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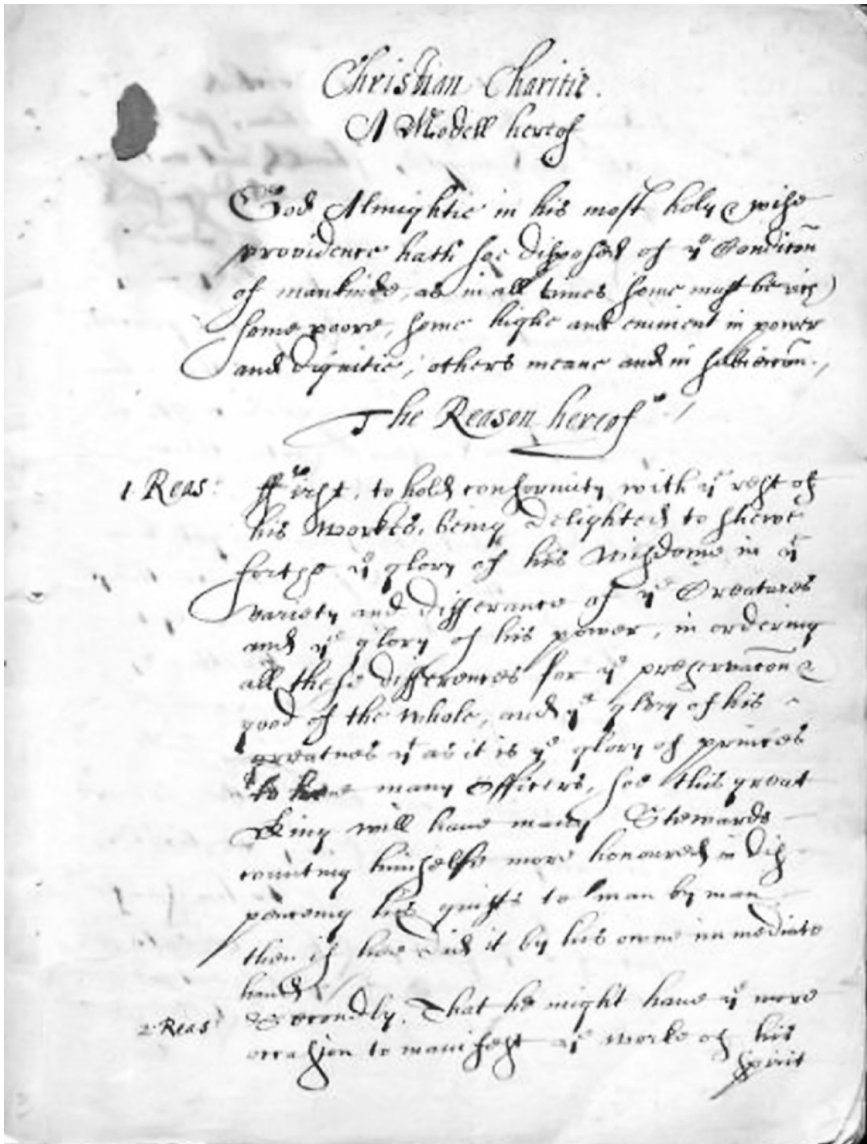
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### A Model of Christian Charity

In 1630, John Winthrop, who went on to become governor of Massachusetts, wrote a sermon titled “A Model of Christian Charity,” which he delivered to the Puritans of New England. This speech is the source of the well-known phrase “city upon a hill.”

# A Fraternity of Patriarchs: The Gendered Order of Early Puritan Massachusetts

MATTHEW J. REARDON



**Abstract:** *Current consensus among historians is that the patriarchal family provided the conceptual paradigm for Puritan institutions. This article demonstrates that a previously unexplored bifurcated network of gendered power wherein fraternal and paternal models worked in conjunction to govern the colony operated in early Massachusetts. This unusual arrangement is explicated through an analysis of Massachusetts' institutional development, while its operation is illuminated by investigating the church and civil proceedings against Ann Hibbens and Anne Hutchinson. In drawing attention to the fraternal underpinnings of early Massachusetts, the following challenges prevailing interpretations of how Puritans comprehended and deployed gendered power. Matthew J. Reardon is an Assistant Professor of History at West Texas A&M University. For comments on earlier drafts, he is especially grateful to Tom Arne Midtrod, Raymond Mentzer, Linda Kerber, Ann Little, and the two anonymous reviewers for the Historical Journal of Massachusetts.*

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Shortly before sailing for the New World, Massachusetts Governor John Winthrop (1587/8-1649) delivered a sermon to fellow colonists in which he expounded his vision for the godly society that they were emigrating together to create. He began with a justification of social inequality, stating that, in his infinite wisdom, God had decreed that “in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity, others mean and in subjection.” Yet this does not imply that some men possess an inherent superiority over others; disparity exists so that “every man might have need of other” and “be all knit more nearly together in the bond of brotherly affection.” Winthrop’s opening defense of hierarchy in his “A Model of Christian Charity” has often overshadowed the overall egalitarian message of his sermon. Indeed, by evoking the concept of “brotherly affection,” Winthrop proposed a model of society based less upon difference and patriarchal authority than upon likeness and the fraternal bonds of men.<sup>1</sup>

In Christian Charity, Winthrop underscored the volitional, associational, and affective basis of his fellow patriarchs’ undertaking. The “work we have at hand,” he commented, “is by a mutual consent” and “endued with the spirit of love.” By emphasizing the emotional and consensual underpinnings of their endeavor, he made male sentimental relations the foundation of the social order in Massachusetts. Although women were to be essential participants in this endeavor, Winthrop nonetheless assumed that his model “city upon a hill” would be populated by godly patriarchs joined together in “brotherly love.” The colonists’ love for one another had provided the impetus for this holy experiment, and that love had resulted from an appreciation of their similarities. The “exercise of love” proceeds from “*simile simili gaudet*, or like will to like,” he explained, and “the ground of love is an apprehension of some resemblance in the things loved to that which affects it.”<sup>2</sup>

For Winthrop, the biblical friendship between Jonathan and David best exemplified this attraction. “We may see this [love] acted to life in Jonathan and David,” he remarked; in the “state of wedlock there be many comforts,” but none “comparable to [this] exercise of mutual love.” Winthrop’s statement that the rewards of male friendship surpassed those of marriage is indicative of the importance of fraternal relations to Puritan men and its centrality in their social theory.<sup>3</sup>

Such an assertion for the supremacy of fraternal relations in Puritan social theory breaks with a historiography that holds that colonists in early Massachusetts relied upon patriarchal paradigms to organize their colony’s institutions and allocate gendered power within them. For example, as scholar Anne Lombard has asserted in her study *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England* (2003), the “society founded by Puritans in early



**John Winthrop, 1587–1649**

New England was based on a hierarchical world” characterized by “a series of hierarchical relationships, in which fathers’ authority within the polity and their authority with the family were homologous.” Focused on relationships of inequality—men and women, parents and children, masters and servants, husbands and wives—that body of scholarship has rightfully emphasized the undeniable patriarchal dimensions of Puritan relations.<sup>4</sup>

However, when attention is shifted to the homosocial interactions of the men of relative social equality who founded, inhabited, and governed early Massachusetts, another network

of gendered power emerges, though largely overlooked by many historians. In a notable exception, Richard Godbeer has argued that the emphasis Winthrop and his fellow male colonists placed on fraternalism was “distinctive” and “entirely appropriate” given their aspiration to create a society premised on “brotherly engagement” rather than “paternal authority.” Their extensive use of sibling metaphors to denote social relations as egalitarian evinces that desire. As C. Dallett Hemphill has asserted, sibling relationships, whether biological or elective, provided a counterweight to, while still serving as support for, patriarchal gender regimes. This article builds upon these significant insights by drawing attention to the horizontal as well as the vertical flow of gendered power in Massachusetts’ central structure, the Congregational Church.<sup>5</sup>

To realize their social vision, the founding fathers of Massachusetts constructed a bifurcated gendered order wherein they exercised what they called “fraternal power,” which, in turn, helped them achieve the solidarity and social stability necessary to maintain their patriarchal rule over dependents. This fraternal power originated between the “brethren,” or full members of the colony’s Congregational churches. However, once authorities merged church membership with voting rights, that power was extended to the political arena as well since now only brethren could vote or hold office.

Pastors John Allin (1596-1671) of Dedham and Thomas Shepard (1605-1649) of Cambridge described it as “a joint power of liberty or privilege” to elect and dismiss members and rulers “not in any one or more severally, but in the whole,” collectively.<sup>6</sup>

The authority that the colony’s ministers and magistrates wielded was conferred through the brethren’s exercise of fraternal power; meanwhile, the patriarchal power the brethren possessed over their families was maintained through the smooth operation of their fraternal power. John Davenport (1597–1670) best described the arrangement like this: the men of “several families, not having complete government within themselves, must combine in a commonwealth, yet not to yield up their family government over their wives, children, and servants,” but “to rule them in common with other masters of families.” In early Massachusetts, these two gendered models of social organization existed in a symbiotic, mutually reinforcing relationship, bonding its men together as a fraternity of patriarchs.<sup>7</sup>

This fraternity played a vital role in Puritan social theory. Viewing the family as a pillar of society, Puritans greatly enhanced the authority of masters of families anointing them “in God’s stead to their children and servants.”<sup>8</sup> Without orderly families, they asserted, there could be no orderly societies. Yet they also recognized that achieving social stability required more than just well-governed households, but also well-governed patriarchs. “We that have charge of families are commanded . . . to keep a holy unity among us. How else can there be peace?” declared Puritan divine Richard Bernard (1568–1641). To affect that “holy unity” among patriarchs, they implored men to behave with humility, love, and friendship in their interactions with one another. “What else is peace,” Erasmus, a Dutch Catholic priest, had once asked, “but the mutual friendship of many?”<sup>9</sup> For Puritans, patriarchy provided order while fraternity ensured harmony.

## THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND

In many ways a defensive document, “Christian Charity” reveals Winthrop’s fear that men’s “self-love” would wreak social havoc once the settlers had arrived in Massachusetts; therefore, his appeals for fraternal love stemmed from encounters with their selfish pursuits prior to leaving England. Puritan colonists fled an English society in tremendous upheaval and seemingly on the verge of collapse. During the previous century, England’s population had suddenly doubled, leading to widespread poverty, vagrancy, crime, and social mobility. In the resulting scramble to stay ahead, men engaged in various acts of economic oppression and public violence to

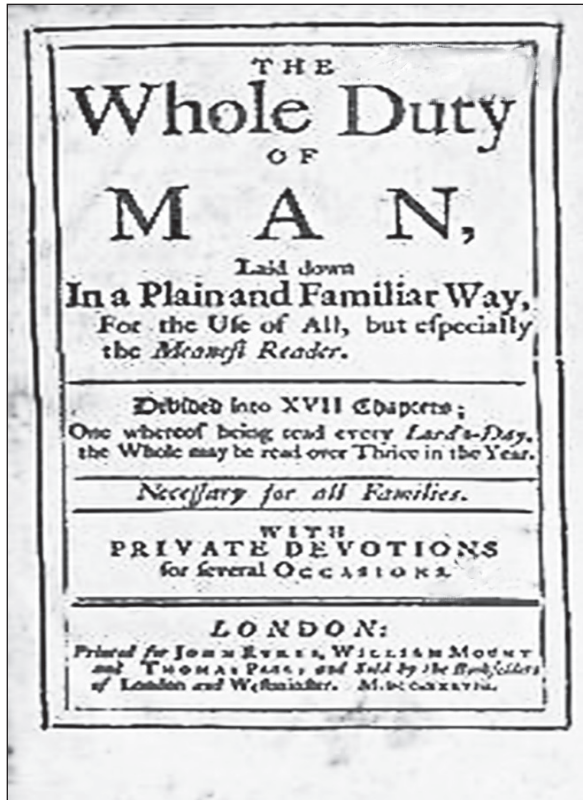
defend their personal credit. Meanwhile, popular conduct manuals of the period championed violence, artifice, and covetousness as masculine virtues. Consequently, the spirit of neighborliness that had served to direct behavior in town society evaporated as duels, riots, and lawsuits became the preferred methods of solving disputes.<sup>10</sup>

Historians studying early modern England have frequently commented upon its turbulent social and gendered orders and the patriarchal social arrangements instituted to restore their society to stability.<sup>11</sup> Less well documented, however, are the appeals for fraternalism that Puritan clerics and laymen articulated in an effort not only to restore social stability but also to reform male behavior and, therefore, effect a patriarchal solidarity. Although not as widespread as during medieval times, male interpersonal violence remained a common occurrence since men still felt completely justified using force to defend and assert their manhood. Indeed, as historian Alexandra Shepard has observed in *Meanings for Manhood in Early Modern England*, violence was “central to the regulation of social relations between men” in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England. Their personal clashes posed a serious threat to social stability and were thus a constant concern for rulers and reformers alike.<sup>12</sup>

Puritans blamed men’s ambition and pride for this strife and sought to reform England’s restive male population by promulgating an ideal of manhood founded on principles of fraternal love and humility. “Let us dispose all our affairs, all our thoughts, words, and deeds, all our behaviors, courses, and whole conversation,” beseeched Bernard, “with humility.” Puritans championed humility precisely because it militated against pride, the “first” and “greatest” sin. As the Anglican cleric Richard Allestree (1619-1681), believed to be the author of the widely popular conduct manual *The Whole Duty of Man*, asserted, “a multitude of particular sins . . . naturally flow from . . . pride,” namely, “anger . . . strife and contention.”<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, to prevent bloodshed and social discord, Puritans enjoined men to resolve their disagreements as peacefully as possible. “Christian valor,” asserted Matthew Griffith (1599?-1665), the Puritan Rector of St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street, is demonstrated not “so much in doing, as in suffering; nor in resisting, as in yielding.” Real men, he argued, “show [their] fortitude . . . when [they] vanquish [their] enemies without striking.” It was through the exercise of this “manly suffering” in response to insult, as Lucy Hutchinson (1620–1681) phrased it, that Puritan men avoided violent confrontation with others and demonstrated love for their fellow man.<sup>14</sup>

They categorically denounced dueling and discouraged litigation as “defects of brotherly love.” While these two methods of mediating men’s



### *The Whole Duty of Man, 1673*

This widely popular manual of conduct was believed to be written by Anglican cleric Richard Allestree and urged humility upon its readership.

disputes grew more frequent in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries, Puritans formulated their own elaborate rituals for managing their disagreements. The moral precedent for their actions was taken from Matthew 18:15-17: “If thy brother sins against you, go and tell him his fault, between you and him alone. If he listens to you, you have gained your brother. But if he does not listen, take one or two others along with you that every word may be confirmed by two or three witnesses.” These confrontational meetings should be conducted with much “patience and meekness,” and offenders “used [in a] brotherly [way], not giving the least personal reproaches or threats.”<sup>15</sup> If the individual still remained obstinate in his sin, formal punishment such



as admonition or excommunication came next, with the hope of eventual repentance and restoration to the brotherhood.

Puritan men preferred to resolve their disputes privately because it “expressed both the wisdom and love of a brother,” explained John Cotton (1585-1652), and “in doing so both heals and covers the offense at once.” Consequently, how this process actually worked is nearly impossible to determine, since the whole point was to avoid having their internal conflicts become public knowledge. Only after this means of resolution failed do we usually learn about the nature of their disputes through court and church records.

Using rare examples, Peter Lake and David Como have studied how London Puritans resolved disagreements through private conferences and epistolary exchanges. They found that these methods “provided the medium through which the godly hammered out their differences,” and that going public with them “represented an egregious violation of that order and unity...that was so central to the self-image of the godly.”<sup>16</sup>

As a persecuted minority, English Puritans were keenly aware of the need to maintain the unity of their “spiritual brotherhood” through rituals of sociability such as conferences, epistolary exchanges, and fast days. As historians Francis Bremer, Tom Webster, and Richard Godbeer have observed, Puritan men forged loving, long-lasting friendships and engaged extensively in communal activities that provided support, assistance, and comfort in times of distress. Through voluntary exercises such as these private consultations, Puritan men sustained group cohesion and projected a unified front to outsiders, even when they were riddled with internal disagreements.<sup>17</sup> These exercises in consensus-building would serve as guides when constructing their civic institutions in Massachusetts.

Finally, Puritan reliance on fraternal constructs also sprang from their encounters with Stuart patriarchalism. This was a political theory that arose in seventeenth-century England that defended the concept of absolute power for the monarchy, through language that emphasized the “paternal” power of the king over the state and his subjects.

As T.H. Breen in “Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions” (1975) has observed, Charles I’s (1600-1649) efforts to establish the divine right of monarchy and episcopacy (church headship), collect taxes without Parliament’s consent, restructure borough and county governments, and extinguish “popular Protestantism” had disrupted colonists’ customary practices, heightened their fears of excessive power, and greatly motivated their organization of Massachusetts’ institutions. They arrived in Massachusetts determined to insulate their

traditional patterns of life from outside interference; therefore, “to a large extent” its institutions are evidence of the Puritan desire “to preserve in America what had been threatened in the mother country.”<sup>18</sup>

## THE MASSACHUSETTS WAY OF GENDERED POWER

These experiences and imperatives drove Puritans to formulate an ideal of manhood and a system of gendered power founded as much upon principles of fraternity as patriarchy. Although sharing many of the same features of hegemonic norms of masculinity as expressed in chivalric and courtesy literature—such as the exercise of reason and household stewardship—Puritan manhood differed in its emphasis on character traits such as self-abnegation and fraternal love. In an effort to reform what they considered disorderly aspects of early-modern English masculinity and to protect themselves from intrusive authoritarian rulers, Puritans referenced their models of sociability to effect social stability and protect individual liberty. Although their vision of manhood would remain a subordinate form in Old England, once in New England, Puritans were free to establish their masculine ideal as hegemonic and integrate it into the operation of their civic structures.<sup>19</sup>

“The Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles” for “a due form of government both civil and ecclesiastical,” observed Winthrop in his sermon, but “the work and end we aim at...are extraordinary.” Therefore, “we must be knit together...as one man” and “entertain each other in brotherly affection,” he counseled, “so shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.”<sup>20</sup> For a final time, Winthrop entreated his fellow patriarchs to practice the fraternal love Puritans considered essential for social harmony. While he offered no blueprints for building institutions, once he and fellow colonists arrived in America, they erected a decentralized system of fraternal power that would safeguard their civic and religious liberties from future tyrannical rulers.

Although Puritan patriarchs like Winthrop dominated Massachusetts institutions, they realized a sizeable number of colonists did not share their brotherly vision for the colony. “For though the Company . . . were all of one heart and mind, and aimed at the same end,” recalled William Hubbard (1621-1704), “yet there wanted not secret enemies on the place . . . raised up as false brethren . . . that labored . . . to undermine their power.” Puritan men such as Winthrop knew they would have to be unified in purpose and sentiment to successfully combat threats to the colony.<sup>21</sup>

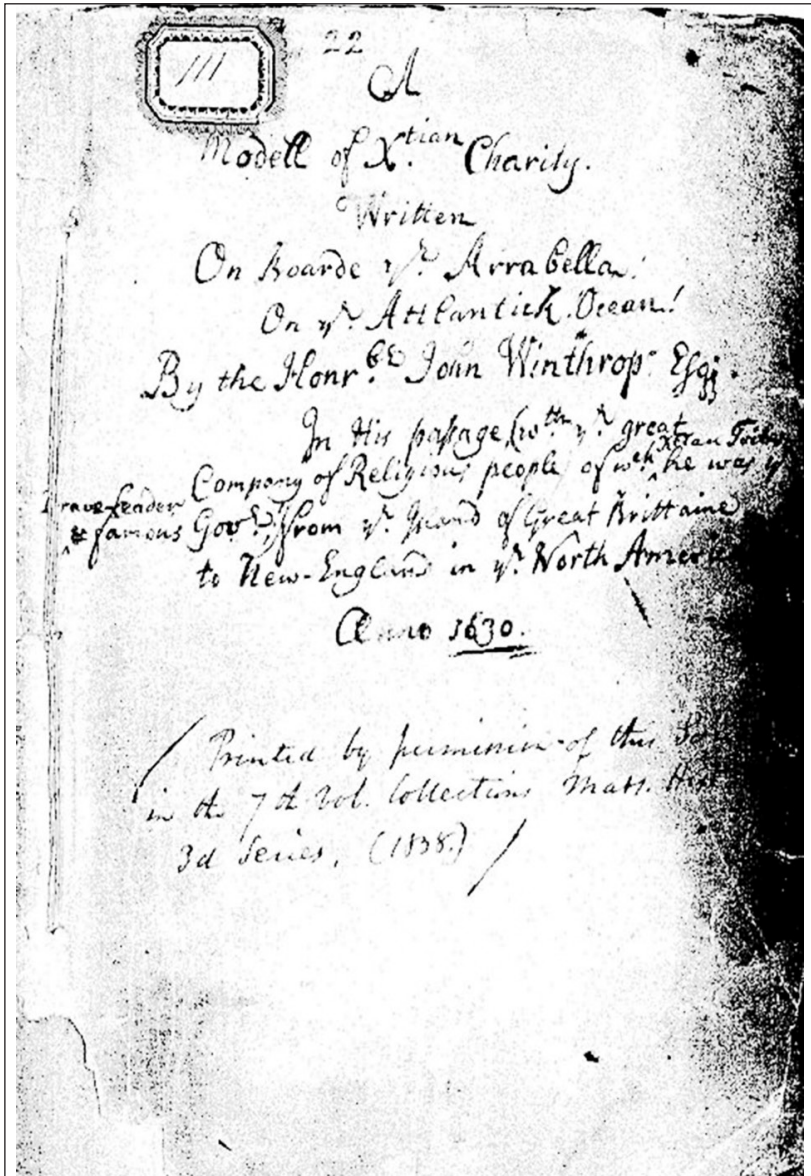
Many settlers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were neither Puritans nor patriarchs, and the colony’s leaders immediately struggled with how best

to govern this “mixed multitude” in a wilderness environment. Indeed, in 1632, while sentences were being executed against convicted criminals, one defendant impudently reminded Governor Winthrop that he “was but an attorney.” In Massachusetts’ truncated society, where its magistrates lacked the traditional trappings of authority, unruly men were an especially difficult population to control.<sup>22</sup>

Conversely, Puritan colonists worried that some of their magistrates might succumb to avarice and hijack their holy experiment for personal gain. This was more than a passing concern. As Plymouth colonist Edward Winslow (1595–1655) had observed in a popular pamphlet, “ambition in . . . governors and commanders, seeking only to make themselves great” are “the overthrow and bane . . . of plantations.” Examples abound of colonial officials abusing their authority and citizenry in the crass pursuit of power and lucre. Historian Carla Pestana has detailed how Roger Osborne, governor of Montserrat in the English West Indies, unscrupulously manipulated honor codes and the colony’s legal system to orchestrate the judicial murder of his rivals to acquire land and political hegemony on the island. In Virginia, magistrates committed acts of “needless cruelty,” tried to murder one another, and stole from public stores to feed themselves and avoid working. Their obsession with power and profit, reported John Rolfe (1585–1622), “choked the seeds and blasted the fruits of all men’s labors.”<sup>23</sup> Puritan colonists were familiar with these reports and arrived in America resolved to protect themselves against the machinations of ambitious men.

A number of recent studies have examined the unique measures Massachusetts’ leaders employed to combat these negative aspects of disorderly manhood.<sup>24</sup> To restrain the ambition of magistrates and the wickedness of profane men, Winthrop and the other leaders turned to the colony’s masters of families for help. Their solution was to empower politically the godly patriarchs who would then assist in the proper governing of the colony; to ensure cooperation and success, they relied not on force but on consent.

Winthrop and the other eight stockholders in the Massachusetts Bay Company who immigrated to America went on the condition that they would rule the colony as its magistrates. As the only investors present in Massachusetts they collectively possessed absolute political and juridical authority. They could have behaved like the leaders in Montserrat and Virginia and abused their extensive powers; however, because they feared corruption and suspected that “men, naturally carried with that of ambition” might “invade the rights and liberties of their brethren,” the magistrates volunteered to place themselves under the supervision and accountability of the colony’s other adult men. In October 1630, they opened freemanship to



### Heard but not Seen

John Winthrop's popular sermon, "A Model of Christian Charity," was never published. Only one manuscript, pictured here, is known to exist and is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society. Not in Winthrop's handwriting, it is possibly a verbatim record, perhaps made by a listener.

all male residents and declared that magistrates would be annually elected by the colony's freemen. A few months later they restricted voting rights to male church members and, in doing so, linked fraternal power in the church to political power in the commonwealth (and to paternal power, since the majority of the colony's patriarchs were also church members). No Puritan writings suggest that the magistrates faced pressure from the colonists to enact these measures; rather, they did so because they wanted to preemptively assuage popular concerns about ambitious men and "because all men are wont most willing to submit to those ordinances, constitutions, and orders, themselves have had a hand in the framing of."<sup>25</sup>

Extant evidence does suggest, however, that the brethren frequently exerted their power to reign in magistrates whenever they felt it was warranted. No man was immune; even the venerated Governor Winthrop discovered this in 1634 when he lost the governorship because the colony's brethren believed he had amassed too much power for himself. "He is indeed a man among men," commented Dorchester Deputy Israel Stoughton (1602/3-1644) after the election, "but he is but a man" and "they would admonish him thereby to look a little more circumspectly to himself."<sup>26</sup>

In the 1635 general election, Deputy-Governor Roger Ludlow (1590–1664) presumed that "the deputy's place [would] be but a step into the highest degree of honor," but when not advanced he "vent[ed] his ambition in protesting against the election as void" and the "freemen were so disgusted at his speech ... they left him out from being a magistrate, which honor he had enjoyed ever since he came into the country." Whereas Virginia's magistrates "beat men at their pleasure," Massachusetts colonists punished their magistrates if they abused their power—it was simply not tolerated. For instance, magistrate Sir Richard Saltonstall (1586–1661) was fined after whipping two men without permission; likewise, John Endicott (1600–1650) was severely admonished, fined, and convicted of battery for assaulting another colonist.<sup>27</sup> The arbitrary rule that characterized England's other colonial possessions would not be tolerated in Massachusetts.

## FRATERNAL GOVERNANCE AND THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

Fraternal governance is most apparent when examining the operation of Massachusetts' core institution, the Congregational church. When discussing the internal workings of individual churches, historians cite the primacy of the marriage covenant, contending that it provided the referent for all relations between members, pointing out that just as a wife consented

to become subjugated to her husband through a marriage covenant, so too did the brethren subjugate themselves to elders through a church covenant.<sup>28</sup> To be sure, colonists did analogize the two, as when Davenport noted that as “between husbands and wives” the relation between church members “is voluntary; and all voluntary relations are by covenant.”

However, historians have failed to observe that colonists used this marriage-covenant metaphor almost exclusively to conceptualize the relationship between the congregation and Christ. Explained Dorchester Pastor Richard Mather (1596–1669), “Properly the marriage is between Christ and the church, and so is the covenant, so far as therein they give up themselves to Christ as unto a head and Lord; as a woman in the covenant of marriage doth give up her self unto her husband.” In this circumstance both male and female congregants assumed the feminine role of bride to Christ and entered into a covenant mirroring the marital one between husband and wife that served as the basis of the patriarchal family.<sup>29</sup>

Mather then provided an altogether different gendered metaphor to define the relationship between the male church members within congregations. “True it is, they do also bind themselves by covenant one unto another, but in that respect the covenant is properly a brotherly covenant,” he affirmed, “because there the engagement is to one another as brethren” and “not as to one head or Lord, as it is in respect of Christ, and therefore in that respect it is not so properly a marriage-covenant as it is in respect of Christ.” The covenant that churches formed with Christ resulted in an unequal and paternalistic relationship, but the one instituted between the men who constituted that visible church formed a bond understood as equalitarian and fraternal. In this mutual covenant, they came together not as husband and wife in the family but as “citizens [who] are received unto civitatis, or right of city privileges,” with their church symbolizing “the visible union of brotherhood.”<sup>30</sup>

John Cotton (1585–1652), often credited as the progenitor of New England Congregationalism, also expressly denied the applicability of the familial metaphor to the Congregational church organization. In answer to the question of whether or not church officers were analogous to “rulers in the family, as parents are rulers to children, husbands to wives, masters to servants,” Cotton replied in the negative, asserting that “the church and family are two distinct bodies.”<sup>31</sup> Unlike a wife, who became subordinated to her husband’s authority within the confines of the patriarchal family, the brethren wielded enormous influence within the church through their exercise of fraternal power. However, the selection process of church officers did constitute an “act of subjection.” Once elected, elders became

“governors, set over the church,” and they alone possessed the “official power” to pronounce admonishments and excommunications. Nonetheless, their authority over the congregation was neither inviolable nor inevitable since it was the brethren who formed churches, admitted members, elected elders, ordained ministers, determined discipline, authorized punishments, and retained ultimate control over church affairs.<sup>32</sup> Thus, while it might seem that the brethren entered into patriarchal relations through covenants similar to those between wives and husbands or servants and masters, extant evidence renders such comparisons untenable.

The fundamental distinctions Puritans drew in structure, organization, and purpose in church and family is also evinced when a man’s commitments to both institutions conflicted. After Anne Hutchinson’s (1591–1643) expulsion from Massachusetts in 1638, her husband and sons asked to be released from their church covenant to be able to follow her into exile, claiming that, as a woman and wife, her “necessity requires our presence to supply her wants.” Their request was denied, however, since, as Cotton related to them, the “covenant of Christ and the church is to be preferred before our covenant with wives or parents.” Similarly, when another man, whose wife had been among those that had accompanied Hutchinson to Rhode Island, asked to be dismissed to join her there, his request also was denied. As one brother put it, leaving his church would “starve his soul for his wife’s body.”<sup>33</sup> Such instances reveal the Puritans’ expectation that a man’s obligation to his fraternal covenant took precedence over his marriage covenant and further demonstrates the centrality of such relations in the Puritan vision of church, state, and society. The divisions Puritan men made between the church and family also impacted their treatment of women.

Puritan men brought with them to New England a belief in the inferiority of women, but they also adhered to a doctrine of spiritual equality before God. Understandably, these contradictory principles often came into conflict as the Puritan men set about establishing the gendered order of their colonial churches. Although in theory Puritans were explicit about female subordination within the congregation, in reality they moved much more fitfully. For instance, in print they steadfastly affirmed St. Paul’s dictum that women keep silent in church, though in practice they did not always follow his pronouncement. It appears that, at least until 1633, women desiring membership in Boston’s church were being examined publicly by the whole body, not privately by the elders as would become the method in later years. Although in Congregational churches full female members, or “sisters,” were largely denied the liberty to exercise fraternal power with the brethren, as the following section reveals, this was not always the case.

As historians Richard Godbeer, Mary Beth Norton, and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich have all noted, Puritan men exhibited remarkable versatility in their conceptions of gender. For instance, they had no difficulty assuming the feminine role of bride to Christ, or accepting women in the masculine role of “deputy husband,” a temporary status in which they assumed authority over the household and its affairs. In certain contexts, they granted widows patriarchal power as masters of families.<sup>34</sup> Even within congregations, they could envision specific occasions in which sisters could exert fraternal power, over brothers.

### THE COTTON-BULKELEY EXCHANGE

An exchange of letters between Cotton and Concord Pastor Peter Bulkeley (1583–1659) reveals the ways in which congregations resolved their differences, clerical brothers achieved consensus on doctrine, and sisters could exert fraternal power within the churches of early Massachusetts. Their discussion is but one example of the friendly consultations that Puritan men relied upon to achieve the “holy unity” that they considered essential for social order. That their conversation concerned the empowerment of sisters within congregations is indicative of the equalizing qualities of church membership and elective sibling relations, which muted (although certainly did not eliminate) gender differences.<sup>35</sup>



**Peter Bulkeley (1583–1659)**

Artist unknown; image unverified.

In 1642, Bulkeley wrote Cotton asking for advice on a number of vexing questions raised by disputes between brothers and sisters in his congregation. In one case, “a sister taking offence against a brother,” Bulkeley wondered if she had the “liberty” to present her grievance publicly before the congregation. He was inclined to answer yes, for “in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female,” but he also had reservations as “the calling of a brother” would be “an act of power” that “may seem not suitable to that sex.” To this interrogatory, Cotton answered in the affirmative, acknowledging that a “sister hath



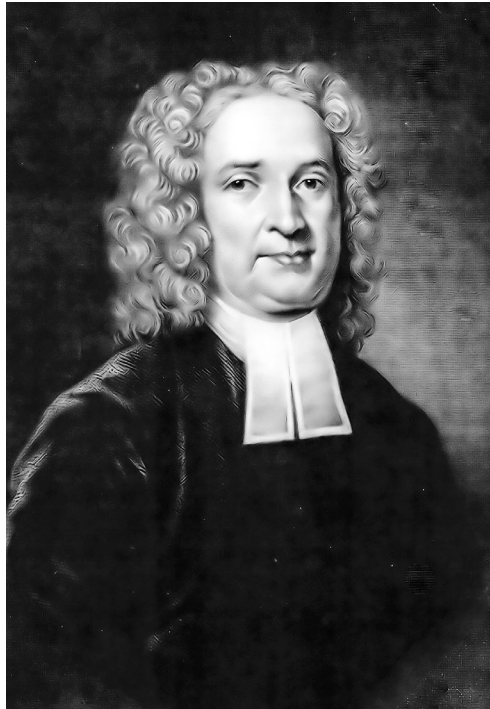
the like power of dealing with an offending brother, as a brother hath to deal with a brother.”

Another question concerned whether a wife, accused by her husband of some wrong, had the right to defend herself before the congregation. Again, Bulkeley believed that she had the “same liberty” as a man, and, again, Cotton concurred, stating that “women publicly charged with an offence before the church ought to give satisfaction before the church,” with the qualification that the woman’s answering the charges was not an act of power “but subjection,” since she had been asked to give account.<sup>36</sup>

However, when the two men revisited these questions in 1650, Cotton provided a different response to Bulkeley. In 1650, Bulkeley once more asked Cotton whether or not a wife could publicly admonish her husband; this time, Cotton revised his thinking and responded in the negative. Bulkeley remarked that though the husband is superior to the wife he “makes himself [her] debtor” by being “an offending brother.” Cotton replied, however, “[t]he liberty which I give to a sister to deal with an offending brother does not (as I conceive) allow the like liberty to a wife.” Still, he conceded that in “other cases, and offenses against other men, or women...a man loses his church-power.”<sup>37</sup>

This exchange between Cotton and Bulkeley sheds more light on both the function and operation of fraternal power within early Massachusetts Congregational churches. The broad distribution of that power to all members, regardless of gender, is evidence of the Puritan colonists’ desire for consensus and peace, which they believed could only result if equity were obtained. As between biological siblings, this elective-sibling bond worked to mitigate the inequality pervasive in English Atlantic society.<sup>38</sup>

However, from this discussion between Cotton and Bulkeley it also



**John Cotton (1585–1652)**

becomes clear that fraternal power placed different limitations on brothers than it did on sisters. As we saw in the case of Anne Hutchinson's male family members, their fraternal obligations trumped their patriarchal commitments, with their church relationships as brothers taking pride of place to their familial ones as husbands or sons.

For sisters, it was the converse, in that wives could not speak against husbands, though, as we shall soon see, husbands could speak against their wives. In these examples, patriarchal imperatives limited the extent to which sisters could express fraternal power. But it also demonstrates that fraternal power was not exclusive to the brethren and could be wielded by sisters in specific contexts. Neither man questioned a sister's right to admonish an offending brother or to bring him before the church to face judgment—though on these occasions they expected women to observe the same standards of brotherly behavior as men. An oft-examined episode involving Boston First Church sister Ann Hibbens (b.?-1659) will provide a final example of how this fraternal power operated in practice as well as illustrate what happened when sisters failed to exhibit the requisite brotherly love in these circumstances.

### **ANN HIBBENS' ABUSE OF FRATERNAL POWER**

Ann and her husband William (b.?-1654) were both members of Boston's First Church and two of its elite congregants. William was a successful merchant, civic officeholder, and influential spokesman for his church and town. As his wife, Ann assumed his high status, being entitled to the honorific prefix "Mrs." and to deference from both lesser-status men and women.

In 1640, Ann got into a disagreement with some Boston joiners (carpenters) over work she had hired them to do in her home. William had "give[n] [her] leave" to handle the entire matter herself—in effect making Ann a deputy-husband in the transaction. She contracted with a carpenter named John Crabtree (b.?-1656) who soon complained that the work was too much for the price originally quoted; Ann reacted by accusing him of breaking his word and neglecting his work.

Dissatisfied with Crabtree's new estimate and the quality of his craftsmanship, Ann then began asking other Boston joiners to assess the value of his efforts and to bid on the job themselves. When they all sided with Crabtree, she accused them of conspiracy so they could continue to charge outrageous prices for their labor. She then traveled to Salem where she found two joiners who supported her contentions. Armed with this evidence, Ann proceeded to "publish it all abroad to ministers, magistrates, neighbors, and

others” in order to “disgrace” the joiners among their Boston neighbors.<sup>39</sup>

At this point, arbitrators from the church intervened to help resolve the dispute, and they too sided with the joiners. However, Ann remained convinced of her case and continued to slander the joiners’ reputation in Boston and neighboring towns. When another “twenty or forty several meetings” to assuage her concerns failed to change her mind, the brethren finally lost their patience. In September 1640, they formally admonished her. When that had no effect, five months later they excommunicated her from the church. The brethren enumerated nine reasons for her dismissal, only one of which—slandering the joiners—had anything to do with the original dispute; the remaining reasons (save one regarding her selective memory about the course of events) concerned her flagrant and repeated violations of gender norms. The stated offenses fell into two categories: those against her husband, as a wife, and those against her brothers, as a member of the church.

At the beginning of the dispute, William had fully supported Ann, but after his church brothers sided with the joiners, he tried to “persuade” her to drop the complaint. The brethren took great exception with the “pride of spirit” she exhibited by ignoring his pleas. You “did aggravate your offence in the church,” Cotton chided her, “when he did advise you to be quiet and sit still...[but] you were unsatisfied, and did still stir up and down with an unquiet and restless spirit.” Pastor John Wilson (1591–1667) accused her of “exalting yourself against your guide and head—your husband I mean—when you should have submitted yourself” to his judgment. The fact that she tried to justify her behavior by citing “that speech of God to Abraham, hearken to thy wife in all that she shall say to thee,” made her actions all the more odious with the brethren.

The remaining six reasons concerned her frequent violations of brotherly norms and improper exercise of fraternal power and were equally—if not more—serious offenses. Her first offence, Cotton declared, had been that she did not deal with the joiners “in a church way,” that is, gone to them privately to resolve the situation, but instead made it public when she asked joiners from nearby towns to appraise their workmanship. Her next offense was accusing the joiners of lying and conspiracy. Puritan men placed high value in plain, or truthful, speech; therefore, her attack on their sincerity was a grave offense in the eyes of the brethren and an extremely painful accusation for the joiners.

Further, according to Cotton, she had spoken “impertinently” towards the joiners and arbitrators, “and used such speeches” that “they would not speak as you do.” She had also refused to heed “the former admonition of the church,”

and “the council and advice of diverse ... brethren and sisters” who had intervened in the quarrel. One of the arbitrators explained that her actions had serious consequences for the entire community: “If the pains and arbitrations of brethren and godly men shall be censured, threatened, and called into question, when they have done their best, it will make all men unwilling to arbitrate anything.” In her various actions, Ann, they believed, had seriously disrupted the operation of both the patriarchal and fraternal networks of power that worked in concert to regulate the behavior of the godly.

William Hibbens’ role in the whole affair also deserves notice. He initially supported his wife in her search for justice. Early on in the church proceedings, he rose to her defense when he took exception to an accusation one of the brethren leveled against her. Illustrating the dual roles he played as husband and brother, he “desire[d] to speak one thing to the congregation,” and so announced that he “would now lay aside the other relation [i.e. husband] and speak as a brother.” Nothing, therefore, in the evidence available suggests that he held any grudge towards his wife as a result of this episode. Thus, when he later testified against her for sinning against his brothers, it was simply his love for them that compelled him to forsake his wife.

Lest this point seem hyperbolic, consider a speech he gave the same day in which he had provided evidence against his wife. “I humbly crave leave to speak a word,” he begged the church:

Some of my godly brethren watching over me when I spoke the last day in that cause wherein I opened my mouth, they put me in mind of an expression I used in calling one of my brethren ‘sir’ instead of ‘brother.’ How it fell from me, I know not. But it was an expression unsuitable to the covenant I am in, and the more unsuitable because the title of brother is such a phrase that I have found my heart many time enlarged with the use of.

Clearly, for the brothers of Massachusetts’ Congregational churches, the idea of fraternity was of singular importance. As their primary means of maintaining collective unity and social harmony, metaphorical brotherhood served a key role as “shock absorber” for Puritan men. Just as literal siblings provided support navigating times of social upheaval, so too did the tie of fictional brotherhood for colonists in early Massachusetts. Indeed, for that very reason William felt obliged to apologize for neglecting to acknowledge that bond during a contentious moment.<sup>40</sup>

The colony-wide organization of Massachusetts’ Congregational churches also evinces the fraternal distribution of power. One is hard-pressed to interpret

the autonomy that each congregation enjoyed as following a hierarchical or familial model.<sup>41</sup> In contrast to the family, wherein authority resided decidedly in the hands of the father or husband, no such head sat atop Massachusetts' ecclesiastical order. Rather, colonists most often compared the relationship of their churches to that of siblings. The "association of diverse particular churches we hold needful," explained Allin, but it is "a fraternal consociation we acknowledge." The coercive mechanisms of the family are nowhere to be found in their Congregational system where at most one church could withhold "brotherly communion" from another when it failed to express "the brotherly love" that "one church owes and bears to another."<sup>42</sup>

Critics of the New England Way saw its fraternal allocation of power as too "democratic," and predicted that it would lead to nothing but "anarchy and confusion."<sup>43</sup> In June of 1634, some of these detractors had cited Massachusetts' political and ecclesiastical innovations to encourage authorities back in England to initiate *quo warranto* proceedings against the colony's charter and demand its return to England. These critics charged that since each congregation had complete authority to conduct its own affairs, when one went astray, brethren could only rely on peaceful persuasion to restore harmony. To stifle such criticisms, in 1635, Cotton and other ministers drew up a "Model of Church and Civil Power" that declared the magistrates "nursing fathers" to the churches, with the authority to monitor church formation and defend the true worship of God, as determined by ministers meeting in synod.

This state intervention was seen as a final, desperate measure, but in a few years just such extremes would have to be taken to restore the Boston congregation to the fraternity of Massachusetts' churches. As the colony's most public church, its disorder brought serious scrutiny from England about the entire Congregational experiment.<sup>44</sup> As they had feared, turmoil erupted in the Boston church in October of 1636, and the course of events that followed almost confirmed the dire predictions of the colony's critics.

## **A BRETHREN DIVIDED: THE ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY AND ANNE HUTCHINSON**

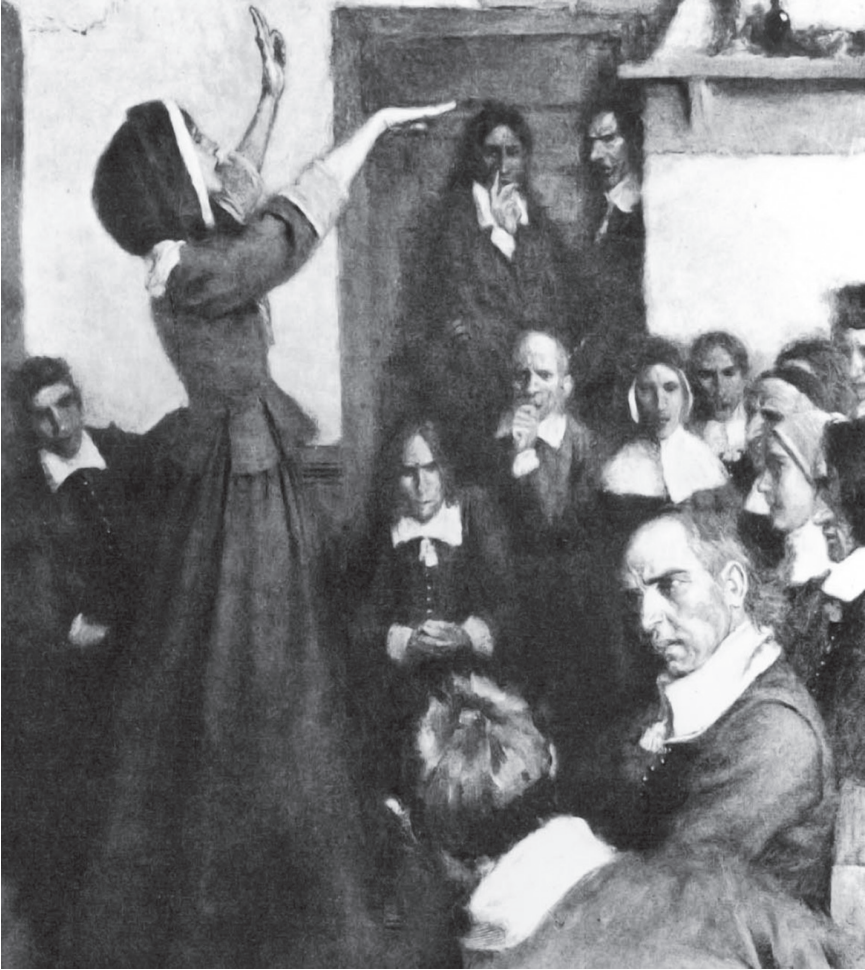
Perhaps the most serious internal disorder to beset early Massachusetts was the *Antinomian Controversy*, a conflict sparked by differences in theological opinions and challenges to the Puritans' gendered social order. Other studies have thoroughly explored its origins, course, and outcome,

so for the sake of brevity, the following will focus on how it endangered Massachusetts' fraternal order.<sup>45</sup>

The controversy began as a theological dispute essentially over the relationship between sanctification (good behavior) and justification (salvation); but, due to the fundamental questions involved, it eventually infringed upon the colony's public life. The term Antinomian, which opponents later foisted upon the Boston dissenters, carried heavy religious as well as social connotations for Puritans. Calvinist in their beliefs, the Antinomians professed knowing that they were destined for Heaven and argued that living a godly life had nothing to do with salvation. Such a belief system obviously made brotherly love superfluous. To their adversaries, the dissenters' spiritual individualism smacked of nothing less than sanctified libertinism, and their actions during the crisis seemed to confirm negative assumptions against them. Indeed, Antinomians defamed the colony's ministers and magistrates, disrupted its churches' services, and refused to serve in its war then waging against local Native Americans.

In addition, the Boston dissenters were labeled as Familists, a term which carried additional intense feelings for Puritans. The Familists were a religious sect that relied upon revelations for knowledge of God's election; in the popular imagination, they were closely associated with the Anabaptist movement, which reached a bloody crescendo at the German city of Münster in 1534–1535. Anabaptists seized control of that city for eighteen months and initiated a series of radical social and religious reforms until orthodox Protestant forces stormed it and slaughtered its defenders. The appearance of dissenters such as Antinomians and Familists in Massachusetts raised the very real danger that the carnage of the “tragedy of Münster” might be repeated there.<sup>46</sup>

However, theology was not the only issue that propelled the *Antinomian Controversy* in Boston; gender also played an important part in the crisis, mainly because the leaders singled out a woman, Anne Hutchinson, as the “root” cause of the troubles.<sup>47</sup> Her principal offense was that she accused the vast majority of the colony's ministers of being under a Covenant of Works—that is placing sanctification before justification—and encouraged others to reject the ministers as false speakers of the Word on those grounds. Most studies focusing on the role of gender in the crisis point to Hutchinson's transgression of the proper female roles of wife, hearer, and subject, and to the patriarchal language her male opponents evoked to shore up their authority.<sup>48</sup> To be sure, as an outspoken, articulate woman, her actions threatened male authority in the colony, but her message, it is posited here, constituted the most serious danger. Her assertion that brotherly love had no purchase on a



*The Trial of Anne Hutchinson*

This artist's rendering vividly captures the tension in a community where a perceived inversion of gender roles is leading to a crisis—and a severe resolution to restore order.

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man's spiritual estate nearly caused the collapse of Massachusetts' fraternal order, and, perforce, the colony itself.

The danger Hutchinson would later pose was evident to some who crossed with her over the Atlantic. When shipmate and soon-to-be Charlestown Pastor Zechariah Symmes (1599–1671) delivered a sermon in which he

argued that “love of the brethren” was evidence of a man’s justification, Hutchinson took exception and espoused what he considered to be corrupt and narrow opinions on the topic. She might have told him then what she would later tell Thomas Shepard, that he “was not sealed. . . . because you put love for an evidence”; that is, he was not saved because he considered acts of brotherly love as proof of his election. Her contention that personal behavior was irrelevant to salvation worried Symmes enough to warn the elders of the Boston church about her views, who then carefully examined her for suspect beliefs before admitting her in November of 1634.<sup>49</sup>

Harmony was maintained until the middle of 1636, when Hutchinson’s brother-in-law, minister John Wheelwright (1592–1679), arrived in Boston. Wheelwright was one of two ministers (John Cotton being the other) who Hutchinson believed taught a Covenant of Grace. He shared his sister-in-law’s unconventional views on the irrelevance of good works to salvation and was perhaps disseminating them amongst Cotton’s Boston congregation. Unfortunately, sources are silent on his early activities in the colony, but subsequent events do suggest that his arrival acted as a catalyst for the crisis. For shortly after his appearance, Shepard wrote to Cotton professing “not to begin or breed a quarrel: but to still and quiet those which have secretly begun.” Shepard was concerned about some troubling opinions then being expressed by members of Cotton’s church, which they had “fathered” on him. The issue again was over the relationship of brotherly love to salvation. In October, both men attended a private conference along with Hutchinson and Wheelwright; all seemingly agreed “that sanctification did help to evidence justification.” But events shortly thereafter evinced otherwise.<sup>50</sup>

Later that month, some brethren in the Boston church moved that Wheelwright be installed as assistant teacher to Cotton. At this moment, John Winthrop, who harbored doubts about Wheelwright’s orthodoxy, objected to the proposal, citing his “different judgment” about the role of sanctification in election. Exerting his fraternal power to select elders, Winthrop went against the wishes of the majority of his church brethren and single-handedly blocked Wheelwright’s nomination. Unfortunately, Winthrop had misused his power and enflamed the quarrel Shepard had tried to extinguish with his earlier letter to Cotton.

Thus far, the disagreement had been handled privately, but Wheelwright’s nomination had forced Winthrop to make it public. “Divers of the brethren took offense at [his] said speech against Mr. Wheelwright,” Winthrop recorded in his journal, “[f]or . . . he . . . had charged the brother in public . . . and had not first dealt with him privately.” After Winthrop’s violation of brotherly norms, his opponents in the Boston church felt completely justified in doing the



same. Winthrop, as much as anyone, bears responsibility for the controversy's escalation; even he "acknowledged it was a failing" on his part.<sup>51</sup>

Winthrop's speech divided the Boston church and emboldened Hutchinson and Wheelwright's supporters within it. The fact that Massachusetts' current governor and Boston church member, Sir Henry Vane (1613–62), was one of the supporters only gave Hutchinson and Wheelwright's followers greater liberty to foment dissent. When the General Court ordered a fast day in the spirit of reconciliation for 19 January, they invited Wheelwright to speak. Aspiring to "cause a combustion in the church and commonwealth," he delivered an inflammatory sermon laced with violent imagery and language, which some magistrates interpreted as an appeal for armed insurrection.<sup>52</sup>

Wheelwright's sermon gave the colony's "nursing fathers" sufficient justification to get involved in the dispute. "The heat of contention" sparked by "that sermon," wrote Winthrop, necessitated the intervention of "civil power" to prevent "the overthrow of truth and peace."

A nervous General Court charged Wheelwright with sedition and ordered him to appear to answer the accusation. When asked to explain the relationship between sanctification and justification, Wheelwright flatly asserted that "love to the brethren . . . is not the assurance of faith." The men of the court then informed him "[t]hat before [you] came into this country. . . there was no strife. . . about that point." They acknowledged "that his sermon was not all for contention, seeing he raised and pressed an use of brotherly love"; however, it had been a perverse usage, "for he applied it only to those of his own party, to persuade them to hold together . . . against those of the other party," and, the court ominously observed, to "encourage them thereto by the example of Moses, who in love to his brother, killed the Egyptian."

Wheelwright had horribly twisted the gendered norm that maintained consensus among Massachusetts' community of men and his examiners predicted violence in consequence. "[F]or when brethren shall look at another as enemies and persecutors," they opined, "how shall they be joined together in any public service?" Ultimately unrepentant, Wheelwright was convicted of contempt and sedition and banished from the colony.<sup>53</sup>

Having dealt with Wheelwright, the General Court then turned its attention to purging other Antinomian members who were, incidentally, some of the most powerful men in the colony. Vane was governor, and Bostonians William Coddington (1601–78) and Richard Dummer (1589–1679) were assistants. Patriarchal power being useless in this context, Winthrop appealed to the colony's brethren to exercise their fraternal power to remove these men from the magistracy. In the general election, Winthrop moved that they decide who should rule the colony, and the brethren signified their choice

by electing him governor while ejecting all the vocal Antinomians from the magistracy.<sup>54</sup>

Although denied access to the centers of power, Antinomians remained adamant in their opposition. By October, the General Court ceased trying to bring them back into the fold, instead disarming, disenfranchising, and banishing many of the group's male members from the colony. These measures excluded the men from both Massachusetts' community of men and the fraternal privileges that status conferred. As we have seen, in early Massachusetts, Puritan men preferred persuasion to coercion to maintain social cohesion. But that method failed horribly during the Antinomian crisis. Unable to rely on brotherly love as a means to settle the dispute, magistrates had to assert their authority as "nursing fathers" through the political emasculation and physical expulsion of their recalcitrant brothers. Their evocation of coercive paternal power came as a last, desperate measure to restore order.<sup>55</sup>

Patriarchal language appears most often in the crisis during the civil trial of Anne Hutchinson. After having silenced or expelled the powerful men that had provided her base of support, the brethren on the General Court next came after her. The problem the magistrates faced, and Hutchinson well knew, was proving her guilt since she had not engaged in any public acts that could be used against her as evidence. Thus, after listening to Winthrop lay out the case against her, Hutchinson simply replied, "I hear no things laid to my charge. . . . What have I said or done?" Fumbling for an answer, Winthrop pointed to her hospitality towards the Antinomians. As Michael Winship argues in *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts* (2002), by forcing Winthrop down this line of inquiry she had backed him into a corner. His position amounted to making "love of the brethren . . . an indictable offense." Sensing his blunder Winthrop invoked patriarchal control. He first cited the Fifth Commandment, arguing that her hospitality had been a "dishonoring" of "the fathers of the commonwealth." After she deftly dodged that accusation, he ended this dangerous debate by asserting his male prerogative, declaring, "We do not mean to discourse with those of your sex."<sup>56</sup>

After Winthrop was unsuccessful in proving Hutchinson had dishonored the colony's civil fathers, Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley (1576-1653) shifted the examination to her alleged slandering of the colony's spiritual fathers by claiming that they taught a Covenant of Works. This line of attack proved much more fruitful, but only because the Court and the ministers it called as witnesses against her violated the very gender norms that they had been trying so hard to defend for the last year and a half.

A few months earlier, Hutchinson had met privately with a handful of ministers to answer questions about her religious beliefs. We would have no idea what actually transpired unless some of the ministers agreed to make its content public by testifying. Shepard related that Anne commented that he was not saved because “he put love for an evidence”—that is, because he walked in a Covenant of Works. Thus when Dudley opened this line of questioning, Hutchinson rightly objected, arguing “[i]t is one thing for me to come before a public magistracy . . . to speak what they would have me to speak,” and quite “another when a man comes to me in a way of friendship privately.” To defend herself, Hutchinson had called the men into account for their unbrotherly tactics.<sup>57</sup>

When testimony continued the following day, Anne then demanded that the ministers take oaths. Puritan men did not do so lightly, and her request stimulated an energetic debate over whether they should. As the men deliberated, Hutchinson made her fatal misstep and elaborated on how she knew the ministers were not able speakers of the Word, “by an immediate revelation.” Images of Münster appeared in the minds of her examiners. The “disturbances . . . among the Germans have been all grounded upon revelations,” Dudley reminded the court. When she coupled her statement with a threat—“if you [the Court] go in this course you begin you will bring a curse upon you and your posterity”—the men of the General Court finally moved to convict. Two ministers took oaths confirming Hutchinson’s comments; once the oaths were given, the court then ordered her banished from the colony for “traducing the ministers” and for “her revelations . . . that she should be delivered and the Court ruined.”<sup>58</sup> Their breach of brotherly love had finally secured the desired result.

## CONCLUSION

These controversies illustrate that early Massachusetts’ dual networks of gendered power operated uneasily together and could explosively malfunction when pushed to their limits. The source of the problem was that Puritans were committed to cross-purposes in erecting an egalitarian and hierarchical society based not so much on wealth, lineage, or gender, but on sainthood. Their belief in spiritual equality informed their thinking about all secular relationships. In first-generation Massachusetts, status and power derived largely from being one of the Elect; all other metrics came second.

Consider what John Cotton told two Puritan nobles contemplating emigration to Massachusetts when they requested that its government formally recognize their hereditary authority, create legal distinctions between

gentlemen and other men in the colony, and set property requirements for voting. Writing on behalf of the colony's other leaders, Cotton replied that they would happily "receive them with honor and allow them preeminence and accommodations according to their condition." However, the colony's leaders would not grant the nobles hereditary rights or make property the basis for voting as such measures conflicted with the colony's fraternal distribution of power. As Cotton explained to them, "we do not, ordinarily, call [men] forth to the power of election, or administration of magistracy, until they be received as members into...our churches."

Cotton argued that Scripture did not permit the patrilineal assignment of political power the nobles wanted to be established in Massachusetts, instead teaching that the colony's leaders should be "chosen out of their brethren." Otherwise, he reasoned, at some point the brotherhood could lose control over the colony to "worldly men."<sup>59</sup> In their social vision, unique to the English Atlantic, a Massachusetts Bay Colony man's social status rested primarily on his godliness, rather than his property, lineage, or profession.

This is not to say that social distinctions based on wealth, birth, or gender were absent in early Massachusetts. Only gentlemen could be elected governor, and the majority of magistrates came from the gentry; men exercised patriarchal authority over their wives, children, and other household members, and the voting leadership was limited to male church members. But these hierarchical differentiations should not be allowed to obscure the overall egalitarian underpinnings of Puritan social theory.

Extant evidence suggests that Puritans prized lateral relationships more than most other early modern Europeans. In her cross-cultural article analyzing sibling relations in early America, C. Dallett Hemphill found that in contrast to Africans and Native Americans who highly valued familial connections, Europeans "hardly acknowledged" their importance to their lives.<sup>60</sup> Puritan colonists' extensive use of sibling metaphors to describe their social order thus stands in stark contrast to contemporary European thought and helps to explain why sisters like Hibbens and Hutchinson could cause such significant disruptions.

While concurring with Mary Beth Norton that the women's high social status made for complications, I believe their standing as sisters to be the most pertinent factor in exacerbating their respective disputes.<sup>61</sup> As we saw in the Cotton-Bulkeley exchange, Hibbens was completely justified calling the joiners into account as brothers; the scores of meetings held to address her concerns demonstrate as much. Church arbitrators treated her as a fellow saint until her incorrigibility eroded the primary mechanism Puritan men used to maintain consensus.

On the other hand, Hutchinson presented a more fundamental threat. As a sister, she exercised church power commensurate with her Antinomian brothers, but, as a woman, she could not be stripped of the civil privileges they enjoyed as men. As a result, the General Court struggled with how to control her. Although her adroitness forced the men of the court to retreat into the language of patriarchy, defending masculine privilege was not their primary motivation. Rather, they focused on her contention that “love to the brethren” is “not an assurance of faith.” Central to both their social organization of manhood and their conception of themselves as men, such an assertion rent the fabric of Massachusetts’ society. Her doctrine posed the greatest danger in the colony’s young existence.

Clearly, as Carla Pestana has observed, Massachusetts “was out of step with the prevailing cultural”—one might also add gendered—“circumstances in England and the wider English Atlantic world.” By 1650, the foundations of Massachusetts had been laid, and its fraternal distribution of gendered power and hegemonic ethos of brotherly love stood in marked contrast to the social organization of manhood throughout the rest of the English Atlantic. Contemporaries often predicted that Massachusetts’ unique political and ecclesiastical arrangements would lead to anarchy in the colony. To be sure, it had its share of murders, rapes, robberies, and assaults, in addition to a Native-American war; ironically, however, it stood nearly alone in avoiding the internal strife then wracking the rest of Christendom. “[W]hen almost all the world [was] on fire,” observed one thankful colonist in 1643, Massachusetts knew nothing but peace. If the “greatest achievement” of first-generation Massachusetts Puritans was the relative harmony of their civilization, the unique gendered order they devised to govern their society contributed in no small measure.<sup>62</sup>

## HJM

## Notes

1. John Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity,” in Samuel Eliot Morison, ed. et al., *Winthrop Papers*, 6 vols. to date (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929-present), II: 282-283.
2. Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity,” in Morison, ed., *Winthrop Papers*, II: 290-291.
3. Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity,” in Morison, ed., *Winthrop Papers*, II: 290-293, 295. Historians examining the construction of early New England

manhood tend to focus on men's roles as husbands and fathers and neglect the importance of their homosocial relations. See, for example, Lisa Wilson, *Ye Heart of a Man: The Domestic Life of Men in Colonial New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Thomas A. Foster, "Deficient Husbands: Manhood, Sexual Incapacity, and Male Marital Sexuality in Seventeenth-Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly* 56 no. 4 (Oct., 1999): 723-744.

4. Anne Lombard, *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 12. For additional works which emphasize the patriarchal and familial underpinnings of Puritanism see, Wilson, *Ye Heart of a Man*; R. Todd Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 20, 31-45; J.H. Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven University Press, 2006), 156, 176; Ann M. Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 25, 94-95; Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America, 1600-1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions* (London: Routledge, 1999); Amanda Porterfield, *Female Piety in Puritan New England: The Emergence of Religious Humanism* (Oxford University Press, 1991); Lyle Koehler, *A Search for Power: The 'Weaker Sex' in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980); Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 163-165, 215.

5. Richard Godbeer, *The Overflowing of Friendship: Love between Men and the Creation of the American Republic* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 113-115; C. Dallett Hemphill, *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15, 39. The following analysis differs from these two works, however, in that they situate Puritan fraternalism with a familial framework, whereas this study aligns it with elective brotherhoods such as guilds. It is important to observe that Puritans made meaningful distinctions between "natural relations," such as those between siblings, and "voluntary relations," such as those between friends, precisely because the former lacked the consensual basis necessary to form covenants. See, for example, Richard Mather, *A Discourse Touching the Covenant between God and Men...* (London, 1639), 22.

6. John Allin and Thomas Shepard, *A defence of the answer made unto the nine questions or positions sent from New-England, against the reply thereto by that reverend servant of Christ, Mr. John Ball, entituled, A tryall of the new church-way in New-England and in old...* (London, 1648), 171.

7. John Davenport, The power of churches asserted and vindicated in answer to a treatise of Mr. J. Paget intituled The defence of church-government exercised in classes and synods (London, 1672), 130-131. For other works that examine the relationship between male fraternity and patriarchy in early America, see especially, Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power*

in *Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 174-179; Cornelia Hughes Dayton, *Women Before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639-1789* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 4; Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 27-56.

8. Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 96-117; Jasper Mayne, *The English Catechism Explained* (London, 1623), 278.

9. Richard Bernard, *The Good Man's Grace* (London, 1621), 18; Erasmus quoted from, Fritz Caspari, "Erasmus on the Social Functions of Christian Humanism," *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 8 no. 1 (Jan., 1947): 94. For the connection between Christian Humanism and Puritanism, see, Todd, *Christian Humanism*.

10. Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity," in Morison, ed., *Winthrop Papers*, II: 290; Lombard, *Making Manhood*, 3-4, 12; E.A. Wrigley and R.H. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 208-209, 212, 568; Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 125, 131; David Underdown, *Fire From Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 10-12; Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 14; 51, 56, 81; A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985); Christopher Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: The "Lower Branch" of the Legal Profession in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 41-131; Susan D. Amussen, "The Part of a Christian Man: The Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England," in Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky, eds., *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 213-233; Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings for Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 8.

11. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, 24-32; David Underdown, "The Taming of the Scold: the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England," in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 116-36; Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Susan Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Blackwell, 1988); Todd, *Christian Humanism and Puritan Social Order*, 113-17; Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 96; Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, 18, 31.

12. Shepard, *Meanings for Manhood*, 127-28, 140-152; Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage* (New York: Longman), 198; Amussen, "The Part of a Christian Man," in Amussen and Kishlansky, eds., *Political Culture and Cultural Politics*, 214, 219; Robert Shoemaker, "Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth Century London," *Social History* 26 no. 2 (May 2001): 190-208.

13. [Richard Allestree?], *The Whole Duty of Man* (W. Parks: Williamsburg, V.A., 1746), 107-108.
14. Richard Bernard, *A Weeks Work* (London, 1628), 202; Matthew Griffith, *Bethel; or A Forme for Families* (London, 1633), 103; Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1908), 28.
15. John Cotton, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England; Or, The Way of Churches walking in Brotherly equality, or coordination, without Subjection of one Church to another* (London, 1645), 18-19, 89, 92-93; William Ames, *An analytically exposition of both the epistles of the Apostle Peter illustrated by doctrines out of every text and applied by their uses for a further progresse in holinesse* (London, 1641), 56; William Bradshaw, *English Puritanisme* (London, 1641), 16.
16. Cotton, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England*, 89; Peter Lake and David Como, "'Orthodoxy' and Its Discontents: Dispute Settlement and the Production of 'Consensus' in the London (Puritan) 'Underground,'" *The Journal of British Studies* 39 no. 1 (Jan., 2000): 39, 45. Richard Godbeer has found the same desire for unity and discretion in how early New England communities responded to men suspected of sodomy. See his, "'The Cry of Sodom': Discourse, Intercourse, and Desire in Colonial New England," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50 no. 2 (Apr., 1995): 259-286.
17. Francis J. Bremer *Congregational Communalism: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994); Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Godbeer, *Overflowing of Friendship*, 113.
18. T.H. Breen, "Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 32 no. 1 (Jan., 1975): 3-28; James F. Cooper, Jr., *Tenacious of their Liberties: The Congregationalists in Colonial Massachusetts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 14.
19. Ann Marie Plane, "Indian and English Dreams: Colonial Hierarchy and Manly Restraint in Seventeenth-Century New England," in Thomas A. Foster, ed., *New Men: Manliness in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 31-50; Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, 6-8, 42, 104-122. For a more thorough discussion on the formation of and relationship between hegemonic and subordinate masculinities, see especially, R.W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
20. Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity," in Morison, ed., *Winthrop Papers*, II: 293-294.
21. William Hubbard, *A General History of New England, from the Discovery to MCDLXXX* (Boston, C.C. Little and J. Brown, 1848), 121, 136.
22. David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth-Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987), 37-73; Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 6 vols. (Boston, 1853), I: 103.



23. Carla Gardina Pestana, "The Problem of Land, Status, and Authority: How Early English Governors Negotiated the Atlantic World," *The New England Quarterly* 78 no. 4 (Dec., 2005): 515-546; William Hubbard, *A General History of New England, from the Discovery to MCDLXXX* (Boston, C.C. Little and J. Brown, 1848), 121, 136.
24. Pestana, "The Problem of Land, Status, and Authority," 515-546; Michael P. Winship, "Godly Republicanism and the Origins of the Massachusetts Polity," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63 no. 3 (Jul., 2006): 427-462; William E. Nelson, "The Utopian Legal Order of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630-1686," *The American Journal of Legal History* 47 no. 2 (Apr., 2005): 183-230.
25. Hubbard, *A General History of New England*, 86, 147; Shurtleff, ed., *Records of Massachusetts*, I: 87; Winship, "Godly Republicanism," 444-445.
26. "Israel Stoughton to John Stoughton, 1635," in Everett Emerson, ed., *Letters from New England: The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629-1638* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 151.
27. Hubbard, *A General History of New England*, 165; Edward Maria Wingfield, "A Discourse of Virginia," in James Horn, ed., *Captain John Smith: Writings and Other Narratives of Roanoke, Jamestown and the First English Settlement of America* (New York: Library of America, 2007), 953-954, 959.
28. For a recent work that emphasizes its fraternal dimensions, see, Godbeer, *Overflowing of Friendship*, 144. For works emphasizing its familial dimensions, see, for example, Porterfield, *Female Piety*, 8-11; Karlsen, *Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 163-164.
29. Davenport, *The power of Congregational churches asserted and vindicated*, 39; Richard Mather, *An apologie of the churches in New-England for church-covenant, or, A discourse touching the covenant between God and men, and especially concerning church-covenant . . .* (London, 1643), 12; Richard Godbeer, "'Love Raptures': Marital, Romantic, and Erotic Images of Jesus Christ in Puritan New England, 1670-1730," in Laura MacCall and Donald Yacovone, eds., *A Shared Experience: Men, Women, and the History of Gender* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 51-77; Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 79-83.
30. Mather, *An apologie of the churches in New-England*, 12; James Noyes, *The Temple Measured; or, A Brief Survey of the Temple Mystical, which is the instituted church of Christ* (London, 1646), 2.
31. Cotton, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England*, 14. See also, Richard Mather, *Church-Government AND Church-Covenant Discussed, In an Answer of the Elders of the severall Churches in New-England. . .* (London, 1643), 48.
32. Mather, *An apologie of the churches in New-England*, 23; Noyes, *The Temple Measured*, 13, 34; Cotton, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England*, 43; Allin, *A defence of the answer made unto the nine questions or positions sent from New-England*, 172; Richard Mather, *A Platform of church discipline gathered out of the Word of God, and agreed upon by the elders, and messengers of the Churches, assembled in the Synod at Cambridge in New England. . .* (Boston, 1649), doc. 10.

33. Quoted from Larzer Ziff, "The Social Bond of Church Covenant," *American Quarterly* 10 no. 4 (Winter, 1958): 459
34. For Puritan conceptions of female physical and mental inferiority, see, Godbeer, "Performing Patriarchy," in Bremer and Botelho, eds., *World of John Winthrop*, 306; Westerkemp, *Women and Religion in Early America*, 5-6; Elizabeth Reis, *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); 108, 110; Koehler, *A Search For Power*; Mary Maples Dunn, "Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period," *American Quarterly* 30 no. 5 (Winter 1978): 584; 588. For female participation in early Massachusetts congregations, see, Lyle Koehler, "Case of the American Jezebels: Anne Hutchinson and Female Agitation During the Years of Antinomian Turmoil, 1636-1640," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 31 no. 1 (Jan., 1974): 58; James F. Cooper, Jr., "The Confession and Trial of Richard Wayte, Boston, 1640," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44 no. 2 (Apr., 1987), 331. For Puritan conceptions of gender and gender roles, see, Godbeer, "Performing Patriarchy," in Bremer and Botelho, eds., *World of John Winthrop*, 290-306, 323; Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution*, 55, 80-82; Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 147-148; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 35-50; Vivian Bruce Conger, "'If Widow, Both Housewife and Husband May Be': Widows' Testamentary Freedom in Colonial Massachusetts and Maryland," in Larry D. Eldridge, ed., *Women and Freedom in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 229-243.
35. David D. Hall, *A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 127-135; Hemphill, *Siblings*, 15, 20, 39, 46.
36. "Peter Bulkeley to John Cotton, February 1642," "[John Cotton] to [Peter Bulkeley], [February 1642]," in Sargent Bush, Jr., ed., *The Correspondence of John Cotton* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 352-356.
37. "Peter Bulkeley to John Cotton, 4 April 1650," and "John Cotton to Peter Bulkeley, April 1650," in Bush, Jr., ed., *Correspondence of John Cotton* 429-436.
38. Hall, *A Reforming People*, 127-158; Hemphill, *Siblings*, 26.
39. The proceedings against Ann Hibbens were recorded by fellow church member Robert Keayne. Different sections of his notes are reprinted in John Demos, ed., *Remarkable Providences, 1600-1760* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1972), 222-239; and Nancy Cott, ed., *Roots of Bitterness: Documents of the Social History of American Women* (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1996) 11-16. All following citations involving the affair are from these two sources.
40. For an extended discussion of siblings as "shock absorbers" see, Hemphill, *Siblings*, 108-126.
41. In contrast, Mary Beth Norton argues that "[t]hroughout the seventeenth century New Englanders remained committed to the hierarchal, familial model of state and society." See her, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 13.

42. Allin, *A defence of the answer made unto the nine questions or positions sent from New-England*, 114-115; Cotton, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England*, (London, 1645), 51-52; see also, Davenport, *The power of Congregational churches asserted and vindicated*, 102, 141; Cooper, Jr., *Tenacious of their Liberties*, 13, 19.
43. Thomas Lechford, *Plain dealing, or, Nevves from New-England a short view of New-Englands present government, both ecclesiasticall and civil...* (London, 1642), 13.
44. Michael Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636-1641* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 28, 79.
45. For its social dimensions, see, Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Louise A. Breen, *Transgressing the Bounds: Subversive Enterprises Among the Puritan Elite in Massachusetts, 1630-1692* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 17-56. For its theological dimensions, see, William K.B. Stoever, *A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven: Covenant Theology and Antinomianism in Early Massachusetts* (Middletown, C.T.: Wesleyan University Press, 1978); Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain: Disciplinary Religion and Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Michael P. Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636-1641* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). For its gendered dimensions, see, footnote 48.
46. Winthrop, "A Short Story," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 283. Historians typically point to the Münster Anabaptists' social leveling and sexual experimentation as the sources of anxiety for colony leaders, while forgetting their more immediate concern, namely, the extensive bloodletting that was necessary to first enact and finally end their radical reforms. Disarming Massachusetts's male Antinomians, one of the punishments eventually exacted on them by authorities, was as much a preemptive as a punitive act. See, Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 96; Thomas N. Ingersoll, "Riches and Honor were Rejected by them as Loathsome Vomit," in Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger, eds., *Inequality in Early America* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999), 67-86.
47. John Winthrop, "A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines," in David D. Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 265.
48. Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 359-399; Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America*, 34-51; Marilyn J. Westerkamp, "Puritan Patriarchy and the Problem of Revelation," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 no. 3 (Winter 1993): 585; Marilyn J. Westerkamp, "Anne Hutchinson, Sectarian Mysticism, and the Puritan Order," *Church History* 59 no. 4 (Oct., 1990): 496; Koehler, *A Search For Power*.
49. "The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 322-324.

50. "Thomas Shepard to John Cotton, between 1 February and 1 June 1636," in Bush, ed., *Correspondence of John Cotton*, 226-229; Noah Webster, ed., *The Journal of John Winthrop* (Hartford, 1790), 111.
51. Webster, ed., *Journal of John Winthrop*, 112.
52. John Wheelwright, "A Fast-Day Sermon," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 165.
53. Winthrop, "A Short Story," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 286, 297; Webster, ed., *Journal of John Winthrop*, 128; Shurtleff, ed., *Records of Massachusetts*, I: 185, 207.
54. Webster, ed., *Journal of John Winthrop*, 125-126, 129; Shurtleff, ed., *Records of Massachusetts*, I: 196.
55. Webster, ed., *Journal of John Winthrop*, 143.
56. Winship, *Making Heretics*, 170-171; "Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 312-314.
57. "Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 319.
58. "Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 330, 337, 343; Shurtleff, ed., *Records of Massachusetts*, I: 207.
59. "Certain Proposals made by Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and other Persons of quality, as conditions of their removing to New-England, with the answers thereto, [1636]," in Bush, Jr., ed., *Correspondence of John Cotton*, 519-523.
60. C. Dallett Hemphill, "Sibling Relations in Early American Childhoods: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," in James Martin, ed., *Children in Colonial America* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 79; see also, Hemphill, *Siblings*, 19-24.
61. Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 163-164, 397.
62. Pestana, "The Problem of Land, Status, and Authority," 516; Hall, *A Reforming People*, 195; quoted in Samuel E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 441; T.H. Breen and Stephen Foster, "The Puritan's Greatest Achievement: A Study of Social Cohesion in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," *The Journal of American History* 60 no. 1 (Jun., 1973): 5-22. It should be noted here that in recent years a growing body of historiography has emerged arguing for the fissiparousness of Puritanism, see especially, Janice Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts: Rereading American Puritanism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994); Richard Archer, *Fissures in the Rock: New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2001); Laura Knoppers, ed., *Puritanism and its Discontents* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2003); Breen, *Transgressing the Bounds*. For recent works that continue to see unity if not unanimity in Puritanism, see, Godbeer, *Overflowing of Friendship*, 84-94;

Hall, *A Reforming People*; Michael P. Winship, "The Most Glorious Church in the World': The Unity of the Godly in Boston, Massachusetts, in the 1630s," *Journal of British Studies* 39 no. 1 (Jan., 2000): 71-98.