. In areas where individual ownership was becoming predominant a basic desire for land had led to the consolidation of parcels. The buying, selling, and exchanging of lots created an active land market in some places.

The agricultural activities of particular areas varied. In some locations, tillage was more important, in others pasturage. The mode of crop raising differed from emphasis upon a single staple to stress

upon diversification. Some parts had greater access to coastal ports and overseas markets. The cloth industry, too, was highly developed in certain areas. The size and frequency of market towns increased in the sections which had developed commercial agriculture and the cloth industry to the highest degree.

The forms of government and religious life differed also. In certain localities borough government, commercially oriented and dominated by merchants, had a powerful influence, while in other rural areas a parish-manorial type of government prevailed. Religiously the areas varied, too, heavily Calvinistic here and strongly Anglican there.<sup>18</sup>

The West Countrymen, the first to arrive in northeastern Massachusetts, had left an area deeply committed to the sea and commercial agriculture. Their maritime activities took the form of fishing and trading in the North Atlantic; they had established several fish and fur posts in North America by the 1620's. Because the enclosure movement was well advanced in the region, individuals were working their own land and selling their products for profit on the open market. To possess a large consolidated "farm" was the ideal to which most West Countrymen aspired. The Westerner was no stranger to capitalism, recognizing the benefits from a merger of London capital with his own mercantile pursuits. Religiously, the resident of the region was likely to be a member of the Anglican Church. He did not allow intense religiosity to get in the way of business.<sup>19</sup>

The resident of the southeast, like the West Countryman, lived in an area where much land had been enclosed. Commercial agriculture had become one of his prime concerns. His general proximity to urban centers placed him in a more fluid and dynamic social environment than his fellow countryman on the West Coast. In particular, his nearness

to urban London and the surrounding boroughs introduced new pressures to his social, economic, and religious life.<sup>20</sup>

The section of the southeast coast which appears to have produced the most social, economic, and religious change was located just northeast of London. In the Stour valley land transformation came early. Agricultural lands were enclosed and made into individual farms.<sup>21</sup> The inland river network of this part of East Anglia tied the localities to the international cloth trade and spurred coastal trade with London.<sup>22</sup> Manorial decay, which diminished the authority of the local lords by removing land from their direct control, was accompanied by the growth of civil parishes dominated by a wealthy oligarchy. Common fields had been enclosed by one owner. Prosperous clothmaking boroughs were numerous. A dynamic commercial atmosphere prevailed in the valley, in agriculture as well as in the cloth industry. Within the boroughs a stratified social structure had evolved: leaders, freemen, commoners, and inhabitants. A controlling borough elite in office had elevated themselves above the common townsmen. This dichotomous social structure was accompanied by a strong reliance upon town government.<sup>23</sup> Having visible local government was important to the residents. Although the distinction between land owners (proprietors) and non-landowners was not as important as in the more manorially-oriented societies, the ruling oligarchy, nevertheless, controlled land policy.

The Stour Valley had an early exposure to ideas from the continent-- especially religious ideas. By the 1620's Puritanism had become well established and because the valley was located on the line dividing the authority of the Bishops of Norwich and London, it was difficult for the Church to control the religious impulses within the area. The clergymen there were frequently under suspicion by Church leaders. Many ecclesiastical

visits were made and numerous ministers and preachers were brought to task for their deviation.<sup>24</sup>

In northeast England, Norfolk, Lincoln, and the Midland counties, the pace of social and economic change was slower. The inhabitants of Norfolk and Lincoln counties were less well off, making their livings from dairying and cottage industries. Although most owned their own land, separate enclosures were small, far smaller than the large consolidated farms in the Stour Valley. And despite the individual ownership of land, a degree of common regulation still existed. Geographically, the area represented a transition between the manorial and enclosed systems. In the northern Midlands, to the west of the Lincoln-Norfolk area, the open field structure of land management still prevailed. Town and parish government had assumed many administrative functions once held by the manor government in these northern parts of the East. Important decisions were being made by the inhabitants themselves at town meetings. Local officers were assuming more taxation and disbursement responsibilities. Political leadership rested in the hands of an oligarchy of leading families who considered town officeholding to be a proprietary right and who were indirectly encouraging land consolidation.<sup>25</sup>

In the southern part of England, encompassing the Avon and Test river valleys, regional classification is more difficult than in the West and East. The area's basic communal and agricultural structure, especially in the dairying districts, was in transition. Although its manorial structure had not decayed to the extent of the Stour Valley and the nuclear village, the manor, and the common field were much in evidence, consolidation had commenced. Land was being alienated from the rigid control of the manor lord. Freeholders and

copyholders were obtaining a greater voice in the management and disposition of land, as manor lords released and sold their holdings.<sup>26</sup> Increasing land prices and a steady amalgamation of holdings had brought a decline in the number of small land owners and an increase in the number of wage laborers. The enclosures associated with the steady consolidation produced social tension. An increasing population, combined with diminishing manorial control, had induced the emergence of an active land market. Social tensions were heightened by sharp price fluctuations in grain and cloth.<sup>27</sup>

Geographically, the Test and Avon valleys were divided into three broad classifications: forest, wood-pastoral, and pastoral. These districts contained areas ranging from the highly enclosed with dispersed settlements to the nucleated villages. Agricultural production ranged from vegetable and grain crops and sheep growing in the Chalk areas to grass and hay in the wooded areas.<sup>28</sup> Religiously, the people had diverse views, ranging from staunch Anglicanism to extreme Puritanism. Religious disputation was common.<sup>29</sup>

Yorkshire, in the North had undergone little change compared to the other regions. The court baron and manorial system remained solidly entrenched. All residents of the parishes were expected to participate in the manor court's regulation and control of land uses. Although the open-field structure prevailed, single farms, rather than nuclear villages were more prevalent. Men lived in scattered locations about their parishes. Since the Middle Ages the raising of sheep and the trading of wool had been their preoccupation. The people were conservative and prosperous. Manorial control kept land holdings small and socially rigid stratification maintained a landed elite in power.<sup>30</sup> Compared to the desire for land evidenced in the Stour Valley.

and the Wilts-Hants region, there was little commercial activity associated with land. Even the pressure of an active cloth trade from the textile centers failed to lessen the strength of the manorial orientation appreciably.

Religiously, the people of Yorkshire were more conservative than their southern neighbors on the Stour. There were pockets of religious enthusiasm, however, and some very active Puritan clergymen. The large parishes and small dispersed settlements encouraged the emergence of itinerant preaching, more so than in the more densely settled areas to the south. Church attendance, too, was less regular and more susceptible to the whim of the individual. The parishioner attended service when the inducement was strong enough.<sup>31</sup>

In summary, the areas from which emigrants came to northeastern Massachusetts can be ranked by the extent to which the traditional manorial and Anglican religious structures had given way before the emergence of land enclosure, commercial agriculture, and Puritanism. In the East, the traditional open-field system and Anglican establishment had experienced the greatest erosion. Land markets, individual farms, and Puritan theology had changed the traditional institutions and beliefs. In contrast, the least alteration of the traditions and beliefs had occurred in the North. There the manor lord and feudal tenure remained. Pockets of Puritanism did, however, challenge the basic Anglicanism of the area.

#### English Characteristics Reflected in Essex County

Although the attention scholars give to the English regionalism just examined is meager, that dedicated to tracing the impact of regional characteristics upon settlement in Massachusetts, or elsewhere in America, is even more sparse. With the exception of the seminal study of Sumner C.

Powell on Sudbury in 1963, John J. Waters on Hingham in 1968, and Charles E. Clark on northern New England in 1970, little had been undertaken in this important area. Recently, however, Richard Gildrie had assessed the West Country-East Anglian conflict in early Salem and David G. Allen, in an unpublished dissertation, has examined the effect of English regionalism upon the development of five selected Massachusetts Bay communities, three of which are in Essex County-- Ipswich, Newbury, and Rowley.<sup>32</sup>

While Gloucester offered an excellent harbor and access to the sea, it could not provide the large farm sites sought by the "planters" from the West Country. Salem, by contrast, provided both the harbor facilities and the farmsteads they desired. The Old Planters soon had established an active fish, fur, and agricultural trade with the communities along the New England coast. Their inundation by new immigrants between 1628 and 1630, initiated by the arrival of John Endicott and some fifty new people in 1628, was not met uncritically by the Old Planters. They welcomed the support that greater numbers could provide, but were concerned lest they lose control of their plantation. By 1628, 300 settlers, drawn mostly from East Anglia and the London area, had arrived in Salem. Of this number only forty were from the West Country of the Old Planters. After the arrival of still larger numbers of East Anglians in 1630, the fears of the Westerners were realized; within several years they were a minority in their own plantation.<sup>33</sup>

The vigorous church discipline and control of the franchise exercised by the East Anglian Puritans became the means for controlling the Old Planters. The broadly-based church and civil covenants of the original Western settlers, products of White's efforts to attract as many as possible to America by keeping restrictions to a minimum, were altered.



The East Anglian conception of the covenant was much more exclusive; elements of the community that had previously been included within the broader covenants of Conant's and Endicott's time were now excluded from the mainstream of town and religious life. The Saints' determined notion to rule exclusively despite the increasing pluralism developing within the town initiated a political conflict with the Old Planters that lasted for nearly four decades, from Roger Williams' efforts to exclude the West Countrymen's successful efforts to have Beverly secede from Salem in 1668. In 1635 the West Countrymen sent three deputies to the General Court with instructions to vote for the banishment of Roger Williams. A year later Conant and his group secured a plantation across the North River from Salem Town, at Beverly.<sup>34</sup> They proceeded to lay out their long-sought enclosed "Farms." Endicott, a large investor in the Bay Company, received a large grant upon which to establish a plantation up the Danvers River to the west of the peninsula.<sup>35</sup>

Other West Country settlements within the larger Salem grant were involved in political conflicts with Salem Town. The settlement at Manchester ( three miles northeast of Salem Town) challenged the parent town's leaders for years, demanding a better road to the ferry at Salem and citing their failure to organize a church. After a lengthy struggle, Manchester won its incorporation from the General Court in 1645. The village of Marblehead, adjacent to Salem Town, proved to be a more tenacious problem for the Salem leaders. The community generated wealth from fishing, from which the Town appeared to profit, but the village's unorthodox religious positions incensed the East Anglian Puritans in Salem. Marblehead seceded and became an incorporated town in 1649. The last and longest struggle between the West and the East within the original Salem plantation in the seventeenth century was concluded when

the General Court recognized the separation of the Old Planters at Beverly in 1668.<sup>36</sup>

Lynn's early development appears to have reflected a dichotomy between the expectation of the advocates of enclosure from the counties of southeastern England and those who sought to maintain the manorial structure of the northeast counties. Because the town was located on the main thoroughfare between Boston and Salem, its population grew relatively fast. Its settlers immediately began to divide the land; by 1636, when the Proprietors' Book was compiled, 8600 acres had been distributed.<sup>37</sup> Although cattle was kept on the common lands and lots were drawn for the grass and uplands plow and meadow sections--a possible concession to the relatively high percentage of settlers from the Lincoln-Norfolk and Midlands areas where the open field was more common--there is little evidence that a nucleated village was established. Rather, the desire for land characteristic of the immigrants from the southeast appears to have prevailed. In 1638 a group petitioned the General Court for more land. The Court responded by granting both the Lynn End and Lynn Village areas to the town.<sup>38</sup> By 1640 the settlers were putting their capital into an infant iron industry in addition to their investments in land.<sup>39</sup>

Those from the Stour Valley who followed John Winthrop, Jr. to Ipswich quickly turned to specialized agriculture, land consolidation, and capital investment. The influence of the urban boroughmen in their midst inhibited any tendency to reconstruct the open-field or manorial structure. The desire for land quickly drew people from the center of the town. The creation of individual homesteads and the development of commercial agriculture were accompanied by a desire for capital investment. Thus, a robust commercial life emerged.<sup>40</sup>

In Ipswich a ruling oligarchy soon appeared-- the association between accumulated wealth and land and political domination becoming a strong one. Within a decade of the town's founding most of the land had been divided and was in the hands of individual owners who were free to sell it. Individuals did sell; land became a marketable commodity and individuals began to accumulate it in large amounts, which resulted in the rise of a landed elite. David Allen has calculated that the top 10% of the settlers arriving before 1640 came to hold 48.8% of the total wealth of the town, while the bottom 50% possessed only 12.3%. An even stronger pattern of concentration can be seen in land distribution, the top 10% receiving 50.9% of the total land granted, while the lower half of the total of grantees got but 5.13%. A strong relationship existed between the wealth accumulated and the duration in office of the selectmen. The sixteen selectmen with the longest tenure between 1636 and 1687 served an average of eleven terms and accumulated over 1,687 pounds at the time of their deaths. The eight men with the longest tenure averaged 14.8 terms and amassed an average of over 2,742, while the eight with the least experience averaged seven terms and over 628 pounds at the time of death.<sup>41</sup>

The accumulation of wealth, the consolidation of land holdings, and the domination of office by an oligarchy appears to be an inheritance from the Stour Valley. In the valley, the land which had been alienated from manorial control was being bought and sold in an active land market. Ipswich, too, had its land market. The buying and selling of land parcels, which led to consolidation, created compact homesteads scattered about the town. By 1643 the consolidation movement appears

to have reached its geographical limits. The extremes of wealth at the top and a tradition of government based upon the borough structures inherited from the Eastern cloth towns placed government and the selectmen at the very center of commercial life in Ipswich.<sup>42</sup>

The policy of Salem and Ipswich to encourage the settlement of emigrants from the East of England through the issuance of land grants-- a policy quite different from their generally hostile approach to the adjacent West County fishing villages-- resulted in the founding of Topsfield and Wenham. In 1639 Salem and Ipswich relinquished sizable portions of their vaguely-defined western territory to accommodate the Easterners who had located there in 1635. Although the Salem authorities specified that the settlers establish a nuclear village on the north side of the Ipswich River, the meadow on the south side drew the newcomers attention. Before the original inhabitants could lay claim to the additional lands on the south bank of the river, however, a clique of prominent gentry, important leaders from Salem and Ipswich led by Simon Eradstreet, managed to secure a large grant from the General Court in 1643.<sup>43</sup>

In Wenham, too, large grants were given to individuals initially to encourage settlement followed by a grant which specified that a nuclear village be created. After several grants of 100 and 200 acres, in 1637 Salem granted John Phillips, a Puritan clergymen, a portion of land and instructed him to establish a village for himself and his company and organize a parish. Although Phillips personally received eighty acres as an inducement, he subsequently left the area. In 1642 the Salem officials requested that the earlier grantees each give up two acres for the formation of a village. It was done and the community of Wenham was incorporated in 1643.<sup>44</sup> Thus the establishment of Topsfield

and Wenham by Easterners demonstrates the mixed motives of the early settlers: a desire to recreate the traditional nuclear village and open-field system, but at the same time the wish for land was bringing the consolidation of land and the emergence of scattered farmsteads within the two towns.

Initially the organizational scheme of the Southerners from Wiltshire and Hampshire who founded Newbury reflected their manorial inheritance. They immediately established a compact, open-field village. House lots were located on the river bank and planting and pasture lots beyond. Within a decade, however, the commercialization of land began. To the north of the original Parker River site were located two powerful attractions: fertile land and a large river, which penetrated deep into the interior. The strength of these enticements soon overwhelmed manorial control. A majority of the residents, including Thomas Parker himself, decided to move as a group to the Merrimac River in the early 1640's. Thus the original manorial structure lasted less than a decade and the decision to migrate split the village, for many who had established themselves on the Parker refused to move and continued to keep the official town governmental functions unto themselves.<sup>45</sup> The desire for land ownership, a strong motive for the migration, had developed early. An active land market appeared even before the movement northward. The rigid social structure associated with manorialism, in which the distribution of land was controlled and the collective interests of the community in mind, broke down. Individuals and factions within the town began to accumulate land and wealth.

Allen's measurement of wealth distribution among 51 of the 102 proprietors living in Newbury between 1641 and 1701 indicates the

extent to which a landed elite developed. Although the proportion of total wealth held by the top 10% of the ratepayers was less than the 48.8% in Ipswich, the 33.8% recorded gave Newbury a wealthy elite of significance. In the inequality of land distribution Newbury surpassed even Ipswich, the top 10% of the grantees holding 56.4% of the total land granted. Because land had become commercialized and more readily accumulated, it became relatively easy to move to the proprietary level. Since the proprietors elected the selectmen from among their own group, they controlled town government as well as land policy.<sup>46</sup>

The wish for land induced the men of Newbury to look beyond their town for opportunities. They joined men from Ipswich with the same desire to form plantation companies for the development of unsettled lands in the lower Merrimac Valley. Despite the regional differences between the Wilts-Hants men from Newbury and the Stour Valley men from Ipswich, their common interest in plantations led to united efforts. As organizations, the men from the two regions negotiated with the leaders of the Bay Company for grants and recruited settlers to emigrate to the designated areas.<sup>47</sup>

The Yorkshiremen from the North quickly tried to transplant their social and communal structure in Rowley. A land elite controlled affairs and maintained a well-ordered, tradition-bound society. The town became the center of land policy and kept the size of land divisions to individuals small. The town meeting dominated the selectmen and other town officials. Each freeman was expected to participate in government and rotate offices with his fellow townsmen. Matters of significance were handled by specifically appointed groups from the top strata of society. The manorial system, with its widespread need to regulate,

required the efforts of all. The large number of common fields necessitated extensive communal interdependence and cooperation. The stratified social structure had a place for everyone and few left the town once they had been integrated into the society.<sup>48</sup>

The manorial characteristics (smaller grants, more land turnover, more rotation in office, and less wealth concentration) of Rowley are vividly depicted by Allen's comparative figures on Ipswich, Newbury, and Rowley. In Rowley the original grants were relatively meager-- only 2% of the grants were larger than 100 acres, while in Watertown, an East Anglian town examined by Allen, that number was 34%. A comparison of original grants with inventories of land between 1635 and 1664 reveals an average turnover of only 8.5 acres for Rowley, but 50.5 acres for Newbury. The years of experience as selectmen for Rowley men during the 1650's, 1660's, and 1670's were low, averaging 1.5, 2.2, and 3.3 years respectively. For Ipswich, by contrast, the averages were 2.1, 5.4, and 6.2 years for the same periods. The twelve selectmen with the longest tenure between 1636 and 1687 served an average of 4.25 terms in Rowley, but, as noted previously, a full 11 terms in Ipswich. Wealth was less concentrated in Rowley than in neighboring Ipswich, 10% of the ratepayers in the former town owning 35.5% of the wealth contrasted with the 48.8% for the latter town.<sup>49</sup>

The plantations of the Merrimac were products of a general feeling of overcrowdedness by the residents of Ipswich and Newbury.<sup>50</sup> Undoubtedly the vigorous land markets in these towns contributed to the concern over land scarcity. In two of the three Merrimac settlements-- Salisbury and Haverhill-- land allotments were generous and divisions frequent. Only Andover appears to have seriously attempted to implement an open-field manorial system.

In Salisbury lots were divided in typical open field fashion, ranging from one to four acres. The size of the lots depended upon the relative status of the recipient. The total of land divided was enormous when compared with the divisions in the earlier towns. Marsh, beach, and meadow lands were disposed of immediately. Despite the rising concerns about granting land to non-settlers and granting too many acres, lots were issued as far inland as the Powow River, about five miles up the Merrimac.<sup>51</sup> Although the one-to-four pattern of house lot distribution gave the grantee a smaller parcel and suggested the presence of a more compact settlement than was the case in the one-to-six scheme in Rowley, the amount released soon negated any effort to adhere to the traditional manorial pattern. The granting of more land than could realistically be farmed appears to be a reflection of basic land hunger of English origin. The object of land policy seemed to be to free the land by means of the allocation process in order to realize the commercial and speculative value of the land more readily. The initial grants came early in 1639, followed by additional allotments in the latter part of the year. Further issues occurred in 1640 and 1642. Also in 1642, the selectmen ordered that thirty families move west to the Powow and relocate their dwellings there.<sup>52</sup> This appears to have been an open attempt to secure the western lands for future utilization.

Upstream from Salisbury, at Haverhill, John Ward and his followers laid down their town lots within a 300-acre parcel along the river. The founders dropped any pretense of establishing a close-knit village-- twenty-acre house lots were distributed to the settlers with assets of at least 200 pounds and scaled down thereafter according to the assets of the individual, and traditional plow and meadow lands were



granted on the periphery of the settlement.<sup>53</sup> The large size of the individual house lots and the availability of vast amounts of land to the north separated the inhabitants from each other and led to the consolidation of land. By 1659 four sizable land divisions had occurred and the open-field structure had disappeared. The buying, selling, and exchanging of lots was rapidly producing a system of dispersed individual farms as men strove to combine their holdings.<sup>54</sup> The area was indeed immense; the Pentucket Plantation, like the Merrimac Plantation (Salisbury) before it, penetrated deep into the interior of the area north of the Merrimac. The location of the town's northern line remained vague until the Massachusetts-New Hampshire boundary settlement a century later.

At Andover the grantees returned to the four-to-one distribution pattern seen earlier at Salisbury. As in Salisbury, which had the same size range for house lots, the amount that each person received was dependent upon his worth. The town leadership was so determined to establish a nuclear structure that it forbade the building of any dwelling in any part of the town other than that set aside for house lots. The meadow, tillage, and wood lots assigned in the more remote parts were to be maintained for the purpose originally intended.<sup>55</sup> Of the towns, only Rowley compared favorably in terms of the volume of land held in common by Andover. Although the original grantees had come from Ipswich and Newbury, as was the case in Salisbury and Haverhill, the commercialization of land and the consolidation of lots took much longer to emerge in Andover than in the two previously founded towns of Salisbury and Haverhill. Each of the most prominent grantees-- Simon Bradstreet, John Osgood, John Woodbury, and Nicholas Holt-- had previously lived in open field districts within their respective English

regions.<sup>56</sup> Thus the town of Andover, unlike the other towns established by the people from the East and South of England, apparently retained the characteristics of the open-field system because of the influence of the four men who laid the initial plans for the town.

Despite the initial Old-Country differences among the groups who settled and the sparseness of population in many areas, by 1650 Essex County appears to have had more potential for future regional development than its three sister counties. After East Anglian migrants joined West Countrymen on Salem's peninsula in the early 1630's, East Anglians combined with Southerners to settle the Merrimac Valley towns later in the decade, and people from many parts of England arrived more indiscriminately in the early 1640's, by mid century the commercialization of land appears to have eroded away some of the inherited regional differences. Unlike the settlers in the other original counties, the people of Essex occupied the entire county among their thirteen incorporated towns. Although population was spread very thin in many of these towns, it had begun to cluster in several important locations. Thus each of three rudimentary subregions that corresponded roughly to the three phases of early development--South, Middle, and North--by 1650 was strengthened by an emerging population cluster. From the clusters later would come the central places essential to regional integration.

## CHAPTER III

### POPULATION GROWTH AS A BASIS FOR COUNTY DEVELOPMENT

Population growth and mobility after mid century moved Essex people in two directions, spreading them out among the thirteen towns and clustering them in particular localities. The dual movement contributed to the breakdown of inherited regional differences among the communities, while simultaneously strengthening subregional formation. On one hand, the concentration of people, first, at the harbor, then along the Merrimac, and, finally at inland locations, built the foundation upon which central places emerged later. On the other hand, as people dispersed in an ever-widening periphery about the clusters, interconnections among the localities involved led to the appearance of communal networks about the growing central places. Essential to the task of tracing cluster formation and population dispersal is the need to measure population at given points.

#### The Problem of Estimating Population

Assessing population change systematically at selected intervals in early American history is difficult. The prerequisites for measurement present serious problems for the researcher. The foremost obstacle is that of providing accurate population estimates in the absence of specific recorded data. The figures compiled in Table III:1, although they form the basis for the projections appearing in this chapter, are themselves derived from a synthesis of various materials and theories.<sup>1</sup>

The general strategy is to test the various population estimates for individual Essex towns offered by local writers against a common

guideline of population behavior in colonial America. Local estimates vary from those of town historians, making little more than guesses, to those of trained demographers, who rely upon sophisticated procedures. One must bear in mind that in none of the towns does a recorded enumeration exist prior to 1765. Because estimates for Andover, Ipswich, and Salem appear to be the most complete and well-reasoned from among the communities of the county, figures for these towns provide a rough standard of comparison in assessing the general reliability of particular estimates.<sup>2</sup>

An understanding derived from Thomas Malthus' view in the eighteenth century that population in colonial America doubled every twenty-five years at a constant rate is still a guide for measuring people. Malthus' theory is, of course debatable, his detractors arguing that the rate of growth exceeded his figure prior to the 1660's or 1670's and fell below it thereafter. A more recent modification of Malthus' position, that population fell just short of doubling itself every quarter century and at a constantly declining rate of growth, is employed as a general guide in the construction of Table III:1.<sup>3</sup>

#### Clustering in the Harbor Area and the North, 1630-1650

Founding the settlements that would later become population centers-- Salem Harbor, Ipswich, Gloucester, and the Lower, Middle, and Upper Merrimac-- was a precarious undertaking. As shown in Table III:1, approximately 500 people founded six widely-separated sites. As members of seven plantations, the original settlers claimed ownership of, but only sparsely occupied, nearly 400 square miles of territory. Population stood roughly at one person per square mile.<sup>4</sup> To point out the small number of founders underscores the sparseness of the settlements; however,

TABLE III:1

POPULATION AND DENSITY ESTIMATES, ESSEX COUNTY, 1630-1765

Sub-region/ Town	* At Founding			1650			1690			1720			1765		
	Pop	Size	Den	Pop	Size	Den	Pop	Size	Den	Pop	Size	Den	Pop	Size	Den
<b>SOUTH</b>															
Salem	100	84	1	450	8	56	1200	8	147	2600	8	317	4469	8	546
Danvers				300	35	8	528	35	15	1264	35	36	2151	31	61
Marbleh				500	4	113	1000	4	226	2977	4	674	4954	4	1121
Beverly				150	15	10	821	15	53	1890	15	123	2960	15	193
Lynn	50	37	1	400	37	12	835	37	22	1650	37	44	1474	37	66
Wenham				170	8	21	330	8	40	447	8	54	564	8	69
Manch.				180	8	23	350	8	45	545	8	71	739	8	96
TOT./AVG	150	122	1	2150	117	18	5064	117	43	11373	117	93	18301	112	163
<b>MIDDLE</b>															
Ipswich	50	66	1	600	63	10	1200	63	19	2485	63	40	3770	63	60
Glouctr		34		250	34	7	500	34	15	2136	34	64	3772	34	112
Rowley	100	79	1	360	75	5	722	32	22	1102	32	34	1481	32	46
Newb'y	100	48	2	350	39	9	572	39	15	1771	39	45	2960	39	76
Tops'd				200	18	11	415	18	23	567	18	32	719	13	56
Boxf'd				---	---	---	504	24	21	664	24	28	851	24	35
Middle				---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	581	14	40
TOT./AVG	250	193	1	1760	228	8	3916	210	19	8725	210	42	14134	219	64
<b>NORTH</b>															
Andove	100	73	1	425	68	6	850	68	12	1657	68	24	2464	63	38
Nwbypt				300	9	34	525	9	59	1770	9	199	2882	9	323
Salisb	100	39	3	400	39	10	741	16	46	1043	16	65	1344	16	34
Haverh	100	53	2	350	53	7	887	53	17	1440	53	27	1993	26	75
Amestu				---	---	---	514	23	23	1041	23	46	1567	23	69
Bradfo				---	---	---	288	19	15	735	19	40	1181	19	63
Methue				---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	933	27	35
TOT./AVG	300	165	2	1475	169	9	3805	188	20	7686	188	41	12364	183	67
<b>COUNTY</b>															
TOTALS	700	479	2	5385	514	10	12785	514	25	27784	514	54	44799	514	87

\* Pop - Population totals

Size - Size in square miles to the nearest whole number

Den - Density, in persons per square mile, rounded to nearest whole number

Sources: Cassedy, Demography in Early America; Dexter, "Estimates of Population in the American Colonies;" Green and Harrington, American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790; Malthus, An Essay on the Principal of Population; Glass and Eversley, eds., Population in History; Anderson, The Economic Growth of Seventeenth-Century New England; Felt, "Statistics of Towns in Massachusetts;" Davisson, "Essex County Wealth Trends;" Erikson, Wayward Puritans; Greven, Four Generations; and Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial America, A Study of Ipswich."

one must bear in mind that the planting of villages took more than a decade to complete (1630-1643). Therefore, the 100 founders of the first settlement (Salem) had been joined by new immigrants before the founding of the last village (Andover). Thus the accumulation of population at the more-established places began in the first decade and continued throughout the period of this study.

Population began to concentrate moderately around Salem Harbor from the beginning. As illustrated in Table 2, in 1650 the four localities that clustered within a four-mile radius of the Salem peninsula--Salem Town, Marblehead, Beverly, and Salem Village--were more populated than any other area of similar size in the county. The buildup of inhabitants in the Harbor Area was relatively modest at this time, averaging 467 persons per locality, as compared to 359 for the county generally and a density of twenty-two persons per square mile to ten persons per square mile for the county. The new population cluster (the Harbor Area) contained 65% of the people living in the seven settlements of the southern subregion. Although Salem and Marblehead were population leaders in the vicinity of the harbor, having 44% of the inhabitants of the South and 68% of the Harbor Area, their populations were approximated by towns in other parts of the county. As adjacent communities, however, they formed a significant population concentration.<sup>5</sup>

A second, but slightly weaker, cluster appeared on the Lower Merrimac at this time. Although 700 people were centered in a four-mile radius west of Newburyport, the average population of the port community was less than that of the remaining two settlements upstream--Haverhill and Andover. The density of the combined communities at the river's mouth (Newburyport and Salisbury), however, exceeded that of the towns upriver, Newburyport having a density of fourteen persons per

TABLE III:2

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN SUBREGIONS, CLUSTERS, AND CENTERS, ESSEX COUNTY, 1630-1765

Subregion/Cluster/Center	% County Total				% Subregional Total				% Cluster Total			
	1650	1690	1720	1765	1650	1690	1720	1765	1650	1690	1720	1765
<b><u>SOUTH</u></b>												
Harbor Area Cluster												
Salem	8	9	9	10	21	24	23	24	32	34	30	31
Marblehead	9	8	11	11	23	20	26	27	36	28	34	34
Danvers	6	4	5	5	14	10	11	12	21	15	14	15
Beverly	3	6	7	7	7	16	17	16	11	23	22	20
Total Harbor Area	26	27	32	33	65	70	77	79	100	100	100	100
<b>TOTAL % OF SOUTH</b>	40	39	42	41	100	100	100	100	---	---	---	---
<b><u>NORTH</u></b>												
Lower-Merrimac Cluster												
Newburyport	6	4	6	4	17	14	22	13	57	29	46	50
Salisbury	7	6	4	3	20	19	14	11	43	42	27	23
Amesbury	--	4	4	4	--	14	14	13	--	29	27	27
Total Lower-Mer.	13	14	14	11	47	47	50	47	100	100	100	100
Mid-Merrimac Cluster												
Haverhill	--	--	5	4	--	--	19	16	---	---	66	63
Bradford	--	--	3	3	--	--	3	10	---	---	34	37
Total Mid.-Mer.	--	--	8	7	--	--	22	26	---	---	100	100
Upper-Merrimac Cluster												
Andover	--	--	--	7	--	--	--	20	---	---	---	73
Kethuen	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	7	---	---	---	27
Total Upp.-Mer.	--	--	--	9	--	--	--	27	---	---	---	100
<b>TOTAL % OF NORTH</b>	27	30	28	27	100	100	100	100	---	---	---	---
<b><u>MIDDLE</u></b>												
Ipswich	--	9	9	9	34	31	29	27	100	100	100	100
Gloucester	--	--	8	8	14	13	25	27	100	100	100	100
<b>TOTAL % OF MIDDLE</b>	33	30	30	32	100	100	100	100	---	---	---	---
<b>TOTAL % IN POP. CENTERS</b>	39	50	71	77	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

The Figures in the table are based upon the date of Table III:1.

square mile and Salisbury three persons per square mile. Thus in 1650 the two clusters combined-- Harbor Area and Lower Merrimac-- represented 33% of the county's communities and 39% of its population, only a modest inequality of distribution. The differences in density, however, were more impressive: nineteen persons per square mile for the two clusters and ten persons per square mile for the county over all.

Although the two population clusters provide the foundation for emergence later of three broad subregions, in 1650 neither the clusters nor the localities within them were particularly distinguishable from the other communities of the county. Individual locations within the two areas of concentration averaged 350 inhabitants, while the average for all sites in the county was 337. Because no single town rose much above the others, the clustering phenomenon alone identifies population centers. This changed later as increased accumulation set some individual communities apart.

#### Clustering in the Middle, 1650-1690

Between 1650 and 1690 the two clusters expanded and were supplemented by a single-town population center between them. Although the new center, Ipswich, had only 9% of the county population and compared unfavorably with the two, more populated, centers to its south and north, the town stood out because of its position at the very heart of the sparsely-settled middle part of the county. As seen in Table III:2, Ipswich contained 31% of the population of the Middle subregion, exceeding the proportions of Salem, Marblehead, and Newburyport in their respective subregions. The rise of the town as a population leader laid the base for the future development of the Middle.

Because of its relatively vast geographical size, low density,



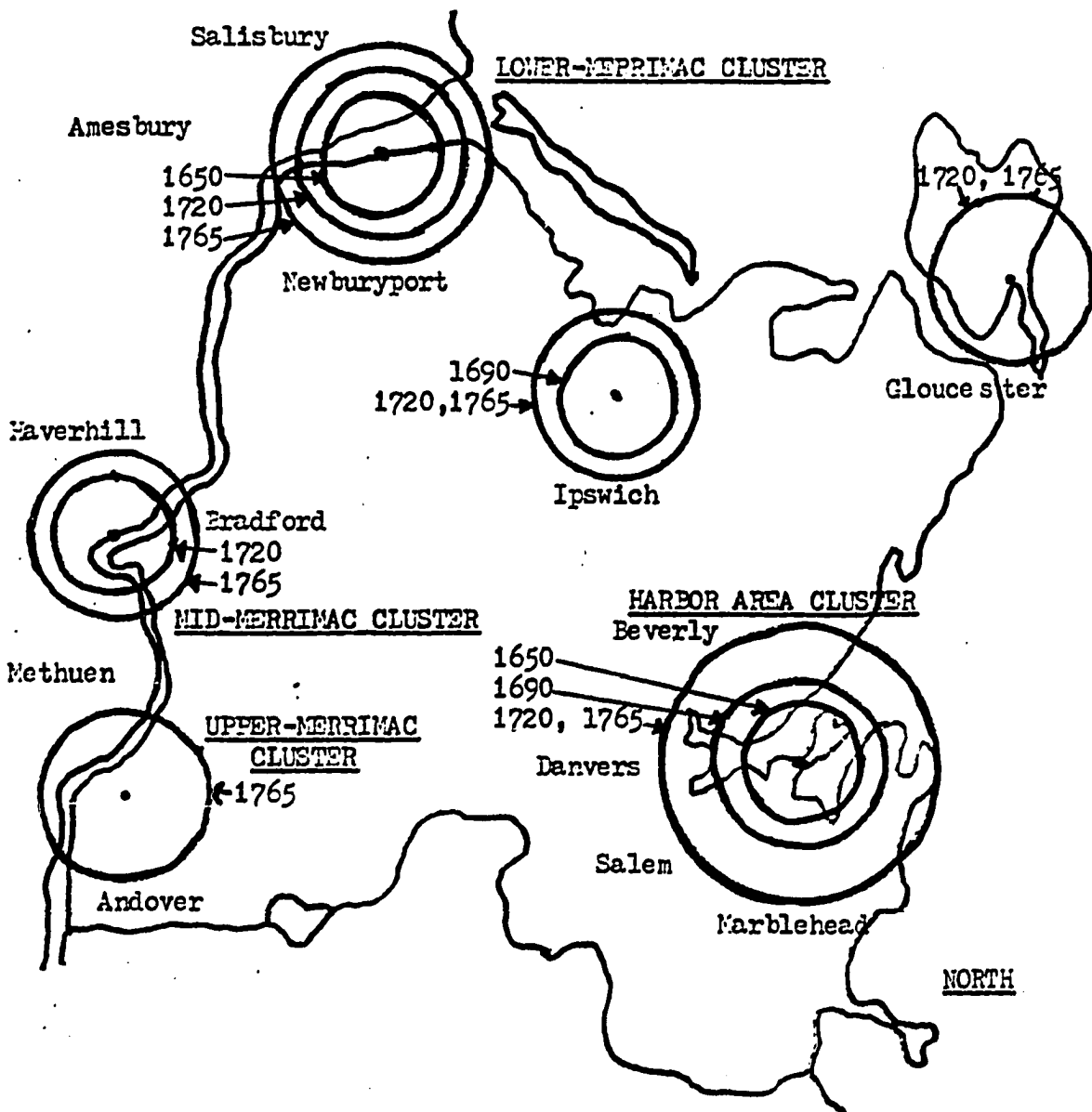
and central location, Ipswich assumed characteristics quite unlike the two earlier, more concentrated clusters, at Salem harbor and at the mouth of the Merrimac. With a density of nineteen persons per square mile in 1690, Ipswich ranked below the two more compact areas; Marblehead, Salem, and Newburyport had attained density levels of 226, 147, and 59 persons per square mile respectively. Yet despite the dispersal of Ipswich's people in several villages-- a central village and other outlying communities-- its large population and central position gave it an advantage over the large and even more sparsely-settled towns around it. As indicated in Map III:1, the town's unique geographical position gave it a hinterland stretching in all directions about the county's mid section.<sup>6</sup>

In 1690 the number of people residing within the four communities of the Harbor Area reached 3549, an increase of 154% over the figure for 1650. Density underwent a similar rise, reaching fifty-six persons per square mile, 162% above the level of twenty-two persons per square mile for the earlier date. Among the communities in the South, the percentage of people living within the Harbor Area expanded by 5%, the beginning of a trend that continued through the years of this study. Increases in Beverly and Salem were responsible for the rising predominance of the Harbor Area within the southern part of the county. The four locations of the area averaged 887 inhabitants, 32% above the county's level of 673 persons. In 1650 the same differential had stood at 4%.

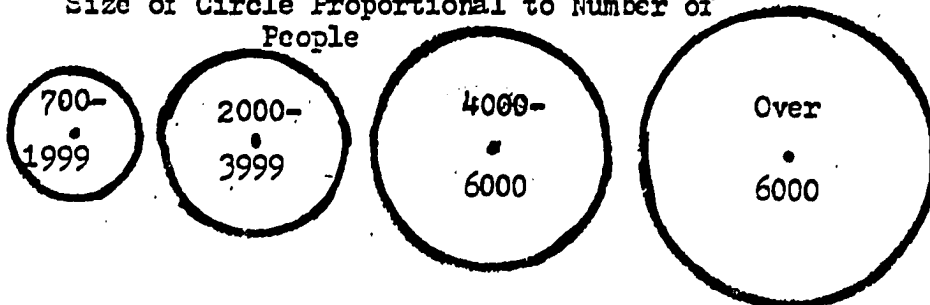
The Lower Merrimac increased by the same percentage as the Harbor Area, the population of the northern cluster rising from 700 in 1650 to 1780 in 1690 and the density from fourteen to thirty-seven persons per square mile. Rapid increases in Salisbury and Amesbury (seceded from

Figure III:1

Population Centers and Clusters, Essex County,  
1650 - 1765



Size of Circle Proportional to Number of  
People



Salisbury in 1668) explain the capacity of the Lower Merrimac to keep pace with the Harbor Area. Newburyport at this time, although it would later dominate the Lower Merrimac, was still on a par with Salisbury in over-all size and growth. The cluster at the mouth of the river failed to reach the commanding position within the northern subregion that the Harbor Area attained in the South. Its number of inhabitants never exceeded 50% of the population of the North, whereas the Harbor Area would ultimately contain 79% of the people in the southern subregion. Thus the Lower Merrimac was dependent upon the clustering of communities; the average population of the three towns in the cluster was 595, 12% below the average for the county and even farther below the average for the towns in the Harbor Area.

#### Cluster Growth and New Clusters on the Periphery, 1690-1720

During the 1690-1720 period the population pattern within the county broadened as new centers and clusters arose in diverse locations. As the established areas of concentration-- Harbor Area, Lower Merrimac, and Ipswich-- grew, people began to cluster in two additional locations; Gloucester on Cape Ann became a center and Haverhill and Bradford combined mid-way up the Merrimac Valley became a cluster.

By 1720 the number of people within a four-mile radius of the Salem peninsula had swollen to 8731, growing by 146% over the total for 1690. Density reflected a similar change in percentage between the two dates, rising to 139 persons per square mile. Seventy-seven percent of the people in the South now lived in the Harbor Area, up by 2% from the earlier period. The increase in Marblehead, which now led all county towns in population (2977 persons) and density (674 persons per square mile), accounted for most of the increased growth.

The communities of the Harbor Area now averaged 2183 people, a climb of 146% over the average for 1690. By comparison, Marblehead grew by 198% during the period. Thus the Harbor Area attained advantage from both the clustering of localities and the presence of very highly populated and densely-settled individual communities, an advantage that would be magnified even more in the future.

Population in the Lower Merrimac did not expand as fast as that in the Harbor Area. The population rose to 3854 people, a jump of 117% over that for 1690. Density went up to eighty persons per square mile and reflected the same percentage of change as population growth. As seen in Table III:1, during the thirty years under consideration Newburyport emerged for the first time as a densely-populated community on a par with those of the Harbor Area; the population and density levels rose by 23%.

The growth figures for Ipswich indicate that the town's relative position among the county's centers and clusters changed little during the period. Population jumped from 1200 to 2485 and density from nineteen to forty persons per square mile, increases in both categories of 108%. Among the towns in the Middle, however, the relative position of Ipswich improved. Despite the rise of Gloucester as a new center in the Middle, Ipswich increased its population compared to the average for the towns in the subregion (1427) from 54% to 57%.

Gloucester grew from only 500 people in 1690 to 2136 inhabitants in 1720, an extraordinary jump of 327%. Density also rose, reaching sixty-four persons per square mile as compared to fifteen persons per square mile on the previous date. Thus Gloucester stood at a level comparable to Ipswich, falling only slightly behind in population, but exceeding it substantially in density. The rise of the two centers-- Gloucester

and Ipswich-- however modest in size compared to the two more populated clusters, illustrates the impulse of people to settle the once sparsely-populated Cape Ann area in the eastern part of the county.

After the turn of the century population began to grow in Haverhill and Bradford, at the falls on opposite banks of the Merrimac, by 1720 forming a cluster henceforth identified as Mid-Merrimac. Combined, the two towns had 2175 inhabitants and a density of thirty persons per square mile. Although the characteristics of the new cluster pale by comparison to the larger coastal clusters, they reflect the increasing movement of settlement up the Merrimac Valley.

Throughout the period ending in 1720 people continued to concentrate in clusters and select individual centers, the proportion of the county's residents living in such environments rising from 39% in 1650, to 50% in 1690, and to 71% in 1720. As seen in Table III:2, the Harbor Area remained the largest cluster, expanding its share of the county's population from 26% to 32% between 1650 and 1720. People crowded into the communities around the Harbor and into the widely-separated centers and clusters of the North and Middle.

In the next forty-five years crowding continued in the Harbor Area and people moved to the Upper-Merrimac (Andover and Methuen). By 1765 the four towns around the Harbor had a total of 14,534, up by 66% over 1720.<sup>7</sup> Density reached an unprecedented 246 persons per square mile, expanding by 77% over the previous date. Marblehead and Salem together outdistanced Beverly and Danvers (seceded from Salem in 1757) noticeably, the peninsulas upon which the two communities were situated having densities of 1121 and 546 persons per square mile respectively.

Growth in the Lower Merrimac lagged considerably behind that of the Harbor Area. Both population and density increased, however, by

66%, population from 3854 to 5790, and density from 80 to 121 persons per square mile. In 1765 the cluster held 47% of the people in the entire Merrimac Valley of Essex County. Of the towns comprising the Lower-Merrimac cluster, Newburyport continued to lead all others, attaining a population of 2882 and a density of 323 persons per square mile. That town alone had nearly as many people as the two towns in each of the clusters farther upstream, containing 23% of the population of the northern subregion. The Mid-Merrimac and Upper-Merrimac clusters had 26% and 27% of the North's people.

Farther upstream from the Newburyport area, at Mid-Merrimac, change occurred between 1720 and 1765, population growing by 46%-- from 2172 to 3174-- and density by 137%-- from thirty to seventy-one persons per square mile. Despite its sharp increase in density, the Mid-Merrimac cluster remained more sparsely settled than the Lower Merrimac cluster, having only 56% of the density recorded for the larger center. Haverhill's domination of the two-town area declined slightly, Bradford increasing its share of the total from 34% to 37%.

As illustrated in Map III:1, a third population cluster, Andover-Methuen, appeared on the Merrimac by 1765. Although the new area of concentration exceeded the population of Mid-Merrimac, it was far less densely settled, having a density of thirty-eight persons per square mile. Upper-Merrimac had 3397 people in 1765 and Mid-Merrimac 3174 inhabitants. Andover, the second most populated town in the Merrimac Valley, contained 73% of the people in the Upper-Merrimac cluster.

As seen in Table III:2, Ipswich and Gloucester together contained 54% of the people in the Middle, unmatched by any other two towns. Gloucester contained 3772 people and Ipswich 3770. Because the towns were adjacent to each other, they formed a well-populated contiguous

area in the eastern part of the county. Although their populations were nearly identical. Gloucester had nearly twice the density of Ipswich, 112 persons per square mile to Ipswich's sixty person per square mile. While each town had several outlying communities that tended to disperse its population the central villages of each were quite densely populated.

Settlement patterns have basic features-- pace, scope, direction and distribution; the ways in which each developed in Essex set the course of regional growth. The speed and sweep of settlement is especially notable, thirteen localities encompassing the entire county in only nineteen years. No other shire laid such a foundation for development. After establishing themselves at Salem Harbor in 1630, the settlers had moved twenty miles up the coast to the mouth of the Merrimac in only eight years and had penetrated up the same river another twenty miles to Andover five years later. Even as the migration progressed along the coast and up the river, population centers and clusters formed behind the settlement line. As population increased-- at first, in the Harbor Area, Ipswich, and Lower Merrimac, and later, in other places-- political life became more complex within these areas; political practices had to be refined as an expanding number of people placed ever greater demands upon their local functionaries. The strengthening of the internal dimension of political life consequently expanded the influence of the population centers on the communities around them-- the external dimension. Thus political life when viewed from both dimensions becomes a vital force for county development as we shall see next.

## CHAPTER IV

### POLITICAL DEVELOPEMNT

The pattern of concentrated political power among the towns of northeastern Massachusetts roughly paralleled that for population--from Salem Harbor, northward to the Merrimac, and up the Merrimac Valley. Salem, founded first and designated as the Bay Company's initial administrative center, had a great advantage over the towns that followed. The political pattern had one noticeable exception--Ipswich's extraordinary exercise of political power at the outset gave the town influence far beyond that warranted by its modest population. Thus from the beginning political authority in Essex was divided--Salem and Ipswich rivals for prominence and each at times dominant.

The differences between Salem and Ipswich largely controlled county development. The rivalry provided a political arena in which the voices of the traditional landed interests and the emerging mercantile faction could be heard. Salem and Ipswich magistrates, as concerned with gaining advantage over each other as with affiliating with the Boston men--established a tradition of political independence from central authority. The geographical separation between the two towns encouraged a broad settlement pattern and a relatively uniform and comprehensive outline of general development. People fanned out over the county from the two communities, gradually forming subregions in the process. No other county in the Commonwealth appears to have laid a stronger foundation for political and geographical development. From this base of separate subregional interests, concerns addressed increasingly to the county as a whole would emerge.



The Rise of the South, 1630-1690

As we have seen, a milieu of towns soon appeared in the original Salem grant. The fine harbor, with its numerous inlets, facilitated ties among the localities and guaranteed their attachment to Salem Town. Because political leaders in Salem allowed their town's outlying villages to separate early, they avoided much of the protracted factionalism that later plagued the more northerly parts of the county. Wenham, Manchester, and Marblehead-- towns that separated in the 1640's-- left Salem with varying degrees of hostility, but none remained alienated from Salem Town. The advantages of maintaining economic and political ties with their more developed parent town were very strong. By allowing Salem Town to shed its peripheral villages in the beginning, an emerging merchant group on the peninsula was less encumbered by the dissention that beset several towns and dissipated their energies.

The emergence of the Salem merchants reflected a basic change in communal life in the South. A declining percentage of freemen and church members among the adult male population was paralleled by an increase in the number and influence of merchants. More to the point, by the late 1660's it was generally recognized that "the merchants could best cope with the commercial world they were creating."<sup>1</sup> Salem abandoned any idea of absolute political unity as an increasing pluralism brought a basic federalism among contending political interests. Richard Gildrie, in a recent study of early Salem, identified the changes taking place as a transformation from "Puritan community to a Yankee town."<sup>2</sup> Other towns in the South did not follow this course, but they and Salem were always interdependent, tied together in mutual attachment to the common harbor. Marblehead, which had become a significant fishing center, served as a satellite of Salem. Although the West Countrymen in Beverly and

Manchester were anxious to separate from the East Anglians in Salem Town, they did not break entirely from their parent town; they recognized the importance of their agricultural and commercial ties to Salem. Even the "Farmers" on the Danvers River, struggling to free themselves from the government on the peninsula, were aware of their economic dependence upon Salem as a market for their farm commodities.<sup>3</sup>

Although Salem's leaders dominated the South from the beginning, by 1650 they were being challenged for county influence by men from Ipswich and other towns in the northern part of Essex. As seen in Table IV:1, the influence of Salem and Ipswich and their respective subregions, as measured by the ability of their representatives to occupy public office during their careers, roughly counterbalanced each other. These towns placed men in office who would be persistent and powerful leaders throughout much of their lives. The most significant posts held by these successful officeholders are as follows: Upper County level, including Judges of Probate, Judges of Common Pleas, Quarter Court Judges, and Judges of Oyer and Terminer; Colony level, including Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, Councillors, Speaker of the House and Major General; and Extra-Colony level, including Commissioners to the Colonies, Provincial Congressmen, Colonial Secretaries, and Admiralty Court Judges.<sup>4</sup>

Many of the original settlers, men more interested in establishing plantations than engaging in maritime commerce, were still in high offices in the early 1650's in all parts of the county, despite the emergence of a substantial merchant class in the port towns. Among those in office at this time were Endicott and Conant from the South and Daniel Denison, Samuel Symonds, and Simon Bradstreet from Ipswich and northward. But merchants from the South had great power in their hands also; William Hathorne, William Brown, and William Partholomew

TABLE IV:1

CAREER TOTAL OF PUBLIC OFFICES FOR ESSEX COUNTY LEADERS,  
1652-1654 and 1679-1681.

Dates	Subregion	Town	No. of Upper County Posts	No. Colony Posts	No. Extra- Colony Posts	
1652-54	South	Salem	11	8	1	
		Lynn	1	2	0	
		Wenham	1	0	0	
	Totals, South			13	10	1
	Middle	Ipswich	9	0	0	
		Rowley	1	0	0	
		Gloucester	1	0	0	
		Totals, Middle			11	7
	* North	Andover	2	5	1	
		Haverhill	4	0	0	
		Salisbury	1	2	0	
		Totals, North			8	7
1679-81	South	Salem	19	15	1	
		Wenham	1	0	0	
		Totals, South			20	15
	Middle	Ipswich	16	10	1	
	North	Andover	2	5	1	
		Haverhill	4	3	0	
		Newburyport	1	1	0	
		Salisbury	1	2	0	
		Totals, North			8	11

\* Haverhill and Salisbury were part of Norfolk County, 1643-1679.

Sources: Pope, Pioneers; Mass. Col. Records; "Salisbury Town Records;" Savarge, Dictionary; Shipton, Harvard Graduates; Shurtleff, Records of Gov. and Col.; Banks, Planters and Dictionary; Barry, History of Mass., Appendices; Bev. Historical Soc, "Town Records of Beverly, 1665-78; Dow, Records and Files of Quarter Court; Hart Commonwealth History, Appendices; "Haverhill Town Records;" Winthrop's Journal; Hoyt, Old Families in Salisbury; Hurd, Essex County; "Ipswich Town Records;" Palfrey, His. of New Eng., Appendices; Perley, Salem; Perzel, "Ipswich," Appendices; and "Governors and Deputy Governors and Representatives in the General Court of Massachusetts," New Hampshire Hist. Collect. (1827).

held ten of the twenty-four posts occupied by the men from the South. The percentage of offices for the landed group was even higher; Denison and Symonds occupied twelve of the nineteen offices filled by men from the Middle. Bradstreet, now living in Andover, alone had seven of the sixteen positions in the hands of those from the North. As illustrated in Table IV:2, the South, however, has a distinct advantage in the Quarter Court; Salem alone placed a man in all forty-five sessions between 1636 and 1650 in which the names of the judges were given, two in twenty-seven sessions, three in six sessions, and four in one session. Ipswich sent one judge to twenty-three meetings of the court, two judges to eight meetings, and three judges to one meeting.<sup>5</sup>

By 1680 the landed men of the Middle and North had redressed the inequity in public positions, longevity in office having swung to their favor. Six founders of Ipswich--Denison, Symonds, Bradstreet, Robert Pike, and two others--were still in office, while in the South Endicott, Corant, and Robert Bridges had died. Of the founders in the South only Hathorne continued to serve. Denison, Symonds, and Bradstreet now controlled the Quarter Court. The Middle and North placed one judge in each of the ninety-four sessions, two judges in sixty-two sessions, three judges in thirteen sessions, and four judges in three sessions. Salem and Lynn in the South, by contrast, seated at least one man in eighty-eight sessions and two in only six sessions, placing no more than two men in any one session.<sup>6</sup> Fortunately for the men of the South, in 1680, just as the leaders from the Middle were successfully challenging the South for control of high county office, shire government itself entered a transition period from which Ipswich would be largely excluded from those offices.

Despite the rivalry that set the men of the South apart from those

TABLE IV:2

REPRESENTATION OF ESSEX COUNTY TOWNS BY JUDGES IN QUARTERLY SESSIONS,  
1636-1650 and 1650-1681

Dates	Subregion/	Years	Total Repre- sented on Court	Total Sessions Repre- sented on Court	Total Sessions One Judge	Total Sessions Two Judges	Total Sessions Three Judges	Total Sessions Four Judges
1636-50	<u>SOUTH:</u>	Salem	14	45	11	27	6	1
		Lynn	6	18	18	0	0	0
	<u>MIDDLE:</u>	Ipswi	9	23	14	8	1	0
	<u>NORTH:</u>	Andove	5	12	12	0	0	0
	.....							
1650-81	<u>SOUTH:</u>	Salem	24	88	82	6	0	0
		Lynn	2	2	2	0	0	0
	<u>MIDDLE:</u>	Ipswi	26	94	16	62	13	3
	<u>*NORTH:</u>	Andove	16	54	54	0	0	0
		Haverh	2	4	4	0	0	0

\* Haverhill and Salisbury were part of Norfolk County, 1643-1679

Sources: George F. Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts  
of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1636-1683, 8 Vols (Salem, Mass., 1911-1921).

in the remaining northern parts of the county, as "Essex men" the Southern leaders won the cooperation of all against Boston. The Essex faction under the leadership of Hathorne of Salem won several major victories during the 1640's, getting acceptance of Nathaniel Ward's Body of Liberties in 1641 over John Cotton's proposal for government, spearheading the successful movement for county and confederation governments in 1643, setting the House of Deputies apart from the Court of Assistants and electing Hathorne as the first Speaker of the House in 1644, and forcing the Assistants to run for election in 1646. In addition to Hathorne-- who served as Speaker, Confederation Commissioner, Quarter Court magistrate, and Assistant-- the South was represented by Endicott as Assistant, General, Deputy Governor and Governor.<sup>7</sup>

#### The Formation of the Middle, 1622-1690

As the original Salem grant laid the foundation for the South, their grants laid the basis for political development in the Middle. The first grant, that giving the land between the Naumkeag and Merrimac rivers to John Mason in 1622 (which he called Marianna) first delineated the general area; the second, that designating land on the coast of Cape Ann to the Dorchester Company in 1623 established the dimensions of the Salem grant and marked the southern boundary of the Middle; and finally, that establishing the Merrimac Valley as the northern border of the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629 further reenforced the original delineation. Mason's subsequent series of unsuccessful challenges to the Massachusetts grant prodded the residents of the Middle (Marianna) to repeatedly dedicate themselves to the preservation of their titles.<sup>8</sup>

Political development of the Middle was unique among the subregions.

The towns were continually challenged by the Masons and the Crown until 1690 and felt compelled to take forceful countermeasures. Because none of the localities nurtured the growth of a merchant class, the transformation from landed to mercantile leadership never occurred. Rather, the location of the area amid a vast expanse of rich meadow and marsh lands encouraged agricultural development and perpetuated a dominant landed group. Unlike Salem and Newburyport which had become compact urban centers through the secession process, Ipswich kept its original boundaries, maintaining a federated structure of dispersed communities within its borders. As the merchants in the South and North began to accommodate themselves to the new policies of the mother country during the charter crisis period, the landowners of the Middle took an increasingly stronger stand against the Crown. Despite their decentralized political structure and truculent positions against England, the Middle's leaders stayed in power at the county level.

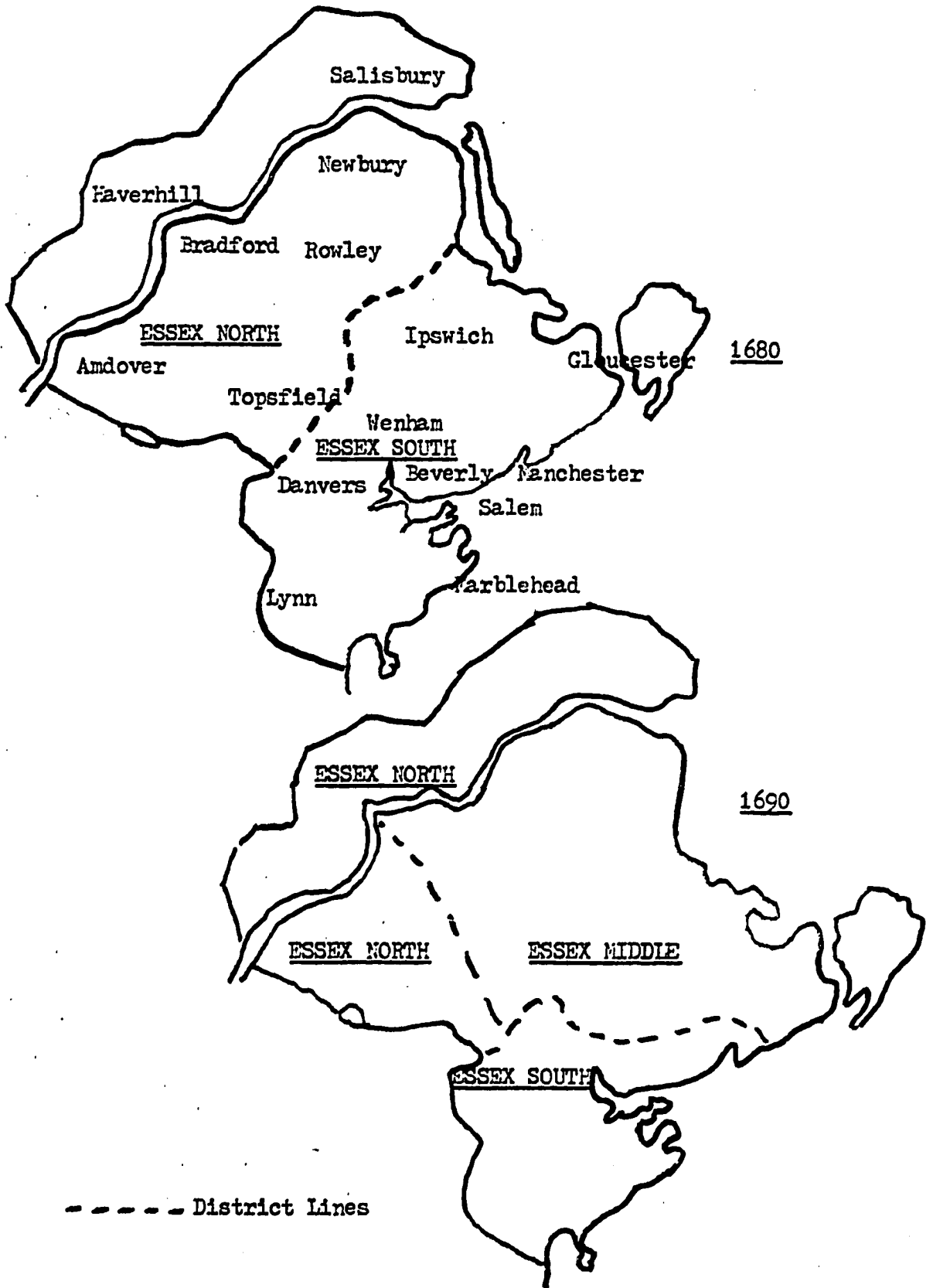
Until 1677 Ipswich had a powerful voice in political affairs. Starting when the younger Winthrop intruded upon Mason's Marianne claim to found Ipswich, men from that town became embroiled in land controversies, contesting the rights of Mason and Gorges from the Naumkeag to the Penobscot River in Maine. They were involved in the creation of Norfolk County, the establishment of which annexed New Hampshire to the Bay Colony. In the name of the Commonwealth, Symonds received the formal submission of the Maine settlements in 1658, which thereafter were annexed to Massachusetts as York County. During the 1650's and 1660's Symonds, Denison, William Hubbard, and Richard Dummer obtained numerous large grants in both of the new counties. Thus by the end of the 1670's an Ipswich faction, serving as influential members of the colony's government, was shaping policy and events as far east as the Penobscot.<sup>9</sup>

Between 1677 and 1681 the men from Ipswich underwent a drastic reorientation. The dispute between Massachusetts and the Mason family received renewed impetus with the Restoration in 1660 and continued until the late 1670's. After the Crown took Norfolk County in 1677, the Marianna claim became the focus of new litigation. Suddenly the aspirations of the Ipswich leaders were reduced from controlling events in Maine to defending the right of their own town to a legal existence. The Masons sought the annulment of the Colony's charter itself and the extinguishment of title rights for the towns in the Middle of Essex. Because the court that had returned Norfolk to the Masons (based upon a grant of territory between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua rivers in 1622 to John Mason and Ferdinando Gorges) had failed to rule on the Marianna claim directly, that family took the issue to the courts in Massachusetts. Ipswich and its immediate neighbors called a convention of nearby towns, formed a coalition, and began to defend their rights vehemently.<sup>10</sup> The Ipswich leaders, however, paid a price; they were no longer instrumental in shaping policies of the central government; rather, they were thrust back in the defensive, standing against the Masons, Edmund Randolph, and the evolving English bureaucracy. The alliance's confrontation with the Crown continued throughout the 1680's, intensifying after the loss of the charter in 1684.<sup>11</sup>

The Militia Act of 1680, which politically subdivided the entire county for the first time, placed Ipswich, the leading town in the Middle, in a subordinate position to Salem. Because of the bitter experiences in warding off Indian attack during King Philip's War and the urgent need to protect an ever-longer string of frontier towns, the General Court created a northern military district. The county's single regiment was thus divided into Essex South and Essex North districts. The southern



Essex County Districts Created by Acts of 1680 and 1690



----- District Lines

unit included Ipswich, Wenham, Beverly, Gloucester, Salem, Marblehead, and Lynn, while its counterpart contained Newbury, Rowley, Bradford, Andover, Topsfield, Salisbury, Amesbury, and Haverhill.<sup>12</sup> The line between districts, shown in Map IV:1, which suggested that the southern subregion extended beyond its traditional boundaries to include Ipswich, overlooked the fact that Ipswich was a well-established administrative center and a long-time rival of Salem. Furthermore, the Act of 1680 failed to recognize the emerging subregion in the North.

The coalition of the Middle was severely tested in 1687. When the Dominion government tried to levy taxes, the Middle called another convention. As seen in Table IV:3, Ipswich was supported this time by towns in the North as well as the customary supporters in the Middle. Edmund Andros and Randolph, however, broke the resistance and arrested the leaders. The decade of protest ended with the adoption by a convention in 1689 of Ipswich's resolution to resume the Old Charter government after the fall of Andros and Randolph. Thus following a series of conventions and town meetings in defense of local rights, the localities in the Middle formed a workable alliance. Although limited in size and restricted in viewpoint, the combined towns would serve as a foundation for a broader-based organization in the future.<sup>13</sup>

As members of the Court of Assistants, Symonds and Dennison dominated the Middle from their seats as judges of the Ipswich session of the Quarter Court. As members of the East Anglican gentry who never became heavily committed to commerce in the New World, throughout their political careers they represented landed rather than mercantile interests. They sought land where ever they could find it. Of the two, Dennison was more prominent above the county level, following Hathorne as Speaker, becoming Major General of the Colony, Colonial Secretary, and Commissioner

TABLE IV:3

PARTICIPATION BY ESSEX COUNTY TOWNS IN MAJOR POLITICAL EVENTS,  
1681-1768

Subregion/ Town	Ipswich Conven- tion 1681	Ipswich Conven- tion 1687	Land Bank Plan 1740	Plan of Union Vote in House 1754 (Opposed)	Stamp Act Pro- tests 1765	Boston Conven- tion 1768	Totals
<u>MIDDLE</u>							
Ipswich	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
Rowley	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
Gloucester	x		x		x	x	4
Topsfield		x		x	x		3
Boxford				x	x	x	3
Middleton							0
<u>NORTH</u>							
Haverhill		x	x		x	x	4
Newbury	x		x	x	x	x	5
Andover		x			x	x	3
Salisbury		x		x	x		3
Newburyport					x	x	2
Bradford		x	x	x			3
Methuen			x				1
Amesbury				x			1
<u>SOUTH</u>							
Beverly	x		x		x	x	4
Salem			x			x	2
Lynn			x	x		x	3
Wenham				x		x	2
Danvers						x	1
Marblehead					x		1
Manchester			x	x			2
Totals	5	7	11	11	12	13	59

Sources: George Billias, "The Massachusetts Land Bankers of 1740," University of Maine Studies, 2nd. Ser. No. 74, (Orono, Maine, 1959); Ronald N. Tagney, A County in Revolution: Essex County and the Dawning of Independence (Manchester, Mass., 1976); Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committees of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-74 (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); Thomas F. Waters, Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Company (Ipswich, 1905); and Journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1754-1755 (Meriden, Conn., 1949).

of the United Colonies.

The Emergence of the North, 1622-1690

The contest between Mason and the Massachusetts Bay Company also laid the foundation for the political life in the North. In this instance, a grant in 1622, giving the area from the Merrimac to the Piscataqua to John Mason, controlled the subregion's political development. However, subregionalization appeared later on the Merrimac; unlike the boundaries of the original Salem and Marianna grants, which outlined the subregions geographically, the lines marking the North changed from time to time. The localities along the northern bank of the river were settled at the time when the boundary was fixed at a point three miles north of the waterway. Before the North was entirely settled, however, the line shifted. In 1643, the settlements north of the Merrimac were placed in the new county of Norfolk and remained there for the next thirty-five years. The line changed again when the Merrimac-Piscataqua grant was restored to the Masons in 1677. In that year the towns on the northern side of the river-- Salisbury, Amesbury, and Haverhill-- were put in Essex County. Initially the three localities opposed the General Court's order to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the now-defunct Norfolk County. However, when the Court allowed the three towns to keep their land records in "one of the towns" the opposition moderated. Because of the Masonian claim to the land south of the Merrimac, these river towns were reluctant to accept the jurisdiction of the Ipswich Quarter Court, located in the middle of Mason's original Marianna and presided over by the land-hungry magistrates of the Middle. They did not want their deed registered within that contested area.<sup>14</sup>

In the last two decades of the seventeenth century the heretofore

Norfolk towns became integral parts of the Northern subregion. Ferry connections between localities on both sides of the waterway created communication and political links along the Merrimac Valley. As fishing, timber, and milling operations rose along the river, the priorities of Newburyport, downstream, shifted. The commonage of the proprietors was diverted increasingly from agriculture to wharfage and warehouse usage. The expansion of both overseas and up-river trade brought a greater need to issue licenses to regulate docks and to control the manufacture and distribution of distilled spirits, which proved to be a serious political issue.<sup>15</sup>

By making the Merrimac Valley a separate militia district in 1690 the General Court appears to have recognized a political reality-- the North had become a political subregion within the county. Newburyport was developing both internally and externally, its merchants holding prominent political offices. As shown in Table IV:1, before 1690 the towns of the North were not placing many men in high posts; they controlled only sixteen of fifty-nine positions between 1679 and 1681. Before this date the localities had been too remote, too sparsely-settled, and too uncertain of their political identities to have rivaled the well-established towns in the Middle and South. However, the growth of Newburyport in the 1680's and the new interconnections among the towns of the Merrimac Valley thrust the North into prominence in Essex.

A blend of mercantile and landed interests had emerged in the North. Powerful landed men such as Richard Saltonstall of Haverhill and Simon Bradstreet of Andover dominated the upriver area, while downstream merchants such as Richard Dole and Paul White were making their appearance. Complementing each other, these two groups elevated the influence of the North. However, upriver gentlemen held the seats in the Quarter sessions.

Three Separate Subregions, 1690-1740

During the half century preceding 1740 the South and North became politically more autonomous and centralized; the Middle, by comparison, remained loosely structured and decentralized. By 1690 the North was placing a larger number of men in high posts. In the meantime, the leaders of the Middle broadened their base among the towns. That subregion placed growing numbers in intermediate level offices and strengthened its influence in the House of Representatives in Massachusetts. The South continued to dominate the county's highest positions. The creation of three militia districts in 1690, which appears to confirm the existence of the three subregions, provided for a southern regiment containing men from Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, Lynn, and Manchester; a middle regiment encompassing men from Ipswich, Rowley, Topsfield, Wenham, Gloucester, Boxford, and Bradford; and a northern regiment including men from Newbury, Salisbury, Amesbury, Haverhill, and Andover. Salem, Ipswich, and Newburyport were designated as administrative centers for the three districts.<sup>16</sup> The central town and the political subordinate localities were recognized in each subregion, which provided a relatively solid foundation for political growth during the next half century.

The confirmation of the three localities as administrative centers culminated a decade of conflict. Charging the General Court with responsibility for carrying out his Royal mandate to control trade in Massachusetts, Randolph provoked a series of moves and countermoves between himself and the legislative body in Boston. The process of granting or denying port of entry, naval office, or collector status to particular posts in the county became highly competitive. In 1681 Salem and Newburyport were designated by the General Court as the only ports of

entry in Essex. Immediately the Ipswich authorities petitioned for annexation to Newburyport, rather than remain attached to Salem. By this action the men of Ipswich demonstrated vividly that their self-interests were not with their rival to the south. The following year the Court responded by making Salem the exclusive port of entry in the shire. In turn, Newburyport reacted, petitioning in 1683 to regain its lost status as a port of entry; the petition was rejected. In 1685 Ipswich was again heard from, its leaders requesting that the town be allowed a naval officer. That, too, was turned down. In 1691, Newburyport, reversing the action of 1681 when Ipswich sought annexation to Newburyport, asked to be attached to Ipswich as part of a second port of entry.<sup>17</sup>

The rivalry among the central-place localities prevented harmonious integration of the subregions at this time. The three sections did not develop in the same way; the merchants at Salem in the South and at Newburyport in the North accommodated themselves increasingly more to new English policies and benefited accordingly, while the landed men at Ipswich in the Middle repudiated those policies. The divergence molded political life for a half century.

As indicated in Table IV:1, the South and Middle were no longer in equilibrium on holding high office by the late seventeenth century. The southern merchants, supplemented by their counterparts in the North, outdistanced the Middle in this important category, especially in controlling of provincial offices. The Middle, however, retained much of its power over county posts. As shown in Table IV:4, the men on the Governor's Council from the South occupied fifty-seven county and colony positions between 1679 and 1721. By contrast, the Middle placed only fourteen people in office during the same period. Even the North had surpassed the Middle, filling twenty-six offices. Two basic changes

TABLE IV:4

COUNCIL AND COUNTY POSTS HELD BY ESSEX COUNTY MEN, 1679-1721

Subregion/ Town	Individual	Council Posts <sup>1</sup>								Other Posts <sup>2</sup>										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		
<b>SOUTH</b>																				
Salem	Gedney, B.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x				x	x		10		
	Hathorne, J.	x			x	x	x	x	x		x	x					x		9	
	Brown, W.				x		x	x			x								4	
	Corwin, J.				x	x	x	x			x						x		6	
	Higginson, J.				x				x		x	x					x		5	
	Sewall, S.					x						x		x	x				4	
	Eppes, D.				x							x	x						3	
	Brown, W., Sr.	x	x	x															3	
	Lynde, B.				x				x		x								3	
	Brown, B.				x							x					x		3	
Lynn	Brown, S.				x			x			x							3		
	Burrill, J.				x			x			x	x					x	5		
Totals, South		3	2	2	2	1	0	4	4	3	4	2	6	6	1	1	2	5	1	58
<b>MIDDLE</b>																				
Ipswich	Appleton, J.				x			x	x		x	x				x		6		
	Appleton, S.	x			x			x			x	x						5		
	Dummer, R.				x							x						2		
	Denison, D.	x																1		
Totals, Middle		2	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	14	
<b>NORTH</b>																				
Newburyp't	Pierce, D.						x	x			x	x						4		
	Woodbridge, J.	x										x						2		
	Noyes, T.							x			x	x						3		
Andover	Bradstreet, S.	x			x													2		
	Bradstreet, D.				x							x						2		
Haverhill	Saltonst'l, N.	x	x		x	x	x	x			x	x					x	9		
	Salisbury, R.	x			x	x		x				x						5		
Totals, North		4	1	0	4	2	2	3	0	1	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	1	26	

<sup>1</sup>Council Position Are in the Following Administrations: 1, Bradstreet, 1679; 2, Dudley, 1685; 3, Andros, 1686; 4, Bradstreet, 1689; 5, Fhips, 1691; 6, Oyer and Terminer, 1692; 7, Bellemont, 1694; 8, Dudley, 1702; and 9, Shute, 1717.

<sup>2</sup>Other Posts Are: 10, Superior Court; 11, Pleas Court; 12, Justice of the Peace; 13, Coronor; 14, Clerk of Court; 15, Probate Court; 16, Oyer and Terminer (after 1692); and 17, House Speaker.

Sources: Banks, Planters and Dictionary; Barry, His. of Mass., I, Appendices; "Court of Common Pleas, 1719-1726;" "Sessions, Dec. 1709 to July 1727;" Hart, Commonwealth History, I and II; Dow, ed., Records



## TABLE IV:4 (Continued)

Sources (Continued) and Files of the Quarterly Courts, 1638-1683, VIII, Appendix; "Haverhill Town Records;" Hoyt, Old Families of Salisbury; Hurd, ed., Essex County, I and II; "Ipswich Town Records," "Representatives to the General Assembly, 1689-1693;" "Governors and Deputy Governors and Representatives in the General Court of Massachusetts, 1630-1680," 205-227; Palfrey, His. of New Eng., II and III, Appendices; Perley, Salem, III; Phillips, Salem, I and II, Appendices; Pope, Pioneers; Records of Massachusetts Bay, 1674-1686, V; "Salisbury Town Records;" Shipton, Harvard Graduates; Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List; and numerous local histories of the towns in the county.

occurred in political life--- increasing accumulation of high posts by the southern and northern merchants and expanding control over local interests by the landed-gentry from the Middle. When one views the leaders by generations, as illustrated in Table IV:5, it is apparent that the English-born landed faction which dominated high county and colony posts during the settlement phase, later gave way to a merchant group from Salem and the South.

The fall of the Old Charter in 1684 brought down the Quarter Court magistrate with it. Had the Quarter Court and county governmental structure not been destroyed during the confrontation with the Crown, it undoubtedly would have given way of its own accord. The ordered and regulated society known in the first half of the century was disappearing. If the magistrates had survived the crisis, their authority would have been eroded away before the growing power of the town meeting at the local level and the House of Representatives at the provincial level. For the landed men in the middle of Essex who were trying to protect their property in the face of royal attacks on the colony and county alike, the town meeting offered a more secure bastion from which to pass resolutions, call like-minded towns into convention, and, ultimately, build coalitions of towns in the House of Representatives to resist royal authority. For the merchant in the southern and northern parts of the county, the growing Anglo-American bureaucracy offered a better opportunity for advantage than having to share the Quarter Courts with a reluctant landed group; transatlantic imperial ties could bring prestige and profit. Thus the two interests-- land and merchant-- after several decade of sharing power within the county structure, parted ways, temporarily at least.

Following the opening rounds of the political contest in the 1680's

TABLE IV:5

ESSEX COUNTY POLITICAL LEADERS BY GENERATION, 1678 - 1721

Generation	* Individual	Span of Political Career	Date of Death	Residence		
				<u>SOUTH</u>	<u>MIDDLE</u>	<u>NORTH</u>
English- born	Symonds, S.	1639-78	1678		x	
	Hathorne, W.	1634-79	1681	x		
	Denison, D.	1634-80	1682		x	
	Brown, W.	1656-88	1688	x		
	Appleton, S.	1669-92	1696		x	
	Fike, R.	1648-92	1696			x
	Bradstreet, S.	1630-92	1697			x
American- born, First Generation	Gedney, B.	1668-99	1699	x		
	Saltonstall, N.	1666-07	1707			x
	Brown, Jr., W.	1669-15	1715	x		
	Hathorne, J.	1678-1717	1717	x		
	Corwin, Jr.	1668-18	1718	x		
	Higginson, J.	1698-19	1719	x		
	Sewall, S.	1684-28	1728	x		
American- born, Second Generation	Brown, S.	1696-30	1731	x		
	Appleton, J.	1692-33	1739		x	
	Wainwright, J.	1719-39	1739		x	
	Lynde, B.	1696-46	1749	x		
	Lindall, T.	1717-54	1760	x		
Turner, J.	1721-40	1742	x			

\* Limited to men in office during at least one of the following periods: 1652-54, 1679-81, 1719-21, or 1763-65.

Sources: Banks, Planters and Dictionary; Barry, History of Mass., I, Appendices; "Court of Common Pleas, 1719-1726;" "Sessions, Dec. 1709 to July 1726;" Hart, Commonwealth History, I and II; Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts, 1638-1683, VIII, Appendix; "Haverhill Town Records;" Hoyt, Old Families in Salisbury; Hurd, ed., Essex County, I and II; "Ipswich Town Records;" "Representatives to the General Assembly, 1689-1693;" "Governors and Duputy Governors and Prerepresentatives in the General Court of Massachusetts, 1630-1680," Palfrey, His. of New Eng., I and II, Appendices; Perley, Salem III, Phillips, Salem, I and II, Appendices; Pope, Pioneers; Records of Massachusetts Bay, 1674-1686, V; "Salisbury Town Records;" Shipton, Harvard Graduates; Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List.

the men in the South took a more compliant approach toward the English than those in Ipswich, gaining important posts as a result. Despite the comparatively early deaths of the Salem leaders--Fathorne, Corwin, and Brown between 1601 and 1693--longevity among the men from Ipswich did not allow them to reverse their declining influence in the new Anglo-American county and provincial governments. When Bradstreet died in 1697, the native-born sons of Salem merchants (William Brown, Jr., John Fathorne, and Jonathan Corwin) dominated political life in the county and exerted considerable influence at the provincial level. Other Salem-born leaders, not sons of merchants, went into business and joined the merchant faction: Bartholomew Gedney and John Higginson, III.<sup>18</sup> Thus by the 1690's, while Dudley Bradstreet of Andover, the son of Simon Bradstreet, was vacillating in his loyalty to the successive regimes in Boston, and John Appleton, son of Samuel Appleton (prominent in charter crisis) was concentrating on local issues, the cadre of Salem merchants (and to a lesser extent those in Newburyport as well) accommodated themselves in varying degrees to whatever government held power in Boston. Governments as diverse as those of Bradstreet, Dudley, Andros, William Phips, and Samuel Shute placed Salem merchants in high office.<sup>19</sup>

By 1720 accommodation to British rule was well advanced among the southern and northern men in high office. Although the two Appletons were members of the Council, they could do little to moderate the dominant influence of the merchant-office holders from the urban ports in the North and South. The ports were still represented by descendants of the original merchants. In addition, the Benjamin Lyndes, father and son, had made their appearance in high positions. Both were socially powerful, professionally trained in England, and firmly attached to the British bureaucracy.<sup>20</sup>

During the upheavals of the 1680's the political power of the North grew. By 1720 the northern merchants outranked the men in the Middle in placing people in office, as seen in Table IV:6. Newburyport merchants, like those in Salem, found advantage in accommodation to British interests. They appeared favorably disposed towards Andros in 1687, formally asking the new governor to appoint the appropriate agents to record and administer the writs and warrants associated with his land and tax policies. During the summer of that year the community was one of the few that obeyed the tax warrant. Thus Newburyport, in contrast to Ipswich, which staunchly opposed Andros' every move, appears to have received favorable treatment from the governor.<sup>21</sup>

Once the new charter was granted and the domestic political situation stabilized in the Commonwealth, pressure for expansion mounted. After the boundary adjustment of 1680, the old argument that the line was actually three miles above the headwaters of the Merrimac, first advanced by John Winthrop, was reasserted by the Massachusetts authorities. The Charter of 1691 encouraged this position by stating that the northern boundary was three miles above the river. So long as the North remained a frontier and was threatened by Indians, however, no serious contest developed over the positioning of the line. Few settlers moved into the area. Peace with France changed that.

In the 1720's the North experienced tremendous impulses for expansion. Haverhill, seeking to extend northward, petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for land well beyond a point three miles north of the Merrimac and jealously guarded its claim until the legislature responded. Before the General Court acted, the Haverhill proprietors divided the area into lots and sent individuals to settle there.<sup>22</sup> In the meantime the New Hampshire authorities, apparently mindful of the broad interpretation

on the location of the boundary from the previous century, challenged the Haverhill claim, maintaining that their provincial line was located three miles north of the river's mouth. The proprietors promptly filed suit for their claim in Massachusetts as did the New Hampshire residents in their own courts. When the Haverhill proprietors secured their grants (the Plantation of Fenracook) from the legislature in 1725, immigration to that area began in earnest. Roads were laid into the grant from Haverhill center. Demands for new parishes and towns amid suits and countersuits took place on both sides of the line. After a series of commissions and legislative sessions in the 1730's ended in no agreement, an appointed royal commission carved a line three miles north of the Merrimac's mouth.<sup>23</sup>

As the inter-provincial boundary dispute continued the people in the North developed a strong self-identity and began a movement for greater autonomy. Numerous petitions from settlers in the North were sent to Boston to redress local issues: from Newburyport, requesting to be separated from Newbury; and from Haverhill and Amesbury, asking for relief from the actions of their neighbors in New Hampshire.<sup>24</sup> Not all petitions were as local in nature, for a serious secession effort began in the Merrimac Valley in the late seventeenth century and continued until the boundary settlement of 1740. Petitions to separate the Essex North District from the rest of Essex County were forwarded to the Massachusetts legislature in 1693, 1725, and 1735. To the first petition the House reacted favorably, but the Governor and Council vetoed it; the second was not approved, apparently because Newburyport and Haverhill could not agree of which was to be the shire town of the new county; and the third was rejected because of the boundary conferences being held, which apparently pre-empted the petition. Although the secession impulse failed in its ultimate goal, it nevertheless

succeeded in raising the level of consciousness and in strengthening the feelings for autonomy in the North.<sup>25</sup>

The Middle: A Political Catalyst, 1740-1768

After 1740 the leaders from the Middle reached a level of influence unattained since the first generation. During the previous century they had successfully pushed the county's boundaries northward, effectively countered British opposition to land rights, and assembled a formidable coalition of towns in defense of local rights. When John Choate reentered the House of Representatives in 1741, after an absence of six years, the coalition began to shift from the defensive posture of the past. Choate, who understood the hopes and frustrations of the representatives from the towns of Essex Middle and similar rural constituencies within the Commonwealth, often had the support and assistance of Robert Hale of Beverly, who had considerable influence among the merchants of the South. Working together in the House after 1741, the two men helped to pull the three subregions of the county together. The days of frustration for the men of the Middle were ending; they were getting power in their hands.<sup>26</sup>

Despite the remarkable success of the Middle coalition, it was not necessarily at the expense of the leaders in the North and South. The strength of the Middle rested with the House of Representatives, while that of the North and South lay in holding upper county and provincial posts. The appearance of more men from the North in county posts is especially noteworthy. As seen in Table IV:6, if all the offices held by men from the North during their careers between the two periods 1719-1721 and 1763-1765 are compared, the representatives from the North increased from seven to sixteen-- from 10 to 22% of the offices occupied. Although twelve of the sixteen officers were at the entry level (Justice of the Peace

TABLE IV:6

CAREER TOTALS OF PUBLIC OFFICES FOR ESSEX COUNTY LEADERS,  
1719-1721 and 1763-1765

Dates	Subregion	Town	No. of Upper County Posts	No. Colony Posts	No. Extra- Colony Posts	
1719-21	<u>SOUTH</u>	Salem	13	17	0	
		Lynn	3	3	0	
		Totals, South	16	20	0	
	<u>MIDDLE</u>	Ipswich	16	4	0	
		Gloucester	3	0	0	
		Totals, Middle	19	4	0	
	<u>NORTH</u>	Newbury-Portside	7	0	0	
	.....					
	1763-65	<u>SOUTH</u>	Salem	26	9	0
			Marblehead	4	0	0
Beverly			4	0	0	
Totals, South			34	9	0	
<u>MIDDLE</u>		Ipswich	11	3	1	
<u>NORTH</u>		Newburyport	4	0	0	
		Haverhill	3	2	0	
		Andover	5	0	0	
		Salisbury	1	0	0	
		Amesbury	1	0	0	
		Totals, North	14	2	0	

Sources: Pope, Pioneers; Records of Mass. Bay (1854); "Salisbury Town Records;" Savage, Dictionary; Shipton, Harvard Graduates; Schurtleff, ed., Records of the Gov. and Com.; Banks, Planters and Dictionary; Barry, His. of Mass., Appendices; "Town Records of Beverly, 1665-76;" "Court of Common Fleas, 1719-1726," "Court of Pleas, Ipswich and Salem," No. 14, Ipswich and Salem, 1686; "Executions, No. 2, 1758-83;" "Ipswich County Court, 1682-92," "Norfolk County Court Records, 1648-78," "Sessions, 1761-78;" Dow, ed., Records and Files of Quarterly Courts; Hart, Commonwealth History, Appendices; "Haverhill Town Records;" Winthrop's Journal; Hoyt, Old Families of Salisbury; Hurd, ed., Essex County, 2 Vols.; "Ipswich Town Records;" "Representatives to the General Assembly, 1689-93," Mass. His. Soc. Col., VI, (1834); Methuen Town Records;" "Middleton Town Records;" "Governors and Deputy Governors and Representatives in the General Court of Massachusetts, 1630-1680," New Hampshire His. Col. (1827); Palfrey, His. of New England, Appendices; Perley, Salem, 3 Vols., detailed footnotes; Ferzel, "Ipswich," Appendices; Phillips, Salem, Appendices.



and militia colonel) and compared unfavorably to the large number of high level posts in the hands of men from the South, the base of representation broadened; five towns, as compared to one in 1720, were placing men in high public offices.

The South put even more people in the top positions of the Anglo-American political structure. Men from several important families were among those compiled in Table IV:1. Benjamin Lynde, Jr.-- an English trained jurist-- led all others in attaining posts in the British- American establishment. However, Lynde was not alone at the top; three other Salem merchants paralleled his career and were only less influential: William Brown III, Nathaniel Ropes, and Andrew Oliver. Neither of the other two subregions could seriously challenge the South in controlling select positions.<sup>27</sup>

Crucial to political development in each subregion was the secession process; communal subdivision, or the lack of it, highlights vividly the close relationship between geography and political power in given areas. In the North, the secession that resulted in an autonomous and compact urban center at Newburyport, occurred at the very end of the period studied. In 1763 that port community broke from Newbury and was incorporated by the General Court. After trying for several years to get a new town and court house building, the merchants of Portside formed a committee in 1762 to raise the money on their own as a private venture. The following year they were successful, Portside became the town of Newburyport and a session of the Ipswich court was transferred to that community for the first time.<sup>28</sup>

In the South, Salem Town took nearly as long as Newburyport to shed its outlying communities and consolidate, however, it developed quite differently. Unlike Newburyport, struggling several generations for

independence, Salem Town underwent four secessions during the early years. Because separation of the outlying communities came with relative ease and a minimum of bitterness the new towns became links in a network of dependent towns around the port community. Danvers, however, remained politically alienated from Salem Town-- an alienation so severe that it was a factor in bringing the witchcraft crisis of 1692-- and was not able to secede until 1757. Thus by the early 1760's both Salem and Newburyport were free of their loosely attached territorial encumbrances, yet had developed political ties to the towns in their vicinities. In the the middle of the 1760's they were both on the verge of unprecedented urban growth and prosperity.

By contrast, secession efforts did not lead to a politically more consolidated community in Ipswich, but, instead, strengthened the intercommunity political skills of the leadership. The town's expanse and its numerous streams, positioned on an east-west axis, encouraged the dispersion of political activity into outlying villages within the town. Unlike Salem, where subcommunities were conveniently located along the shore of the harbor and had separated from the parent town early, Ipswich's several localities were deep in the interior and did not secede. Instead they remained as communities within a loosely-federated structure; between 1681 and 1747 five separate parishes were founded, none of which became an incorporated town.<sup>29</sup>

During the quarter century following 1740, political traditions identified previously with particular subregions became more universal. On one hand, the towns in the North were too affected by issues-- boundary location, land ownership, county formation, and coalition building-- to follow the lead of their subregion's urban merchants downstream as closely as did the towns near Salem in the seventeenth century. On the other

hand, the advantages-- contacts with the wealth and prestige of the transatlantic world-- from association with the political leaders at the port could not be ignored by the towns of the Merrimac Valley. The Ipswich leaders, having build a tradition of coalition politics during their bitter opposition to the Crown in the seventeenth century, were now in a position to capitalize on both the hostilities toward Britain and the self-interest of the rural communities of the county; at the same time, the men from Ipswich recognized that their coalition form of government was essential if the Anglo-American political structure was to work and the British were well aware of this fact.<sup>30</sup>

Two generations of Ipswich leaders-- led by John Wise and John Choate first learned the art of compromise politics, so necessary for effective government in the federated structure of their town. For Wise the opponents were the Boston ministers who advocated a presbyterian-like polity and threatened the autonomy of his new parish at Chebacco. Furthermore, he was active in the coalition that attacked the British bureaucrats who contested the ownership of the very land upon which his parish and town were situated. Choate, a generation later, brought a tradition of compromise politics when he entered the House of Representatives in 1731. His association in the House with Robert Hale of Beverly strengthened political ties among the towns in the Middle and the South and among the landed and mercantile interests respectively. Because of Choate's political skills he was elected Speaker of the House, but was not allowed to serve because of opposition by the Governor. Local issues were important to Choate also; he led a five-year drive for greater religious and political independence for his village, which ended with the establishment of the South Parish (Ipswich) in 1747.<sup>31</sup> Led by Choate,

the single-minded pursuit of their own self interest by the earlier Ipswich leaders was replaced by a willingness to compromise and take a broader perspective on issues. His coalition, a staunch defender of land and parish rights against central government at all levels, began to cooperate more with the Crown in legislative matters, but extracted a price in the loss of royal prerogative for whatever cooperation it extended to the King's representatives, whether Governor or Council.<sup>32</sup>

The rise of Choate and the coalition represented a watershed in Anglo-American political development; the Charter of 1691 granted extensive powers to the governor-- appointment, patronage, and veto rights-- but, at the same time, created a House of Representatives that would evolve into a formal parliamentary structure and equate itself to the House of Commons. Soon a rising impulse for popular participation enhanced the influence of the House, while eroding the governor's powers.<sup>33</sup> Within the House, Choate and Hale became adroit at compromise and political maneuver, at times sympathizing with their traditional rural supporters, at times with the ports, and on most occasions acted as administrative insiders, while simultaneously furthering the development of an effective coalition of towns in the name of American interests. These "professional" politicians had, at last, found a basis for bringing together the interests of port and rural communities as never before.<sup>34</sup>

The county became more integrated because of the new and important roles of the towns in the House. As the rural majorities in that body became more effective under the guidance of their legislative leaders, the merchants in the ports, who had previously seen control of county and provincial offices as their most satisfactory means of representation, began to recognize the power of the allied towns. Commencing in 1728, when the Lower Assembly sent its first formal appeal to the localities

for instructions on the issue of fixing the governor's salary, powerful and direct ties between the towns and the legislative leadership were built. Throughout a long series of measures-- supply bills, monetary proposals, tax measures, and a unification plan-- the towns grew in political importance in the House and seriously challenged the notion that political power would come to those who controlled the posts in the bureaucracy.<sup>35</sup> Choate encouraged the movement by the House to secure mandates from the towns and used it as a lever in dealing with the Governor and Council. The influence of Choate's coalition (1739-1742) in support of the Land Bank dampened any strenuous efforts of the merchants of Salem and Newburyport to push the rival Silver Bank proposed by the Boston merchants.<sup>36</sup>

As illustrated in Table IV:3, when the opposition to the Stamp Act began, the coalition had grown to thirteen members, 61% of the towns in the county. The arguments for the rights of Englishmen, introduced by the alliance leaders as a convenient device for countering the claims of the Mason family and the Crown in the 1680's, had by 1765 become a widely accepted form of argument within the county. Where 61% of the towns affiliating with Ipswich in 1681 were from the Middle, by 1765 only 23% of the localities in a larger combination were from that subregion; Ipswich obviously had broadened its base of support. The series of coalitions over the years laid the foundation for the general reaction against the actions of the mother country, opposing colonial union (1754), the entry of stamps (1765), and the disembarking of soldiers at Boston (1768). The interests of the towns and the House became wedded as never before. Even the strong impulse for secession by the North ameliorated. The towns, brought together politically through Ipswich men in the House, were an effective instrument for expressing county, provincial, and American

interests. The spontaneity of the protests between 1765 and 1768 it seems was in part a product of a more integrated society at the county level.<sup>37</sup>

That Essex acted so forcefully in the 1760's is attributable to the coherent way that the potentially diverse subregions were coming together. As a result, no other county appears to have spoken with a more determined voice than Essex. By 1662, when Hampton County was created around three isolated localities in the vast unoccupied and unorganized western part of the Commonwealth, the two coastal inlets in the southern and western portions of Essex were becoming heavily populated and politically powerful; by 1685, when Plymouth Colony was subdivided into three counties and absorbed into Massachusetts as a result of British intervention, Essex was adding three new towns and successfully preventing the British authorities from taking control of the county; by 1731, when Suffolk and Middlesex subdivided under secessionist pressures and gave up territory to create Worcester County, Essex leaders were ameliorating secessionist impulses in the county's Merrimac Valley; and by 1761, when Berkshire County was formed around several sparsely-populated and politically-impotent towns on the western frontier of the colony, two towns in the southern and northern sections of Essex were shedding peripheral subcommunities and becoming political centers. No other county had a catalyst-- such as Ipswich-- whose political outreach was capable of tying widely separated centers together. Both Suffolk and Middlesex were elongated by the presence of several powerful communities adjacent to Boston, but had no localities of similar political influence at the other ends of the counties. And as we shall see in the forthcoming chapter, economic development parallels that of political development.

## CHAPTER V

### ECONOMIC GROWTH

The advantages Essex derived from areas of concentrated commercial activity at opposite ends of its territory and a complementary area of agriculture and manufacturing between them were not shared by the other counties in the Commonwealth. Although Suffolk had an extremely prosperous commercial community-- Boston-- at one end, its western reaches had no counterbalancing area of economic concentration. Middlesex, too, had the bulk of its economic activities near the Mystic River adjacent to Boston. Consequently, neither Suffolk nor Middlesex developed a complementary middle section. The remaining original county, Norfolk, appears to have been more similar to Essex geographically, Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth) at one end and the Lower Merrimac cluster at the other. However, the Merrimac Valley communities were more oriented toward Essex County and a middle area with complementary functions failed to emerge. With the possible exceptions of Plymouth and Bristol counties, in which the localities of Plymouth and Taunton respectively apparently fulfilled limited central-place functions during the period covered by this study, none of the original three seem to have become as integrated as Essex prior to 1768.

Economic power, like population and political strength, tended to cluster at the Harbor Area and Lower Merrimac. From the two clusters emerged a merchant class, breaking from the traditional economic and social attachments to land. As local and overseas trade increased and economic functions grew more complex, the clusters provided the foundation

for economic subregions. In time, the loosely-structured, but agriculturally-potent, middle area between the original two subregions arose as a third economic area. As was the case in political life, the Middle complemented the southern and northern sections, supplying the needed food and agriculturally-related manufactured goods for the county during the first half of the eighteenth century and becoming the catalyst for greater economic integration thereafter.

The chronology of emergence, function, and physical configuration of each subregion is important to understanding the county's economic development. Each will be examined in its order of appearance: South, North, and Middle. We will focus especially upon two essential relationships appearing in each subregion: the vertical, which involves the way that the functions of the central place express internal associations; and the horizontal, concerned with the effect of these functions on the towns surrounding the central locality. As the chapter develops the following factors become important: the time periods, 1626-1650, 1650-1680, 1680-1720, and 1720-1768; the physical shape of each subregion for each period; the type and degree of functional elaboration in the central place; and the impact of the central-place functions on the settlements in the hinterland of each subregion.

#### The Early Appearance of the South

The Old Planters at Salem began to fish and trade upon arrival in 1626. Prior to 1630 the community had established an active trade in beaver furs with other West Countyry outposts along the shore of northeastern New England. Within the first decade Salem was producing timber and barrel staves. Shipbuilding developed rapidly, progressing from the construction of five-ton fishing vessels in the early 1630's to large



ships by the end of the decade. As early as 1637 a sizeable fishing community existed on Winter Island in Salem Harbor. In 1628 a monopoly to operate a grinding mill on the North River was granted, followed by a second twelve years later on the same river. The first glass making establishment, fulling mill, iron works, and distillery appeared by the end of the second decade. Tanneries and additional grinding mills were established in the same decade. The General Court took note of the rapid development at Salem and designated it a market town.<sup>1</sup>

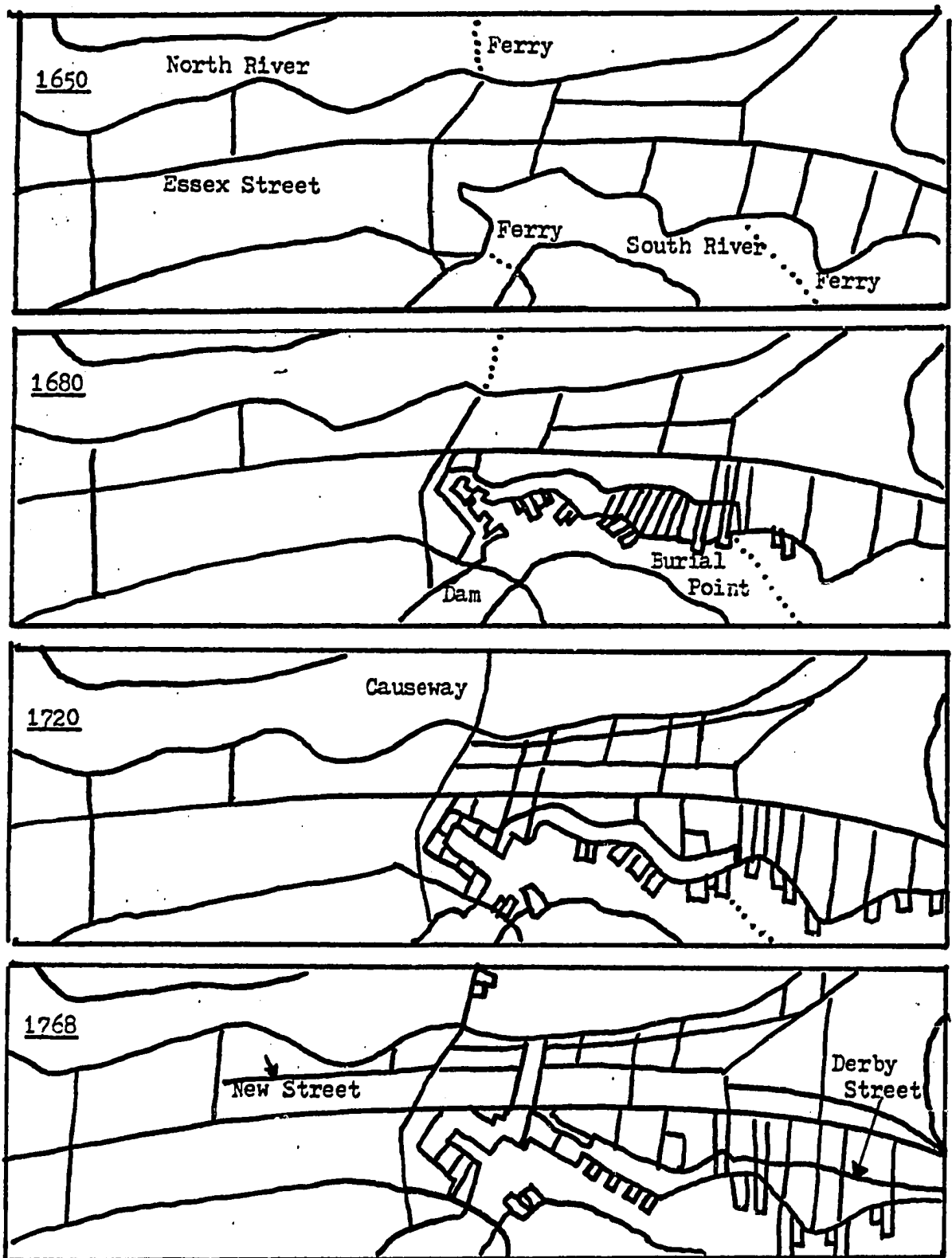
As seen in Map V:1, Salem Town grew in complexity. Warehouses, wharves, and shops gradually crowded the north bank of the South River. Essex Street, the original thoroughfare running the full length of the peninsula, spawned side streets as merchants sought access to the South River. As early as 1650, the town contained 800 people and 200 buildings. In its concentration of people and economic endeavors, Salem exceeded that of any other town in the county.

Several towns developed economic ties to Salem, forming a southern subregion and profiting from the new relationship. Marblehead did not undergo the degree of physical transformation of Salem. Despite its fine harbor, the town's development was limited to fishing, rather than more diversified economic activities. Its small size, rocky terrain, lack of an agricultural hinterland, and its location adjacent to Salem left Marblehead dependent upon its larger neighbor during the early years.<sup>2</sup> Although neither town had had time to evolve complex economic structures, Salem and Marblehead together had already begun to form a single economic entity at the Harbor.

Salem continued to grow in the next three decades. Two scholars-- Donald Koch and Richard Gildrie-- documented the growth of the town.<sup>3</sup>

## Map V:1

## Functional Elaboration and Concentration on the Salem Peninsula



Sources: Phillips, Salem, I and II, Appendices; Felt, Annals, I, map at the front; and Perley, Salem, I-111, small maps and illustrations throughout the three volumes.

A study by Koch of the relationship between income distribution and political power illustrates how the locus of wealth and economic domination in Salem shifted from the farmers of the South and North fields to the merchants on the peninsula. The secession of sizeable portions of the town's original grant and a rapid increase in trade were preconditions for the shift. The most affluent quartile of Salem's taxpayers held 60% of the wealth between 1636 and 1660, while the wealthiest quartile of the county's tax payers owned 66% of the wealth. In 1660 the most prosperous 10% of Salem's rate payers controlled 21% of the wealth. The town and county comparison was reversed for the 1660-1680 period; in Salem the most well-off quartile possessed 73% of the wealth to 64% for a similar proportion of the county's wealthiest people. Furthermore, according to Koch, during the same period the most prosperous 5% from Salem owned 48% of the wealth, while a like group from the county commanded but 28%.<sup>4</sup>

By 1683 the predominance of Salem's merchants was beyond question. Compiling figures for that year, Gildrie documents the disparities in accumulated wealth and the controlling position of the merchants. Seventy-two percent of the merchants, representing only 6% of the taxpayers, paid a tax of five shillings or more. By contrast, the farmers-- the next wealthiest group and representing 20% of the taxpayers-- had only 21% of their group contributing five shillings or more. The artisans, the largest group numerically, had only 10% paying a tax of as much as five shillings.<sup>5</sup>

Both Gildrie and Koch examine ways in which merchants translated their economic predominance into political power. Gildrie's study, which considers 1647 as a starting point, demonstrates the influence of the merchants in the office of selectman. Between 1647, when the merchants

first achieved parity in political offices with the traditional agricultural leaders, and 1667, the merchants and the "special interests" overwhelmed the traditional leaders. The latter averaged 4.5 years in the office of selectman between 1636 and 1647 as compared to 0.9 years for the merchants and "special interests," but found themselves in a much less influential position between 1647 and 1667. During the later period merchants and "special interests" averaged 8.8 and 3.2 years in office respectively to an average of 7.5 years for traditional leaders. According to Koch, the proportion of farmers among selectmen, which was 48% between 1636 and 1661, was reduced to 11% by 1699. Conversely, the ratio of merchants elected as selectmen rose from 24 to 59% during the same period.<sup>6</sup>

The growth of Salem Town brought an increase in urban problems and functions on the peninsula. Land became scarce and waterways obstructed. After the failure in 1653 of Trask's mill on the North River, a group of merchants tried to harness the tidal power of the upper South River for the grinding of corn. Because of the need to dam the channel between the South River and the pond, the proposal was strongly opposed by maritime interests above the proposed dam site. After a twelve-year struggle the company of merchants dammed the channel and built the mill. In the early 1660's the selectmen were besieged by numerous requests for additional wharf, warehouse, and retail space along the northern bank of the South River. Once the more sheltered portions of the upper river had been occupied, the town relinquished a sizeable part of its long-established burial grounds on the South River farther downstream for wharfage. Subsequently fourteen merchants requested and received individual grants from twenty-five to thirty-five feet in width along the edge of the burial area. As shown in Map V:1, docks, wharves,

warehouses, and shops only were allowed upon these strips of waterfront land. Furthermore, a ten-foot roadway was allowed to pass directly through the entire row of parcels.<sup>7</sup>

By 1680 more than twenty wharves had been constructed along the South River. The increased economic activities associated with the new warehouses and shops led to further subdivision in the vicinity of the river and encouraged the laying out of additional streets on the upper peninsula. The dam on the South River led to the erection of flour storage and distribution facilities on and around the dam. Increased shipbuilding along the river stimulated the laying out of even more access roads to the river.

During this period the towns in the South made new and stronger interconnections with each other and with Salem. Marblehead, Lynn, and Beverly showed the greatest expansion. Marblehead appears to have surpassed Ipswich, trading more, having more extensive dockage facilities, and accumulating a larger population.<sup>8</sup> The town's commitment to fishing, however, continued to keep it highly dependent upon Salem as a market. Because of the improved ties, road and ferry services between Salem and Marblehead increased. Although Lynn suffered a sharp decline in iron production by the 1670's, the locality recouped its losses by expanding its leather industry; large tanning vats and tan houses rose along the Boston Road by the 1660's. In addition, a shipbuilding industry was getting underway during the same decade.<sup>9</sup> While improvements to the Boston Road increased Lynn's contacts with Boston, that thoroughfare tied the town even more closely to Salem in the north..

The newest town in Salem's vicinity was Beverly, which seceded from Salem in 1668. Because it was the northern terminus of the Beverly-Salem ferry, the town prospered, the ferry being on the major route from

Lynn to Ipswich in the north and Gloucester in the east. Thus goods and people passed through Beverly, coming from and going to Salem. The ferry enabled Salem merchants to extend their influence into the northern towns of the county. In addition, agricultural products from the "farms" of the Old Planters of the Bass River (Beverly) found their way into Salem Town by means of the ferry. Stimulated by economic activity generated by transshipment operations, docks were erected and shipping began in Beverly. By 1680 three towns-- Salem, Marblehead, and Beverly-- formed an economic cluster in the Harbor Area, each town attached to the other through trade and transshipment functions.

Near the end of the century growth brought even greater social and resident change to Salem. By 1683, because of its size and diversity, Salem was divided into six wards, each presided over by a justice of the peace.<sup>10</sup> The wards varied in composition: two farming wards, two artisan, and two merchant. Farming wards had the highest percentage of church members and merchant wards the highest assessments. By contrast, artisan wards on the riverfront had the lowest level of church membership and paid the least taxes. Large numbers of unskilled laborers (mariners and dock workers) crowded into a relatively small portion of the lower peninsula, while wealthy artisans and merchants resided on the upper peninsula away from the waterfront.<sup>11</sup>

Salem merchants found an ever-widening range of opportunities for profit. In an effort to extend their fishing and marketing season, in 1684 two merchants obtained the right to build wharves on Winter Island, an area free of ice during the coldest months, yet offering good protection for the vessels. By 1700 Salem had developed extensive trade ties with Spain, Portugal, the West Indies, and numerous ports along the Atlantic coast.<sup>12</sup> Although the dangers were great and the risks high, the possibilities

offered by the continuing French wars proved lucrative for the merchants; they were among the leaders in provincial efforts to launch expeditions against French bases and attack their shipping through privateering.<sup>13</sup>

Growth and prosperity increased the need for greater freedom of movement in and out of Salem Town and the necessity to relieve congestion on the narrow peninsula. In 1705 a causeway was built from the peninsula over the North River. Unlike the earlier causeway that obstructed trade on the South River, the new one provided a path for travel during low tide and allowed the passage of vessels over it at high tide. During the first decade of the new century, a more direct access route was laid to the Beverly ferry. To facilitate the continued development of the peninsula, new roads were laid into previously undeveloped areas. Road building, however, created problems for the authorities; after 1710 numerous complaints were filed with the selectmen regarding the obstruction of the "ancient highway" along the shore, established in Winthrop's day. The traditional rights of access to the sea clashed with the exigencies of economic development and residential expansion on the waterfront. A major obstacle to passage was the numerous ships in their stocks that projected into the roadways-- even in the center of town.<sup>14</sup>

The towns in the South continued to grow and become more attached to Salem. Between 1680 and 1720 shipping and trade expanded the greatest. Although fishing remained the main preoccupation in Marblehead, trade got a good foothold during this period. Marblehead's merchants, however, neither built nor owned many vessels. The relatively large group of twenty-one merchants, investing in twenty-eight separate projects, were apparently conducting their business in Salem and Boston rather than in their own port. Lynn continued to profit from its location between the larger ports of Boston and Salem, producing large numbers of shoes that

were apparently carried overland for marketing in the two larger towns. Yet despite the temporary stimulus received from the discovery of iron on the Nahant peninsula, Lynn's commercial activity remained limited because of the absence of a protected harbor.<sup>15</sup> The town's investment group was smaller than that in Marblehead; only eight residents were involved in an equal number of investment projects.<sup>16</sup> By 1720 Beverly had become the most active transshipment center in the county. Thus as transshipment facilities grew in Salem, Marblehead, and Beverly and Lynn sold more shoes to these three towns, the economic cluster in the Harbor Area increased its number of towns to four.

From 1720 to 1768 Salem continued to lead in most economic categories. Internally the town's functions became more elaborate, while the hinterland beyond expanded. Internal growth and its implications are demonstrated by focusing upon two elements of the evolving street network on the peninsula: commercial and residential streets. Because of the many docks and warehouses along Wharf and Fish streets, on the upper and lower banks of the South River respectively, room for expansion had to be found. In the early 1760's merchants obtained the needed space by laying out Derby and New streets; the first ran through the commercial heart of the town, between Fish and Market streets on the lower peninsula, while the second was located between River and Essex streets in the upper end of town.

The two new streets set the stage for a more intense residential differentiation and encouraged the rise of socially-aspiring merchant families. Derby Street became the recognized residence of craftsmen and artisans and New Street of the wealthy merchants. The laying out of Derby Street-- a hard won political victory for the Derby family-- enabled commerce to expand along the South River and allowed the Derby and



Crowninshield families to intensify their activities in the area. The two families, benefiting from the advantages accompanying the establishment of the new commercial street, now rivaled, and would soon eclipse, the economic and social influence of the established Crne and Brown families, whose undertakings were restricted to the more congested Wharf Street.<sup>17</sup>

Statistically, the figures for Salem's economic strength in 1765 are impressive; the town paid a tax of 155 pounds (10.3% of the total) to the county, second only to Ipswich, which paid two pounds more. As shown in Table V:1, an index devised by Edward M. Cook, Jr., for measuring the amount of commercial development, which divides each town's share of the the colony's tax by the total area of the town, Salem ranked high among the localities of Essex County. Because the tax figure reflects both personal and commercial wealth and indicates the high property values common to urban areas, it is useful for assessing the degree of urbanization as well.<sup>18</sup> By 1767 Salem recorded more than 500 dwellings (up from 372 in 1754), 90 ships, 30 wharves, and 130 shops.<sup>19</sup> Only in shipbuilding did the town suffer a decline. The seventeen ships built in Salem between 1741 and 1764 were important to the town's welfare, but did not place Salem among the leaders in that category-- shipbuilding had shifted to the Merrimac.

Growth in the towns of the South surpassed even that of the previous period. Marblehead changed from a fishing and coastal-carrying economy tied to Salem and Boston in 1720, to an active and more independent economy involved in trade with the West Indies and other parts of the world.<sup>20</sup> Despite its prosperous trade, however, the town continued to build few ships and relied upon Salem and Newburyport bottoms. Beverly continued to expand as a transshipment center, ever more firmly attached to Salem. Although Lynn had several modest fishing and trading

TABLE V:1

MAJOR COMMERCIAL INDICATORS BY SUBREGION, ESSEX COUNTY, 1720 and 1765

Subregion/ Town	Commercial Index 1765	County Taxes (Pounds)		Vessels Built	
		1720	1765	1714-19	1741-64
<b><u>SOUTH:</u></b> Salem	179.6	38	155	43	17
Beverly	39.9	14	65	6	--
Danvers	20.7	--	68	--	--
Lynn	16.5	18	66	1	--
Marblehead	293.2	33	136	2	1
Manchester	21.6	3	17	2	--
Wenham	23.4	6	20	--	--
Totals	84.6 (Avg.)	112	527	54	18
<b><u>MIDDLE:</u></b> Ipswich	23.1	41	157	5	15
Gloucester	28.7	17	100	5	4
Rowley	18.4	13	64	12	--
Topsfield	20.6	7	28	--	--
Boxford	12.7	6	38	--	--
Middleton	15.6	--	--	--	1
Totals	19.8 (Avg.)	84	387	22	20
<b><u>NORTH:</u></b> Newburyport	99.7	--	85	--	153
Haverhill	25.3	15	80	--	34
Salisbury	30.0	11	50	--	27
Newbury	28.4	34	127	13	--
Amesbury	5.1	10	50	--	13
Bradford	22.9	7	37	--	16
Methuen	9.6	--	--	--	--
Totals	29.5 (Avg.)	94	533	13	243

Sources: Cook, Fathers of the Towns, Appendix, Commercial Index, 203; "Sessions, Dec 1761- Oct. 1778," county tax figures; Bailyn, Massachusetts Shipping; and "English Shipping Records Related to Mass. Ports."

enterprises, its major attribute remained the growing shoe and leather processing capacity. Danvers, seceding from Salem in 1757, developed a prosperous and mixed economy: mills and tidal gates and shipyards.<sup>21</sup> With the growth of Danvers, five towns--Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Lynn, and Danvers--now formed a powerful economic cluster in the Harbor Area.

Because of balanced internal and external growth, the South emerged first as a subregion. The Salem peninsula, being at the center of an excellent harbor and having a waterfront capable of expanding its functional elaboration, had strong ties to the localities surrounding it. In turn, the localities around the port--whether connected by transshipment, overland, or coastal routes--came under the influence of the larger community, some clustering closely and others in a peripheral location. From this interrelationship all benefited economically; Salem Town drew strength from transactions with the towns nearby, while the recipient towns slowly broadened their original narrow self-containment. Thus the subregion that formed thrust the South into early prominence in northeastern Massachusetts.

#### The Shaping of the North, 1642-1768

The economic emergence of the northern subregion roughly parallels its political rise. By 1690, when the boundaries of the North were formed officially by the militia act, Newburyport had been developing central place functions for nearly a half century. In the decade prior to 1650 Newburyport underwent only modest development. Although the community was established in 1642 when the majority of Newbury's population moved north from the Parker River to "Portside" on the Merrimac River, the legal, political, and ecclesiastical authority remained with the original settlement. Despite restrictions imposed by the port's subordination

to the smaller parent town government and its location on the northern periphery of the county, it nevertheless developed an extensive trade in staves, lumber, and grain from the Merrimac Valley and sugar, molasses, cotton, and tobacco from the West Indies. Trade in turn encouraged the economic growth of the waterfront. With the establishment of a permanent ferry over the river in the 1640's, connecting Newburyport and Salisbury, the area north of the Merrimac became more accessible as a source of raw material and a market for the produce of the emerging port. By 1656 a tannery, distillery, and several wharves appeared at the water's edge.<sup>22</sup>

The remaining towns of the North-- Salisbury, Haverhill, and Andover-- developed economic attachments to Newburyport according to their distance upstream from the growing central place downstream. The modest shipbuilding industry at Salisbury and limited lumber operations at Haverhill supplemented agriculture in both towns. Andover depended largely upon agriculture; a single mill on its principal stream, because of the slight rate of descent at the falls, remained small. Each town along the river, except Newburyport, benefited from extensive meadow and marshlands that encouraged cattle production.<sup>23</sup> Newburyport and Salisbury, sharing common transshipment functions and shipbuilding activities, developed relatively close economic ties during this period.

The demand for waterfront space at Newburyport increased in the 1660's and 1670's and became intense in the 1680's, two decades after that in Salem. Newburyport's lots, however, were larger. Compared to the thirty-five foot plots on Salem's South River in the 1660's, the size of Paul White's half-acre parcel on the Merrimac seems large. White established a wharf and distillery at the site; the increase in waterfront traffic passing through the port by means of ferries and river boats stimulated the establishment of several ordinaries. White argued that Newburyport

had no tavern and secured a monopoly to sell wine at the wharf in 1668. Furthermore, an increase in sturgeon fishing on the river brought the construction of facilities for pickling, storing, and shipping fish in the 1670's. So busy did the fishing industry become that inspectors were employed to look for defective packing and faulty staves and casks. Licenses were required for entrance into the fish packing trade.<sup>24</sup>

By the late 1670's the Merrimac had become a valuable means of transportation between Newburyport and the several towns upstream. Richard Dole secured a permit in 1678 to construct a dock for the unloading of hay, wood, timber, boards, and other products from the Valley. The only restrictions in the grant were that he give all boats free access to the dock and not deal in products imported from or exported to the sea. A year later Daniel Denison was permitted to build another wharf. As in the previous permit to Dole, Denison was to allow all inhabitants to land hay, wood, and other goods. Denison apparently built the wharf because of the potential profits from the sale of wood products extracted from his large holding farther up the river. In 1680 five merchants petitioned to build five individual wharves: four of the five were allowed. A section of shoreline four to five rods in length was set aside by the town for wharves and a shipyard, providing that nothing was built ten to twelve feet from the town wharf and that the wharves be finished within three years.<sup>25</sup>

The towns in the North-- now supplemented by Amesbury (separated from Salisbury in 1668) and Bradford (separated from Rowley in 1673)-- drew closer together economically between 1650 and 1680. While profiting since the 1640's from their locations near the mouth of the river and at the northern terminals of the ferries from Newburyport, Amesbury and Salisbury became closely attached to the larger port. Together the

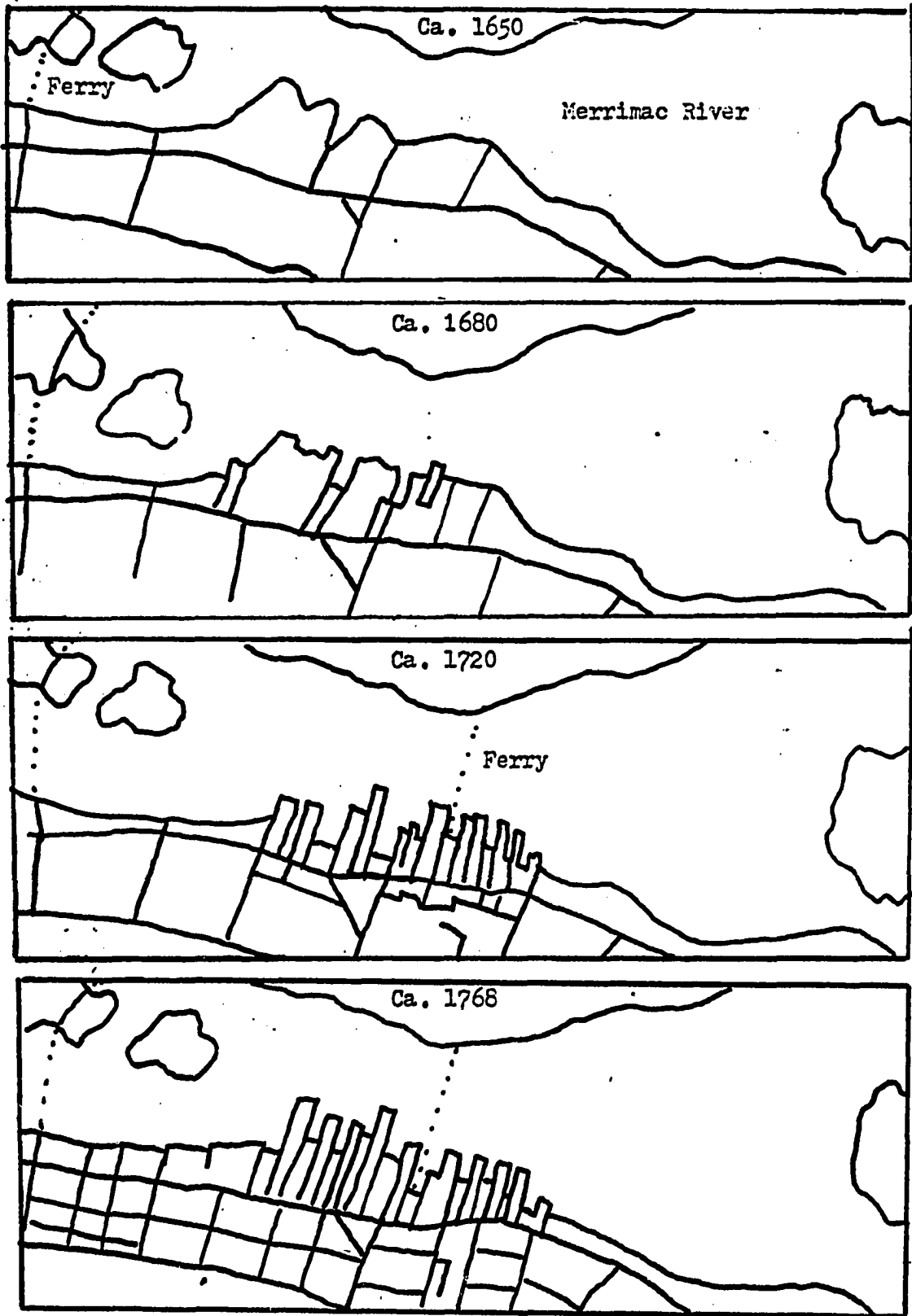
three communities clustered to form a strong economic center. The new center drew strength from the scattered enterprises of Salisbury and Amesbury; both towns had salt pans on the beach marshes, sawmills on the streams, shipyards at the water's edge, and corn and cattle on the dispersed meadows and bottom lands.<sup>26</sup> Haverhill benefited from catching salmon and alewives for the downstream market, especially at Newburyport. The need to preserve the catch led to a pipe industry which consequently stimulated the rise of lumbering operations. The establishment of a ferry between Haverhill and Bradford increased traffic to both towns and encouraged expansion at the dock areas.<sup>27</sup> By 1680, Andover had developed a cash-crop economy and was selling vegetables, grain, and livestock to Salem and Newburyport merchants for hard goods.<sup>28</sup>

In the decades following 1680 increased commercial and shipbuilding activities brought substantial change to Newburyport. The pressure on waterfront land, as indicated by the numerous requests for wharf sites prior to and during 1686, resulted in a division of the common land along the river that year.<sup>29</sup> To handle the increased traffic, the first ferry was established in the port's center. Competition for land with access to the water became acute in the 1690's. Petitions for shipyards and wharves led the list of demands by special interests. The discovery of a limestone deposit in 1690 brought additional requests for land near the river for the construction of kilns. Petitions for tanneries needing abundant water supplies also increased the demand for waterfront property.<sup>30</sup> Heavy pressure upon limited resources brought regulation; in 1692 the town required that permission be obtained for the construction of vessels and charged a fee for each vessel built.<sup>31</sup> Only a year after the discovery of limestone it was necessary to regulate that industry as well. At the time, prices and export practices were brought under control.<sup>32</sup>

Many indications point to Newburyport as a bustling and crowded port by 1720. Between 1703 and 1705 the remaining common lands along the river were divided into lots and distributed by the proprietors.<sup>33</sup> The development of plots for private use resulted in further expansion of the shipbuilding and fishing industries, the establishment of an additional ferry, and the construction of new waterfront streets, as illustrated in Map V:2. Continuing economic expansion brought a sharp increase in the port's population and a greater demand for services. John March, who received the first ferry charter earlier, got permission to erect the first inn (1682). The single ordinary that he had created under his license of 1670, apparently the only place of accommodation and entertainment in the locality, expanded to five by 1718. In addition, the lone liquor establishment started by White earlier had increased to three by that year.<sup>34</sup>

All five of the North's towns by 1720 were shipping agricultural and lumber products down the river to Newburyport in return for finished commodities. Of the five only Andover was not benefiting from the economic expansion associated with transshipment. Salisbury and Amesbury remained directly linked by ferry to Newburyport and to each other; Bradford continued its link to Haverhill, both towns benefiting accordingly. Haverhill, because of its central location in the Valley and its transshipment capacity handled much of the traffic moving from Boston to the upper Merrimac and Connecticut valleys beyond. The ferry terminal on the Merrimac near the mouth of the Powow River, where the Salisbury, Amesbury, and Newburyport boundaries intersect, grew rapidly. Through this cluster of communities passed lumber from the saw mills, iron from the works, and grain from the grist mill on the Powow. A plentiful supply of oak also encouraged expansion in shipbuilding after 1702 at the mouth of

Functional Elaboration and Concentration at Newburyport





that river<sup>35</sup>

Growth and prosperity led to greater autonomy for Newburyport between 1720 and 1763. The political independence attained as a result of secession from Newbury in 1763 seems justified by the port's extraordinary economic growth. The community expanded greatly in the several decades before separation. Although the new town ranked below several others in Table V:1, its full urban development is not reflected because much of its property and assets were recorded as still belonging to Newbury, its parent town. The limited capacity of Newburyport's Market Street meeting house was overwhelmed by demands from the town's expanding economy that led to the construction of a town house between 1731 and 1735.<sup>36</sup> Ecclesiastical functions of the meeting house and economic functions of the town house, which had been combined in the old meeting house, were now separated. Wharf construction at the foot of Chandler's Lane and Queen Street, as seen in Map V:2, contributed to economic prosperity. Farmers from the northern part of the county brought their produce to the markets along King and Fish streets. Shipbuilding, however, had become the main preoccupation of the locality. Because of rapid growth in ship construction, English builders felt the competition and appealed to the Lords of Trade in 1724 to restrict the port's output of vessels. In 1766 one observer counted seventy-two vessels under construction.<sup>37</sup>

By 1768 the towns in the North were firmly attached to the river. Although it was located well upstream from Newburyport and did not pose as a serious rival to Newburyport, Haverhill built vessels and engaged in maritime trade. As the town expanded its fishing operations, increased its transshipments, and intensified its lumbering activities, Haverhill became the second most powerful town on the river behind Newburyport. In conjunction with Bradford, it formed an economic cluster

at mid-valley. Salisbury and Amesbury, whose yards were across the river from Newburyport, also expanded their shipbuilding capacities, securing their lumber from sources upstream. The triangle of Newburyport, Salisbury, and Amesbury thus formed the second most powerful economic cluster in the county, second to that at Salem Harbor. Andover, however, must not be overlooked because of its relatively remote location; as seen in Table V:1 and V:2, its agricultural output was comparatively large.

The North developed differently from the South. Geographically, it was elongated--a central place appearing at one end, remote frontier communities at the other; economically, the trade ties of communities to the central place varied according to the distance upstream. However, the disadvantages of the Merimac location on the northern periphery of the county were offset by transportation advantages that only a wide river could provide. Now that the southern and northern subregions and their respective urban places have been examined, we shall turn to the vast area between them.

#### The Rise of a Diversified Middle, 1633-1768

The evolution of the Middle did not parallel that of the South or North. Although towns in the emerging subregion continually expanded their agricultural production and consequently prospered, none developed the elaborate central-place functions of Salem and Newburyport. Ipswich, the most productive and prosperous of the middle towns, created a dispersed and diversified economic structure very early. Missing in the Middle was the tight web of satellite localities clustering around a densely populated central community. Instead, a far looser association of towns and villages encircled Ipswich.

Dispersal and diversification began in the mid 1630's. An active land market appeared immediately. The largest holders of land-- Simon Bradstreet, Richard Saltonstall, Samuel Appleton, Daniel Denison, and Samuel Symonds-- had vast holdings that served as economic foundations for numerous ambitious ventures. In addition to accumulated holdings, these men won monopoly rights-- Saltonstall for a mill and dam in 1635 and Appleton for a malt-kiln and wood permit. The names of the five appeared as members of two committees concerned with encouraging the economic growth of the town. In 1641 Bradstreet, Denison, and Saltonstall were appointed as the "Committee to Further Trade" and Bradstreet and Symonds to a second committee "to dispose of Little Neck for Fishing."<sup>38</sup> A policy of encouraging manufacturing about the town in the 1640's and 1650's resulted in a functionally diverse and spatially dispersed town. As shown in Map V:3, in 1640 tan vats appeared on several streams. Two years later, the first wharf, for an already-existing warehouse, was erected on the Ipswich River. In 1652 Ipswich was sending "hundreds of beef quarters" to Boston annually, a product of the town's extensive meadow and marsh lands.<sup>39</sup> The salt required for the preservation of fish and beef was provided for when the town granted salt marsh lands and monopoly rights for the construction and operation of salt pans that were scattered about the eastern part of Ipswich.

From the beginning the selectmen took steps to control the locality's varied enterprises. Bakers, leather workers, and "sellers of strong waters" came under regulation.<sup>40</sup> To order and strengthen its diffused wool industry the town decreed in 1654 that no sheep would be transported from its confines or any other sheep under two years of age be killed. To further manage the industry, the selectmen ordered that the population come together in groups of five, six, and ten people to learn to spin

wool. Any family failing to produce three pounds of linen or wool per person paid a fine.<sup>41</sup>

The physical transformation of Ipswich was less dramatic than that on the Salem peninsula or at Newburyport. Although the town's central village was situated where the Ipswich River made a sharp bend and became wider, it nevertheless possessed limited harbor facilities. As a port it lacked Salem's direct access to the sea, being a mile inland on a narrow and twisting waterway. Despite the disadvantages, the town's location at the center of a fertile coastal plain and at the very middle of the county placed it in a position to control much of the overland trade of the county.

In 1650 the other towns of the Middle lacked the internal cohesion and interdependence of their counterparts in the South. Beyond the emerging economic centers of Ipswich and Gloucester, the localities in the area relied upon agriculture and remained self-contained communities. Gloucester, like Marblehead in the South, had a fine harbor but a rocky and restricted immediate hinterland. However, unlike Marblehead, which benefited from its nearness to prosperous Salem Town, Gloucester was far removed from other towns in the county. The men of Rowley raised sheep and conducted modest fulling operations. At Topsfield, the mill on the Ipswich River remained small because of the limited volume of water available so far upstream. Furthermore the low yield of Topsfield's copper mine forced its abandonment before 1650.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the emergence by 1680 of an Ipswich merchant group of modest size as a result of the varied activities in the town, economic and political life remained essentially under the control of the proprietary group of first generation leaders. Among the "farmers" of the first generation still exercising authority over town affairs were:

Richard Saltonstall	2100 acres
Samuel Symonds	1700 acres
Daniel Denison	1200 acres
Samuel Appleton	500 acres
John Norton	180 acres
Robert Lord	150 acres

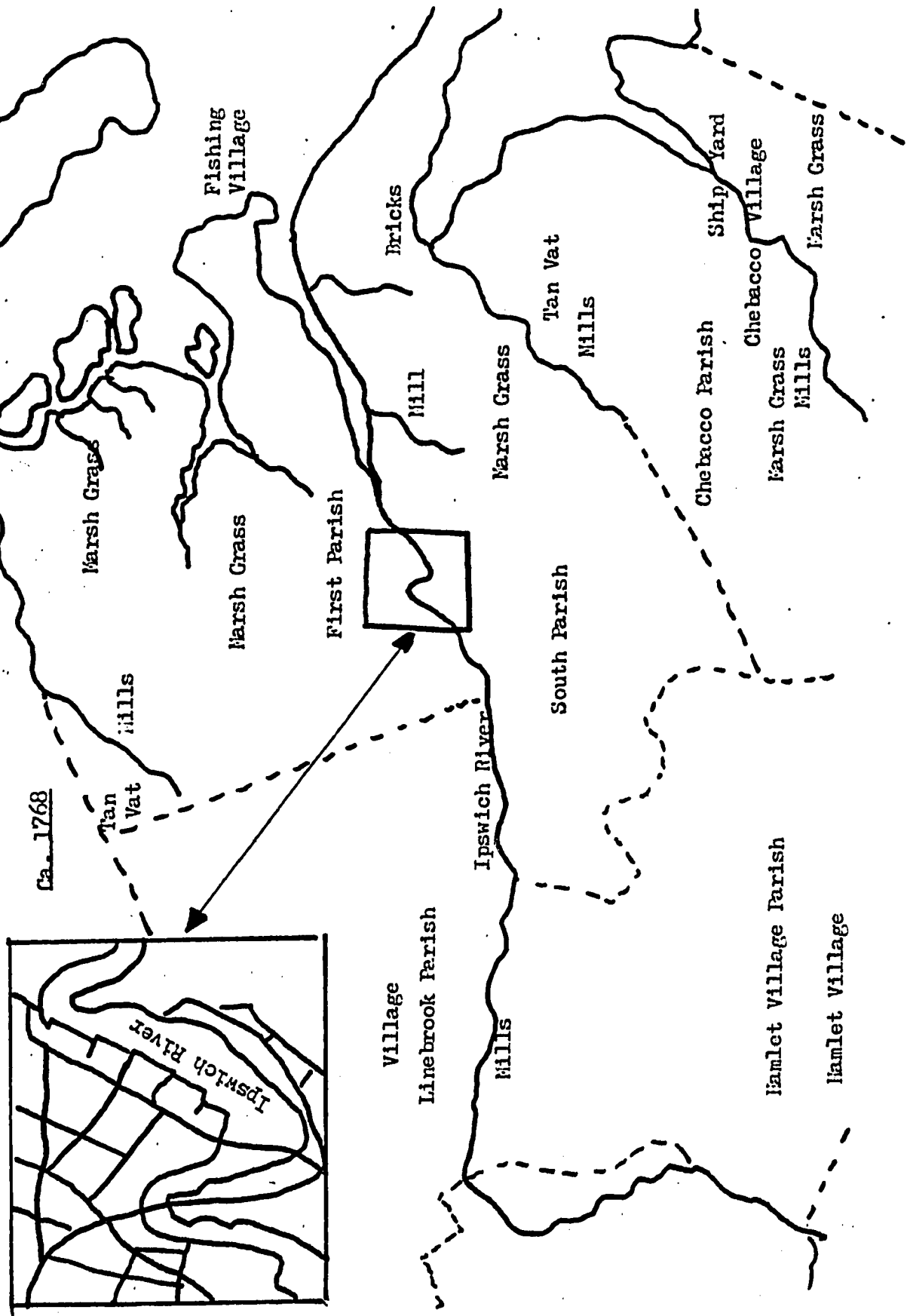
Collectively, these men controlled the founding and maintenance of the Ipswich plantation. Their paramount concerns became the acquisition and preservation of land, the creation of an orderly society, and the protection of their inherited rights.<sup>43</sup>

The Ipswich men tied commerce and agriculture more closely together than did the Salem merchants. Although surplus capital from commercial enterprises went into the land market in both towns, the Ipswich men committed themselves far more heavily in this direction. The gentlemen farmers constantly bought and exchanged land in their efforts to consolidate holdings. Even the artisans and craftsmen of Ipswich sought land. Mill owners had to purchase land in order to harness the water power of the streams in the various parts of the town. As illustrated in Map V:3, the seven textile mills of 1680 were scattered around the town according to where the streams were located.<sup>44</sup>

In contrast to Salem, which modified its initial policy of inducing commerce and manufacturing through granting monopolies to high-placed individuals, Ipswich continued to give long-term vested rights to groups from the founding gentry. Saltonstall kept his monopoly on the mill and dam until his death in 1667. Samuel Appleton received a salt and beer monopoly in 1641 and several years later a sawmill monopoly; both grants remained his for life. Between 1649 and 1673 Jonathan Wade held the rights to run a windmill and a sawmill. John Whipple got special permission

Map V:3

Political, Economic, and Religious Subdivisions in Ipswich



for a malt business in 1655 and a monopoly for a fulling mill in 1673. Thus the town provided economic security to a select few for life.<sup>45</sup>

Shipping on the Ipswich River was apparently more competitive than were manufacturing activities. Although the wharf and warehouse privilege extended to William Paine in 1641 was undoubtedly intended as a controlled-monopoly in the traditional sense, mercantile demands soon forced Paine to share his privilege with others. Between 1659 and 1686 six more wharves appeared on the river. Several shipyards appeared there also by the 1670's. With the exception of Paine, none of the builders was among the list of original "farm" grantees.<sup>46</sup>

A recent study of 397 men of the first generation in Ipswich by Edward Perzel reveals the high degree of social stratification in the town. Among the four classes identified, the Leading Men, a group of thirty-three persons, held an average of 500 acres of land and occupied 91% of the elected offices. By contrast, the 156 people in the Lower Level owned an average of only 5.3 acres and held no offices whatever. Those at the top were mostly merchants and large farmers, those at the bottom, small farmers, laborers, and indentured servants. Between the two extremes were 205 persons divided into two groups. The majority were skilled leather and cloth craftsmen. Although only seven from the leadership group held colony-wide office, their influence in the town, the county, and the colony was extensive. This small minority maintained control long after the men of their generation in other towns had left the scene.<sup>47</sup>

By 1680 the towns of the Middle developed much like Ipswich, becoming diversified and agriculturally-oriented. Gloucester appears as the single exception, its fine harbor nurturing a sizeable shipbuilding and fishing industry. Despite the economic growth of the area around the harbor,

Gloucester remained remote and highly dispersed. Rowley manufactured a limited amount of woolen products, built a few vessels, and established a warehouse on the Rowley River, but nevertheless continued to be essentially an agricultural community. Although iron ore was being mined at Topsfield in 1681, it, too, remained an agricultural town.<sup>48</sup>

In the next forty years (1680-1720) economic life in Ipswich, in both the center and the outlying areas, expanded markedly. As economic opportunities expanded, the monopoly-granting practices of the first generation disappeared. Five new wharves appeared between 1682 and 1693 on the river bank near the town center. In the latter year twenty-three people were permitted to build shops along the river site above the bridge. Although numerous permits for grist, saw, and fulling mills were allowed in the vicinity of the falls, which illustrates the economic vitality of the center, many more permits were granted in the outlying areas of the town. In the 1690's grist and fulling mills appeared on Labor-in-vain Creek north of the center and on the Miles River to the south, all within a two-mile radius of Ipswich center. Beyond this relatively limited area, grist and saw mills, brick yards, malt houses, fish flakes, and anchorage permits for fishing vessels occupied the attention of the selectmen frequently during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>49</sup> Although shipbuilding had fallen off-- only fourteen vessels built between 1697 and 1714-- the vessels constructed on the Chebacco River nevertheless contributed to the widespread dispersal of economic activities in the locality.<sup>50</sup> It is obvious that the town prospered during this period, but unlike Salem and Newburyport where economic life was concentrated in a small area, Ipswich's facilities were scattered.

The remaining towns in the Middle, with the exception of Gloucester,



expanded their agricultural economies. Unlike the others, Gloucester increased its dependence upon the sea, building fifty vessels between 1697 and 1714. The town's community of investors, larger than that of Ipswich, had twenty-four individuals putting their money into thirty-five different ventures.<sup>51</sup> In addition to shipbuilding, the forests on Cape Ann proved advantageous to Gloucester; in 1706 some thirty sloops were carrying cordwood to Boston from one section of the town alone. At that time the locality had about fifty vessels engaged in the wood carrying trade. Over 500 cords of wharf timbers were shipped to Boston by one lumber company in 1711.<sup>52</sup> Although Rowley had a modest shipbuilding area in 1680, a boot and shoe manufacturing company in 1703, and several corn and fulling mills on its stream, the town's essential concern remained agriculture.<sup>53</sup> Boxford and Topsfield were similar to Rowley, having unsuccessful iron mining and manufacturing operations. Both towns, however, had several grist and saw mills.

By 1768 Ipswich was unique-- populated, but economically diverse and geographically dispersed. Its high county tax payment (157 pounds in 1765), a tax assessed on the basis of property and adult males or rateable polls, illustrates the presence of a large and wealthy population. However, the modest reading on the Commercial Index (23.1) of Table V:1, based upon the town's size and property valuation, indicates that the wealth of the town was not concentrated in a compact area. In addition, the numerous rivers running from the interior easterly to the sea, its many islands, inlets, and bays, and its extensive areas of sand and marshland prevented the development of a uniform settlement pattern and contributed to the dispersal of economic activities.

Between 1720 and 1765 Ipswich center and the outlying areas grew rapidly. Although John Oldmixon observed in 1708 that Ipswich center

was a place of fishing and trade, wharves were constructed in other parts of the town: Hunt's Cove in 1722, Crop's Neck in the 1750's, and Little Neck in 1764.<sup>54</sup> In the 1750's, two tanneries appeared on Line Brook-- the town's northwestern boundary. Further evidence of economic dispersal was the continued existence of the shipyard at the Cove and the fishing fleet at Jefferies Neck. Although no data has been found relating to the number of mills at mid-century, it is likely that mills similar to the numerous grist and woolen operations of the earlier periods were still functioning-- such mills being scattered about the town according to the availability of waterpower.<sup>55</sup>

#### An Economically Balanced County, 1765-1768

By 1768 the North, the last area to be settled, had risen to a rough parity with the other two subregions. As seen in Table V:2, the total valuation of the eight towns in the subregion (42,224 pounds and 38.3% of the county total) surpassed the total for the South (39,467 pounds and 35.8% of the county total). This northern part of the county led in grain and livestock production, more than doubling the output of the South. Not that the North was dedicated entirely to agriculture: rather, it had achieved a balance between agriculture and commerce-manufacturing. As illustrated in Tables V:1 and V:2, the North was economically strong, leading in total "workhouses," shipconstruction, and had a high level on the Commercial Index (95.25). The high levels in agricultural output and ship construction augmented by the commercial and manufacturing orientation of several towns, gave the North a balanced economic structure.

The South led the county in commerce and manufacturing, Salem, Marblehead, and Beverly having commanding positions. Salem, the central place, was ahead of all others in commercial, manufacturing, and financial categories.

TABLE V:2

VALUATION OF 1768 BY SUBREGION, ESSEX COUNTY

Subregion	Town	Agricultural						Commercial-Manufacturing						
		Grain (Bu.)	Live-stock	Pasturage (Acres)	Hay (Tons)	Wharfage (Feet)	Shipping (Tons)	Warehouses	Workhouses	Mills	Money at Interest (Pounds)	Trading Stock (Pounds)	Total Valuation (Pounds)	Houses
<b>SOUTH</b>	Salem	3113	475	646	405	5131	7913	51	136	5	67384	87735	17067	519
	Marblehead	2445	410	310	310	11135	12054	40	61	--	38612	8870	10615	506
	Beverly	10728	2187	1099	956	4468	1042	2	45	4	3470	3796	4235	289
	Lynn	13475	2691	1043	1151	-----	62	--	32	6	215	1972	-----	231
	Danvers	15139	2910	1268	1931	3360	170	5	52	13	2080	4102	5380	279
	Wenham	4239	972	348	539	-----	-----	--	12	2	21	135	1067	72
	Manchester	2508	412	288	243	-----	552	3	8	6	548	2393	1103	94
<b>Totals</b>		51647	10057	5002	5525	70094	21798	101	346	36	112330	109003	39467	1990
<b>MIDDLE</b>	Ipswich	36831	7870	3721	2300	1200	1108	2	59	17	1582	6403	10844	505
	Gloucester	4691	2240	1249	339	15220	7058	43	51	10	12399	2858	7299	447
	Rowley	15999	3271	1711	1714	-----	-----	--	15	7	588	2552	4307	241
	Topsfield	1884	1874	650	1855	-----	-----	--	11	4	152	2724	2010	99
	Boxford	7692	2324	960	1524	-----	-----	6	4	--	30	844	2535	134
	Middleton	4906	1363	564	1172	-----	-----	--	16	7	-----	899	1464	83
	<b>Totals</b>		72003	18922	8855	9904	26420	8166	51	156	45	14721	16279	28459
<b>NORTH</b>	Newburyport	2998	534	97	87	47745	4221	46	99	--	39274	16132	8607	390
	Haverhill	13165	2510	1040	1861	3332	242	3	44	19	11768	3656	4792	281
	Newbury	32151	5339	3412	2485	-----	267	--	69	16	2037	4840	9494	424
	Amesbury	987	1725	890	994	1440	28	1	21	8	219	735	2921	229
	Salisbury	8412	1743	1038	727	-----	91	4	20	9	1232	1529	3817	221
	Andover	30223	3734	2382	3978	-----	-----	2	75	17	4129	7251	7638	355
	Bradford	11369	2020	869	1326	800	-----	--	32	8	612	3813	3060	178
Methuen	10648	2147	564	1294	-----	-----	--	10	5	-----	837	1835	132	
<b>Totals</b>		109953	20752	10291	7782	53317	4851	56	370	82	59271	38993	42224	2210
<b>Grand Totals</b>		233603	49731	24148	25706	149831	35075	208	872	179	188359	169115	110150	5709

Source: Massachusetts Archives, V. 131, 91-111. (1768)

When the figures for Marblehead are added to those for Salem, the combined total towers above those for either of the other subregions. The same two localities, joined by Beverly, give the cluster of three contiguous towns an unmatched and unusually high average figure on the Commercial Index of 179. The South, however, had its agricultural components as well; Danvers, Beverly, and Lynn with substantial outputs in agriculture counterbalanced, in a limited way, the commercial-manufacturing emphasis of the area. Yet the South did not have the degree of balance established in the North.

The Middle appears to have been the larder or breadbasket for Essex County and northeastern Massachusetts generally. As shown in Table V:2, the agricultural output of the six towns was significant. Ipswich and Rowley alone produced 52,830 bushels of grain, 11,141 head of livestock, and possessed 5,432 acres of pasture land, between 22 and 23% of the county's total in each case. Gloucester dominated the commercial categories in the Middle, leading in wharfage, shipping, tonnage, warehouses, and trade inventories. Ipswich, in addition to its dominant role in agriculture, led in manufacturing-- in craftshops and mills essentially. Table V:1 illustrates what appears to be a basic paradox in Ipswich, but is actually the basis of the town's enormous strength; Ipswich paid the highest county tax in 1765 but registered very low on the Commercial Index. By contrast, other towns with similar high levels of wealth-- Salem, Marblehead, Newbury, and Gloucester-- were near the top of the same index. The index underscores a unique fact; the town lost none of its territory through secession, while developing a dispersed but productive agricultural and manufacturing base. In the process, it became the wealthiest town in the county.

The subtle balances and complementary relationships among agricultural,

commercial, and manufacturing endeavors in the county were, in the beginning, determinants for the emergence of distinct subregions, and, in the end, the factors bringing economic balance to the county. Commerce was the fundamental component in the rise of the South and North. In the Middle, a combination of agricultural and manufacturing preoccupations stimulated prosperity and growth. Although Salem and Newburyport evolved into central places in the classic sense--a concentration of increasingly more elaborate economic functions and an expanding hinterland--Ipswich provided the key to an economically-balanced county. Because economic and political life are closely associated, Ipswich's economic balance and diversity undoubtedly assisted it to become politically more attuned to a rising American democracy and more divorced from the imperial structure to which the merchants of the South and North had been traditionally attached.

To this point in our discussions of demographic, political, and economic life, we have described the components of the subregion and region: the localities and their interrelationships. Each community has been assessed internally in terms of its relative position on a spectrum dealing with the presence or absence of population concentration, political complexity, or economic elaboration. Externally, the same towns have been viewed according to the influence they exert over other communities, running along a rough continuum from the highly influential to the impotent. On the basis of their internal and external dimensions the localities, ranging from the central place to the remote and self-contained, have been placed in one of three subregions, and, then, positioned in a regional system. From the considerations thus far we have generally assumed that an increase in functional elaboration or political complexity has implied a strengthening of influence beyond the

boundaries of the given community, or the reverse, that an expansion of authority over other localities has been accompanied by an enhancement of internal sophistication. At this juncture, these general assumptions about the ties among localities will be tested by actual measurement of selected characteristics.

## CHAPTER VI

### PATTERNS OF INTERCONNECTION

A systematic tracing of road, trade, and mobility patterns in northeastern Massachusetts confirms the existence of, first the subregional networks and, secondly, the regional networks alluded to in previous chapters. By identifying such factors as volume, frequency, distance, and direction as they apply to roads, trade, and the movement of people, we can project the general configuration of the subregion or region and assess the relative positions of each locality within the larger structure. Information on roads, trade, shipbuilding, and marriage will be introduced sequentially according to the four prearranged periods--1630-50, 1650-80, 1680-1720, and 1720-68. Furthermore, as noted in our discussion of subregions earlier, the rise of networks followed the familiar order--South, Middle, and North--during the first three periods. After 1720, in each of the networks built, ties among subregions expanded to the point where they equalled, and in places surpassed in importance, the intra-subregional ties of the past. By 1768 an array of networks existed, each one--regardless of the characteristic being measured--could be roughly superimposed upon the others. Thus, the networks outlined reveal the growing regional integration of Essex.

#### Characteristics to be Measured

Because people traveled over roads to trade and marry outside their home towns, the highway configuration provides the foundation on which subsequent trade and marital patterns evolved and will be examined first. To the extent that the developing system of roads extended uniformly about an area and trade and marriage webs were similar, one may say that the county

was relatively integrated. Potentially the road structure is one of the most powerful vehicles for assessing regional interrelationships. Records abound with references to roads and highways. Yet ascertaining the locations of most is not feasible within the context of this study. Most reference points are strictly local-- a tree, a rock, or some other such object. The county contained twenty-one towns in 1768 and time limitations make it impossible to trace the route of hundreds of ways mentioned in the Index of Highways at the Essex County Engineers Office. The Index is a thorough and systematic compilation of county roads extracted from the County Court records.<sup>1</sup> Hence, only the highways clearly identified as passing from one town to another will concern us. In some cases, especially in the early period, because a village was founded by residents from another village-- who obviously had moved overland to reach their destination-- it is assumed that a road existed between the two sites in question. In other cases, the routes can be located on ancient and present-day highway maps. In the end we can reproduce a network of major avenues over which people and goods flowed from town to town.

Roadways form networks and networks can be measured precisely. In Table VI:1 the number of roads (called arcs) emanating from the center of any given village (called nodes) is used to evaluate the relative degree of access and egress to and from the village and to determine its position in a hierarchy of accessibility. Thus arcs and nodes become the tools for measuring the centrality of a particular node within a road network and the connectivity of the network itself.<sup>2</sup> The centrality of each town and village in the South, Middle and North can be measured in two ways: by the number of arcs necessary to reach the outer perimeter of the subregional network from a certain community (called the Konig Number) and the number of arcs branching from it.<sup>3</sup> For the purpose of this



TABLE VI:1

INDICES OF CENTRALITY AND CONNECTIVITY AMONG ESSEX COUNTY COMMUNITIES.  
1650-1765

<u>1650</u>			<u>1680</u>			<u>1720</u>			<u>1765</u>		
Sub-region/ Town	No. Arcs	Konig No.	Sub-region/ Town	No. Arcs	Konig No.	Sub-region/ Town	No. Arcs	Konig No.	Sub-region/ Town	No. Arcs	Konig No.
<u>SOUTH</u>			<u>SOUTH</u>			<u>SOUTH</u>			<u>SOUTH</u>		
*Salem	5	2	*Salem	5	2	*Beverly	6	1	*Beverly	6	1
*Beverly	4	1	*Beverly	4	1	*Salem	5	2	*Salem	5	2
*Danvers	4	3	*Danvers	4	3	*Danvers	4	3	*Danvers	4	3
Lynn	3	3	*Lynn	4	3	*Lynn	4	4	*Lynn	4	4
Manchest	2	4	Mancheste	3	4	Mancheste	3	4	Manchest	3	4
Wenham	2	3	Marblehea	2	4	Marblehea	3	4	Marblehe	3	4
Marblehe	1	3	Wenham	2	5	Wenham	3	5	Wenham	3	5
<u>MIDDLE</u>			<u>MIDDLE</u>			<u>MIDDLE</u>			<u>MIDDLE</u>		
*Ipswich	4	4	*Byfield	5	5	*Topsfield	6	3	*Topsfiel	7	3
Nwbyport	2	5	*Ipswich	4	3	*Byfield	6	4	*Byfield	6	4
Topsfiel	2	5	*Topsfield	4	4	*Ipswich	5	4	*Ipswich	5	4
Rowley	2	7	Rowley	3	4	*Poxford	5	5	*Poxford	5	5
Newbury	2	7	Newbury	3	5	*Rowley	4	3	*Rowley	4	3
Chebaec	1	9	Chebacco	2	4	*Chebacco	4	4	*Chebacc	4	4
Glouces	1	11	Glouceste	1	6	Newbury	3	4	Middlet	3	4
						Glouceste	2	7	Newbury	3	7
									Glouces	2	7
<u>NORTH</u>			<u>NORTH</u>			<u>NORTH</u>			<u>NORTH</u>		
Faverhil	3	9	*Newburypt	4	6	*Newburypt	5	4	*Andover	7	6
Salisbur	3	6	Amesbury	3	6	*Bradford	4	3	*Bradford	5	5
Andover	2	8	Bradford	3	6	*Amesbury	4	3	*Newburyyp	5	9
			Salisbury	3	7	Salisbur	3	4	*Faverhil	4	6
			Faverhill	3	7	Faverhil	3	4	*Amesbury	4	9
			Andover	2	8	Andover	3	4	Methuen	3	6
									Salisbu	3	9

Kansky Index of Connectivity

Area	<u>1650</u>			<u>1680</u>			<u>1720</u>			<u>1765</u>		
	Arcs	Nodes	Kansky No.	Arcs	Nodes	Kansky No.	Arcs	Nodes	Kansky No.	Arcs	Nodes	Kansky No.
<u>SOUTH</u>	21	11	3.00	24	7	3.43	27	7	3.86	27	7	3.86
<u>MIDDLE</u>	--	--	----	--	-	----	32	7	4.57	39	9	4.33
<u>NORTH</u>	22	10	2.20	41	13	3.15	24	7	3.43	31	7	4.43

Definition of terms:

Arc: road branching from a town or village center (node)

Node: a town or village center from which roads (arcs) emanate

Konig Scale: measure of the degree of centrality of a node within a network by counting the number of arcs by the shortest path to the node that is the farthest away from the node in question (the lower the number the greater the degree of centrality).

TABLE VI:1 (Continued)

Kansky Index: measure of the connectivity of a network by dividing the number of arcs by the number of nodes within the network (the higher the number, the greater the degree of connectivity).

\* Denotes road centers (4 or more arcs)

Sources: Essex County Index of Highways and Brian FitzGerald, Science and Geography, I: Development in Geographical Method (New York, 1974).

study a village with four or more arcs emanating from it is defined as a road center. A low reading on the Konig Scale signifies a high level of accessibility and centralization within the structure of arcs and nodes. The extent of connectivity can also be measured in two ways: by the number of triangles formed by the interconnection of adjacent nodes and by the Kansky  $\beta$ , or Index, which divides the arcs by the nodes within a particular road system. A high figure on the Kansky Index represents a high level of interconnection among the villages in the system.<sup>4</sup> As the county network became complex by the middle of the eighteenth century the Konig and Kansky indices can be used to evaluate Essex as an emerging region. Henceforth the terms arcs and nodes will be identified as roads and villages.

According to Table VI:1, high levels of centrality and connectivity appeared first in the South (1650), then in the Middle (1680 and 1720), and finally in the North (1765). In the early period individuals in three of the several villages of the South could choose from one of four roads and travel along relatively unobstructed (Konig Numbers from 1 to 3) routes of departure from the subregion. Because the South at this time had more villages providing more alternative avenues of egress than the rest of the county, its general level of connectivity was higher (3.00 on the Kansky Index for the Harbor Area and 2.20 for the remainder of the county). The development of the highway structure in the Middle and North during the eighteenth century is reflected in the increased number of villages having more routes of departure from the subregions. By 1765, as the South's network retained nearly the same levels of centrality and connectivity, the structures in the Middle and North added more villages with high accessibility and egression (the number of road centers with 4 or more arcs rose from 4 to 11) and reduced levels of obstruction in exiting

from the subregions (from 3.15 on the Kansky Index in 1680 to 4.33 in the Middle, and 4.43 in the North in 1765).

Trade among the towns flowed along the roads thus established, increasing over the years and consequently stimulating the laying out of more thoroughfares. Among the important factors in analyzing the trade patterns are the identity of the principal merchants, the types of commodities exchanged, and the value of the goods bought and sold. But the search for evidence of inter-town trade encounters serious obstacles. The majority of the ledgers and account books make no reference to the customer's town or else deal exclusively with contacts beyond the county. Thus the researcher is provided with an abundance of information on the circumstances within a given town or those outside the county, but of little applicable value. Because the evidence used to construct the maps was extracted from limited sources, the conclusions drawn about trade configurations are incomplete and somewhat tentative. However, they do reflect the general flow of commerce. A further restriction on the availability of data is imposed by the original decision to limit the study to the sample periods centered in 1650, 1680, 1720, and 1765. Although account books used encompassed a span of years on either side of these dates, several account books, which would otherwise have been helpful were not employed because their dates placed them between the sample periods.<sup>5</sup>

Ship construction and registration form patterns of contact among towns and subregions. Because the vessels were frequently ordered by merchants in one town and built by shipwrights in another town, a structure of economic interrelationships appears. Although evidence is available for the period 1674-1764, it is neither uniform nor complete. Between 1674 and 1696 the place of construction only is available, between

1697 and 1714 both the place of construction and registration, and between 1715 and 1764 the place of construction only. Of the three time segments, the 1697-1714 period is the most complete and will be used most frequently. Bernard and Lotte Bailyn's statistical study of shipping in Massachusetts, 1697-1714, provides detailed information and has been relied upon in the construction of Table VI:2.<sup>6</sup>

By the early eighteenth century marriage migration patterns roughly paralleled those established by commerce and roads and can be used as a significant indicator of interconnection among towns and subregions. For the first time a measureable increase occurred in both the number of people leaving their home towns to marry and in the distance they traveled. Throughout the seventeenth century, movement for marital purposes (called exogamy) was slight, averaging only 5.9% of all marriages between 1652 and 1659 and 7.2% between 1679 and 1681.<sup>7</sup> The number of weddings fail to yield a reasonable sample size until the first two decades of the next century when, as indicated in a study of six Essex County towns by Susan Norton, the level of exogamy rose to 33%.<sup>8</sup> When the high levels of endogamy declined and marriage mobility increased during this period, a clustering similar to that seen earlier in population occurred.

#### The South, 1630-1720: Attachments to the Harbor

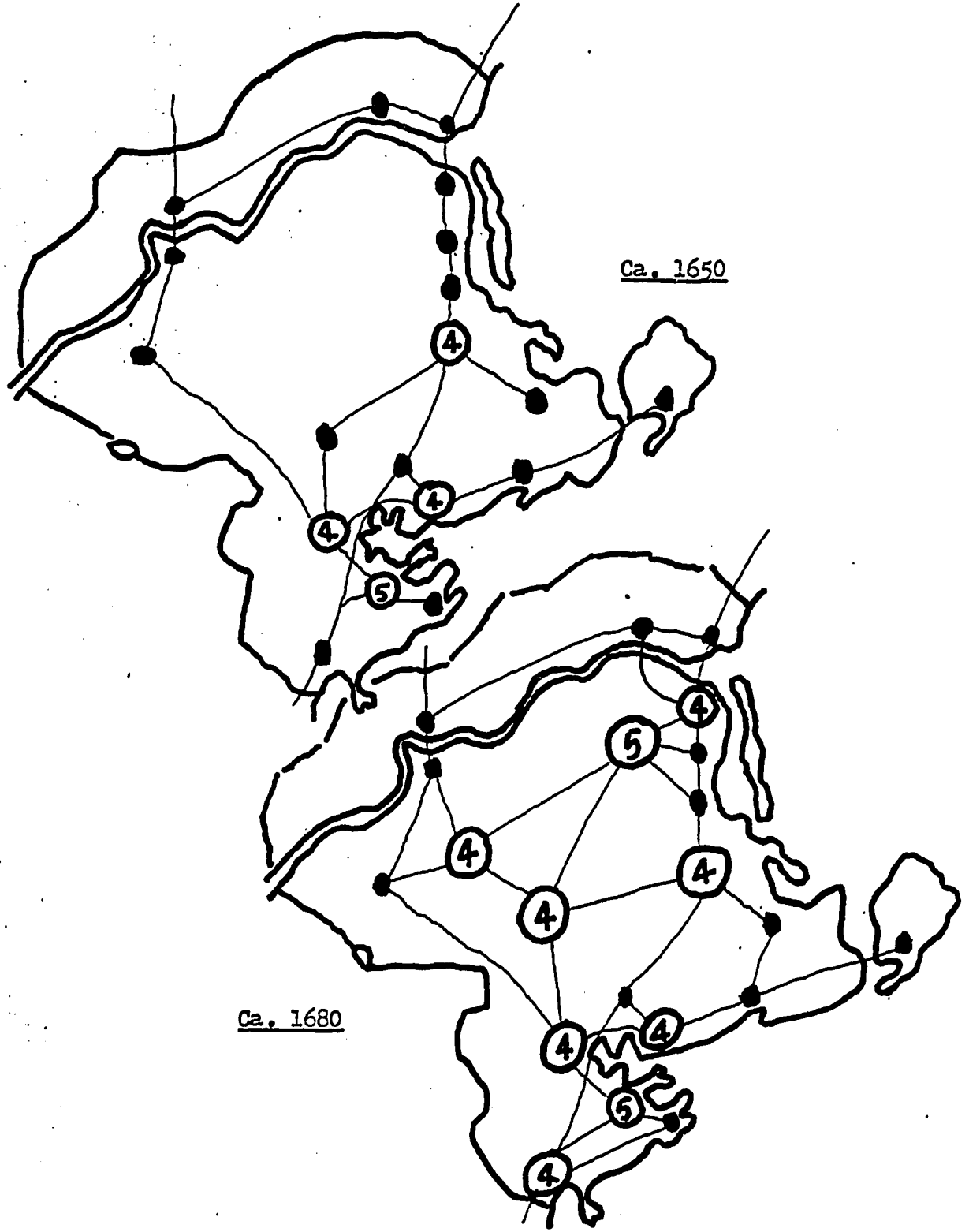
At this juncture, before focusing upon the development of the South, we shall look at the general growth pattern. The emergence of subregional road, trade, and marriage networks followed roughly two basic patterns: geographically, from South, to Middle, to North; and from settlements, to individual centers and clusters, to networks. In the first stage (1630-1650) several adjacent settlements developed sufficiently to become a cluster, the first such cluster appearing in the Harbor Area.

The Middle and North remained relatively undeveloped during the initial stage. However, during the second stage (1650-1680) a network of interconnected individual centers emerged in the Middle, the original cluster in the South expanding. Limited ties were established between the South and Middle. The North remained unchanged. The third stage (1680-1720) was highlighted by increasing complexity in the network of the Middle, while the North had only limited development. At this time the Middle built numerous ties to both South and North. Finally, during the fourth stage, ending in 1768, the network in the North became as complex as those of the South and Middle, the towns at the mouth of the river becoming the Lower Merrimac cluster. But most importantly, a county-wide network appeared, innumerable road, trade, and marriage links tying the three subregions together.

Road centers appeared in the South from the beginning. By 1650 three of the county's first highway centers had emerged in the Harbor Area. As seen in Figure VI:1 and Table VI:1, Salem, Beverly, and Danvers had intersecting thoroughfares that together formed the first cluster of interconnected localities. Prior to this date, road links followed a linear shape, stretching out along the coast. The Lynn-Ipswich route of 1635, the Salem-Beverly ferry of 1649, and the Beverly-Danvers roadway laid the basis for the early tri-community cluster.<sup>9</sup> The appearance of the road cluster seems consistent with the extraordinary political and economic power generated there. Salem's early role as an administrative center and entrepot-- evident in 1643 when the county was established-- placed heavy demands upon the rudimentary transportation and communication facilities around the Harbor. As roads emanated from Salem to satisfy these demands, surrounding villages benefited, especially Beverly, whose transshipment function provided a gateway to the heart of the county for

Figure VI:1

Essex County Road Network, 1650 and 1680 Ca.



Ca. 1650

Ca. 1680

Road Centers ○ Number of Nodes Containing Four or More Arcs.

Sources: FitzGerald, Science and Geography, I, 28-33; "Essex County Highway Index," and Essex County maps.

merchants on the peninsula. In the thirty years following 1650 the cluster expanded, creating a relatively complex transportation and communications network. As illustrated in Figure VI:1, Lynn became the fourth road center in 1659, when the route from Lynn to Marblehead was laid out. Thus Lynn became the southernmost point in a cluster that also included Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, and Danvers.

By 1680 the road network in the South completely encircled Salem Harbor, the cluster growing in strength as urban services, political power, and prosperity penetrated the area adjacent to the Salem peninsula. Because of its position on the Boston-Salem Road, Lynn's trade with the localities at either end of the highway increased. Beverly and Marblehead became more closely tied to Salem through their greatly intensified transshipment and maritime activities. Thus the urban functions previously limited to Salem Town appear to have spread to adjacent Beverly and Marblehead, as population, political power, and wealth concentrated in the cluster.

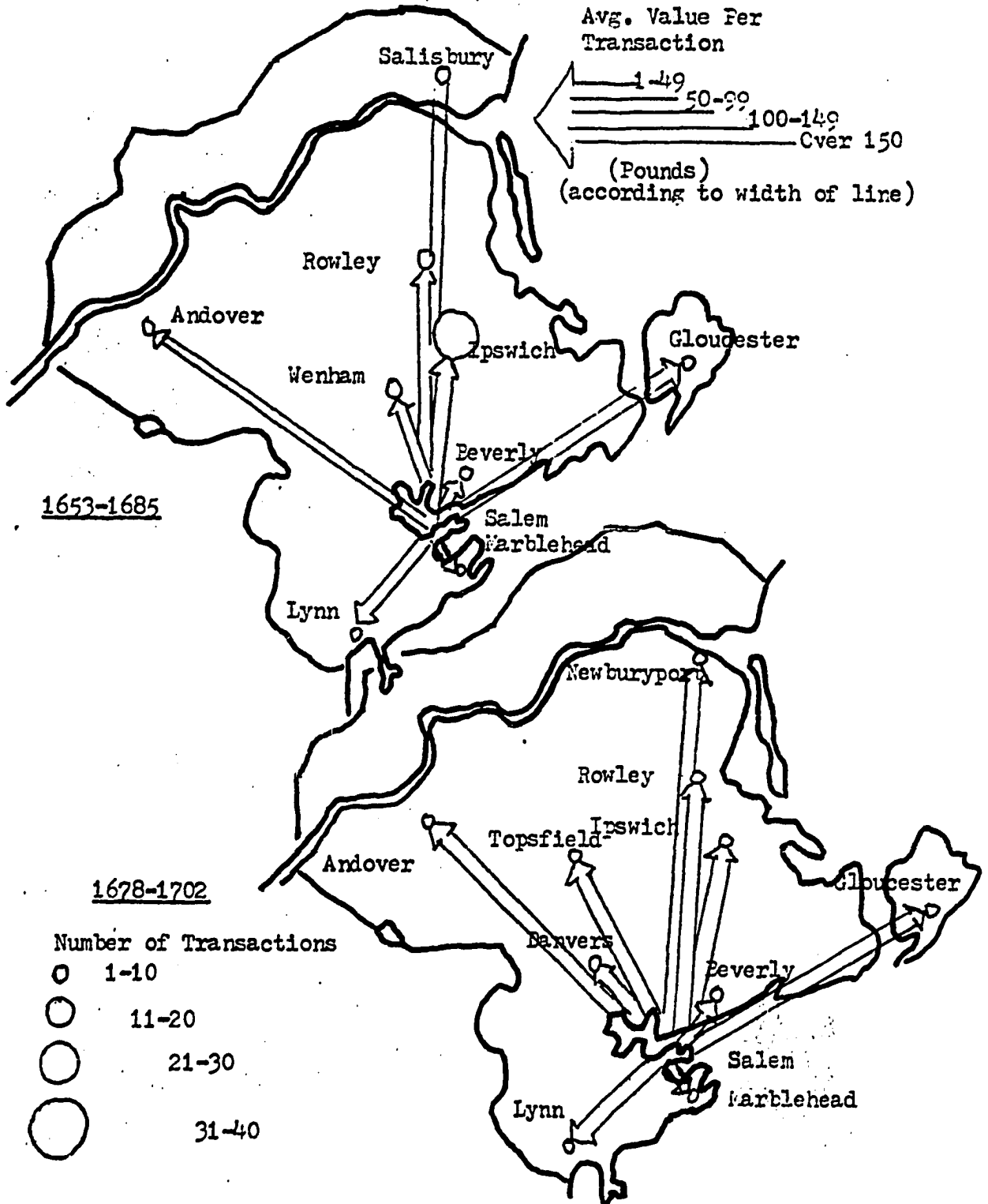
As shown in Figure VI:3, no additional centers appeared between 1680 and 1720. Beverly, however, had a noticeable change, becoming more accessible when a street was established from that town to Chebacco Village. In 1685 another thoroughfare tied Beverly to Topsfield and formed the first direct route to the county's interior from the Salem-Beverly ferry.<sup>10</sup> The new highways gave the town more accessibility than Salem; six roads emanated from Beverly's central village near the ferry landing. As a consequence of the road construction, transshipment between Beverly and Salem increased markedly, The North River between the two communities becoming quite busy.

Salem's trade pattern appears to have followed the road web around the Harbor Area, Salem and Beverly benefiting especially. As indicated



Figure VI:2

Inter-Town Trade Patterns, Essex County, 1653-85  
and 1678-1702



Sources: Ledgers of George Corwin, 1653-55 and 1671-89, John Higginson, 1678-89, John Pickering, 1686-1716, and Philip English, 1679-90.

in Figure VI:2, George Corwin-- a prominent merchant in Salem Town-- established accounts in Marblehead, Beverly, Lynn, and Wenham; he sold cloth, hardware, and household goods. His Marblehead account was relatively large, however, the transactions averaged less than forty-nine pounds and the number of transactions less than ten between 1652 and 1654. In addition to Corwin's direct ties to neighboring towns, he transshipped through Beverly and Newburyport, goods bound for Ipswich, Salisbury, and Gloucester. In 1652 the merchant sold large quantities of gingham, silk, cotton stockings, and buttons to Ipswich. Furthermore, goods destined for Andover passed through Danvers, strengthening the economic base of both towns. Between 1655 and 1685 Corwin established a broader range of contacts-- Andover, Salisbury, and Ipswich being recipients of his merchandise. Ipswich held an especially prominent position, receiving forty-two of the fifty-eight transactions with towns beyond Salem. Despite the increasing range of the trade, however, Marblehead continued as Corwin's largest account; The town purchased goods worth 150 pounds during this period.<sup>11</sup>

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Salem's merchants created additional accounts in nearby towns and strengthened the trade network in the South, while simultaneously expanding their interests in the Middle and North. As illustrated in Figure VI:2, between 1678 and 1702 goods flowed from the Salem peninsula in all directions. New customers were found in Marblehead, Beverly, Lynn, and Danvers. Beyond the Harbor Area merchandise moved from Salem to Topsfield, Ipswich, Rowley, and Gloucester in the Middle and Newburyport and Andover in the North.<sup>12</sup> As indicated in Figure VI:4, during the early decades of the eighteenth century (1708-1743) the traders of Salem also concentrated on the Harbor Area, having a large account in Lynn and smaller ones in Marblehead and Beverly. As in the previous period, Salem's commodities went to Ipswich

and Newburyport directly, while Beverly benefited as the transshipment center. Danvers again profited from its position on the route of trade between Salem and Andover.<sup>13</sup>

Evidence on shipping between 1674 and 1714 highlights the dominant position of Salem in the construction of vessels. As indicated in Table VI:2, between 1674 and 1696 Salem alone built twenty-seven vessels compared to twenty-two for all other towns in the county; the town continued to dominate during the next period, 1697-1714. One half the vessels built in the county had their keels laid at Salem. Despite the large capacity of the Salem yards, the merchants of that community placed orders for thirteen additional vessels in seven different towns of the county, directing requests for vessels to Lynn and Beverly in the South; Ipswich and Gloucester in the Middle; and Newburyport, Salisbury, and Haverhill in the North. Although Salem men used most of the vessels constructed in their town, they sold three to Marblehead. Ship construction and registration figures show that the towns of Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, and Lynn were as closely associated in that field as they were in trade and transportation, thereby testifying to the strength of the general cluster of towns around Salem Harbor.<sup>14</sup>

By 1720 the whole southern subregion, except for Wenham and Manchester, appears to have been a single-transportation-commercial cluster of five interconnected towns. Four of the five localities had four or more roads branching from their central villages and a reading of 4 or higher on the Konig Index of centrality. Except for Manchester, each town maintained accounts with Salem merchants. While having a high output in vessels itself, Salem bought and sold vessels to three other towns in the South.

The Middle: A Network Around Ipswich, 1633-1720

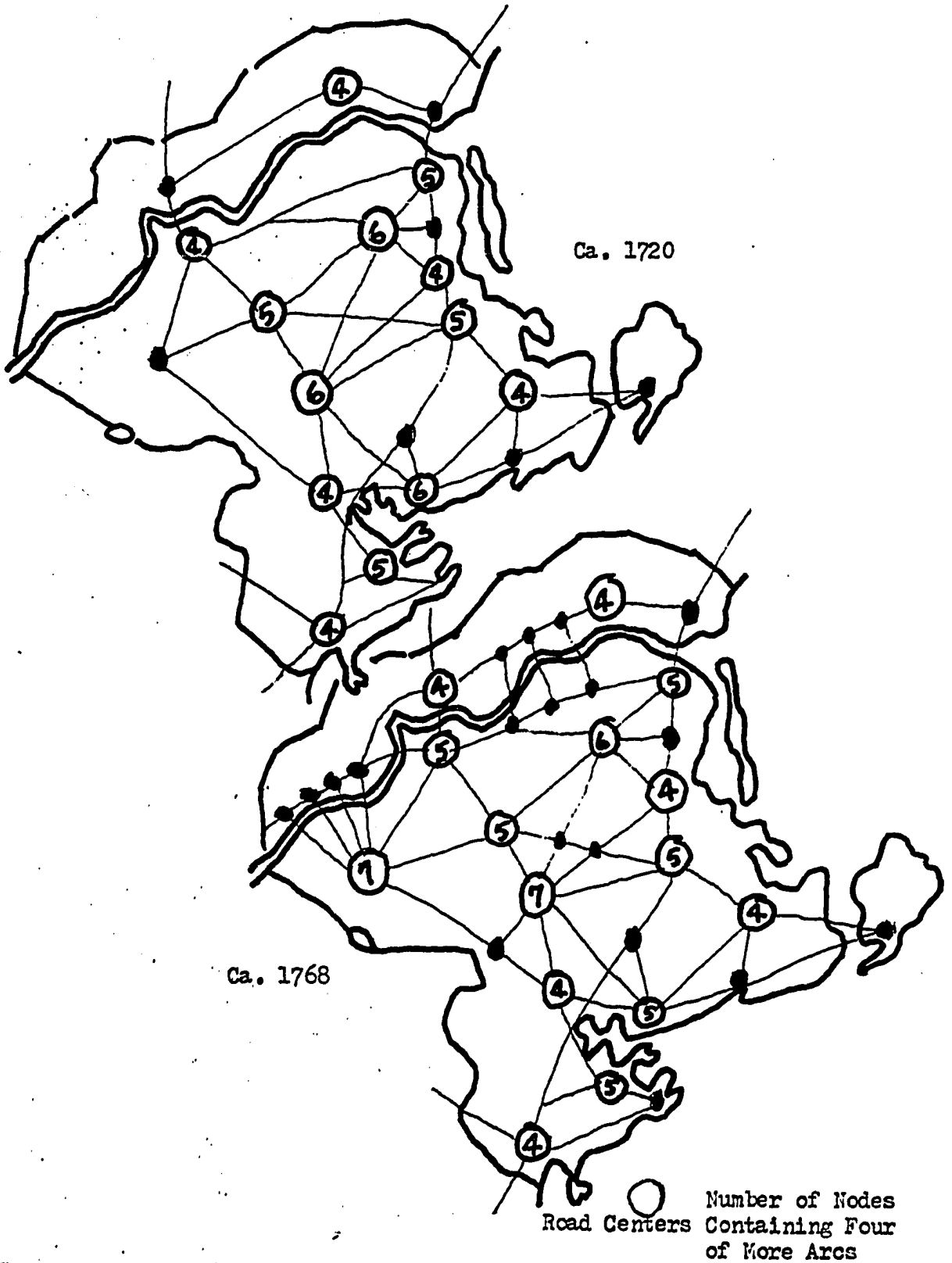
By the mid seventeenth century the road system in the Middle was comparatively undeveloped, reflecting the dispersed populations and economic enterprises described previously. As seen in Figure VI:3, Ipswich alone, with four roads emanating from the central village, had become a center. Roads followed essentially linear patterns; the rise of Ipswich as a center was due more to that town's location at the mid point of the north-south axis than as a central figure in a cluster of interconnected localities as was true of Salem.

Thirty years later, three new centers had appeared in the Middle. In addition to Ipswich, Byfield now had five avenues stemming from the central village and Topsfield and Boxford four each. A route laid between Rowley and Andover in 1653 passed through Byfield and Boxford. Between 1666 and 1669 Topsfield and Bradford were linked, the new thoroughfare bisecting the Rowley-Andover road at Boxford.<sup>15</sup> As a consequence of the new intersections, a relatively complex network emerged: the Byfield-Topsfield-Boxford and Byfield-Rowley-Newbury triangles. In complexity, the new system now compared favorably with that in the South, each subregion with four centers. However, no cluster had formed in the Middle. The new roads and intersections forming at Topsfield, Boxford, and Byfield reflect the increasing dispersion of population, wealth, trade, and political power of that subregion. The established north-south linear relationships of 1650 were now augmented by several links to the western parts of the county.

After 1680 the road network in the Middle became more complex as existing centers added branches and new centers appeared. The Topsfield-Rowley (1717) and Topsfield-Wenham (1685) roads increased the number of thoroughfares intersecting at Topsfield from four to six. When Ipswich

Figure VI:3

Essex County Road Network, 1720 and 1768



Sources: FitzGerald, Science and Geography, I, 28-33; "Essex County Highway Index;" and Essex County maps.

and Boxford were linked both communities became more accessible.

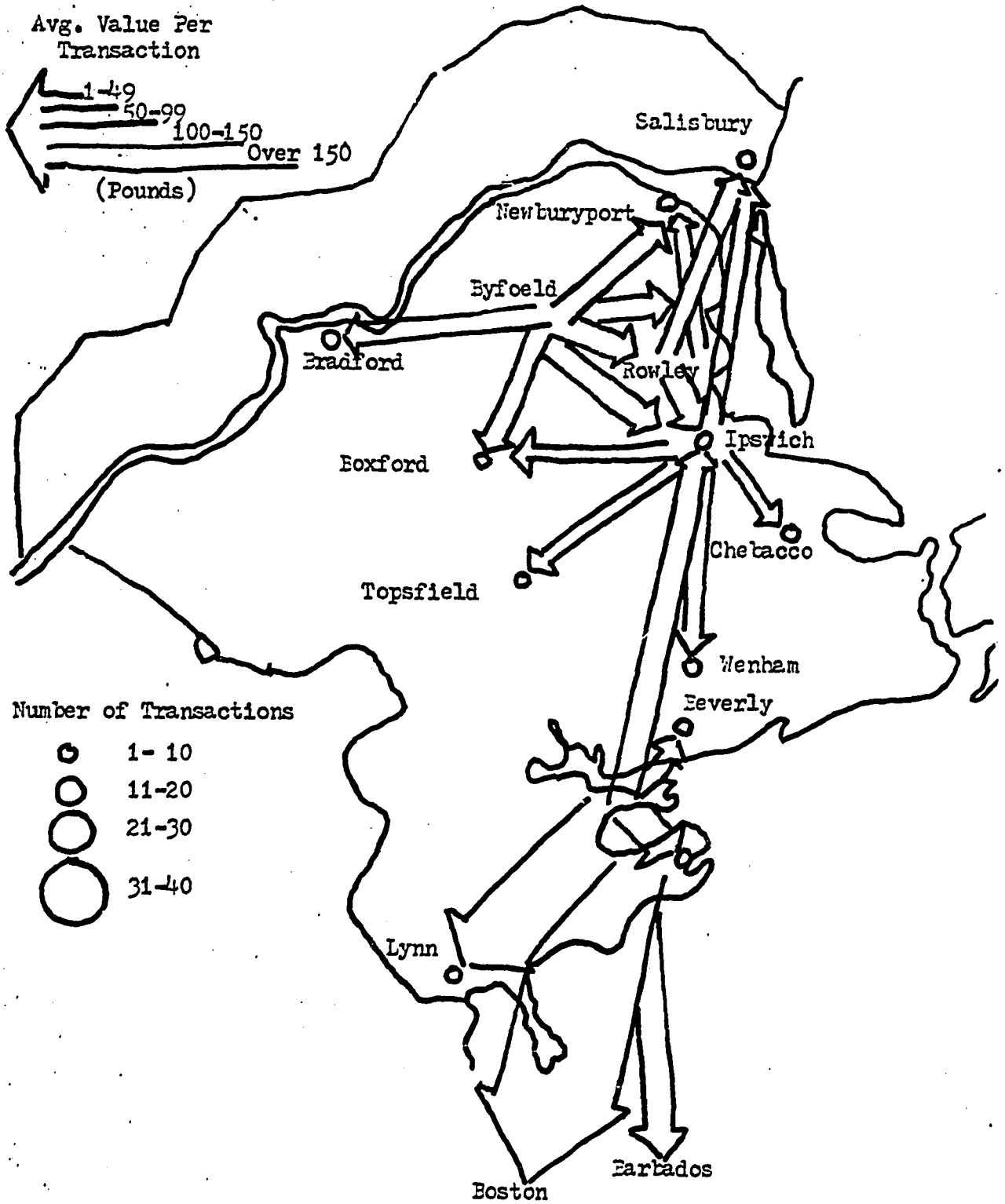
Gloucester and Chebacco joined for the first time in 1692.<sup>16</sup> Thus by 1720 Rowley and Chebacco were road centers, which resulted in a network of four interlocking towns. As was true for Byfield in the previous period, Topsfield became the center of two interconnected triangles: Topsfield-Byfield-Rowley and Topsfield-Boxford-Ipswich.

There is little evidence of substantial trade among the localities of the Middle in the seventeenth century. Between 1650 and 1708, Ipswich benefited the most from intra-county trade. Goods from Salem followed a north-south axis to Ipswich and the merchandise designated for Salisbury passed through the town.

Between 1708 and 1743 the movement of goods began to depart from the north-south linear pattern; Ipswich and Byfield profited accordingly. Woolen goods from Benjamin Pearson's mill at Byfield were transported to Ipswich, Rowley, Boxford, and several towns in the North. In addition to receiving commodities from Byfield and Salem, Ipswich sent its wares to several towns in the other two subregions. As illustrated in Figure VI: 4, John Hovey had accounts in Chebacco, Topsfield, and Boxford in the Middle; Wenham in the South; and Newburyport in the North. A third merchant in the Middle, Thomas Nelson, forwarded merchandise from his shop in Rowley to Salisbury and Ipswich.<sup>17</sup> Although Ipswich and Gloucester built thirteen vessels between them from 1697 to 1714, they provided few vessels for other towns and purchased few themselves. The presence of shipbuilding at opposite ends of the Chebacco-Gloucester road suggests that extensive lumbering operations were located in the oak forests along the thoroughfare. By 1720 the continued expansion and dispersal of the Middle's population, economic, and political bases are reflected by the increasing complexity of the road and trade networks. Essential to the networks in the Middle were

Figure VI:4

Inter-Town Trade Patterns, Essex County, 1708-43



Sources: Ledgers of John Pickering, 1686-1716; Thomas Nelson, 1692-1741; John Hovey, 1709-1719, Benjamin Fearson, 1705-1723, Joseph Orne, 1719-1744, and Joseph Brown, 1725-1783.

the presence of Byfield, Rowley, and Ipswich as road and trade centers and the rise of Boxford as a significant road center. Byfield and Boxford had six and five roads branching from them and readings of 4 on the Konig Index of centrality.

The North: Interconnections along the River, 1642-1720

The North had no road centers in the early period, however, ferries linked several towns together. In the early 1640's Newburyport and Salisbury were joined, a ferry running to an island in mid-stream and a floating bridge tying the island to Salisbury. Haverhill and Andover by 1650 were connected by road to localities at the mouth of the river. When ferry services were established at Haverhill in 1647, the town became a pivotal point in the highway system of the upper part of the Merrimac. In 1640, the Lynn-Andover Road linked the upper part of the river to the South.<sup>18</sup>

Although growth remained modest by the standards of the South and Middle, the North's road network began to expand in the second half of the seventeenth century and the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Between 1650 and 1680 the first road center, Newburyport, appeared. The port had direct road and ferry connections to Salisbury and Amesbury in the North and Byfield in the Middle. The road cluster that formed-- Newburyport, Salisbury, and Amesbury--was less complex than the cluster in the Harbor Area, however, the foundation for a more elaborate future network based upon increasing transshipment, upriver trade, and maritime commerce had been laid. By 1720 Amesbury and Bradford had become road centers, having new avenues branching from their ferry landing places. Newburyport became more connected to the towns upriver. The Newburyport-Andover route of 1713 gave people on the southern bank of the Merrimac direct access to the port downstream. Newburyport and Byfield were



linked in 1682.<sup>19</sup>

Although the records fail to identify trade contacts among the towns in the North, there is little doubt, as seen by the expanding functions at Newburyport, that the river was the main avenue of trade during the last half of the seventeenth century and early decades of the eighteenth century. Goods from Salem reached the North also; items from Corwin's account in Salisbury benefited that community, while their transshipment at Newburyport contributed to the general prosperity of that locale. Economic activities in the Lower-Merrimac were stimulated by trade from two directions: along the Merrimac Valley and on the north-south route. The river appears to have satisfied the demands for transportation and communication. People and economic concerns did, however, begin to concentrate at the Lower-Merrimac, stimulated by transshipment among Newburyport, Salisbury, and Amesbury. By 1720 the Lower-Merrimac had grown dramatically, while the Mid-Merrimac was laying the foundation for future growth. Newburyport constructed fourteen vessels for the towns up the river and bought one vessel each from Salisbury, Amesbury, and Bradford.<sup>20</sup>

#### Ties Among Subregions, 1720-1768

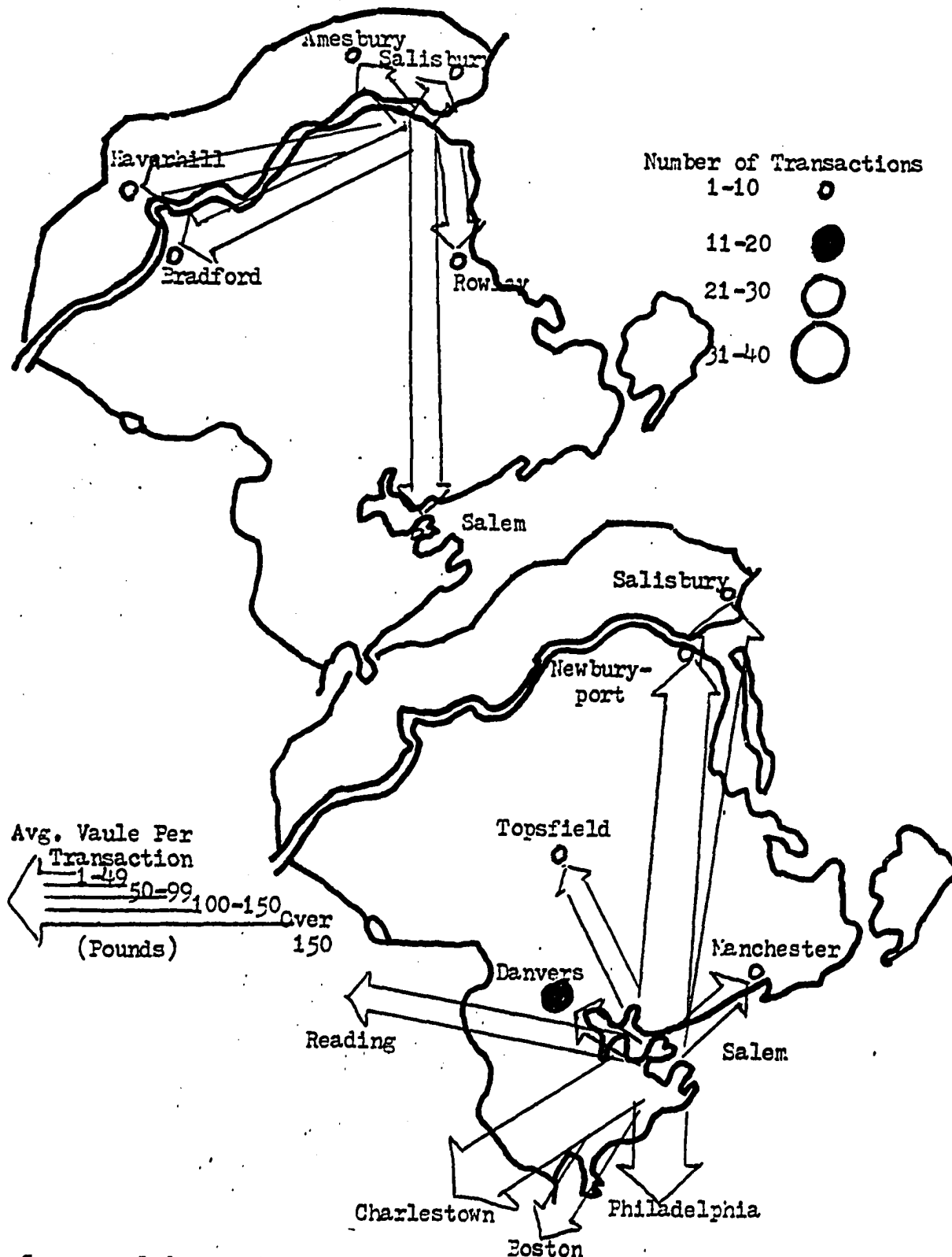
The years after 1720 brought the greatest changes in northeastern Massachusetts-- subregions became more linked together. Although road, trade, and ship construction patterns continued to strengthen the networks within each subregion, the increased number of ties among communities beyond the customary boundaries of their own subregions made this a period of significant transition. In addition to the transportation and commercial links already described, marital migration will provide vivid new evidence of interconnection within and among the subregions. By 1765 there was considerable evidence of transportation and communication

interrelationships to support the political and economic associations portrayed previously. By this date the county appears to have been relatively integrated, at least in the areas examined.

Although road interconnections in the South did not expand after 1720, trade contacts did. As seen in Figure VI:3, the road system remained essentially unchanged in the eighteenth century, the cluster established earlier continuing to give the localities relatively high levels of accessibility. The roads and ferries were apparently enlarged and improved during this period. The products of the Salem merchants, as shown in Figure VI:6, penetrated the county as never before. Merchants in Newburyport and Salisbury had especially valuable accounts with the Salem men. For the first time the area immediately around Salem Harbor appears not to have been the principal recipient of goods from the Salem peninsula, although Danvers recorded thirteen transactions between 1739 and 1774 with Salem merchants, averaging 213 pounds in value; other smaller accounts were in Beverly, Manchester, and Marblehead. So powerful were the Salem men that they could increase their intra-county activities, while simultaneously expanding their involvement outside the county, especially in Charlestown, Boston, and Philadelphia.<sup>21</sup> Ship construction proved less beneficial to Salem; by 1750 the dominance of the South in shipbuilding had ended. As indicated in Table VI:2, between 1715 and 1719 the yards in the Harbor Area built 85 of the 114 vessels (74.6%) constructed in Essex County that entered the port of Boston. However, the South built only 120 of the 457 vessels (26%) constructed between 1741 and 1764. By 1765 the clustering tendency at the Harbor established earlier was supplemented by increased penetration to the farthest reaches of the county. The growth of Danvers and increased transshipment activities at Beverly contributed heavily to South's ability to reach the interior; Salem's

Figure VI:5

Inter-Town Trade Patterns, Essex County 1739-74



Sources: Ledgers of Joseph Brown, 1725-83. Nicholas Lunt, 1753-93, Samuel Surwen, 1749-1768, Dudley Atkins, 1763-1765, and Samuel Barton, 1760-1768.

goods flowed through the two communities to reach the Merrimac Valley.<sup>22</sup>

The complex road system in the Middle was augmented by the Topsfield-Middleton way in 1760.<sup>23</sup> Otherwise the complex network of five centers and several outlying villages remained the paramount means of communication and transportation in the county's mid section.

In the years after 1720, the records show many commercial transactions in the Middle. Only Topsfield appears as a recipient of goods (from Salem). Indirectly, however, because of the large volume of trade between the South and the North, heavy traffic passed through the central village of Ipswich. Furthermore, Ipswich and Rowley built twenty-one vessels in the 1750's, each equalling the output of Salem for the same period.<sup>24</sup>

The road system in the North underwent the greatest expansion. Three new centers appeared between 1720 and 1765. Andover, Bradford, and Haverhill each had at least four roads emanating from their central villages. Andover, Bradford, and Haverhill, (seven, seven, and four branch roads respectively) increased their levels of accessibility as a result of links to the new roads laid along the northern bank of the upper Merrimac. Road construction along the northern bank brought the incorporation of Methuen and the establishment of two interconnected road clusters: Methuen-Andover-Bradford and Methuen-Haverhill-Bradford. Thus the road structure in the North consisted of five centers, each a part of one of the three clusters along the Merrimac: Upper Merrimac, Mid Merrimac, and Lower Merrimac.

As illustrated in Figure VI:6, commercial ties among the towns of the North increased after 1739. The Newburyport-Salisbury-Amesbury area profited especially. By 1765 the towns of the North had become firmly tied to Newburyport, the ledgers of Joseph Brown and Dudley Atkins showing the influence of the port on the towns upstream. Products originating

Subregion/Town	1697 - 1714 Place Built										Grand Total						
	Salem	Lynn	Beverly	Marble	Total	Nwbypt	Saltsb	Smesb	Haverh	Erado		Total	Ipswich	Rowley	Total		
<u>SOUTH</u>																	
Salem	62	2	2	0	0	66	3	1	0	1	0	5	1	3	0	4	75
Lynn	0	2	0	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	5
Beverly	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	2	4	4
Marblehead	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Totals	65	4	3	3	0	75	5	2	0	1	8	1	5	0	6	89	
<u>NORTH</u>																	
Newburyport	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	1	1	0	1	17	0	0	0	0	17
Salisbury	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	2	1	0	1	18	0	0	0	0	18
<u>MIDDLE</u>																	
Ipswich	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	4	5	8
Gloucester	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	8	8	8
Totals	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	8	0	12	13	13
Grand Totals	65	4	3	3	0	75	20	4	1	1	1	27	5	13	0	18	120

Sub/Town	1715 - 1764 Number Built					Totals
	1715-19	1741-45	1746-50	1751-55	1756-60	
<u>SOUTH</u>						
Salem	75	4	3	10	2	95
Bever	7	0	0	0	0	7
Manche	1	0	1	2	0	4
Marble	1	0	0	1	0	2
Lynn	1	0	1	7	3	12
Total	85	0	5	20	5	120
<u>NORTH</u>						
Nwbypt	13	0	2	78	33	140
Salis	0	0	0	33	6	43
Amesb	0	0	0	10	2	14
Haver	0	0	2	34	12	50
Bradf	13	0	4	13	6	36
Total	26	0	8	168	59	283
<u>MIDDLE</u>						
Ipswl	5	0	1	10	5	21
Glouc	11	1	1	5	1	19
Rowle	0	0	1	10	1	12
Middl	0	0	0	1	1	2
Total	16	1	3	26	8	54

TABLE VI:2

SHIP CONSTRUCTION, ESSEX COUNTY, 1697-1714, 1715-1719, and 1741-1764

in Newburyport made their way over the river to Salisbury and Amesbury in significant quantities. Furthermore, the merchants at the port had accounts in Haverhill and Bradford. Atkins, a distiller, provided "spirits" to the towns upstream, while Brown, a cabinetmaker, supplied the same towns with furniture.<sup>25</sup>

The North benefited greatly from the abrupt change in shipbuilding during the first half of the eighteenth century. As seen in Table VI:2, towns in the North built 168 of the 214 (78.5%) vessels constructed in the county between 1751 and 1755. Shipwrights in Haverhill, Amesbury, Salisbury, and Bradford contributed ninety vessels, while Newburyport supplied the remaining seventy-eight. In contrast, during the 1715-1719 period only Newburyport (13) and Bradford (13) were building vessels. Although shipbuilding appears to have fallen after 1755, Newburyport and the other towns in the North continued to dominate the industry during the next decade. While of the vessels were ordered by Boston and Salem merchants, some undoubtedly were purchased by merchants downstream in Newburyport.<sup>26</sup>

By 1765 road and trade interconnections tied the Merrimac Valley towns together. As indicated in Figure VI:3, the level of accessibility increased between the localities of the lower and upper parts of the river. In addition road and communication clusters had formed along the upper part of the river: Andover-Methuen and Haverhill-Bradford. Thus the Merrimac was a powerful force for economic interdependence among the localities of the Valley; road construction, shipbuilding, trade, and transshipment had built a network nearly rivaling that of the South in complexity, if not in over-all strength.

At this juncture marriage migration patterns should be introduced. They fulfill two functions in the eighteenth century: paralleling and reinforcing the patterns already recorded for road, trade, and shipbuilding;

and signaling new and strong ties among the three subregions. As illustrated in Figure VI:5, five centers of high marriage mobility-- Beverly, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, and Salisbury-- emerged from a consideration of the following criteria between 1719 and 1721: total marriages, total and percentage of exogamous marriages, and the number of towns involved. In contrast, by using the same criteria places displaying the lowest levels of exogamy can be identified: Gloucester, Marblehead, and Salem. Thus, centers of high mobility appear adjacent to those of low mobility in each subregion: Salem and Beverly in the South; Ipswich, Rowley, and Gloucester in the Middle; and Newbury, Salisbury, and possibly Newburyport (its marriage records not yet separated from those of Newbury at this time) in the North.<sup>27</sup>

In the South, Beverly recorded the highest mobility, 36% of its 40 marriages. As indicated in Table VI:3, Table VI:4, and Figure VI:5, between 1719 and 1721 the town sent marital partners to or received them from seventeen different places within Essex County--more going to Salem, Wenham, and Ipswich than elsewhere. Thus Beverly, already an important transshipment center for Salem and Marblehead, developed strong matrimonial ties as well to Salem, exchanging nine partners with that town. Despite the relative immobility of Salem and Marblehead, twelve individuals moved between them to wed in the three-year period. The cluster that emerged from our previous population, road, and trade studies reappeared once again as a marriage cluster at the Harbor Area. The Salem-Marblehead-Beverly-Lynn-Marblehead cluster had forty-six interlocking marriages. Beverly became the northern apex of the Harbor Area cluster, tying the South to the Middle through its strong marital ties to Ipswich; the towns served as a bridge between the immobility of Salem and Marblehead and the mobility of the towns in the Middle.

TABLE VI:3

MIGRATION PATTERN OF EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES, ESSEX COUNTY, 1719-21

Town	Grooms Coming Into the Town													Totals				
Lynn	-	1			4	1					1		1	8				
Salem	1	-			6		3			1	1			12				
Wenham		1	-				1						4	6				
Manchester				-		1								1				
Marblehead					-	1	1	1						3				
Gloucester		1		1	1	-	1			1				5				
*Ipswich	1	3		1	3	2	-	1			1	5	2	1	21			
*Nwby-Nwbypt	1	1					1	-	3	2	3	1		3	15			
*Salisbury	1							4	-						9			
Amesbury							1	2	-						3			
Haverhill							1			-					1			
Andover										2	-			1	3			
Topsfield		1										-			1			
*Rowley						1	1	2			1		-		5			
Bradford											1			-	1			
Boxford														-	0			
*Beverly		5	1	1	2		1					1			11			
<b>Totals</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>105</b>

	Lynn	Salem	Wenham	Manchester	Marblehead	Gloucester	Ipswich	Nwby-Nwbypt	Salisbury	Amesbury	Haverhill	Andover	Topsfield	Rowley	Bradford	Boxford	Beverly	Totals
Lynn	-						1		1									2
Salem	1	-						3					1				3	8
Wenham			-				1										1	2
Manchester				-		1											1	2
Marblehead	2	6			-												2	10
Gloucester		1		1	1	-	2				1		1				1	7
Ipswich		1	1		1	2	-	1						2		1	1	10
Nwby-Nwbypt					1		1	-	3	2	1			1				9
Salisbury							1	2	-	3								6
Amesbury								5	4	-								9
Haverhill											-							0
Andover		1					1					-			4	2		8
Topsfield		1				1							-				1	3
Rowley							2	2						-				4
Bradford															-			0
Boxford													1					1
Beverly		1	1				3											5
<b>Totals</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>86</b>

Brides Coming into the Town

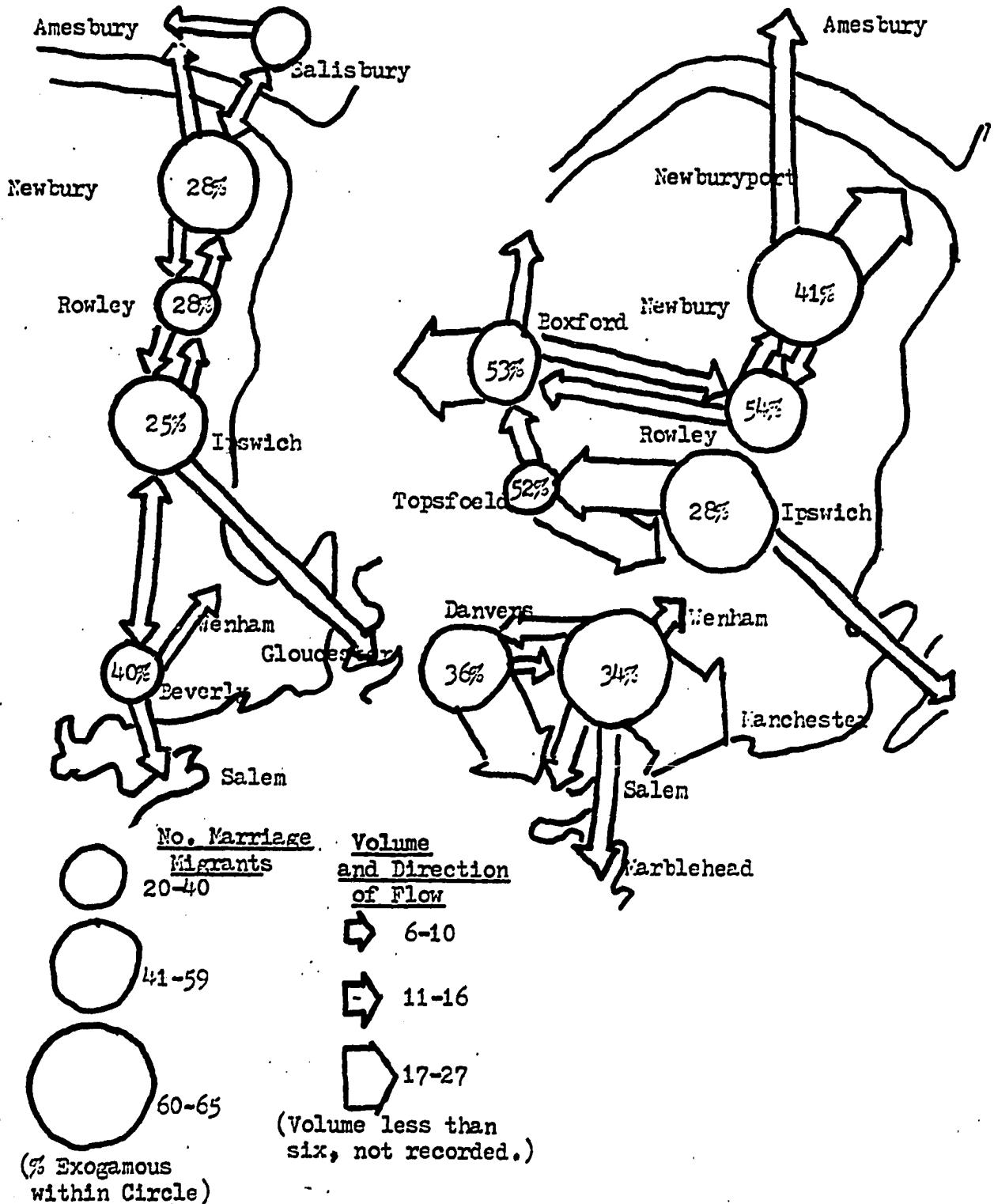
\* Marriage Mobility Centers (See Figure VI:5)

Sources: Vital Statistics to 1850, biographies, and local histories.



Figure V:6

Marriage Mobility Centers, Essex County, Mass.  
1719-1721 and 1763-1765



Sources: Vital Records to 1850: Births, Deaths, and Marriages.

TABLE VI:4

TOWNS WITH THE HIGHEST AND LOWEST LEVELS OF MARRIAGE MOBILITY, ESSEX COUNTY, 1719-1721 AND 1763-1765

1719-1721

Levels	Town	Total of All Marriages	% of Exogamous Marriages	In and Out Mobility by Individuals	Total of Towns Involved
Highest:	Newbury	71	28	49	9
	Ipswich	106	25	48	15
	Beverly	40	36	30	6
	Salisbury	35	43	28	5
	Rowley	25	28	21	4
Lowest:	Gloucester	85	14	22	9
	Marblehead	83	16	24	4
	Salem	100	20	36	9

1763-1765

Levels	Town	Total of All Marriages	% of Exogamous Marriages	In and Out Mobility by Individuals	Total of Town Involved
Highest:	Boxford	51	53	52	9
	Newbury	59	41	62	12
	Beverly	84	34	65	7
	Ipswich	92	28	62	12
	Danvers	65	36	50	9
	Rowley	36	54	41	6
	Topsfield	31	52	31	7
	Lowest:	Marblehead	170	5	33
	Gloucester	165	8	23	8
	Salem	149	24	58	9

Sources: Vital Records to 1850, biographies, and local histories.

In 1720 the marriage centers of the Middle tied localities together along the familiar north-south axis between Beverly and Salisbury. Three adjacent towns-- Ipswich, Rowley, and Newbury-- had relatively high percentages of exogamy and interchanged a comparatively high number of marital partners with one another. Of the total of 202 marriages among the three towns between 1719 and 1721, twenty-six brides and grooms moved among the three communities to wed. As seen in Table VI:4, Ipswich was the most accessible town for marriage migrants, forty-eight individuals moving to or from fifteen different towns to marry.<sup>28</sup>

Marriage mobility in the North was very strong in the second decade of the eighteenth century. Movement within the Newbury (Newburyport)-Salisbury-Amesbury cluster was stronger than in any other three towns in the Middle or South. Salisbury and Amesbury had 43% and 33% of their marital partners leave their home towns to take their nuptial vows. Among the three towns, thirty-three people migrated to and from the same towns. Thus, in the Lower Merrimac cluster the marital pattern paralleled those recorded previously for population, transportation and trade, the three town linking themselves together.

During the 1720-1765 period, Danvers joined Beverly as a marriage center in the South, each town respectively having 36% and 34% of its marriages with one partner from another town in the county. Although the two communities interchanged eleven marriage partners between 1763 and 1765, both sent and received even larger numbers to and from Salem: Beverly eighteen people and Danvers twelve. Thus the three localities constituted a substantial marital cluster, interchanging forty-one brides and grooms during the three-year period. When the centers in the Harbor Area cluster are combined (Lynn, Salem, Marblehead, Danvers, and Beverly), a total of seventy-three individuals were on the move among



the five towns.

The Middle had the highest level of marriage mobility between 1720 and 1765. Of the seven centers shown in Figure VI:5, five were in that subregion. Newbury appears as the strongest center, having a relatively large number of individuals (62) moving to and from the town to wed, a comparatively high percentage (41%) of exogamous marital ties, and contact with a proportionally large number of towns (12). Rowley and Boxford, of the remaining four centers in the Middle, had the highest percentages of exogamous marriages (54% and 53% respectively), but few individuals and towns were involved. Ipswich had numerous marriage migrants (62) and many towns involved (12), but a significantly lower percentage (28%) of its marriages were exogamous; by contrast, Topsfield had a high level of exogamy (52%), but fell below the other centers in the number of brides and grooms migrating (32) and towns involved (7) in exogamous matrimonial ties. The towns in the Middle produced two distinctive patterns of migration: nuptial ties among adjacent towns formed corridors along a north-south and an east-west axis. Twenty-four people intermarried along a line of towns consisting of Ipswich, Rowley, and Newbury, while twenty-nine individuals moved between Ipswich and Rowley in the east and Topsfield and Boxford in the west. Thus by the end of the period studied people appear to be moving quite freely among the localities in the middle part of the county.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast to the expanding road and trade networks in the North, the marriage migration network in that subregion had little strength or complexity. None of the county's seven mobility centers were located there; Salisbury, one of the five centers in the 1719-1721 period, recorded few exogamous marriages between 1763 and 1765, having only

eight people involved in inter-town marriages. Even Andover, many of whose fourth generation according to Philip Greven were leaving the town, had a relatively low level of endogamy within the county.

Marriage migrants appear to have been more attracted to the towns in the Middle than to the localities along the Merrimac, especially Andover and Bradford.

In order for the reader not to conclude that the subregions were as distinctive during the 1720-1765 period as they had been in the previous period because of our detailed study of each, it must be stressed that the customary subregion-by-subregion presentation just completed is for organizational convenience only--its purpose to show merely that the interconnections within these areas became more complex. The growing interrelationships among the subregions outweigh in importance purely intra-subregional considerations. Although the ties among the South, Middle, and North were predominant during the last period of this study, such linkages had been evolving for some time.

Attachments among the subregions, limited to the north-south road axis prior to 1680, began to penetrate interior sections during the next forty years. Until 1650 the north-south highway of 1636 remained the principal avenue linking sections of the county together. New road networks (Byfield-Newbury-Newburyport and Exford-Bradford-Andover) joining the Middle and North, however, appeared between 1650 and 1680. In addition, the trade of Corwin and Higginson, which reached Gloucester, Salisbury, and Andover at different ends of the county, help link remote areas to the South. During the next forty years the pace quickened and the north-south orientation began to weaken rapidly. In 1686 Rowley was joined to Haverhill, a road passing through and improving the accessibility of Bradford in the process. Eight years later, a highway

linking Andover and Newbury passed through Byfield. Andover and Ipswich were connected in 1704, the route intersecting other thoroughfares at Boxford.<sup>30</sup> As a result of these arteries, a new highway interlinkage appeared between the Middle and North: Newburyport-Byfield-Bradford. As seen in Figure VI:3, the Middle and South increased their ties as well during this period; new routes from Wenham in the South to Topsfield in the Middle; from Beverly to Chebacco; and from Chebacco to Gloucester greatly increased the complexity of the road network between the Harbor Area and Ipswich. As illustrated in Figure VI:4, Salem merchants penetrated the northern and western reaches of the county and the Byfield millers made contacts in both the Middle and North. Marriage ties during this period adhered to the traditional north-south corridor, tying the coastal towns of the three regions together. Ship construction tied the subregions together; Salem ordered three vessels each from Newburyport and Gloucester and one each from Salisbury, Haverhill, and Ipswich. As indicated in Table VI:2, Beverly ordered two vessels from Gloucester and one Newburyport, while Ipswich ordered one from Newburyport as well.

The towns having the most important interconnections among the subregions had become significant road, trade, or marriage centers by the eighteenth century. Two localities--Salem and Ipswich--were influential in all three subregions. Ipswich, because of its central location and constantly multiplying transportation, communication, and marital ties in both the South and North made the paramount contribution. In 1765 Ipswich had four arteries leading from it and a relatively high level of accessibility on the Konig Index (4). Because of Salem's economic growth, streets branched from the town's center, which in turn enabled the locality to extend trade associations across the county before the end of the seventeenth century. Five roads emanated from Salem by 1765; the town was also very

accessible, having a 2 on the Konig Index.

Beverly, Danvers, and Topsfield were instrumental in bringing the South and Middle together. Because the overland trade leaving Salem bound for the central part of the county was transshipped through Beverly, roads quickly radiated in several directions from the landing site: to Gloucester, Ipswich, and Topsfield in the Middle. By 1765 Beverly was the most accessible town in the South, having five roads branching from its center and the extraordinary low figure of 1 on the Kansky Index of accessibility. The town's high level of accessibility is reflected in its marriage mobility. Beverly was a leading marriage center by 1765. Danvers and Topsfield became important villages through which passed the goods from Salem to Andover and the Merrimac Valley. As seen in Figure VI:3 and Figure VI:5, both towns became marriage and road centers and recipients of the trade from Salem's merchants.

Newburyport, Rowley, Boxford, and Byfield made significant contributions to the interconnection of the Middle and North. Newburyport-- a transshipment, road, shipbuilding, and trade center-- sent goods overland as far south as Salem and upriver as far as Haverhill. The locality received goods from Byfield, Ipswich, and Rowley between 1708 and 1743. Although a relatively high total of thirty-nine individuals traveled between Newburyport and the parent town of Newbury to wed, the port cannot be classified as a marriage center because few marital partners were involved with other towns. Thus Newburyport's effective transportation and trade network extended up the Merrimac in the North and south to Ipswich in the Middle.

The other three centers of interconnection between North and Middle were considerably less powerful than Newburyport, but nevertheless assumed important integrative functions. Rowley was a trade and marriage center,



sending woolen products to Salisbury in the North and interchanging marriage mates with Newburyport and Bradford in the North and Eeverly and Danvers in the South, in addition to its heavy involvement with the Middle. Boxford, as an important road center served as a conduit for traffic between Ipswich in the Middle and the Upper and Mid Merrimac clusters. As a marriage center the town sent and received more brides and grooms into and from the North than other town in the Middle. Byfield became a trade and highway center. located on the boundary between the North and Middle. The community funneled products from its mills to Bradford and Newburyport in the North and Boxford, Ipswich, Rowley, and Newbury in the Middle.

Andover. located in the extreme northwestern part of the county, sent and received goods from Salem in the South and Newburyport in the North. The town built highway links to Danvers and Boxford in the South and Middle respectively. Thus despite the town's remote location it contributed significantly to county integration.

Now that we have completed the examinations of the separate political, economic, social, and transportation systems that helped give the diverse area inhabited by disparate groups of transplanted Englishmen of 1630 the noticeable regional characteristics it possessed by 1768, an assessment of the overall process and structure involved seems appropriate. In each system we see evidence of the same general phenomena-- certain sites developing into centers, clusters forming around the centers, a radiation of forces outward from the clusters to form subregions, and finally, the gradual increase of ties among subregions. The repetition of the pattern regardless of the system being considered strongly supports the thesis of a county assuming regional qualities. In the next, and concluding, chapter we shall reflect upon the regional process and structure which helped transform

Essex and give it advantages not equaled by other Massachusetts counties.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE PROCESS AND STRUCTURE OF COUNTY DEVELOPMENT

When the several counties of Massachusetts are considered in light of the two elements central to this study-- region and locality-- Essex demonstrates high levels of network interconnection and individual community development. As a criterion for comparing counties, the notion of region highlights the importance of examining the size and configuration of the network, while that of locality stresses the role of the town within the network. Of the four original shires (1643), Essex was settled early, had its principal and supporting localities well distributed within its territory, had the best articulation and balance among subregions, and remained undivided throughout the one hundred thirty-five years of its existence. By contrast, Middlesex-- the closest rival to Essex in regional integration-- had its northern expanses settled relatively late, its principal communities located in the south, its northern area relatively undeveloped until the nineteenth century, and its western reaches incorporated into Worcester County. Similarly, Suffolk had its western sections comparatively unsettled long after the incorporation of the shire, its principal locales clustered at Boston Harbor in the east, and its southern and western portions incorporated into other counties. Norfolk, the last of the original four counties, was settled early but lost its identity as a county and gave up its three southernmost localities to Essex.

The remaining shires-- Hampshire, Plymouth, Bristol, Barnstable, Worcester, and Berkshire-- were established relatively late and for purposes entirely different from the original four. The founding generation with

their strong ideals of county and community had left the scene. Rather than a means for transplanting and encouraging the growth of customary English institutions and practices, the county had become a vehicle for establishing the authority of the Commonwealth in vast tracts of unsettled western lands (Hampshire, Worcester, and Berkshire) or solving the problems of Royal consolidation and reorganization (Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable). Each of the six counties appears to have had one centrally-placed principal town. Significant secondary communities and subregional networks appeared after 1768. So vast was the territory occupied and so sparse the population in the western counties that the appearance later of subregions-- an integral part of Essex's development-- resulted in subdivision and the creation of new counties.

Because of the prosperity that its balanced development afforded, Essex stood at the threshold of extraordinary expansion in 1768. During the next half century no other county in Massachusetts, with the possible exception of Suffolk, which in 1793 shed all of its rural towns, generated as much wealth and prosperity and exercised as much influence in the councils of state and national government.

Whatever seeds of locality and region the new arrivals planted-- the parish, manor, borough, corporation, covenant, county, or confederation-- the soil of northeastern Massachusetts was not conducive to the vigorous growth of familiar Old World communal and governmental institutions. The well known English shires, centralized and integrated under such functionaries as the lord lieutenants responsible for general administration, the knights of the shire representing them in Parliament, and the court of archdeacons supervising ecclesiastical life were not transplanted to Massachusetts. Instead, in Essex evolution depended upon a time-consuming process: the functional transfiguration of localities and the gradual

coalescence of subregions.<sup>1</sup>

Although the characteristics examined and the periods considered in this study are limited, the evidence suggests that political, economic, and social developments controlled the pace and form of regionalization, while simultaneously imposing changes upon the locales within the region. Among the most significant developments were: the emergence of a merchant class, communal subdivisions, boundary disputes, constitutional crises, mounting British involvement, expanding transatlantic contacts, and extending hinterlands. The more complex communities profited from their expanding overseas ties, urban functions, and inland connections.<sup>2</sup> The less complex places remained small and self-contained, the variant pressures having little affect upon them.

#### County Development, 1630-1768: The Regionalization Process

Although the stages leading to regionalism in Essex were halting at times, sometimes obscured, and always subject to the limitations of the method employed and the evidence gathered, the process can nevertheless be summarized. In the settlement stage villages were relatively undeveloped and their extra-communal contacts minimal, whether on the peninsula at Salem or at a remote site on the Merrimac. In a second stage certain villages became centers, select localities in which increased external ties, especially in overseas trade, stimulated greater external growth. A third stage was characterized by the growth of a ring of localities around the two most developed centers. These communities attached themselves to the expanding center and complemented their functions to those of the more powerful neighbor, thereby creating a cluster. In the fourth stage localities appeared around the two clusters, each attaching to the nearest cluster. Subregions emerged in the fifth stage, the product of substantial linkages among the more remote communities around the two clusters. In the

sixth and final stage, a significant number of ties were established among the towns of the three subregions, crossing and recrossing subregional lines.<sup>3</sup>

Diverse communal forms appeared early. In a few settlements population growth alone thwarted efforts to control expansion, while in others the absence of growth was an obstacle to development. Population exploded on the Salem peninsula during the Great Migration of the 1630's, but languished in such peripheral areas as Salem Village, Marblehead, and Ipswich. Later in the century, the surge of expanding population sent outlanders into the countryside to become part of a hinterland network loosely attached to their parent communities. By the early eighteenth century pressures of population growth and moderations in religious conformity resulted in the proliferation of new towns and parishes, many holding different visions of the model community. Relatively powerful urban villages appeared amidst these localities; their influence reached across the county, drawing sustenance from weaker neighbors. Thus the process that changed the towns also brought forms of integration to the larger organization; the relative change in the communities consequently reflected the pace of overall county development. To the extent that centers emerged, clusters appeared, and subregions formed, Essex became a region.

Several towns remained relatively static and undeveloped throughout despite continuous pressures from political, economic, and social activities. In Rowley, Bradford, Manchester, Wenham, Methuen, and Middleton neither the internal nor external component grew; the communities were essentially self-contained. Although Rowley was identified earlier as a marriage center and Bradford a shipbuilding and transshipment center in the eighteenth century, neither locality was ever far above the level of subsistence agriculture, the others even less.

Centers--here defined as the level above the self-contained localities just identified--provided the essential functions and services upon which county integration rested. By 1768 Salem and Newburyport can be identified as centers in the following areas: political, population, road, trade, transshipment, shipbuilding, and marriage. Ipswich, only slightly less comprehensive, lacked only the shipbuilding and transshipment capacities of the other two. Haverhill can be identified as a political, population, road, and shipbuilding center. Danvers, Beverly, Amesbury, and Andover attained the status of center in three areas: Salisbury, Lynn, Byfield, Boxford, Topsfield, and Rowley in two; and Marblehead, Gloucester, Chebacco, and Newbury in only one.

The several types of centers were all essential to regionalization, large multi-functional nuclei like Salem and Newburyport as well as smaller and more specialized places. Boxford and Topsfield--road and marriage mobility centers--failed to accumulate people, generate wealth, or develop services. However, their numerous and powerful communication and social ties furthered county development. Byfield likewise, played a role in the transportation and trade networks far beyond its proportion of wealth or population. Thus when one uses function as the criterion for identifying centers, the economic strength associated with seemingly modest localities must not be dismissed.

The rapid growth of the two most powerful centers--Salem and Newburyport--fostered expansion in adjacent contiguous towns, clusters thus forming about the two ports. Beverly, Marblehead, and Danvers subsequently expanded because of their innumerable contacts with Salem; Salisbury and Amesbury experienced a similar expansion because of their close relationship to Newburyport.

Through contacts beyond the county--especially oceanic commerce--

appears as crucial to the initial rise of Salem and Newburyport and promoted the development of their waterfronts, consequent ties to immediate neighbors insured the urban development of the two sites. Thus two clusters emerged: the Harbor Area and Lower Merrimac. In turn, links between clusters and towns farther out resulted in the formation of subregions, structures essential to regionalization. Yet without connections to more distant places, clustering alone would not lead to the creation of subregions, especially in the northern part of the county. The short distances of the road, travel, and trade links within the clusters imposed geographical limits on the size of the hinterland. Only when more distant centers were coupled to the clusters, did the hinterlands expand. Among the more significant of these relatively undeveloped, but strategically-located centers were Roxford, Topsfield, and Eyfield. Other interrelationships within each subregion-- such as those linking Salem and Lynn, Ipswich and Gloucester, and Newburyport and Haverhill-- drew the communities within subregional networks more closely together.

Each of the three subregions emerged through the same process: the external and internal dimensions of particular communities expanded to a point where the localities became centers; in Salem and Newburyport continued growth stimulated the emergence of contiguous communities, which themselves became centers. The two clusters thus formed provided a foundation for further expansion into more distant surrounding places. In the South, the process was relatively uniform: Salem Town emerged as the first center, followed by other locales about the Harbor-- Marblehead, Beverly, Lynn, and Danvers. Ultimately, Manchester and Wenham were tied to the Harbor Area. In the North, centers appeared and then clustered at the Lower Merrimac, followed by expansion upriver, small clusters later forming at Mid-Valley and Upper-Valley. Additional links brought the towns



in the North together into a subregion. Network formation in the Middle depended more upon links among separate centers than upon the clustering of contiguous centers; political and marital ties were especially important.

The increasingly more complex political, economic, transportation, and martial mobility networks indicated that the county was becoming more integrated. Ties among networks (subregions), at first inconsequential, began to intensify; Salem increased its trade and shipbuilding associations with the localities on the Merrimac, while Newburyport created more linkages with Salem; Boxford and Topsfield-- through marriage and road contacts-- tied the Middle and North together; and dual road and trade axes-- Salem to Andover and Salem to Newburyport-- passed through the three subregions. The multiplication of similar interrelationships by 1768 blurred once distinguishable subregional lines.

#### Essex in 1768: The Structure and Function of Its Parts

The communities adding urban services and functions to their central villages (the internal dimension) and expanding their oceanic associations and hinterland ties (the external dimension) appear to have played instrumental roles in county growth, while simultaneously becoming prosperous and secure. Conversely, other places, to varying degrees, depending upon the strength of their inner and outer orientations, fulfilled supplementary and subordinate positions as related to the more highly developed sites. Thus the dynamics of communal life in Essex County increased the interdependence among people, while placing them in a diversified environment at the local level; the inhabitants of the county were entering the complex world of the modern period.

Each of the twenty-three localities of 1768 was involved uniquely in the process of regionalization and can accordingly be classified roughly

by size and function. Three communities were central to integration, fifteen played significant supporting roles, and the remaining five contributed only modestly to the process. The function of the eighteen places making important contributions ranged from those of the centrally-located commercial entrepôts to remote road intersections. Yet the operations of each were interdependent, the complex waterfront areas depending upon the network of road intersections in the hinterlands behind them.

Because of large populations and multiple functions, Salem, Newburyport, and Ipswich were at the heart of regionalism in Essex. Each of what we may call the primary centers was influential well beyond its own boundaries-- Salem having transatlantic and colony trade and political ties; Newburyport, creating similar ties to those of Salem, but at a later date and in a more modest way; and Ipswich, possessing colony-wide political connections especially. In addition, the external dimension of each was sufficiently strong to enable it to penetrate the interior reaches of the county as well as to dominate the towns adjacent to it. The activities at the highly complex waterfronts of Salem and Newburyport allowed these primary centers economic and social influence over sizable hinterlands, while Ipswich's unique political skill made it the leader of an array of towns in the Middle.

The predominance of the primary centers must be emphasized because of the central positions occupied by these places. Salem remained strong politically at the county level during the Old Charter period, the crisis of the 1680's, and the New Charter era. Although Newburyport exerted little influence before 1690, its merchants shared offices in the Anglo-American political structure thereafter. Both localities made transitions from opposition to British policies under the Old Charter to closer

accommodation with the mother country during the New Charter period. Both had extensive ties to London, the West Indies, and elsewhere; in the eighteenth century elaborate urban functions appeared and hinterlands expanded. Ipswich, equally as powerful, exercised its strength in quite different ways; its central village lacked the complexity of those in Salem and Newburyport, its economic strength more dispersed. However, the political influence of its leaders, well schooled in the art of tying American sentiments and local rights together, made Ipswich a power with which the merchants and placemen of the British-American establishment had to deal. Furthermore, the town's acumen for coalition politics strengthened its position within county and province.

The secondary centers that clustered round the primary centers of Salem and Newburyport can be termed satellites. These supporting communities--Marblehead, Beverly, Danvers, and Lynn, ringing Salem; and Salisbury and Amesbury, encircling Newburyport--had internal and external components that complemented those of the primary centers nearby. The primary centers and the respective satellites combined to form densely populated and economically strong clusters around Salem Harbor and the mouth of the Merrimac. The satellites, in turn, linked themselves tightly to their corresponding primary centers as well as to each other. Strong transshipment, marriage, trade, and road interconnections appeared in these clusters of secondary centers.

The transshipment function was prominent in each satellite and became important to the clustering, subregional, and regional processes. Continually expanding ferry services tied Salem Town to its satellites--across the North River to Beverly, across Salem Harbor to Marblehead, and up the Danvers River to Danvers. Newburyport closely linked itself to Salisbury and Amesbury across the Merrimac in the same fashion. Docks,

warehouses, and retail shops multiplied at the landing places; Beverly, Amesbury, and Salisbury benefited especially from this stimulation to economic development. In addition, many of the roads emanating from the transshipment points became primary access routes, which consequently made road centers of several of these towns.

A second set of supporting localities-- intermediate centers-- more distant from the primary centers and forming later than the satellites, extended the influence of the primary centers into the interior. Although these secondary nuclei had relatively undeveloped internal elements, their external influence facilitated the creation of transportation, trade, and social networks among the subregions. In the North, the transshipment facilities and converging highways that intersected the Merrimac at Haverhill and Andover made these points vital links in the networks that unified the subregion. Furthermore, the two towns had moderate political power within Essex County. Intermediate centers ringed Ipswich, linking themselves to that town and to each other in innumerable political, road, trade, and marriage associations. Among these locales, Poxford, Byfield, and Topsfield were especially important as highway, marriage, and trade centers.

Intermediate centers served much the same function for Ipswich that satellites did for Salem and Newburyport, strengthening the town's influence beyond its own boundaries, while simultaneously contributing to its development. Although the intermediate centers ringing Ipswich were too far removed for the system to be identified as a cluster, their importance to the growth of Ipswich as a primary center and the Middle as a subregion must not be overlooked. Each of the specialized intermediate centers was connected to Ipswich-- some by marriage mobility, some by trade contacts, and others by road links. Ipswich, in turn, generated enough power in each category

to be classified as a center. Furthermore, it had the special advantage of associations of one kind or another with each outlying center.

Several towns-- generally identified in the previous section as contributing little to regional formation-- never developed sufficiently to become centers. Towns so classified are: Wenham and Manchester in the South, Middleton in the Middle, and Bradford and Methuen in the North. Although Bradford and Methuen were tied through transshipment with larger communities to form population and economic clusters, neither community furnished a significant portion of the combined totals. Each of the several localities occupied a position on the periphery of its respective subregion, well beyond the primary centers and satellites; even contact with the more dispersed intermediate centers was minimal.

The pace of communal change and regional formation in Essex seems gradual by the standards of the New World; the transition of the county from a fairly unsophisticated vehicle for transplanting English government and ways in America to a complex and active participant in the American cause took more than a century and a quarter. Compared to the pace of change in the Old World, however, it appears as revolutionary. The accomplishments of the Normans, who first built their feudal structure around the existing shires, to the Tudors, who later successfully subordinated the shires to the national interest, and finally, the parliamentarians, who elevated the shires to prominence on the national scene, consumed five centuries. Although the parallel between the respective significance of the counties in England and Massachusetts helps trace the transformation of the settlers from uprooted Englishmen in the New World to advocates of the American cause, one must not equate the importance of the American shire to that of its English counterpart. Despite the more pronounced level of regional integration of Essex among the Massachusetts counties and the active involvement

of the county in the anti-British movement of the 1760's, the role of the Massachusetts county during these pre-revolutionary activities remained subordinated to those of the large urban centers and provincial governments in America.

#### The Significance of the County-Study Approach

Because relatively few writers have approached county history from a regional viewpoint in recent years and consequently little effort has been made to put such accounts into historiographical perspective, in conclusion we shall reflect upon the historical significance of this study. The regional treatment of community development as employed here offers the reader two outlooks not found in most studies of localities-- the presentation of the network process and structure. As each community develops, it simultaneously assumes a role in a larger process of network formation. Theoretically, the researcher, by examining community and network change at the same time, can assess the structure and process at an infinite number of points. However, despite the potential for studying the continuous growth and interaction within and among communities, the regional plan of study must be limited to selected periods and characteristics. Thus for practical purposes, we have been forced to restrict the presentation of evidence to transportation, trade, and marriage data and the analysis of structure to four sample periods, from which we extrapolate to determine the process taking place in the intervening years. The advantage of such an organic approach to community study appears to offset the limitations imposed by the need to limit the time covered and the evidence considered.

Existing histories of Essex County were published during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and have blatant shortcomings in organization and interpretation, among the most serious of which is the

failure to show interrelationships among the towns. Although the several accounts of the county are fairly comprehensive and appear to be relatively accurate, they nevertheless are highly segmented and prone to ancestor glorification. None have attempted an integrative approach to communal development. The accepted format is to present historical sketches of the county's towns in alphabetical order; in two instances each town sketch has a separate writer. Biographical descriptions of the "town fathers" occupy prominent places in each of the county histories.<sup>4</sup> In addition, with few exceptions the numerous separate histories of Essex towns follow the standard political mode common to the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century period.

The regional scheme, however, offers advantages beyond that of simply addressing the obvious shortcoming above. By drawing ideas from, but not restricting oneself to the study of a single town, selected localities, or a general area containing numerous localities, one can avoid some of the limitations of each approach. Sumner Chilton Powell's study of Sudbury and Darrett B. Rutman's treatment of Boston highlight how ideals from the Old World influenced community development during the first generation in Massachusetts.<sup>5</sup> The potential demonstrated by these two works has been highly influential in the decision to analyze the English backgrounds of the settlers in Chapter II of this study. However, both accounts consider only the first generation. Kenneth Lockridge's examination of Dedham and Philip Greven's investigation of Andover have provided guidelines for assessing the changes in Essex towns over four generations.<sup>6</sup> While the four studies provide excellent models for treating the single community and trace the associations of the townspeople with those in other areas in a limited way, none suggests ways for comparing communities nor illustrates how localities interconnect. Because of the limited perspective afforded by the history of the single community, no matter how skillfully

done, generalizations about community or structure run the risk of atypicality.

The treatment of selected localities provides opportunities for comparing communities and analyzing the interrelationships among such places--opportunities missing in the examination of the individual town. However, the necessary omission of certain towns from consideration frequently raise serious questions in the mind of the reader. The five towns selected by Carl Bridenbaugh in Cities in the Wilderness or by Richard C. Wade in The Urban Frontier can be compared and the interlinkages among them described. Such notions as hinterland, transshipment, and functional elaboration used frequently in this study owe much to the accounts of the two men. In addition, Jon C. Teaforde's comparative study of selected municipal governments demonstrates how Old English ideas of corporate government played significant roles in America's urban development.<sup>8</sup> While these comparative approaches offer useful suggestions for this study, the question of omission is present. In the opinion of this writer, Salem could have been included profitably in the works of Bridenbaugh and Teaforde. Aside from the problem of which localities to include, the examinations of selected places enables one to trace the internal and external dimension of the individual town as well as the relationships among the several communities.

Explorations of the larger general area containing numerous localities provide a broad framework for generalizing--much broader than that of the single community or several select communities. The accounts of Robert E. Brown and Michael Zuckerman on Massachusetts, or Richard Bushman on Connecticut, or Charles E. Clark on northern New England, or Roy H. Akagi on New England generally are examples of this approach.<sup>9</sup> Such studies, which examine selected communities in detail and generalize



about those not scrutinized, enable the historian to explore general questions on the nature of democracy, local government, and regional differences in New England. Despite the potential of such holistic approaches there are the ever-present dangers of generalizing about too many communities over large geographical areas.

In examining the county from a regional point of view one compromises among the three approaches outlined above, considering all communities but restricting the examination to selected characteristics and periods. On the one hand, no single locality is examined in its entirety, but on the other hand, each town can be evaluated, compared, and ordered by rank according to the characteristics under consideration. Although tracing internal and external growth in a particular locale is limited by the need to extrapolate between the periods selected, a network of interconnected communities nevertheless appeared for each of the periods. Thus, several observations about communal life emerge from the regional approach.

Foremost among such observations is the fact that significant differences among communities must not be overlooked or dismissed. For instance, geographically, Salem Town--an expanding port--was far more complex and quite distinct from Topsfield--an inland agriculturally-oriented locality. Yet both were interrelated, each serving different functions, but each important to the other. Chronologically, the small community of "Portside," clinging tenaciously to the bank of the Merrimac in 1642, can hardly be equated with the functionally sophisticated urban center of 1768. Religiously, eighteenth-century Salem Town and Newburyport, having parishes of several denominations, differed markedly from the single-parish locality of Topsfield.

Counties, too, are quite dissimilar. The original counties in Massachusetts, Essex among them, incorporated by a powerful founding

gentry bent on maintaining control over the proliferating towns in their Commonwealth, were vital organizations in the seventeenth century. By contrast, the shire in eighteenth-century Massachusetts was a mere shadow of its former self, serving simply as a convenient administrative unit. To generalize by stating that all New England counties in the colonial period were insignificant governmental units, is to overlook an important institution in the life of the men of the first generation, at least.

One must not ignore the significance of the urban process among the localities of colonial Massachusetts and assume that all towns were variations of a standard agricultural, fishing, or commercial model. To do so is to neglect the growth of urban services and functions, of wealth, and of population in certain communities. Nor can one afford to disregard the importance of road and transshipment centers, so essential to the formation of the hinterland network around urban clusters and centers.

Notes: Chapter I

<sup>1</sup> Among the works stressing the development of New England towns are: Roy H. Akagi, Town Proprietors of New England: A Study of Their Development, Organization, Activities, and Controversies, 1620-1770 (Philadelphia, 1624); Charles Francis Adams, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., Mellon Chamberlain, and Edward Channing, "The Genesis of the Massachusetts Town and the Development of Town Meeting Government," reprinted from The Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (January 1892), (Cambridge, 1892); William J. Haller, The Puritan Frontier: Town Planting in New England Colonial Development, 1630-1660 (New York, 1951); Joel Parker, "The Origin, Organization, and Influence of the Town in New England," Proc. Mass. His. Soc. (1866-67); Edward Channing, "Town and County Government in the New England Colonies of North America," Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (October, 1884); Anne E. MacLear, Early New England Towns: A Comparative Study of Their Development (New York, 1908); Melville Egleston, "Land System of the New England Colonies," in Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in His. and Pol Sc., XI-XII, 4th. Series; and Douglas R. McNair, Colonial New England: A Historical Geography (New York, 1975).

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison has treated the role of the Essex men in his Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1786-1860 (Boston, 1921) and Harrison Gray Otis, 2 vols. (Boston, 1913). Among other historians describing the position of the Essex men in the early nation are: Dumas Malone, Jefferson the President: The First Term, 1801-05 (Boston, 1970) and Jefferson the President: The Second Term, 1805-09 (Boston, 1974); James D. Phillips, Salem in the Eighteenth Century (Salem, Mass., 1937); Benjamin W. Labaree, Patriots and Partisans: The Merchants of Newburyport, 1764-1815 (New York, 1962); and Marshall Smelser, The Democratic Republic, 1801-1815 (New York, 1968).

<sup>3</sup> W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England, Essays in Social and Economic History (London, 1965), 211.

<sup>4</sup> Helen M. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls: An Outline of Local Government in Medieval England (London, 1930), 9.

<sup>5</sup> Wallace Notestein, The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630 (New York, 1954), 211-227; A.G.R. Smith, The Government of Elizabethan England (New York, 1967), 90-95; and Hoskins, Provincial England, 212.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, Gov. of Eliz. England, 85-90

<sup>7</sup> Cam, The Hundred, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, Gov. of Eliz. England, 212.

<sup>9</sup> Alan Everitt, "The Market Towns," in Peter Clark, ed., The Early

Modern Town: A Reader (London, 1976); Hoskins, Provincial England, 212; and Peter Clark and Paul Slack, English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700 (London, 1976), 21-29.

<sup>10</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Local Government: The Story of The King's Highway (London, 1920), 1-16.

<sup>11</sup> H.C. Darby, ed., A New Historical Geography of England (Cambridge, Eng., 1973), 249; and Hoskins, Provincial England, 211.

<sup>12</sup> Hoskins, Ibid., 209-211.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Notestein, The English People, 45-60; Mildred Campbell, The English Yeoman Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts (New York, 1942), 298-345; G. E. Ayler, The Struggle for the Constitution, 1603-1689 (London, 1963), 20-21 and 321-322; and Ruth E. Sutter, The Next Place You Come To: A Historical Introduction to Communities in North America (New York, 1973), 45.

<sup>16</sup> Sutter, The Next Place You Come To, 48-49.

<sup>17</sup> Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Historical Data Relating to Counties, Cities, and Towns in Massachusetts (Boston, 1948).

<sup>18</sup> Richard P. Gildrie, Salem, Massachusetts, 1623-1683: A Covenanted Community (Charlottesville, Va., 1975), 92-104; Robert E. Wall, Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade, 1640-1650 (New York, 1972), 1-42; Charles F. Carroll, The Timber Economy of Puritan New England (Providence, R. I., 1973), 105-107; Albert B. Hart, Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, I, New York, 1927-28), 200-202; and John G. Palfrey, History of New England, I, (Boston, 1860), 384.

<sup>19</sup> His. Data Relating to Counties, Cities, and Towns in Mass.; and Samuel A. Drake, ed., History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 2 Vols. (Boston, 1880).

<sup>20</sup> His. Data Relating to Counties, Cities, and Towns in Mass.; and D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., History of Norfolk County, Massachusetts, I (Philadelphia, 1884), 1-6.

<sup>21</sup> Hurd, Essex County, I.

<sup>22</sup> Josiah C. Holland, History of Western Massachusetts (Springfield, Mass., 1822); Jeremiah Stofford, ed., Gazetteer of Massachusetts (Haverhill, Mass., 1860), 14; Lawrence E. Wikander, Helen Terry, and Mark Kiley, eds.,

The Hampshire Story (Northampton, Mass., 1964), 1-10; and His. Data Relating to Counties, Cities, and Towns in Mass.

<sup>23</sup> John S. Barry, The History of Massachusetts: The Provincial Period, II (Boston, 1857), 3-4; and His. Data Relating to Counties, Cities, and Towns in Mass.

<sup>24</sup> Hurd, History of Norfolk County, I, 1-6; and His. Data Relating to Counties, Cities, and Towns in Mass.

<sup>25</sup> Holland, His. of West. Mass., D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., History of Worcester County, Massachusetts, I (Phaldelphia, 1889), ii-iii; Wikander, Terry, and Kiley, Hampshire History, 6; Alias Nason, A Gazetteer of the State of Massachusetts (Boston, 1890), 67; and History of the County of Berkshire, Massachusetts (Pittsfield, Mass., 1821), 7-12.

<sup>26</sup> Hurd, Essex County, I, ii-v; Hart, Commonwealth History, I, 114-116; George Lee Haskins, Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts: A Study in Tradition and Design (New York, 1960), 72 and 212-213; Benjamin F. Arrington, ed., Municipal History of Essex County in Massachusetts, I (New York, 1922), 40-44; and Palfrey, History of New England, III and IV.

<sup>27</sup> Both sociologists, studying complex modern societies, and anthropologists, examining primitive societies, have found this approach useful in understanding communal life. See Roland, L. Warren, ed., Perspectives on the American Community (Chicago, 1966), 194-311; and Warren, "Toward a Reformation of Community Theory," in Robert Mills French, ed., The Community, A Comparative Perspective (Ithasca, Ill., 1969), 42. Robert Redfield, The Little Community (Chicago, 1956), discusses the interpenetration of two opposite kinds of collective living, the personal-homogeneous community and the impersonal-hetogeneous community, one inner-oriented and the other outer-oriented. This approach has been suggested as a means for the social historian to understand better the complexities of the early American community. See Darrett B. Rutman, "The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of the Early American Community," in William L. O'Neil, ed., Insights and Parallels: Problems and Issues in American Social History (Minneapolis, 1972), 57-89.

<sup>28</sup> Edward M. Cook, The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership and Community Structure in Eighteenth-Century New England (Baltimore, 1976), 172-181, presents a typology of five major categories of towns through a measurement of the internal political behavior and the general composition of town society. See also Cook, "Local Leadership and the Typology of New England Towns, 1700-1765," Political Science Quarterly, LXXXVI (1970), 586-608. Van Beck Hall, Politics Without Parties: Massachusetts, 1780-1791 (Pittsburgh, 1972), 3-22, formulated a single continuum on which he placed the 343 towns of the state according to their commercial and cosmopolitan characteristics. Jack P. Greene, "Changing Interpretations of Early American Politics," in Ray Allen Billington, The Reinterpretation of Early American History (New York, 1966), 151-184, outlined a typology of political forms on which most pre-1776 colonial political activity could be fitted.

Central place theory in used in the development of this study. W. Christaller (translated by C. W. Baskin), Central Places in Southern Germany (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966, original German ed., 1933), first laid the foundation of central place theory by explaining the size, number, and distribution of towns within a region. Christaller's basic belief in the existence of a continuum of central places had been treated more recently: James T. Lemon, "Urbanization and the Development of Eighteenth-century Southeastern Pennsylvania and Adjacent Delaware," William and Mary Quarterly, XXIV (1967), 502-542. The functional roles of preindustrial towns in early America have been studied by Jacob M. Price, "Economic Function and the Growth of American Port Towns in the Eighteenth Century," Perspectives in American History, VIII (1974), 123-188. Cities as parts of a functional network in the early South have been considered in detail by Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens, "'Camben's Turrents Pierce the Skies!' The Urban Process in the Southern Colonies During the Eighteenth Century," WMQ, XXX (1973), 549-574; also see Erian J.L. Berry and Duane F. Marble, Spatial Analysis: A Reader in Statistical Geography (New York, 1968), 419-428. For useful discussions of the relationship between central places and subregions in the regionalization process see Berry and Marble, Ibid., 419; Dean S. Rugg, Spatial Foundations of Urbanization (Dubuque, Iowa, 1972), 79-124; John Friedman and William Alonzo, eds., Regional Development Planning: A Reader (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 117-122; and Harry W. Richardson, Regional Growth Theory (New York, 1973), 1-50.

<sup>29</sup>Indices have been established at four points spaced chronologically throughout the period encompassed by this study, 1623-1768. The four periods selected consist of three-year segments (except for the marriages of the 1650's, which included the years, 1652-1659). For each of the periods the following data has been collected: the names of the men from the various towns of the county who held offices during the particular periods, the offices they held during the entire span of their political careers, and the towns in which they resided. Ledgers and account books have been examined to gather information on the direction and volume of trade in and among the towns for each of the periods. Maps and highway accounts have been consulted to determine the nature and location of the roads laid out among the towns during these periods. Census statistics have been used to ascertain population levels, densities, and the movement of population for the same segments of time.

<sup>30</sup>Newburyport on the Merrimac is an excellent illustration of a community moving from one type to another within an economic index or along a continuum. It rose from a mere collection of individuals in 1642 located on the river bank to a sizable and complex urban community by 1768, passing through several categories on the continuum. Price, "Growth of Port Towns," Per. Amer. His., and Lemon, "Urbanism in Southeastern Penn.," WMQ, discuss the significance of functional elaboration in the development process.

<sup>31</sup>The indices created measure the extent of political influence of each town at the subregional, county, colony, and extra-colony levels. As towns grew in political influence within the subregion or county their relative positions on the continuum move essentially from the self-contained to the outer-oriented. Subregional and regional activities

are measured by examining the nature of the groups and coalitions that formed and the objectives that each sought.

<sup>32</sup>The relationship between economic elaboration within the community and the volume and direction of its trade are key factors in assessing the transition of a locality from one essentially inner-oriented to one outer-directed.

<sup>33</sup>Connectivity and centrality are discussed in Berry and Marble, Spatial Analysis, 243-248, and Brian FitGerald, Science and Geography, I: Development in Geographical Method (New York, 1974), 28-33. With the addition of each new tributary road a community becomes more under the influence of outside forces and begins to exert greater influence over its neighbors. From the perspective of a subregion or county, the addition of roads tended to tie the area more closely together. In determining the extent to which a given community had a closed or open society, marriage migration is a significant factor. Marriage ties tend to link subregions together.

<sup>34</sup>The extent to which a community attracts people and experiences out-migration tell much about a community. Strong population gains or losses are usually associated with basic changes in economic, social, or political life. Expanding population centers also assist in identifying the central place within the subregions and the county. See Darrett B. Rutman, "People as Process," Journal of Urban History.

<sup>35</sup>The following accounts are useful in understanding the growth of Salem: Gildrie, Salem; James Duncan Phillips, Salem in the Seventeenth Century (Boston, 1933) and Salem in the Eighteenth Century (Boston, 1937); Sidney Perley, The History of Salem, Massachusetts, 1726-1637 (Salem, 1924), The History of Salem, Massachusetts, 1638-1670 (Salem, 1926) and The History of Salem, Massachusetts, 1671-1716 (Salem, 1928); Richard Gildrie, "Salem Society and Politics in the 1680's," Essex Institute Historical Collections CXIV (1978), 185-206; and Joseph E. Felt, Annals of Salem, 2 Vols (Salem, 1845).

<sup>36</sup>The following work describe conditions in Ipswich and Newburyport: Thomas F. Waters, Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Company, 1633-1700 (Ipswich, 1905) and Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Company, 1700-1917 (Ipswich, 1917); John J. Currier, "Ould Newbury:" Historical and Biographical Sketches (Boston, 1896); and E. Vale Smith, History of Newburyport (Newburyport, Mass., 1854).

<sup>37</sup>To understand changes in the eighteenth century consult: McManis, Colonial New England; Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York, 1970); Edward M. Cook, "Social Behavior and Changing Valuse in Dedham, Massachusetts, 1700-1775," WMQ; Kenneth A. Lockridge and Alan Kreider, "The Evolution of Massachusetts Town Government, 1640-1740," WMQ XXIII (1966); Robert Zensky, Merchants, Farmers and River Gods: An Essay on Eighteenth-Century Politics (Boston, 1970); and Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Social Changes and the American Revolution," Journal of Social History.

Notes: Chapter II

<sup>1</sup>Rugg, Spatial Foundations of Urbanization, 79-98, defines both site and situation and discusses the role of each within a developing region.

<sup>2</sup>Phillips, Salem, I, 27-29; Ferley, Salem, I, 80-88; Hurd, Essex County, I, 1-3; Felt, Annals, I, 45-47; Louis Wright, The Atlantic Frontier (New York, 1947), 114-115; and Samuel E. Morison, The Builders of the Bay Colony (Boston, 1930), 30-36.

<sup>3</sup>Hurd, Essex County, I, 249-376 and 566-673.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., II, 1128-1152, 1441-1471, and 1706-1736.

<sup>5</sup>John L. Fabson, History of the Town of Gloucester (Gloucester, Mass., 1860), 47; George F. Dow, ed., Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County (Topsfield, Mass., 1921), 24; and Hurd, Essex County, II, 972-988.

<sup>6</sup>Hurd, Essex County, II, 1556-1556 and 1893-2082; Abiel Abbott, The History of Andover (Andover, Mass., 1829), 10-12; George W. Chase, The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts (Lowell, Mass., 1861) 36-44; Philip J. Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970), 41-51; and Claude M. Fuess, Andover (Andover, Mass, 1959), 33-38.

<sup>7</sup>In identifying the settlers from the four regions Charles Edward Banks, Planters of the Commonwealth (Boston, 1930); and James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, 4 Vols. (Boston, 1880-62), have been useful; David Grayson Allen, "In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay, 1600-1690," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974), has studied five towns, Rowley, Hingham, Newbury, Ipswich, and Watertown; Charles Henry Pope, The Pioneers of Massachusetts. A Descriptive List. Drawn from the Records of the Colonies, Towns, Churches, and Other Contemporary Documents (Boston, 1900), is a reliable reference tool for determining the English origins of the settlers; Edward Spaulding Feezel, "The First Generation of Settlement in Colonial Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1633-1660," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1967); Gildrie, Salem; and John J. Waters, "Hingham, Massachusetts, 1631-1661: An Easy Anglian Oligarchy in the New World," in Stanley N. Katz, ed., Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development (Boston, 1971), 50-69, provide information for identifying Eastern regionalism; Charles E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763 (New York, 1970), 13-14, 27, and 77; Gildrie, Salem, 1-74; and Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century (Boston, 1955), 2-38, discuss the West Country immigration in America; immigrants from the South of England have been treated by Robert Lord Goodman, "Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635-1685: The Social Foundations of Harmony and Conflict," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1974), and Allen, "In English Ways," Chapters VI and VII; Patricia Trainor O'Malley, Rowley, Massachusetts, 1639-1730: Dissent, Division, and Delimitation in a Colonial Town," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Boston College,



1975), and Allen, "In English Ways," Chapters II and III, examine the characteristics of the Northern migration to Essex County; each of the dissertations cited above provide comprehensive lists of the settlers and their place of origin in England.

<sup>8</sup>Wright, Atlantic Frontier, 101-105; A.L. Rouse, The Expansion of Elizabethan England (London, 1955), 224-225; Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony, 27-30; A.L. Rouse, Elizabethans in America (London, 1959), 97-114; and Bailyn, New Eng. Merchants, 2-38.

<sup>9</sup>Phillips, Salem, I, 27-43; Gildrie, Salem, 1-74; and Perley, Salem, I, 115.

<sup>10</sup>Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965), 27-28; and Alonzo Lewis and James Newhall, The History of Lynn (Boston, 1829), 171-182.

<sup>11</sup>Hurd, Essex County, I, 569.

<sup>12</sup>Goodman, "Newbury," 20-98; and Allen, "In English Ways," 218-221.

<sup>13</sup>O'Malley, "Rowley," 13-18.

<sup>14</sup>Abbott, Andover, 10-12; Currier, "Ould Newbury," 36; Chase, Haverhill, 36-44; Greven, Four Generations, 41-51; Fuess, Andover, 33-38; Hurd, Essex County, II, 1441-1471, 1556-1656, and 1983-2082; Joseph Merrill, History of Amesbury (Haverhill, Mass., 1880), 5-10; and David Hoyt, The Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts (1897), 7-9.

<sup>15</sup>Phillips, Salem, I, 164-165; Hurd, Essex County, II, 972-973; and Perley, Salem, II, 147-154.

<sup>16</sup>Sabson, Gloucester 47-55; Dow, Two Centuries, 24; and John Barber, History and Antiquities of Every Town in Massachusetts (Boston, 1840), 176-181.

<sup>17</sup>Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales (London, 1967), describes the farming regions, the marketing of agricultural produce, agricultural prices, profits, and rents; W.C. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape (London, 1955), 137-159, discusses the enclosure process in rural England; W.E. Tate, The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movement (London, 1967), 63-79, treats enclosures on a regional basis; Darby, Historical Geography, 302-388; Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (New York, 1965), 55-68, discusses village life in several areas; Campbell, English Yeoman, examines the land market and commercial factors in agriculture; and Sumner Chilton Powell, Puritan Village (New York, 1963), details the conditions of towns in Devonshire and Suffolk.

<sup>13</sup>The sources from which the criteria for identifying the forms of land management and the economic, governmental, and religious structures of the regions are as follows: Thirsk, Agrarian History; Hoskins, English Landscape; Darby, Historical Geography; Laslett, World We Have Lost; Campbell, English Yeoman; and Powell, Puritan Village.

<sup>19</sup>Authorities providing assistance in identifying the characteristics of Wset Countrymen are: Clark, Eastern Frontier, 13-14, 27, and 77; Gildrie, Salem, 1-74; Banks, Planters; Rouse, Elizabethans in America; Thirsk, Agrarian History, 71-80 and 203; Darby, Historical Geography, 25, 262-263; and Hoskins, English Landscape, 141 and 144-145.

<sup>20</sup>Thirsk, Agrarian History, 46-48, 53-63, and 446-592; Darby, Historical Geography, 252 and 276-279; Powell, Puritan Village, 52-57 and 76-77; Campbell, English Yeoman, 99-110; Everitt, "Market Towns," 18 and 191-193; and Allen, "In English Ways," 226-242, 252, and 269-270.

<sup>21</sup>Thirsk, Agrarian History, 203-212, 246-247, and 402; Laslett, World We Have Lost, 59; Hoskins, English Landscape, 73 and 103; Allen, "In English Ways," 157, 226, 259-262, and 265; and Darby, Historical Geography, 256 and 265.

<sup>22</sup>Thirsk, Agrarian History, 48-49, and 466-592; Clark and Slack, English Towns, 161-162; and Allen, "In English Ways," 275.

<sup>23</sup>Powell, Puritan Village, 57-65; Clark and Slack, English Towns, 127-134; and Allen, "In English Ways," 227, 254-257, and 263-264.

<sup>24</sup>Darby, Historical Geography, 279; Notestein, English People, 153-154; Powell, Puritan Village, 51; and Allen, "In English Ways," 243-248.

<sup>25</sup>Thirsk, Agrarian History, 40-49; Laslett, World We Have Lost, 58; Hoskins, English Landscape, 144-145; Taye, English Village Community, 72 and 78; Powell, Puritan Village, 103; and Allen, "In English Ways," 82-84, 97, 107, and 117.

<sup>26</sup>Thirsk, Agrarian History, 236 and 241-242; Hoskins, English Landscape, 144-145; Tate, English Village Community, 72 and 78; Notestein, English People, 73; Powell, Puritan Village, 103; and Allen, "In English Ways," 177-178, 193-200, and 207-213.

<sup>27</sup>Thirsk, Agrarian History, 234-236; and Allen, "In English Ways," 152-153.

<sup>29</sup>Thirsk, Agrarian History, 64-71; and Allen, "In English Ways," 146-150.

<sup>30</sup>Thirsk, Agrarian History, 28-30, 295-296, and 402; Tate, English Village Community, 72 and 78; Hoskins, English Landscape, 144-145;

Powell, Puritan Village, 103; and Allen, "In English Ways," 34-39 and 54-59.

<sup>31</sup>Allen, "In English Ways," 29-31.

<sup>32</sup>Powell, Puritan Village; Waters, "Hingham;" Gildrie, Salem; Allen, "In English Ways," and Laslett, World We Have Lost.

<sup>33</sup>Phillips, Salem, I, 27-43; Gildrie, Salem, 1-19; and Ferley, Salem, I, 115.

<sup>34</sup>Gildrie, Salem, 20-55.

<sup>35</sup>Ferley, Salem, I, 115.

<sup>36</sup>Gildrie, Salem, 25-74.

<sup>37</sup>Lewis and Newhall, Newbury, 176.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 171-182.

<sup>39</sup>Hurd, Essex County, I, 281.

<sup>40</sup>Allen, "In English Ways," 252-257, 278-281; and Ferzel, "Ipswich."

<sup>41</sup>Allen, "In English Ways," 265 and 277, contains tables of land and wealth distribution within Ipswich.

<sup>42</sup>Allen, "In English Ways," 265, 277, and 281-283.

<sup>43</sup>Phillips, Salem, I, 164-165; Hurd, Essex County, II, 972-973; and Ferley, Salem, II, 147-154.

<sup>44</sup>Ferley, Salem II, 147; and Phillips, Salem, I, 164.

<sup>45</sup>Goodman, "Newbury," 80-98; and Allen, "In English Ways," 218-221.

<sup>46</sup>Allen, "In English Ways," 165, contains a table on wealth distribution in Newbury, also 164-167, 190-196, 203-206, and 215-217.

<sup>47</sup>Chase, Haverhill, 36-39; Hurd, Essex County, II, 1905-1906; Hoyt, Old Families in Salisbury, 7-8; Abbott, Andover, 10-11; Sidney Ferley, The History of Boxford, Essex County, Massachusetts: From the Earliest Settlement Know to the Present Time, 1645-1880 (Boxford, Mass., 1880), 17.

<sup>48</sup>O'Malley, "Rowley," 13-41; Hurd, Essex County, II, 1128-1152; and Allen, "In English Ways," 37-43 and 46-59.

<sup>49</sup>Allen, "In English Ways," 38, 47, 63, and 65 contains tables on wealth distribution, land distribution, tax ranking of selectmen, and years in office of selectmen respectively.

<sup>50</sup>Abbott, Andover, 10-11; Chase, Haverhill, 36-37; Hurd, Essex County, II, 1905-1906; Merrill, Amesbury, 8-9; and Goodman, "Newbury," 178-181.

<sup>51</sup>Hoyt, Old Families in Salisbury, 8-9; Hurd, Essex County, II, 1441-1442; and Merrill, Amesbury, 5-10.

<sup>52</sup>Merrill, Amesbury, 10-16; and Jewett, Standard History of Essex County, Massachusetts (Boston, 1888), 401.

<sup>53</sup>Hurd, Essex County, II, 1912-1913; Greven, Four Generations, 45; and Chase, Haverhill, 38 and 57-59.

<sup>54</sup>Greven, Four Generations, 45; and Chase, Haverhill, 61-91.

<sup>55</sup>Abbott, Andover, 12; Fuess, Andover, 33-34; and Greven, Four Generations, 43-45.

<sup>56</sup>Greven, Four Generations, 43-45; Greven, "Old Patterns in the New World: Land Distribution in 17th Century Andover," EIHC CI (1965), 133-140.

<sup>1</sup>Concrete population totals for Colonial America exist only for 1765, at the conclusion of the period under study. Militia membership totals for 1690, a point mid way through the period, provide a general guide for making estimates. The leading demographers who have made estimates of population for Colonial America are as follows: James H. Cassedy, Demography in Early America: Beginnings of the Statistical Mind, 1660-1800 (Cambridge, Mass., 1865); Franklin B. Dexter, "Estimates of Population in the American Colonies," American Antiquarian Society (October, 1887), 22-50; Evarts B. Green and Virginia D. Harrington, American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York, 1932); Thomas R. Malthus, An Essay of the Principle of Population (London, 1798); J. Potter, "The Growth of Population in America, 1700-1860," in Population in History (Chicago, 1965); W.S. Rossiter, A Century of Population Growth from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900 (Washington, D.C., 1909); Stella H. Sutherland, Population Distribution in Colonial America (New York, 1936), "Estimated Population of the American Colonies, 1610-1780, Historical Statistics of the United States (Washington, D.C., 1960), and "Colonial Statistics," Explorations in Entrepreneurial History V (1967), 59-107; Terry L. Anderson has evolved a formula for estimating New England population in The Economic Growth of Seventeenth-Century New England: A Measurement of Regional Income (New York, 1975); Joseph E. Felt's study of Massachusetts' population in "Statistics of Towns in Massachusetts," Collections of the American Statistical Association, I, 136-138; estimates of the population of Essex County are formulated by William C. Davisson, "Essex County Wealth Trends, Money and Markets in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," EIHC CIII (1967), 294, and Kai Erikson, Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance (New York, 1966), 213-215. Systematic and comprehensive estimates for particular towns in Essex County have been of Andover by Greven, Four Generations, 176-177; of Salem by Felt, Annals, II, 410; and of Ipswich by Susan L. Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial America: A Study of Ipswich Massachusetts," Population Studies XXIV (1970), 433-452.

<sup>2</sup>The most comprehensive estimates of population for Essex County are as follows:

Erikson, 215	Davisson, 292	Anderson, ratio
1658 - 5200	1650 - 4483	(4.72, militia and
1668 - 7300	1660 - 5967	persons ratio)
1678 - 7500	1670 - 9540	1690 - 12064
	1680 - 12461	
	1690 - 15385	

The most comprehensive estimates for local towns are as follows:

Salem, Felt	Ipswich, Norton	Andover, Greven
1654 - 1068	1650 - 225	1680 - 435
1665 - 1446	1690 - 700	1695 - 710
1683 - 1560	1720 - 2000	1720 - 1255
1690 - 1680	1765 - 4300	1751 - 1951

<sup>3</sup>In the estimates appearing in Table III:1 the arguments over the validity of Malthus' claim that population in Colonial America doubled

every twenty-five years holds a central position. However, after considering the positions of Dexter, Rossiter, Sutherland, Green and Harrington, Potter, and Anderson, it is apparent that the rate of growth in the seventeenth century doubled, but not at a constant pace as advocated by Malthus. In the eighteenth century the consensus among authorities was that population increased at a continually declining rate. Thus, the two trends, the doubling of population every twenty-five years during the seventeenth century and the declining rate of increase amid an expanding population during the eighteenth century, has been the general guide for assessing the populations of towns in Table III:1. In addition to the comprehensive estimates by Greven, Felt, and Norton, many estimates for individual towns appear randomly throughout the local histories consulted. Each of the random estimates had been considered in creating Table III:1.

<sup>4</sup>The key on the map, "The County of Essex, Massachusetts," first issued by the County Commissioners in 1942 and revised in 1957, 1962, 1966, and 1972, provides the town sizes cited in Table III:1. By starting with the figures on the key of this modern map and tracing all boundary changes backwards, one can ascertain the size and configuration of each town for each of the sample dates: 1650, 1690, 1720, and 1768. Once this has been done, density can be computed by simply dividing the size of each community by its population appearing in Table III:1.

<sup>5</sup>The population percentages for communities, centers, clusters, subregions, and the county appearing in Table III:2 are computed from the information in Table III:1.

<sup>6</sup>The map, "The County of Essex Massachusetts," cited above (Note 4) and the population and density figures in Table III:1 are used in the construction of this map. Although there were twenty-one towns in the county in 1765, only those encompassed within population centers and clusters are identified. The purpose of the map is to illustrate the relative size and growth of each center and cluster from one sample date to the next: 1650, 1690, 1720, and 1765.

<sup>7</sup>The first systematic town-by-town population census occurred in 1764-1765. The figures appearing in Table III:1 under "1765" therefore have the highest validity because they are not estimates as is true for the years 1650, 1690, and 1720.

Notes: Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup>Gildrie, Salem, 153.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 154.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 20-55 and 150-154; and Ferley, Salem, I, 115.

<sup>4</sup>The offices held by town leaders in county government is used to measure the relative political influence of each town and subregion. The careers of each man occupying county-level posts or higher for each of four periods 1652-54, 1679-81, 1719-21, and 1763-65 are reconstructed in abbreviated form in Table IV:1. The career biographical sketches include: the span of years in their political careers, the offices held, and the number of years in each office.

<sup>5</sup>George F. Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1638-1683, 8 Vols. (Salem, Mass., 1911-1921).

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Gildrie, Salem, 90-91; Hart, Commonwealth History, 173; and Robert E. Wall, Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade, 1640-1650 (New York, 1972), 38-42.

<sup>8</sup>Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period in American History (New York, 1934), 334 and 401; Hurd, Essex County, I, 1; Felt, Annals, I, 214-216; and Akagi, New England Proprietors, 233-238.

<sup>9</sup>Carroll, Timber Economy, 105-107; Hart, Commonwealth History, I, 200-202; Palfrey, His. of New Eng., I, 384; and Waters, Ipswich, I, 131.

<sup>10</sup>Waters, Ipswich, I, 228-233; James T. Adams, The Founding of New England (Boston, 1921), 277; Hart, Commonwealth History, I, 561-562; and Felt, Annals, I, 214-216.

<sup>11</sup>Waters, Ipswich, I, 225-233; and Felt, Annals, I, 216-217.

<sup>12</sup>For a discussion of the Militia Act of 1680 and 1690 see Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company on the Massachusetts Bay Company in New England, II, (Boston, 1853-1854), 295, (Hereafter called Mass. Col. Records); Boston, Massachusetts, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 70, 23, and Vol. 35, 296; Phillips, Salem, I, 11-13; Edwin S. Stone, History of Beverly (Boston, 1843), 170; and Felt, Ipswich, 142.

<sup>13</sup>Felt, Annals, I, 216-220; Waters, Ipswich, I, 233-267; Wesley F. Craven, The Colonies in Transition (New York, 1968), 214-224; Hurd, Essex County, I, 629; Phillips, Salem I, 275-276; T.H. Breen, The Character of

the Good Ruler: Puritan Political Ideas in New England, 1630-1730 (New York, 1970), 134-167; and David S. Lovejoy, The Glorious Revolution in America (New York, 1972), 182-184.

14. Waters, Ipswich, I, 228-233; Adams, Founding of New Eng., 277; Hart, Commonwealth History, I, 561-562; Felt, Annals, I, 214-216; and Shurtleff, Mass. Col. Records, II, 264.

15. Perzel, "Ipswich," 148; Shurtleff, Mass. Col. Records, I, 283, 289, 314, 330, 338, 400, 437, 496, and 561; Ibid., III, 350 and 364; Ibid., IV, 15 and 147; Goodman, "Newbury," 177-178; and Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury from 1635 to 1845 (Boston, 1845), 60-122.

16. Stone, Beverly, 170; Joseph B. Felt, History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton (Cambridge, Mass., 1834), 142; and Mass. Archives, Vol. 35, 296.

17. Mass. Archives, Vol. 61, 228, 235, 237, 243, 251, 254, 261, 264, 318, 323, and 389; Ibid., Vol. 36, 89a; Ibid., Vol. 40, 181; Phillips, Salem, I, 217-283, and Ibid., II, 11-29; Waters, Ipswich, II, 235; Acts and Resolves, Public and Private of the Province of Massachusetts Bay (Boston, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1869-1922) (Hereafter cited as Acts and Resolves), Vol. 1, 131; and Perley, Salem, III, 301-302.

18. Phillips, Salem I, 318-325.

19. Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers and River Gods, 67-68; Perley, Salem, III, 326-334; Phillips, Salem, I, 269-272; Perry Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Boston, 1953), 136-146; Craven, Colonies in Transition, 218-219; Cook, "Local Leadership and Typology," 601; Richard C. Dunn, Puritans and Yankees: The Winthrop Dynasty in New England, 1630-1717 (New York, 1962), 219; and Acts and Resolves, I, 131.

20. John Murrin, "The Legal Transformation: The Bench and Bar in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," in Stanley N. Katz, ed., Essays in Politics and Social Development (Boston, 1971), 419-425.

21. Coffin, Newbury, 148-171.

22. Hurd, Essex County, II, 1977-1990; and Clark, Eastern Frontier, 171 and 176-177.

23. Hurd, Essex County, II, 1986-1987 and 1990; Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers and River Gods, 130; and Clark, Eastern Frontier, 299.

24. Mass. Archives, Vol. 114, 785; Ibid., Vol. 115, 159-160; Ibid., Vol. 116, 168 and Hurd, Essex County, II, 1509.



<sup>25</sup>Hurd, Essex County, II, 1509 and 1978; Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1972), 1724-1726, 318 and 323; Ibid., 1735-1736, 235; and Ibid., 1736-1738, 56.

<sup>26</sup>Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods, 157-177; and Journals of the House, 1741-1742.

<sup>27</sup>Descriptions of the Anglo-American political structure are found in: Breen, Character of the Good Ruler, 198 and 209; Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods, 214-226; Bernard Bailyn, The Origins of American Politics (New York, 1967), 61-75; John J. Waters, The Otis Family in Provincial and Revolutionary Massachusetts (New York, 1968), 75; and Cook, Fathers of the Towns, 147-150.

<sup>28</sup>Hurd, Essex County, II, 1737-1739; Ibid., I, 1721; and Journals of the House, 1765-1766, 274.

<sup>29</sup>Cook, Fathers of the Towns, 133, discusses the general increase in multi-parish towns by 1750; Perzel, "Ipswich," 22; Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods, 160-161; Breen, Character of the Good Ruler, 256-260; and Waters, Otis Family, 77.

<sup>30</sup>Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers and River Gods, 67 and 159-169; Kenneth Colegrove, "New England Town Mandates," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 21 (1919), 440; Bailyn, Origins of American Politics, 75-84 and 117; and Jack P. Greene, The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776 (New York, 1963), vii; and Waters, Ipswich, II, 86-91 and 152-159.

<sup>31</sup>Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers and River Gods, 160; Clinton Rossiter, Six Characters in Search of a Republic: Studies in the Political Thought of the American Colonies (New York, 1964), 79-115.

<sup>32</sup>Bailyn, Origins of American Politics, 75-84 and 117.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 91-104 and 114.

<sup>34</sup>Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers and River Gods, 39-74; and Colegrove, "Town Mandates," 429-441.

<sup>35</sup>Journals of the House, 1741-42; and Ibid., 1753-54, make numerous references to the activities of Choate and Hale and how they tried to carry out the administration's measures.

<sup>36</sup>George Billias, "Massachusetts Land Bankers of 1740," University of Maine Studies, 2nd. ser. No. 74 (Orono, Me., 1959).

<sup>37</sup>Bailyn, Origins of American Politics, 91-104; Richard D. Erown,

Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774 (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 2-6 and 19-29; R.N. Tagney. A County in Revolution: Essex County and the Dawning of Independence (Manchester, Mass., 1976), 18-38; and Journals of the House, 1765-1766.

Notes: Chapter V

- <sup>1</sup>Phillips, Salem, I, 94-99
- <sup>2</sup>Ferley, Salem, II, 196-202; Gildrie, Salem, 68; and Phillips, Salem I, 111.
- <sup>3</sup>Donald W. Koch, "Income Distribution and Political Structure in S Seventeenth-Century Salem, Massachusetts," EIHC CV (1969), 50-77; and Gildrie, Salem, 155-169.
- <sup>4</sup>Koch, "Income Distribution in Salem," 50-71
- <sup>5</sup>Gildrie, Salem, 155-169.
- <sup>6</sup>Koch, "Income Distribution in Salem," 50-71; and Gildrie, Salem, 155-169
- <sup>7</sup>Phillips, Salem, I, 210-213; and Ferley, Salem II, 354-355.
- <sup>8</sup>The population of Marblehead was 840 and that of Ipswich was 380 in 1680 (estimates).
- <sup>9</sup>Hurd, Essex County, I, 281-338; and Lewis and Newhall, Lynn, 266-275.
- <sup>10</sup>Gildrie, Salem, 157-160.
- <sup>11</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup>Phillips, Salem, I, 251-252; Ferley, Salem, III, 160 and 300; and Hurd, Essex County, I, 65-66.
- <sup>13</sup>Phillips, Salem, I, 283-286; and Gildrie, Salem, 158-159.
- <sup>14</sup>Felt, Annals, 286-287.
- <sup>15</sup>Lewis and Newhall, Lynn, 299-302; and Records of Ye Town of Lyn, 1701-1717, II, (Lynn, Mass., 1956), 24.
- <sup>16</sup>See Table VI:2 for the shipbuilding statistics on Essex County compiled from Bernard and Lotte Bailyn, ed., Massachusetts Shipping, 1697-1714 (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).
- <sup>17</sup>Felt, Annals, I, 286-289; and Phillips, Salem, II, Appendix map of Salem.

<sup>18</sup> Cook, Fathers of the Towns, 78-80, divides each town's share of the province's taxes by the total area of the town, which he computes into an index of hypothetical average value of the property of each town. The tax index figures are sensitive to the amount of commercial development in each town. Property values are normally higher in urban areas and are reflected accordingly.

<sup>19</sup> Richard J. Morris, "Wealth Distribution in Salem, Massachusetts, 1759-1799: The Impact of the Revolution and Independence," EIHC CXIV (1978), 89, discusses the economic attributes of Salem between 1760 and 1765; Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 131 and 91 gives a detailed account of Salem's economic characteristics in 1767. See also Hart, Commonwealth History, II, 411.

<sup>20</sup> Hurd, Essex County, II, 1071; and Priscilla S. Lord and Virginia Gamage, Marblehead, The Spirit of 76 Lives Here (Radnor, Pa., 1972), 68.

<sup>21</sup> Hurd, Essex County, I, 488.

<sup>22</sup> Goodman, "Newbury," 80-81; and Allen, "In English Ways," 217-219.

<sup>23</sup> For general descriptions of these towns see: Chase, Haverhill; Hoyt, Old Families in Salisbury; Merrill, Amesbury, Greven, Four Generations; Abbott, Andover; Fuess, Andover; and general biographies of towns in Hurd, Essex County, I and II.

<sup>24</sup> Coffin, Newbury, 60-122.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 121-122.

<sup>26</sup> Merrill, Amesbury, 15-45; Hoyt, Old Families in Salisbury, 17-18; and Hurd, Essex County, II, 1441-1442.

<sup>27</sup> Chase, Haverhill, 110; and Jewett, Standard History, 164-198.

<sup>28</sup> Greven, Four Generations, 68.

<sup>29</sup> Hurd, Essex County, I, 1713-1714; Currier, Newbury, 122, 151-159, 177-181; and Coffin, Newbury, 164-172.

<sup>30</sup> Smith, Newburyport, 390-391.

<sup>31</sup> Coffin, Ibid., 161.

<sup>32</sup> Coffin, Ibid., 166; and Jewett, Standard History, 313-314.

<sup>33</sup> Coffin, Newbury, 171; Smith, Newburyport, 391; and Thomas Huse, ed., Report of the Public Landing of Newburyport (Newburyport,

Mass., 1872), 4-5 and 13.

<sup>34</sup>Currier, Newbury, 161 and 175-181.

<sup>35</sup>Hurd, Essex County, II, 1452-1457, 1904, and 1976-1983.

<sup>36</sup>Coffin, Newbury, 201; and Smith, Newburyport, 45.

<sup>37</sup>Currier, Newbury, 277-281; and Smith, Newburyport, 65.

<sup>38</sup>Waters, Ipswich, I, 78-84.

<sup>39</sup>J. Franklin Jameson, ed., Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 1628-1651 (New York, 1967), 96.

<sup>40</sup>Waters, Ipswich, I, 84-85.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 85.

<sup>42</sup>For general descriptions of the towns mentioned consult: O'Malley, "Rowley,"; James D. Phillips, Three Centuries of Topsfield History, (Topsfield, Mass., 1951); Warren G. Towne, "Topsfield Copper Mines," Topsfield Historical Society Collections, II, (1896), 73-81; and town biographies in Hurd, Essex County, I and II.

<sup>43</sup>Perzel, "Ipswich," 52 and 310-322.

<sup>44</sup>Perzel, Ibid., 65-99; Waters, Ipswich, I, 75-76; and Felt, Ipswich, 95-110.

<sup>45</sup>Waters, Ipswich, I, 76.

<sup>46</sup>Felt, Ipswich, 95-110 and Waters, Ipswich, 75-85.

<sup>47</sup>Perzel, "Ipswich," 189-217.

<sup>48</sup>Jewett, Standard History, Chapter XIV; and O'Malley, "Rowley," 113-114 and 131-133.

<sup>49</sup>Felt, Ipswich, 95-113; Hurd, Essex County, I, 636-637; and Waters, Ipswich, I, 282.

<sup>50</sup>See Table VI:2 on shipbuilding.

<sup>51</sup>Based upon Eailyn, Mass. Shipping.

<sup>52</sup>Hurd, Essex County, II, 1299-1307.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 148.

<sup>54</sup>Dow, Travels in New Eng., 60-61.

<sup>55</sup>Felt, Ipswich, 110; and Hurd, Essex County, I, 635-636.

Notes: Chapter VI

<sup>1</sup>Essex County Court House, Salem, Massachusetts, Essex County Engineers Office, "Essex County Highway Index."

<sup>2</sup>See FitzGerald, Science and Geography, I, 28-33, for a discussion of centrality and connectivity.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 29-30.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, Account Book Collection; Henry W. Belknap, Trades and Tradesmen in Essex County, Massachusetts: Chiefly of the Seventeenth Century (Salem, Mass., 1929); and again, Belknap, Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County, Massachusetts (Salem, Mass., 1927).

<sup>6</sup>Dailyn, Mass. Shipping.; and Peabody Museum Library, Salem, Massachusetts, Maritime History Manuscripts, "English Shipping Records Related to Massachusetts Ports," Parts I-V, "Salem-Beverly Ship Registers," and "Salem Ship Register, Index of Names."

<sup>7</sup>A file of 2568 marriages, representing the total recorded for the years 1652-59, 1679-81, 1719-21, and 1763-65, for each town in the county had been compiled. The date, place of marriage, place of recording, name of spouse, and town of residence for each spouse has been recorded in the file. Because data is not available in sufficient quantity for some towns during the two earliest periods, only material from the latter periods will be considered in detail. Of the marriages between 1652 and 1659, in six of the seven towns at least 92% had both partners residing in the same town. The percentage dropped after that. Of the 2568 marriages, only 308 were exogamous. The focus will be upon these exogamous marriages. The sources used in the compilation of the file are: Vital Records to 1850: Births, Deaths, and Marriages (Topsfield, Mass., 1903-1923) for the towns of Amesbury, Andover, Boxford, Bradford, Danvers, Gloucester, Haverhill, Ipswich, Lynn, Manchester, Marblehead, Methuen, Middleton, Newbury, Newburyport, Rowley, Salem, Salisbury, Topsfield, and Wenham; Essex County Quarterly Court Records; and numerous town histories.

<sup>8</sup>Susan L. Norton, "Marriage Migration in Essex County, Massachusetts, in the Colonial and Early Federal Periods," Journal of Marriage and the Family (August, 1973), 406-418.

<sup>9</sup>"Essex County Highway Index;" and local histories of towns in the county.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

11 Account Book Collection, "Ledger of George Corwin, 1653-1655" and Ledger of Captain George Corwin, 1671-1684," Vol. 7.

12 Account Book Collection; "Account Book of John Higginson, 1678-1689," "Account Book of John Pickering, 1686-1716," and "Account Book of Phillip English, 1679-1690."

13 Account Book Collection, "Account Book of Thomas Nelson, 1692-1714," "Account Book of John Hovey, 1707-1719," "Account Book of Benjamin Pearson, 1705-1723," "Joseph Orne, 1719-1744," and "Account Book of Joseph Brown, 1725-1783."

14 Sailyn, Mass. Shipping.

15 "Essex County Highway Index."

16 Ibid.

17 Account Books of Nelson, Hovey, Pearson, Orne, and Brown as cited in Note 13 of this chapter.

18 "Essex County Highway Index;" and Local histories of county towns.

19 "Essex County Highway Index."

20 Sailyn, Mass. Shipping.

21 Account Book Collection, "Account books of Joseph Brown, 1725-1783," "Nicholas Lunt, 1753-1793," "Samuel Curwen, 1749-1768," "Dudley Atkins, 1763-1765," and "Samuel Barton, 1760-1768."

22 "English Shipping Records;" "Salem-Beverly Ship Registers," and "Salem Ship Registers."

23 "Essex County Highway Index."

24 Account Books of Brown, Lunt, Curwin, Atkins, and Barton as cited in Note 21; "English Shipping Records;" "Salem-Beverly Ship Registers;" and "Salem Ship Registers."

25 Account Books of Brown, Lunt, Curwen, Atkins, and Barton as cited in Note 21.

26 "English Shipping Records;" "Salem-Beverly Ship Registers;" and "Salem Ship Registers."

27 Marriages in 1719-1721 increased substantially over those recorded



for 1679-81. As marriages in which one partner resided outside the town of marriage increased, the volume and direction of marital migration become the tools for assessing the strength of interrelationships among towns.

28. Vital Records to 1850; Quarterly Court Records, and local histories.

29. Ibid.

30. "Essex County Highway Index."

<sup>1</sup>To understand the interrelationship between communal transformation and regionalization one must examine the changing size and functions of the locality, while simultaneously considering the developing interconnections among localities. Colin Bell and Howard Newby, eds., Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community (New York, 1972), 50-53, discusses the work of Roland L. Warren who argues that the locality can best be understood by studying its increasing orientation toward extra-communal systems (vertical dimension). Bell and Newby, disagreeing with those who maintain that the individual's particular place in a non-communal social structure is more important to look at than the role of the community, state that social networks for some people are locality bound, for others less so. Thus, the number of people within a locality who are more or less locality bound, will in part, determine the strength of the external dimension of the community and its role within a regional structure, in this case the county. Harry W. Richardson, Regional Growth Theory (New York, 1973), 99 and 134-140, states that the urban dimension of communities must be introduced if we are to explain regional growth satisfactory. The prerequisites of Richardson's spatial theory are: growth in one or more subregions followed by the dispersion of growth into other subregions, the amplification of which leads to regional integration and the sustained growth and concentration of activities in a limited number of localities, which become interdependently linked. Thus, regional growth must be considered in terms of the growth in a limited number of urban places. The methods of investigating communities by Warren, Bell, and Newby thus provide valuable tools for measuring how the interdependent components of the region contribute to overall regionalization. Both internal complexity and external influence determine a community's contribution to integration.

<sup>2</sup>Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness: Urban Life in America, 1625-1742 (New York, 1938) and Richard C. Wade, The Urban Frontier: Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, 1959), demonstrate the interrelationships of maritime ties, waterfront development, and hinterland expansion to the growth of urban places in previously unsettled areas. Of the ten urban centers examined by the two historians, eight grew and prospered because they sustained these three vital functions. The remaining two communities--Newport and Lexington--enjoyed limited growth because they lacked one of the three vital elements. Lexington had not waterfront and Newport's hinterland was severely limited in size.

<sup>3</sup>The center-periphery model of regional development appearing in J. Friedmann, Regional Development Policy: A Case Study in Venezuela (Cambridge, Mass., 1966, as presented in Richard, Regional Growth Theory, 140, places centers at the heart of the regional integration process. Friedmann's first stage had a number of independent centers appearing. In the next step, the centers develop unilateral ties to peripheral localities. The third stage depicts the rise of the peripheral subcenters, which act as counterweights to the original centers. At this stage integration begins, but remains incomplete. Finally, a functionally independent system of urban areas or interdependent subregions

lead to a matrix of regions, an integration of all subregions. Peter Haggett, Locational Analysis in Human Geography (New York, 1966), 111-112, sees the clustering of towns as functions of their size and the characteristics of the zone in which they are located. Merrill Jensen, ed., Regionalism in America (Madison, Wis., 1951), 380-391, sees the region as a fabric of subregions. The region is composed of major societal areas, while the subregion is a minor area of that composite whole. To Jensen, process, structure, and function must be considered in studying the region. According to Jensen, integration comes when the area of interconnections form a radius of influence which extends from the center or cluster outward. Howard W. Odum and Harry E. More, American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to Natural Integration (New York, 1938), sees two types of subregions that are of use in this study: the natural subregion, appraised in terms of typology and situation, and the societal subregion, appraised in terms of socio-economic traits:

<sup>4</sup>Hurd, Essex County, I and II; Arrington, Municipal History of Essex County, Massachusetts; Charles M. Fuess, ed., The History of Essex County (New York, 1935) 4 Vols; and Standard History of Essex County.

<sup>5</sup>Rutman, Winthrop's Boston; and Powell, Puritan Village.

<sup>6</sup>Lockridge, A New England Town; and Greven, Four Generations.

<sup>7</sup>Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness; and Wade, The Urban Frontier.

<sup>8</sup>Jon C. Teaford, The Municipal Revolution in America: Origins of Modern Urban Government, 1650-1825 (Chicago, 1975).

<sup>9</sup>Robert E. Crown, Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1955); Michael Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Town in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1970); Richard L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1600-1765 (Boston, 1967); Clark, Eastern Frontier; and Akagi, Town Proprietors in New Eng.

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To understand the transplantation of county government from the Old World to the New World the reader should examine works on the characteristics of English shires and regions before considering the evolving American civilization. Among the most informative books on English local and county government are W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England: Essays in Social and Economic History (London, 1965); Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Local Government: The Story of the King's Highway (London, 1920); Helen M. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls: An Outline of Local Government in Medieval England (London, 1930); Wallace Notestein, The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630 (New York, 1954); Peter Clark and Paul Slack, English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700 (London, 1976); Alan Everitt, "The Market Towns," in Peter Clark, ed., The Early Modern Town: A Reader (London, 1976); and A.G.R. Smith, The Government of Elizabethan England (New York, 1967).

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