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VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

BEFORE 1800

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Marta Nevampaa Whitlock, B.A., M.A.T.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

Approved by

Bradley Chapin
Advisor
Department of History
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Preface

Manuscript collections of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, represent the major portion of unpublished sources for this paper. The assistance of the entire staff of the library has been important to making this study. Mrs. Dorothy Potter, head librarian, deserves special thanks.

The first floor of the institute is devoted to papers contributed by private families. Though some collections housed on this floor are not actually family collections, the author has referred to all materials from this section as belonging to the Family Manuscript Collection to make it easier for another researcher to find materials quoted in the paper. The third floor houses miscellaneous materials which are largely unindexed. Most of these sources cannot be found through the card files. All materials from this floor have been grouped under the Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection.

A few modernizations have been made in the text of quotations. Some abbreviations have been eliminated; for example, CHH has been changed to church. Variant spellings have been changed only when they confuse the meaning. Thus, our has been substituted for or.

11
VITA

February 13, 1943 . . Born - DeKalb, Illinois

1965. . . . . . . B.A., Grinnell College,
Grinnell, Iowa

1966. . . . . . . M.A.T., Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Early American History

Colonial America and American Revolution. Professor
Paul C. Bowers and Professor Bradley Chapin

Early National Period. Professor Bradley Chapin

Minor Field: Latin American History

Colonial Latin America. Professor Stephan Stoan

Modern Latin America. Professor Donald B. Cooper,
Professor James M. Wilkie and Professor Stephan
Stoan
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Introduction

The importance that visitors like Alexis de Tocqueville and James Bryce attributed to voluntary associations in American practice suggests a study of associations in the early period of our history. Alexis de Tocqueville noted their prevalence in all pursuits:

Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to send missionaries to the antipodes, in this manner they found hospitals, prisons and schools. If it is proposed to inculcate some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society.1

A procedure used as freely as this is somewhat hard to define; Charles Warriner and Jane Prather feel the difficulty is compounded by the fact that all associations of life have some voluntary component:

Although there have been periodic discussions of the criteria for the category "voluntary association" the term primarily designates a set of interests and questions rather than a special kind of organization. It is practically impossible to differentiate a class of organizations on the basis of their voluntary character. Whether we are thinking of voluntary in the sense of free and special creation by a particular set of actors or in the sense of elective membership and partici-
pation, we discover that it is a characteristic of all organizations in our society—not a feature limited to a few. The difficulty of deciding whether churches, labor unions or families are voluntary associations amply demonstrates the point.2

For the general purposes of this paper, the definition Arnold Rose offers will be used; "a small group of people, finding they have a certain interest (or purpose) in common, agree to meet and act together in order to satisfy that interest or achieve that purpose."3 Some associations dissolve as soon as their object is accomplished, others evolve into ongoing clubs. Since the main purpose of this study will be to assess the social and civic uses of association within a single community, eighteenth century Salem, further refinements are necessary. No attempt will be made to discuss the family; businesses will only be considered for their influence on the formation of other organizations and for the similarity of their structural forms to other societies. Associations to build bridges and other civic improvements will be discussed as antecedents to eighteenth century clubs and societies. Arnold Rose's supposition that voluntary associations can have "absolutely no formal contact with the government"4 will not be adhered to in this paper. One of the more interesting aspects of voluntary association in eighteenth century Salem is the way in which clubs worked with town government on various civic projects; such liaisons do not seem grounds for dismissing them from consideration.
The ways in which voluntary associations are credited with influencing American democracy makes their study in the early period of the commonwealth particularly significant. For one, they are credited with inculcating a participatory style in Americans and thus solving what John Dewey considered the central problem of democracy, "obtaining from the common man participation in matters affecting his own destiny." Arthur M. Schlesinger believed that voluntary associations were of more importance in this regard than the New England town meeting:

By comparison the vaunted role of the New England town meeting as a seedbed of popular government seems almost negligible. The habits so engendered have armed the people to take swift and effective steps in moments of emergency.

James Bryce viewed participation from another perspective; he was impressed with the moral energy expended by Americans:

The maintenance of churches, seminaries, and charities by voluntary contributions and by the administrative labours of volunteers implies an enormous and incessant expenditure of mental and moral force. It is a force which must ever be renewed from generation to generation; for it is a personal force, constantly expiring, and as constantly to be replaced.... Like the voluntary system in religion, the voluntary system in higher education buttresses democracy; each demands from the community a large outlay of intellectual activity and moral vigour.

Voluntary associations are also credited with diversifying power and influence. Nicholas Babchuk, Alan Booth and Arnold Rose have all suggested this consequence of voluntary association. In Seymour Martin Lipset's view, they prevent the state from monopolizing all power
resources. Murray Hausknecht and Seymour Martin Lipset also note that clubs and organizations help make individuals more tolerant of ambiguities and, thus, more reasonable and compromising in ways necessary for the smooth functioning of participatory government. Further, they serve as schools of public education. In 1839, Calvin Colton explained this consequence of association:

As to the right or wrong of these institutions, or as to whether they are good or bad, is not, in this place, a subject of inquiry; but simply the fact of their social importance, and their power. . . . And it happens, that these voluntary associations are so numerous, so great, so active and influential, that, on the whole, they now constitute the great school of public education, in the formation of those practical opinions, religious, social and political, which lead the public mind and govern the country.

The study of voluntary associations in early America is also instructive since the prevalence of such organizations in America suggests basic differences between American and British society. This is not to say that there was no carryover between British and American associations. At the period when the colonies were developing sufficiently to support secular clubs and societies, associations were becoming popular in Britain. This was due, in large part, to William and Mary's policy of encouraging voluntary associations. Mary's influence was particularly important to the establishment of the "Society for the Reformation of Manners" in 1692. Cotton Mather took up the cudgels and formed a similar society in Boston. Many of the gentlemen's
clubs in London bear strong resemblance to similar institutions in Salem, though the popularity of debating clubs never reached Naumkeag. London's water system was undertaken by subscribers much as the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct contrived to fill Salem's needs. During a particularly hard winter, a subscription was opened in London to relieve the poor. Subscription would have been the same means of achieving this object in Salem.

Yet there were types of association developed in this country which seem to have no counterparts in British practice. Fire clubs seem to be an American invention. Widespread uses of fire insurance and private companies for extinguishing fires in subscribers' homes precluded resort to such mutual aid societies in London. Colonial marine societies also have no close parallel in English practice. The Marine Society of London formed in 1756 had a very different purpose from the colonial societies. As Lawrence Waters Jenkins explained, "this was a charitable institution, supported by voluntary contributions, for the purpose of fitting our poor boys and placing them as servants to officers in the Royal Navy and furnishing sea clothing for landsmen volunteers for the navy and merchant service." In contrast, colonial societies were for mutual insurance.

Though there are similarities between British and American societies, the practice of association was not as firmly implanted in British usage as it was to become
in American life. Alexis de Tocqueville made the distinction clear:

The English often perform great things singly, whereas the Americans form associations for the smallest undertakings. It is evident that the former people consider association as a powerful means of action, but the latter seem to regard it as the only means they have of acting.¹⁹

Since British practice cannot explain the popularity of voluntary associations in colonial America, the first section of this paper will be devoted to the influences in the Salem community which promoted the use of voluntary association. The latter section will detail the associational development of eighteenth century Salem and analyze the form of these societies and their impact on the community.
Footnotes

Introduction


4Ibid., p. 42.


11An American Gentleman (Calvin Colton): A Voice From


15Entry, October 15, [The Diary of Edward Oxnard], Ibid., p. 10.

16Entry, January 27, 1776, [The Diary of Edward Oxnard], Ibid., p. 118.


18Lawrence Waters Jenkins, "The Marine Society at Salem in New England: A Brief Sketch of its History," Essex Institute Historical Collections, LXXVI, No. 3 (July, 1940), 200. [Hereinafter referred to as EIHC.]

19Tocqueville, Democracy in America, II, 155.
Section I: Chapter I

Role of Governmental Community in Fostering Association

Seventeenth century Salem will be analyzed for its influence on associational growth. Sociologists have hypothesized that strong identification with the local community stimulates associational activity. Robert M. MacIver has characterized the "we-sentiment" which encourages men to participate as "profoundest... where the interest is in the common weal itself." Babchuk and Booth indicate that old residents in an area are more likely to belong to clubs than are recent immigrants, suggesting that individuals who identify more fully with their community are more likely to associate.

Colonial Salem was a cohesive community in which most of a man's interests could be met. Central government did not overshadow local concerns. As early as March 3, 1655/6, the Massachusetts General Court outlined discretionary powers for town jurisdictions:

Whereas particular towns have many things which concerne only themselves, and the ordering of their own affairs, and disposing of business in their own town, it is therefore ordered, that the freemen of every town, or the major part of them, shall only have power to dispose of their own lands, and woods, with all the privileges and appurtenances of the said towns, to grant lots, and make such orders as may concern the well
ordering of their own towns, not repugnant to
the laws and orders here established by the
General Court; as also to lay mulcts and
penalties for the breach of these orders, and
to levy and distrain the same, not exceeding
the sum of xxs; also to choose their own
particular officers, as constables, surveyors
for the highways, and the like; and because
much business is like to ensue to the con-
stables of several towns, by reason they are
to make distresses, and gather fines, there-
fore that every town shall have two constables,
burthen unto them, and they may attend more
carefully upon the discharge of their office,
for which they shall be liable to give their
accoumts to this Court when they shall be called
thereunto.3

Flexibility is the keynote of this act. The General
Court authorized towns to frame whatever laws suited
their needs as long as such acts were consonant with
legislative enactments. Municipalities were permitted
to enforce their own laws and assess fines of up to
twenty shillings. Except for the case of constables,
towns were free to determine what public officials they
would have.

The right to distribute land, granted in the above
enactment, was the most important community prerogative.
Each town was a closed corporation consisting of original
settlers; an outsider could not farm or open a shop
without first being accepted as an inhabitant. Lingering
too long as a visitor was proscribed. As Carl Bridenhaugh
notes, "community control of the distribution of land
implied also control over admission of new residents. As
a result, the town never grew too large; instead it
threw off spores, which in time developed into new towns."4
Salem carefully dispensed land rights which entitled men to membership in the community. Individuals had to have their bounds surveyed and recorded or face a ten shilling penalty, and selectmen kept a sharp eye for any encroachments on remaining town lands. The instances in which Garford was fined twenty shillings and a yearly rent for taking in some of the town common, and in which William Commins was assessed the maximum penalty for encroaching on part of the highway are typical examples of their guardianship.

Freemen made certain that new residents would be active members of the community. Unlike later proprietary towns, Salem was not bothered by absentee landownership. When large grants were involved, Salem was careful to reserve the right to repurchase. Several large tracts were laid out in 1635: 300 acres to Mr. Cole, 200 to Lieutenant Johnson, and 300 to John Blackleck, Mr. Scrugs, and Townsend Bishop. All the grantees pledged to give Salem the first opportunity to buy back their lands, in the event they wished to sell. To be accepted as inhabitants, church members had to be dismissed from their previous church to Salem's congregation. This assured community involvement and was exacted of large and small landholders. Town freemen required Mr. Hawthorne to procure free dismissal before they would confirm his 200 acre grant and imposed the same condition on John Hopkins before they would give him a ten acre lot. Inhabitants were expected to make full use of lands granted by the
town. Garford was told to sell his house in town if he wished a two acre grant near his daughter's on the conviction that he could not make proper use of two house lots. Selectmen conditioned the allotment of 140 acres to Mr. Pester on his returning to town meeting in twelve months time and giving "satisfaccion to the town for the improving of it." When John Stratton left without fencing his ten acre lot on Darby fort side, freemen lost no time in conveying his land to Thomas West with the stipulation that he fence it.

Beyond requiring regular inhabitants to be active in the community, Salem began to exercise the prerogative, Bridenbaugh mentions, of expelling undesirables. By an order of June, 1657, selectmen imposed a weekly penalty of twenty shillings on any townsman who entertained a "forayner" without notifying the board. Convictions were soon being entered in town records and continued to be recorded into the eighteenth century. Joseph Miles was fined twenty shillings for entertaining "a Stranger a Scot severall weeks," while Benjamin Balch and Henry Hereck shared the penalty for allowing Nicholas Dickan to stay with them. Selectmen required a bond from James Brown to allow Thomas Prafer, "a Joyner," to remain with him. In March, 1680/1, Lionerd Backwith was warned to leave Salem in twelve dayes and all townsmen were cautioned against entertaining Backwith "upon the uttermost penalty." Perhaps the most interesting case of an individual warned out of town is that of Thomas Fuller,
a Jerseyman, who had lived in Salem for six years before he left for several years. He was denied readmittance.18

Salem was also a meaningful community in an economic sense. Townsmen looked to the village for their basic needs. In turn, Salem town government tried to see that their necessities would be provided and that resources would not be wasted. At an early town meeting, three men were asked to find out how many experienced spinners were available in the jurisdiction.19 In order to attract William Plaise, a skilled blacksmith, Salem provided him with tools and a forge.20 Town meeting conserved the best fishing sites by only leasing fishing lots to particular individuals.21 By 1636, timber was already becoming scarce and Salem legislated against exportation of any timber which had not first been offered for sale to the town.22

Salem attempted to forge a moral community among inhabitants. John GatsheU was offered abatement of his fine "in case he...[should] cut...his lonng har of his head in to a seuill frame,"23 to conform with the rest of the populace. Care was taken to place single persons under some family government; town freemen refused to grant land to Debora Holmes, a single woman, because it "would be a bad precedent to keep hous[e] alone."24 Selectmen enforced a standard of industry among inhabitants. Thus, Mr. Schrugs and "our brother" Ray were charged with "disorderlie standing & neglecting...their business."25
When Francis Nurce violated the code for behavior at town meeting, he was fined on the spot "for his abusive Carriage." Tithingmen were used to enforce many such proscriptions. In July, 1644, Salem appointed two men "every Lords day to walke forth in the time of God's worshippe, to take notice of such as either lye about the meeting house without attending to the word..., or that lye at home or in the fields without giving good account thereof." The General Court extended the authority of tithingmen beyond sabbath breakers to supervision of taverns, disorderly persons, and to single persons not living in a family. From this point forward, both selectmen and tithingmen enforced a moral standard on the community.

Townsmen also looked to Salem for early defense needs. Particularly vulnerable to raids on her fishing fleet, Salem was willing to assume a share of community defenses and the General Court was only too happy to have the town take such initiative. In 1644, the court arranged to loan two cannons to Salem on the condition that Salem provide carriages for them. Falling in with the proposal, townsmen commissioned John Barber and Francis Perrie to make carriages. During King William's war, Salem was pressed to make several outlays to repair the fort, procure great guns and ammunition, and maintain a scout shallop. These expenses were met by "severall gentlemen" of the town at the request of the committee of militia. In 1693, these same gentlemen argued that their expenditures should
be allowed them, "considering that the frontiers by Sea have always had their proportion of maintaining the frontier Towns on the Land." Whether their argument impressed the court is not known, but it does appear that Salem continued to employ a scout shallop until 1695. That year Salem was raided by a French privateer and took immediate steps to pursue. In a request for a blank commission, Colonel Bartholemew Gedney, a leading gentleman of the town, explained the circumstances:

Since the mischief done on the Isles of Shoal shallops the same barque yesterday about one of the clock took Mr. Cratie's fishing barque within four leagues of Marblehead; which hath provoked the fishermen of Salem and Marblehead to offer themselves to pursue the enemy forthwith to the number of forty or fifty and we have a ketch suitable that paces very well and can procure a shallop suitable to tend and assist and being advised that Major Brown's ketch that was taken the other, their booty, is in a harbor at or not far from Casco Bay I encouraged their undertaking.

It is evident that Salem preferred taking initiative to waiting for the General Court to take action. The Governor and council not only welcomed the initiative of Salem's fishermen but took the opportunity to send a letter to the captain of the frigate Nonesuch on their ketch with the provision "that if the ketch miscarry by reason of this express, the Province will bear the loss of her."

Salem does seem to have been a meaningful community in which inhabitants could be expected to take an active part. Further, town government did not attempt to monopolize all community concerns but used its power to foster participation in community affairs. Kenneth A. Lockridge
and Alan Kreider's conclusion (in their study of Dedham and Watertown) that selectmen maintained almost complete control over town affairs to 1680 does not seem warranted for Salem. As early as 1654, Salem imposed a fine on freemen who missed general meetings. This attempt to encourage citizens to take an active role in government was supplemented in other ways. Salem contrived to stretch police power by making all inhabitants alert for infractions. Provision for splitting fines was sometimes the inducement. The latter was frequently applied in ordinances dealing with wood. In 1635, Salem levied a five shilling fine for cutting trees and leaving them to block town ways; "informers with evidence [were] to have halfe of the fynes." Later selectmen inserted a penalty for leaving cut logs on town property for longer than one month. A witness was not only entitled to half the fine but could take the wood for his own use. During the winter of 1670, Salem allowed townsmen to cut firewood if they carted their logs home the same day. Again the fine was to be divided, but, this time, between the informer and town poor. To curb the problem of wandering swine, even more initiative was given townsmen. Any man who impounded a hog could demand two shillings six pence and damages before turning the animal over to its owner. Forty years later the nuisance had become much worse and impounding was abandoned. Anyone who caught a stray pig could keep half the meat. Summary process was also applied to errant geese; inhabitants
were authorized to shoot any offenders found wandering on the common.\textsuperscript{40}

Lockridge and Kreider suggest that little use was made of committees until the period of selectmen dominance passed.\textsuperscript{41} It is true that selectmen often appointed members of early committees and served on them. Just the same, committees spread participation in town affairs to a wider number. Salem occasionally borrowed money from one person or deputed an individual to represent the town at court, but, in most instances, the town relied on committees. This tendency suggests a comparison of Tocqueville's between Americans who think a group is their only resort and Englishmen who are more likely to rely on the individual.\textsuperscript{42} In terms of town precedent for later voluntary associations, Salem's frequent use of committees seems important. Also one can see how informal committees chosen in town meeting could verge into informal committees of prominent citizens formed without official sanction.

In 1635, an early committee was authorized to decide where town shops should be placed. At that date there were no formal selectmen. Mr. Endicot, Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Alford were told to consult with townsmen who wished to open shops to make certain they approved the sites.\textsuperscript{43} After town affairs had been delegated to seven men, a few of their number sometimes served on committees. There seems to have been no rule but convenience to deter-
mine who would be appointed to various tasks. Gedney, Balch, and Fogg were chosen to see if the town had enough women skilled in spinning, though none of them were town officials at the time. The important task of procuring a forge for William Plaise was delegated to a five man committee; only one member was a selectman. In 1666, Edmund Batter, Leftenant Dixie and Ensigne Corning were assigned to relieve John Leff. Batter was the only selectman in their ranks. A similar case in 1690 found Mr. Gerrish and Samuel Gardner, both selectmen, delegated the task of providing for a woman sick with small pox. In one instance, selectmen were formed into a committee of the whole to consider ship building and authorized to ask "those masters of vessells then in towne to joyne with them." Salem appointed a large committee in 1684 to oversee a continuing project, employment of town poor in spinning. Of the six member group, three were selectmen, and three were not.

Committees were also used as arbitrating bodies. To determine a fair price for his house lot, Garford was allowed to submit the issue to two men, one chosen by himself and the other by the town. Unable to determine whether to grant a large tract on Marblehead side to John Humphries or to reserve it for a college, Salem appointed six men, any four of whom could serve, as arbiters. One of their number, Mr. Scrugs found a satisfactory solution; he and Humphries exchanged farms. Two years
later Salem added an arbitration clause to a town contract for building a meeting house. Depending on the evaluation of his workmanship by three impartial men, John Pickering was to receive a three pound bonus or be docked the same amount.\(^49\)

Town government also encouraged individuals and groups to assume financial burdens. As early as 1636, town representatives, later called selectmen, pledged to underwrite town expenses. Individual selectmen often had to do the same but, whenever possible, they shifted some of the burden to other freemen. By early town practice, property owners were responsible for financing some public improvements on their lands. Lieutenant Johnson was granted a large farm with the stipulation that he maintain highways within his bounds.\(^50\) Men who were derelect in their responsibility were taken to court. Thus, Mr. William Stevens of Gloucester was presented before Essex County Court "for want of a bridge over the cut in his hands."\(^51\) Individuals were frequently asked to advance monies to the town to be paid back at the next rate. Captain William Brown was "desired to disburse money for procuring standard waites for the town,...[and] bee repayed againe in money."\(^52\) In exchange for land, Edmund Batter was prevailed upon to pay the town's fine for failing to repair a bridge near Will's Hill.\(^53\) On occasion, Salem divided obligations between the town treasury and a private individual. Thus, the town and Richard Waters jointly bore
the charge of William Plaise's illness and burial.\textsuperscript{54} Salem also arranged to share expenses with proprietors of the new mill; the town was to maintain gates near the common and dam while proprietors were to maintain the dam.\textsuperscript{55}

Early provision was made in Massachusetts law for leaving gifts and legacies to public use. A law of 1641 stipulated "that all Gifts and Legacies given and bequeathed to the Colledge, Schools of learning or any other Publick use shall be truely and faithfully disposed of according to the true and declared intent of the Donors."\textsuperscript{56} Legal sanction encouraged townsmen to make bequests to their communities. Ebenezer Gardner left fifty pounds to Salem poor in 1685.\textsuperscript{57} Benjamin Brown's father made a similar grant for we find selectmen drawing twenty shillings from his estate for Peter Teuiss and ten for Goody Tarvis.\textsuperscript{58} Colonel Charles Redford added five pounds to the poor's money and, in 1693, William Browne included a sum in his will for a school in Salem.\textsuperscript{59}

Some military expenses were farmed out to individuals as well. Groups of townsmen often stored town powder and military supplies. Thus, Salem had to go to five particular men to bring in town powder in 1646.\textsuperscript{60} Four years later two corsletts were given to Richard Greaves and Zacheus Cortes to maintain "in good repayre" for town occasions. The next year, Salem again gathered in powder from several hands.\textsuperscript{61} A formal agreement was
drawn in 1673 by a group of townsmen to store provisions needed by the town in case of war:

That the towne stock may be Compleat according to Law: wee have provided each of us as foloweth mr B atter one Barill of powder. mr John Corwin one Barrill ditto and Capt Price & Leiftenant John Gardner Each of them one Barrill of powder and John Picring and Barthemew Gidny each of them 100 li of muskett buletts all which we Engadge to keep for the towns use untill march next: and shall after Remaine towne Stock provided we above named be paid in specie according to our disbursements for said powder and Bullets.

An even better arrangement from a municipal viewpoint was worked out six years after this. Six men, two of them selectmen, signed a contract to provide town powder but they were not to be paid by given date and were not to be paid at all if Salem did not need the stores. In 1690, Captain John Price and Captain Stephen Sewall, then a selectman, were asked to lay in town powder. This time selectmen's minutes specified that "the powder... Remaine in ther hands until the mony be paid." In some of the above cases, townsmen owned the powder; in others, they just stored it; but, in all instances, they saved Salem the expense of a powder house. Other defense needs were also met by individuals. Town accounts for March 1679/80 record many individuals who were repaid for their disbursements on the man of war ketch, presumably the scout shallop mentioned earlier in this chapter. In 1697, Salem sought aid from gentlemen of the town to repair fortifications because a rate for that purpose had fallen short of the goal. Leading townsmen were
promised that their one hundred pound loan would be repaid 
in a year's time. 66

Yet another way the town solicited financial aid 
was by promoting voluntary subscriptions. As later 
associations often made use of the subscription form, its 
oficial application is highly significant. David Sills 
has studied what motivates Americans to join a foundation 
chapter or March of Dimes. He has found that some "trigger 
event" often induces people to join. Though friendship 
proved a stimulus in more than twice as many cases, Sill's 
investigation notes that a sense of civic obligation 
provided motivation in 22% of the cases. 67 Salem's role 
in actively persuading townsmen to subscribe for the min-
ister's salary and for Harvard College may be viewed as 
lending civic sanction to voluntary subscriptions. The 
habit of contribution to official campaigns may have made 
townsmen more amenable to subscriptions outside the govern-
mental framework.

Throughout the seventeenth century, Salem vacillated 
between a rate and a voluntary subscription for support 
of the ministry. In 1639, a town meeting decided for a 
free contribution towards the minister's maintenance; it 
was to be a regulated contribution, paid quarterly, with 
a receipt for the deacon. 68 Salem again resorted to a 
sunscription in 1657. This time individuals were appointed 
to ply the subscription in different parts of town. Perhaps 
these men lived in the neighborhoods they were assigned to
canvass. If so, the town was adding friendship to civic responsibility as an inducement. Major Hawthorne and Edmond Batter were to take the section of Salem "from the bridge downward," Mordechai Creuet, Sergeant Porter and Thomas Putname, the Salem farmers, and Thomas Antrum and Sergeant Stileman, the ten acre lots. Voluntary support was continued the following year; contributions were to be placed directly in "the Drawing boxe" and any, who failed to donate, were to be taxed. A few years later, Reverend Higginson was provided with a house by way of voluntary subscription. As explained in the document, building a manse had first been proposed, "but Consideringe his [Higginson's] present lowe Condicon and great family it was thought meet rather to goe by way of voluntary Contribution for the buildinge of a dwellinge house for him to be given to him and his for ever." Townsmen were delegated to take the paper from door to door. To make sure no one missed the canvass, four additional men were chosen in February of 1668 to seek contributions from any persons who had declined the first request or who had moved to Salem since the earlier campaign. During this period, voluntary contribution was again tried for Higginson's support. Townsmen were to pledge at general meeting what they would give for the whole year and selectmen were to carry the subscription paper to any absentees. A year later, contribution into the deacon's box was again the style; those who failed
to contribute were to be rated, as were any men who did not give a fair share according to their abilities. The last provision represents a new refinement. When Mr. Nicholet was called to assist Reverend Higginson, his maintenance was left to a free contribution every Lord's day.72 Salem again resorted to this form for ministerial support in 1687. Each inhabitant was to pledge his total tithe at the beginning of the year, pay what he wished into the deacon's box on Lord's days and, from time to time, give the deacon a paper showing how much he had paid to date.73 Reverend Higginson had to depend on contributions during Andros' governorship and confided in a letter to his son that it more often amounted to "nontribution." In Higginson's view, poor economic conditions drove Salem to this resort.74 Contributions for the poor on Lord's days and two campaigns for Harvard College are other uses to which Salem applied voluntary subscriptions in the 1700's.75

Not only did Salem employ private income to finance community needs, the town fostered associations among groups of citizens, who lived in the same neighborhood or held lands in common. Neighborhood quality is considered a factor in determining the inclination of men to associate. Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force have noted that, for people of the same economic status, their level of participation may depend on the expectations their neighborhood places on them.76 Salem's early promotion of neighborhood
identity may figure in town associational growth. In an attempt to enforce neighborhood responsibility, a town meeting dispatched William Dodge and Robert Haskell to "call upon the neighbors about Basse river head to mend ...twoe bridges." Inhabitants of the north neck petitioned Salem in 1668 that Indians were sculking about their lands. Selectmen adroitly returned the problem to the petitioners. If they wanted additional protection, the board offered to have a constable set a watch among residents of the neck. Salem encouraged townsmen to recognize their neighborhood identity and to solve their own problems within these groups; nor was the town adverse when neighbors arrived at their own solution to a simple problem as in the next case. When Thomas Spooner and other residents of one part of town decided it would be more convenient to herd their own cattle, Salem allowed them "a keep of their owne hiringe" and provided a herdsman for the rest of the town cattle.

Election of tithingmen in local precincts helped to define neighborhoods. Herbert Baxter Adams stressed the importance of their local selection: "The Tithingmen were not appointed by the Selectmen, and possibly they were not originally chosen in town meeting, but elected by neighborhoods and hamlets." A 1686 law relating to tithingmen seems to bear out Adam's assumptions by providing that "tithingmen be Annually chosen in their several precincts," as does a 1677 Salem warrant to warn out
tithingmen "Choasen in their severall wards." On the other hand, Lockridge and Kreider assume that election of tithingmen was an early privilege of selectmen. The case is not clear, for their election was confirmed in meetings of the board. If early practice was to allow districts to elect their own tithingmen, this must have promoted their identity as neighborhoods.

Salem often impelled men who held contiguous lands to cooperate with one another. In one instance, land was given on the provision:

That Lawrence Leech Richard Ingersoll & others be sure to leave room for high ways for Carts to bring home wood &c.
That between Lawrence Leach and Richard Ingersoll they doe promise to make sufficient Cart way.

Here Salem granted land to individuals only on condition that they build a road together. Courts helped enforce cooperative action. In 1641, Salem Quarterly Court "Ordered that the creek leading up to Clay brook against Mr. Stilman's lot be mended against great cattle; all damages being paid by owners of common fence there." In this instance, the court constrained individuals to share costs of repairing a common fence. Salem made clear that cooperation with owners of lands nearby was the sine qua non of certain grants. The Book of Grants for January, 1642, records "that all those that have land granted at the great pond shall fence with the rest or els[e] leave their lands, And all that have lotts at Bass river are bound to the like condition." In 1656, selectmen
ordered that Boar River Pond be drained and compelled owners of nearby meadow lands to join the project or lose their share of land reclaimed:

What Land by drayninge the pond shalbe gained: shalbe theirs according as it shall joyne unto each of their proprietyys provided they be at equal Charge in the worke, otherwise they that beare the charge to have the benefit.88

As a final instance, Salem ordered Ensigne Dixie to fashion a gate for the general fence on Cape Ann side, and ordered proprietors of the field to reimburse Dixie, after subtracting his share.89

The same common fields and outlying neighborhoods, whose cooperation Salem had solicited in early stages, came to demand more control over their own affairs. As long as the town held final power, kept outlying districts from becoming separate townships and maintained final approval over actions of field associations, selectmen were willing to allow such groups a measure of initiative. Salem pursued a liberal policy of permitting these associations some autonomy, a policy which would encourage later voluntary associations. Had town meeting rigorously discouraged all group initiatives, their actions might have deterred later associations. Alexis de Tocqueville has reasoned that the government which permits some associations and proscribes others does not encourage association. Citizens will not be able to distinguish between the permissible and proscribed forms of association and will not form any clubs.90 In and of themselves, common
field proprietors and neighborhood groups were not voluntary associations—they had not chosen to associate. Because of their proximity, Salem had obliged them to join in maintaining fences and electing tithingmen. But these groups could become the nexus for other voluntary agreements among their members not required by town policy.  

Early Salem agriculture was based on a common field system. There had been ten such fields in 1640. North field, measuring 490 acres, and South field, extending 600 acres, were the largest divisions. Early town policy dictated the disposition of these fields. In November, 1638, a general town meeting decided that the common field of Mr. Conant and others should be fenced by the first of April; three months later, Salem extended this deadline to all common and particular fields inasmuch as townspeople wanted to sow English grain the coming spring. By a law of 1643, the General Court extended to proprietors the right to decide questions of "Fencing, Planting, sowing, Seeding and Ordering" their fields and left selectmen power to resolve deadlocks. Presumably, this act did not authorize proprietors to decide when to erect general fences but only how to pro rate expenses of the same, for Salem continued to determine when fences should be made up each year. Though it is significant that town meeting no longer decided what crops to sow, this should not be taken to indicate that Salem
allowed proprietors complete direction of their own affairs. By the eighteenth century, field associations had gained the right to appoint their own officials with the proviso that their choices be approved by selectmen. Notation beside a list of North field surveyors in town records reads: "Chosen by the proprietors." Southfield associators chose new surveyors at a late February meeting and had their selections confirmed by the board in early March.

Beyond election of officers, it is difficult to gauge the power of field associations. Certainly selectmen retained and exercised their prerogative to decide differences between associators. Selectmen appointed deputies to hear "a difference betwixt William Cantelberie & the neighbors... about a restraint of Common," and arbiters to decide a dispute between Henry Reinolds and his partners in a general field. In March, 1671, North field proprietors petitioned Salem to gain permission for Nathaniel Felton to fence ten pole of land at the north end of their general fence. This matter was probably in Salem's province because the land in question was still town common. Over a decade later, North field proprietors again petitioned town meeting, and this time Salem underscored the determination to maintain town supervision over the field:

Voated that the propriaters of the North feild (so caled) or the major part of them have liberty to make such orders from time to time as they shall judge necessary for the sufficient fenceing & well
Whether this precedent applied to other fields is not clear, but it does appear that all proprietors had to ask town approval to set up a pound for stray animals in their fields. With the proviso that they keep it sufficient, selectmen approved a North field pound in 1688 and two years later granted the same privilege to a general field near James Holton's. Privilege of electing their own officers and formulating policy with board approval may gauge the powers gained by field associations before 1700.

Certain areas of town found they were too far out to enjoy church and school facilities. They demanded these accommodations closer to their homes and Salem townsmen were forced to acquiesce and share the expense with voluntary associations of inhabitants in the areas or face their persistent efforts to break off from Salem altogether. Neighbors in the section of town known as Salem village first petitioned for a separate church in 1668/9. Villagers reasoned that, living four to nine miles from Salem proper, they were so often prevented from attending meeting that they were afraid their children would become heathen:

"Therefore our humble request is that you will be pleased to take into your Christian consideration our condition wither to provide for a minister and so maintain him in
Common that so we may injoy the word of God amongst us or be pleased to dismisse...us."103 When Salem failed to heed their request, villagers petitioned the General Court and received a favorable ruling; then Salem allowed "all farmers (That now are, or hereafter shall be willing to Joyne Together for providing a minister Among themselves)"104 to do so and to build a house for the worship of God. On completion, farmers were to be freed from all charges toward the church in Salem but were still to pay their proportion of all other public charges.

Villagers were only temporarily satisfied with their victory. In 1681, Salem appointed John Putnam "to have a delegent care that all the famylyes in the precincts & quarters of the Village Doe carefully & Constantly attend the Due Education & Instruction of theere children & youth according to law."105 This may have goaded villagers into voicing their dissatisfaction with sending children to Salem schools, for they petitioned the following year to be made a separate precinct. Their request was dismissed but selectmen were instructed to meet with petitioners and learn their grievances. These were to be aired at the next general meeting but were rescheduled due to poor attendance.106 It does not appear that these complaints were ever heard in town meeting. In 1686, selectmen ruled on a land question agitating the village and four years later villagers petitioned for a separate township and again were refused.107
Probable reasons for their discontent appear in two more petitions presented over the next two years. Mr. Nathan Howard and his neighbors asked to be allowed something for maintaining a school in the village. No decision was reached at the first town meeting on "the matter relating to the farmers [because] the Persons Chosen to Represent them [were] not Impowered to agree[e] with the Town."108

At the following meeting their request was referred to yet another meeting and seems never to have been resolved.109

In March of 1691/2, neighbors in the village requested something from the town to repair their meeting house and were allowed ten pounds out of the previous year's rate.110

Another attempt to start a school was made in 1708.111 Reverend Green, the village parson, was a leading spirit in this drive. His diary records the careful effort he made to interest his neighbors in the project:

March 11...I spake to several about building a school house and determined to do it, &c.

18. I rode to the neighbours about a school house and find them generally willing to help.

22. Meeting of the Inhabitants. I spake with several about building a school house...Some replied that it was a new thing to them, and that they desired to know where it should stand, and what the design of it was. To them I answered that Deacon Ingersoll would give land for it to stand on, at the upper end of the training field, and that I designed to have a good school master to teach their children to read and write and cypher and every thing that is good. Many commended the design and none objected against it.112

Salem was again petitioned and asked to contribute to maintaining the school. A document, dated May 4, 1711,
shows that the town complied and illustrates the organized form Salem villagers had assumed to manage their school:

Whereas the Town of Salem was pleased to Grant unto us the subscribers the sum of 15 lbs for a school in answer to our Petition of March 21, 1708-9, of which we have Received 10 lb already which hath been improved for the Maintaining of a school amongst us.

These are to desire your Order for the Remaining 5 lb to be paid to Deacon Benja. Putnam—& thereby you will oblige yours &c.

Joseph Green, Thomas Fuller, Edward Putnam, Samuel Nurs, Jr., John Buxton, Nicholas hayard, James putnam, John hutchinson, Thomas Kiney, Zechary Goodale,113

Villagers maintained the longest connection with Salem. For this reason, examples of their neighborhood establishing a separate church and school are earliest and most abundant. But Salem also gave grants to other outlying areas. In March, 1711/2, neighbors in the middle precinct, who had just won the right to a church of their own, petitioned for money to establish a school and were granted five pounds a year for three years. These neighbors had formed a committee to buy Robert Pease's old house for a school.114

Creation of a commoners association was viewed as a greater threat to town government than the other groups mentioned above. Salem was willing to grant concessions to neighborhoods as long as the town retained financial control and to field associations as long as town selectmen could oversee their actions, but development of a new authority in land policy threatened the
very basis of town power. By an act limiting commons rights to those individuals who had built homes prior to 1660, the General Court provided a basis for townsmen to demand control of land policy.\textsuperscript{115} If only those individuals who had built homes before 1660 were entitled to a share in town common lands, then these individuals and not the town should be vested with the power to oversee remaining common lands. Thomas Oliver and associates tried to establish this right in 1678. Their petition, calling for a meeting of commoners, provoked an immediate response from the board of selectmen:

The Selectmen of Salem metting together to Consider of the above Said premises, doe declare that they Judge that their proceedings of this nature is Very Irregular Illegal and tends to the disturbance of the peace & quiet of this Towne and Therefore doe desire and require all those that are concerned in this present Intended metting to forbare Comming together in Such an Illegal & disorderly way: which was Sett upon the meeting house.\textsuperscript{116}

Selectmen took the case to county court and won this round.\textsuperscript{117}

What is significant is that commoners did not give up the fight and were able to organize in 1701. Their victory tended to decentralize power in the community and provided a climate even more conducive to the growth of voluntary associations. Had commoners again been refused a public meeting even after following the "usual Manner for warning publick Meetings,"\textsuperscript{118} other groups would have been discouraged from gathering in public.
This is not to say there was no opposition to the meeting. Enquiries were made but Nicholas Noyes, minister of the First Church, testified to the regularity of the gathering:

This may signify to whom it may concerne, that on February the 18th, 1701, being our Lecture day at Salem, Joseph Neal, being at meeting, continued quietly and orderly at the time of the publick worship, and read not the papyr of notification for the Commoners' meeting till such time after the public worship as is usual with us, when training days are warned, or Town meeting appointed; and he was not forbid of it as I know, or any dissatisfaction signified against his reading of it, whilst he was reading of it.119

Signatures to a petition authorizing Neal and others to call the meeting were carefully examined by Stephen Sewall, one of the selectmen. The 1st given him "By John Pickering who calls himself proprietors Clerk."120 Sewall placed marginal notes next to signatures which he considered unauthorized. He noted that three men on the list had gone to sea before the date of the document and "therefore their names [are] forged." Sewall dismissed three women, Dorothy Gray as a single woman with no interest in the town and Remember Moses and Mary Woodbery as poor widows in the keep of the town. Henry Sharp was singled out as a "new comer...[with] no manner of Interest being [in] Towne only on hire."121 In all, Stephen Sewall penned objections to twenty nine of the petitioners but this could not invalidate a request signed by 112. Their meeting was held and town government's monopoly on managing land was broken.
Salem's willingness to grant requests by groups of townsmen is a final element which encouraged association in the town. To 1700, no request of this kind was refused. However, it was not until 1715 that Massachusetts Bay passed a law permitting ten or more freeholders to demand that a proposal be placed on the agenda for town meeting.

Before this date, petitions that selectmen did not wish to consider probably are not noted in town records.

Formal warrants, detailing the petitions to be considered at town meeting were not employed as early as 1639 but it appears likely that Salem fishermen introduced the petition which resulted in the following ruling:

"It is permitted that such as have fishing lotts about Winter Harbor & the Island shall have liberty to fence in their lotts to keep ye swine & goats from there fish, soe that they leave it open after the harvest is in." Next month a general town meeting modified the ruling made by selectmen: "The fence which was intended to be sett up by John Holgrave at Winter Island & the neck are forbidden & everie one to fence their own ground." Though fishermen could not erect a general fence, they were still permitted to fence separately.

There were frequent petitions for the right to build seats in the meeting house and these were usually granted on condition that Salem place more than the undertakers in a pew. To illustrate, ten freeholders were allowed to build a seat next to the fourth gallery, if
they accepted "such others besides that the town shall place there."125 Six years later, John Orne and John Marsh were accorded the same right "Provided they take in ...soe many as the select men think meet."126 In 1690, a similar request was granted but the petitioners rather than the selectmen were to decide "if the seat will hold more."127 Selectmen permitted Thomas Flint Junior and others to build a pew for their wives the next year and added a novel restriction. Flint and his group could build their pew "no higher than mrs Sanders plew."128 This limitation was necessitated by a problem many congregations faced; members would build such grand facades that those behind could not see.

At times groups found other improvements to their advantage and were willing to undertake them. Southwick and Thomas Goldwaite were permitted to erect two gates and leave them standing for two years, after which time the town could order them removed for cause.129 In 1684, certain townsmen were accorded the right to build a wharfe at Winter Island; other inhabitants were permitted to use the facility if they did not obstruct the proprietors. The undertakers returned to town meeting in 1698 to ask an additional bounty. Their wharf was very conveniently situated but other users carelessly damaged the pier. So that they might be encouraged to make necessary repairs, petitioners asked that the site be granted to them in perpetuity and this was done.130 A final example of this
type of request may be given. Major John Higginson, Jacob Manning and others asked permission to drain ponds on the town common; selectmen were delegated to examine the proposal and determine the town's interest. The board allowed the group to turn the course of the waters during the town's pleasure and were careful to stipulate that "if it should damnifie the highway theirby they shall Repair it at their own charge." Groups of townsmen could usually gain their interests from the town and, thus, were encouraged to associate.

As a developing community, Salem fulfilled many of the conditions for organizational growth. Overcentralization did not stifle initiative. The General Court kept a loose rein on municipalities. Salem town government supervised all areas of community life from economic to moral health, but did not monopolize these concerns among a small number of officials. Salem employed committees to handle public problems, encouraged neighborhood and field associations, and then faced the necessity of allowing them more authority. Despite early opposition, town government also acquiesced to a commoners organization. All the ways in which early Salem encouraged group participation in town affairs served to foster a vigorous associational life in the eighteenth century town.
Footnotes

Chapter I


2Babchuk and Booth, "Voluntary Association Membership: A Longitudinal Analysis," p. 32.

3Act of Massachusetts General Court, March 3, 1635/6, quoted in W.P. Upham, communicator, "Town Records of Salem, 1634-1659," ELHC. IX. Pt. I (1868), 17-18. (Hereinafter referred to as Upham, communicator, "Town Records")


6Meeting of the Town Representative, January 23, 1636, Ibid., p. 34; Meeting of the Seven Men, March 30, 1640, Ibid., p. 105; see also Town Meeting, August 21, 1637, Ibid., p. 55.

7New Salem, New Hampshire, which was granted in large part to residents of Salem, Massachusetts is an example of a proprietary town. Essex Gazette (Salem) I, No. 36 (March 23-April 4, 1769), p. 145.


9Meetings, February 17, 1636 and March 20, 1636, Ibid., p. 36, 41.

10Extract from the Book of Grants, December 10, 1635, Ibid., p. 11.

11Meeting of the Seven Men, July 16, 1638, Ibid., p. 72.

12Town Meeting, July 8, 1643, Ibid., p. 119.

Meeting of Selectmen, April 3, 1660, Martha O. Howes, copier, "Salem Town Records: Town Meetings, 1659-1680, Volume II," EHIC, XL, No. 2 (April, 1904), 101. (Hereinafter referred to as Howes, copier, "Town Records")

Meeting of Selectmen, May 1, 1660, Ibid., p. 102.

Meeting of Selectmen, December 13, 1664, Ibid., EHIC, XL No. 3 (July, 1904), 290. Bond was generally required of inhabitants who wished to sponsor strangers. For another example see: Meeting of Selectmen, August 27, 1680, "Salem Town Records: Town Meetings, Volume III," EHIC, LXII, No. 1 (January, 1926), 89. (Hereinafter referred to as "Town Meetings III")

Meeting of Selectmen, March 11, 1680/1, "Town Meetings III," EHIC, XLII, No. 2 (April, 1926), 149.

Meeting of Selectmen, May 14, 1695, Salem Town Records, 1679-1728, p. 81, City Clerk's Office, Salem, Mass.


Town Meeting, December 4, 1640, Ibid., p. 123.

Extract from the Book of Grants: Meeting of the Town Representative, March 28, 1636, Ibid., p. 15.


Town Meeting, August 21, 1637, Ibid., p. 56.

Meeting, January 16, 1636, Ibid., p. 32.

Meeting of the Town Representative, April 17, 1637, Ibid., p. 45.

Town Meeting, November 21, 1658, Ibid., p. 219.

Town Meeting, July 7, 1644, Ibid., p. 131.


Petition of Salem in 1693, in Relation to Their Fort and Scout Shallops, EHIC, XLII, No. 1 (January,
1906), 111-12.

32Sidney Perley, *The History of Salem, Massachusetts* (Salem, Mass.: By the Author, 1928), III, 298.


36Perley Derby, communicator, "Copy from Original Book of Grants of Salem" with notes by B.F. Browne, *EIHC*, V, No. 6 (December, 1863), 270. (Hereinafter referred to as Derby, communicator, "Book of Grants")


42Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. by Bradley, II, 155.


Meeting of Selectmen, May 18, 1666, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XL, No. 4 (October, 1904), 348.

Meeting of Selectmen, March 28, 1690, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXVIII, No. 3 (July, 1932), 223.


Town Meeting, April 21, 1684, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXVI, No. 2 (April, 1930), 218.


Meeting of the Town Representative, January 23, 1636, Ibid., p. 32; Extract from the Book of Grants, December 21, 1635, Ibid., p. 11.


Meeting of Selectmen, August 29, 1673, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XLIII, No. 2 (April, 1907), 148.

Meeting of Selectmen, April 20, 1646, Upham, communicator, "Town Records," p. 143.

Meeting of Selectmen, March 22, 1666/7, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XLI, No. 3 (July, 1905), 122.


Perley, The History of Salem, Massachusetts, III, 329.

Meeting of Selectmen, August 15, 1688, "Town Meetings III," EIHC LIXIII, No. 2 (April, 1932), 167.

Perley, The History of Salem, Massachusetts, III, 329.

Meeting, February 12, 1646, Derby, communicator, "Book of Grants," EIHC, V, No. 6 (December, 1863), 222.

Extract from the Book of Grants: Town Meeting, November 11, 1650, Upham, communicator, "Town Records," pp. 165-66; Extract from the Book of Grants: Meeting of the

Meeting of Selectmen, August 18, 1673, Howes, copier, "Town Records," *EIHC*, XLIII, No. 2 (April, 1907), 146-47.


Meeting of Selectmen, March 18, 1690/1, "Town Meetings III," *EIHC*, LXIX, No. 1 (April, 1933), 76.


Salem Town Records 1679-1728, p. 93.


March 24, 1662/3, Derby, communicator, "Book of Grants," *EIHC*, V, No. 6 (December, 1863), 272-73.


Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Urban Neighbor-

77 Town Meeting, April 26, 1646, Upham, communicator, "Town Records," p. 145.

78 Meeting of Selectmen, July 5, 1668, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XLI, No. 2 (April, 1905), 135-36.


82 Meeting of Selectmen, June 11, 1677, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XLVIII, No. 2 (April, 1912), 163-64.


84 Meeting of Selectmen, October 28, 1680, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXII, No. 2 (April, 1926), 178-79.


86 June 29, 1641, "Salem Quarterly Court Records and Files," The Essex Antiquarian, LV (1900), 23.


90 Tocqueville, Democracy in America, ed. by Bradley, II, 125.

91 Common fields were generally formed as a matter of town policy, but one example in town records illustrates that individuals could request their formation. Nicholas Haward, John Batchellor and others petitioned Salem to reserve the land near their dwellings for a common field. Though they had not chosen to be neighbors originally, one could say that they voluntarily associated in their common field. (Town Meeting, June 16, 1651, Upham, communicator, "Town Records," p. 168)

93Town Meeting, November 26, 1638, Upham, communicator, "Town Records," pp. 75-76; Town Meeting, February 25, 1638, Ibid., p. 84.


95Town Meeting, March 25, 1644, Upham, communicator, "Town Records," p. 127; Meeting of Selectmen, May 7, 1656, Ibid., p. 192; Town Meeting, March 21, 1680/1, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXII, No. 2 (April, 1926), 189; Meeting of Selectmen, March 11, 1683/4, Ibid., EIHC, LXVI, No. 2 (April, 1930), p. 210; As in many citations from town records, the above references are illustrative and other cases may be found in town records.

96Meeting of Selectmen, March 27, 1682, "Town Meeting III," EIHC, LXIII, No. 1 (January, 1927), 78.

97Meeting of Selectmen, March 21, 1680/1, Ibid., EIHC, LXII, No. 2 (April, 1926), 189; Meeting of Selectmen, March 27, 1682, Ibid., EIHC, LXIII, No. 1 (January, 1927), 78; Meeting of Selectmen, March 11, 1683/4, Ibid., EIHC, LXVI, No. 2 (April, 1930), 210; Meetings, March 7, 1680/1, Last Tuesday of February, 1681/2, February 26, 1683/4, Salem, Mass.: South Fields, 1680-1735, Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass. (Hereinafter referred to as Misc. MSS Collection).


99Meeting of Selectmen, April 24, 1668, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XLII, No. 2 (April, 1905), 134; see also Town Meeting, March 8, 1691/2, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXIX, No. 2 (April, 1933), 154.

100Town Meeting, March 25, 1671, Upham, communicator, "Town Records," p. 54.

101Town Meeting, March 8, 1683/4, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXVI, No. 2 (April, 1930), 209.

102Meeting of Selectmen, April 23, 1688, Ibid., p. 161; Meeting of Selectmen, March 21, 1700/1, Salem Town Records, 1679-1728, p. 113.

103Salem Manuscripts I: Miscellaneous, Essex Institute, Misc. MSS Collection. (Hereinafter referred to as Salem MSS I: Misc.)

104Town Meeting, March 22, 1671/2, Howes, copier,
"Town Records," EIHC, XLII, No. 3 (July, 1906), 261.

105Meeting of Selectmen, January 27, 1681, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXIII, No. 1 (January, 1927), 72.

106Town Meeting, April 7, 1682, Ibid., EIHC, LXIV, No. 1 (January, 1928), 65; Town Meeting, June 19, 1682, Ibid., p. 67.

107Meeting of Selectmen, September 21, 1686, Ibid., EIHC, LXVII, No. 4 (October, 1931), 399; Town Meeting, March 24, 1689/90, Ibid., EIHC, LXVIII, No. 3 (July, 1932), 219.

108Meeting of Selectmen, December 29, 1691, Ibid., EIHC, LXIX, No. 2 (April, 1933), 143; Town Meeting, January 11, 1691, Ibid.

109Town Meeting, February 1, 1691, Ibid., p. 146.

110Town Meeting, March 20, 1692/3, Ibid., EIHC, LXXXIII, No. 3 (July, 1947), 273.

111Though this chapter is devoted to seventeenth century antecedents, completion of the section on Salem village requires an extension into the first decade of the eighteenth.


113"School at Salem Village," EIHC, LXXIX, No. 1 (January, 1943), 59.

114Bessio Raymond Buxton, "History of the South Church, Peabody," EIHC, LXXXVII, No. 2 (April, 1951), 180.

115Perley, The History of Salem, Massachusetts, III, 130.

116Meeting of Selectmen, June 21, 1678, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XLVIII, No. 4 (October, 1912), 344.

117Meeting of Selectmen, June 24, 1678, Ibid.

118Salem, January 16, 1701, Curwen Family Manuscripts III, Essex Institute, Family Manuscript Collection. (Hereinafter referred to as Curwen Fam. MSS and Fam. MSS Collection).


120Curwen Fam. MSS III.
121Ibid.


123Meeting of the Seven Men, November 14, 1639, Upham, communicator, "Town Records," p. 92.

124Town Meeting, December 11, 1639, Ibid., p. 94.


126Meeting of Selectmen, May 3, 1667, Ibid., p. 123.

127Meeting of Selectmen, May 5, 1690, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXVIII, No. 4 (October, 1932), 313.

128Meeting of Selectmen, February 1, 1691, Ibid., EIHC, LXIX, No. 2 (April, 1933), 147.

129Meeting of Selectmen, April 11, 1664, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XL, No. 2 (April, 1904), 285.


131Town Meeting, July 29, 1695, Ibid., p. 82.

132Town Meeting, November 8, 1695, Ibid., p. 84.
Chapter II

The Church as a Model for Voluntary Associations

To A.M. Schlesinger, the American associational impulse was "prompted originally by a passion for liberty of worship, and for a long time...[went] no further."¹ As a dominant institution, the church provided a cogent model for secular organizations. Since the church was the first voluntary association in the colony, the style of church polity, relationship between town government and the church, and organizational structure of the church will be weighed for their influence on later organizations.

Deriving its sanction from the combined will of its communicants, expressed in a covenant, Salem's first church was gathered in 1629 without authorization from higher government or approval from neighboring churches. Naumkeag's early settlers spent a July morning examining Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson on their qualifications and voted in the afternoon:

Their choice was after this manner, every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whome the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whome they would have for a teacher; so the most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor; and Mr. Higginson to be teacher; and they accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton,
using prayers therewith. This being done, then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson: Then there was proceedings in the election of elders and deacons.  

Their first covenant, a simple promise to walk together in God's ways, was refined over the years into an explicit contract with many subclauses.  

Though all New England churches were based on similar covenants, it would be a mistake to think them identical. Free choice fomented the variety of practices which Thomas Lechford uncovered in early congregations. Though general practice was to have one pastor and one teacher per church, Watertown preferred two pastors and would not send any messengers to other churches on any account. Women usually made their confessions of faith privately before church elders, but, in Salem's fold, they spoke out in meeting.  

A concatenation of elements derived from church voluntarism. As the original bond had been tied by general consent, so subsequent admissions had to be both desired by the applicants and sanctioned by the existing church. Membership in one church did not automatically qualify an individual for another congregation. Rob. Cotty could not convince Salem's elders that his credentials entitled him to join immediately. Taking exception to his hasty manner and "portugal cap," Reverend Fiske and the elders dismissed Cotty's letters as "nothing but letters recommendatory," and sparingly outlined the privileges to which they entitled the bearer:
As our Lord hath Divers[e] households, now tho
the Lord sends a servant of one by the by upon
a message...to...[another]. Thos[e] servents
shall give him Intertaynment. But he shall
have no power of transacting any thing in that
house.⁵

Standards for approval varied from church to church.
Early practice in Boston was to require unanimous consent
for voting in new members, while the majority usually held
sway in Salem.⁶ Applicants were screened by the elders,
and then brought before the church assembly. If anyone
objected to admission in public meeting, he had to give
his reasons to church elders in private. Such questions
were heatedly engaged. Mr. Humfrys accused Lin church of
withdrawing communion from him by accepting an "unworthy
member."⁷ Humfrys implied that he could not worship com-
fortably in a congregation with a member he disapproved.
A document in the Curwen manuscripts reveals that the
privilege of reviewing applicants was still valued long
after the half way covenant had come into vogue. In 1735,
a group of parishioners petitioned the First Church to
object to several applicants whose sinful divisions in
their previous church were well known and to demand that
their admission be sanctioned by more than the number of
signatures on their list.⁸

Members accepted communion on their own volition
and were permitted to leave on the same terms, with the
proviso that they procure the church's blessing on both
transitions. The utopian expectation was that unanimous
consent of all parties could be reached in each transaction. In actual practice, church elders discouraged such defections. Note these examinations conducted in the First Church. Brother Weston offered a private scruple as reason for separating:

Mr. Whither a private scruple [be] a ground of separation. This course tends to schisms & so to heresie which is damable.

W[eston]. This which is now called damnable was once called lawfull.

M. He which holds & teaches that one may breake off from a church, upon any discontent or at taking offence against a brother &c. is—a damnable heresy for it rases the foundation of grace.

E. ...[Let] Brother Weston shew a text of scripture for his separation.

Brother Ony was also required to give his grounds. Ony suspected idolatrous practices within the church, but elders found his position untenable, arguing that even such practices as circumcision and fornication did not debar men from seeking the true church and from being cleansed of their former sins in church communion. Elders and deacons generally won such verbal sparring, and should they be bested, the church could still refuse to grant free discharge. Without such a clean bill of health, individuals had difficulty entering another congregation.

Ministers also entered into mutual relations with the church to which they were called. Alice M. Baldwin suggests that it was the practice for ministers to contract with their congregation. Letters of acceptance imply a
contractual relationship, such as the one in which Reverend Samuel Fiske ascribed his acceptance to "your unamity...together with the good Provision you have made for my Temporal Subsistence." Once having accepted a call, a minister could not leave his flock without their assent. A few circumstances like poor health were exempted from this rule, but, even in some cases of health, churches did not willingly relent. Cotton Mather was scandalized by a church in one of the northern towns which would not grant their pastor leave to travel to Boston for inoculation.

The question of free dismissal was often raised in Salem church history. John Higginson was affronted when the First Church would not honor his claim and cited chapter and verse to back his right to dismissal:

Let the oppressed goe free. Is. 58:6
Here I am, Let Him doe to me as seemeth good to Him. Sam. 15:26.

Joseph Green hoped to skirt such difficulties by including free dismissal as a clause in his contract; if ever his people began to quarrel again, he was to be free to leave. Permission for a minister to set out to another post was generally hard to come by. Edward Holyoke endured an anxious wait before his congregation would release him to become the new president of Harvard. Some pastors were tempted to free themselves without the full consent of their churches but these were censured by good congregationalists. Ezra Stiles was scandalized by the manner in which Doctor
Whitaker, a divine of presbyterian persuasion, had freed himself from a post in Chelmsford to assume a richer pastorate in Salem:

He called a Council whose active members were three Ministers & their Messengers who called themselves a Consociation of New London. They arbitrarily authoritatively dismissed Dr. Whitaker without & contrary to the Consent of his Chh.[church].17

Ministerial selection rested with the individual church. After the loss of their old minister, congregations would generally choose several young Harvard graduates to lead their services on successive Lord's days. The one whose style these 'highly discriminating sheep' approved (to use Terry Miller's phrase) was invited to lead their flock. Ordination reviews in local newspapers tried to portray choices as unanimous but no notice could emphasize the point more strongly than the announcement of Reverend Abbot's new post at Haverhill. So universally had the church favored him that he had been the only man to preach to them since the death of their old pastor.18

Massachusetts General Court recognized the dangers of free ministerial choice, with no guidelines from magistrates or elders, long before the Great Awakening swept the colony. And it was Salem that convinced them of the need for supervision. In 1631, the court dispatched a letter to Mr. Endicott detailing the wrong opinions of Roger Williams and "marvelling...[that the Salem Church] would choose him without advising with the
council; and desiring...[Endicott]...[to] forbear...till they had conferred about it. "19 Salem ignored the advice and retained Williams as assistant to Reverend Skelton. Four years later the town proffered a request for more land on Marblehead neck and was refused, in John Winthrop's words, "because they had chosen Mr. Williams their teacher, while he stood under question of authority, and so offered contempt to the magistrates. "20 Salem wrote other churches in the commonwealth of the affront they had suffered at the hands of civil authority. The court countermoved and refused to admit Salem's delegates to the next General Court until they received satisfaction for the letter.

In 1653, the legislature attempted to establish a general rule that no person might preach without approval of the elders. Salem objected to the rule "because it entrencheth upon the liberties of several churches who have power to choose and set up over them, whom they please for their edification," 21 and it was repealed within the year. Another attempt at regulation was framed in a 1658 statute. The latter provided that no man be ordained teaching elder if objected to by two organized churches or by the General Court and that "timely notice" of any ordination be given to four neighboring churches for their approval. 22 Though the practice of having neighboring ministers give the right hand of fellowship was followed in most cases and no other cause célèbre like the Williams affair are known to the author, an uneasy balance was main-
tained between church freedoms and civil authority. It is true that some individuals continued to be ordained without council. This neglect also weighed in Ezra Stiles opinion of Dr. Whitaker; he had "installed himself by only reading the votes of the Church & Congregation & declaring his own acceptance." Note that Stiles did not consider this procedure illegal, only imprudent: "This tho perhaps strictly sufficient was not prudent as he could easily have had a council as usual." 23

Congregational voluntarist philosophy also implied free license to form churches. This proved one of the most difficult principles in practice. John Cotton set seven as the minimum number for a congregation, presumably because a church required seven officers. 24 There were usually this many discontented parishioners in any church; eight wanted to separate from the Salem church in Reverend John Fisk's time. 25 The Cambridge Platform envisioned one church propagating another when its numbers had grown too numerous "as Bees, when the hive is too full, issue forth by swarms, and are gathered into other hives." 26 More often some contention within the mother church or desire for a regional parish caused the issuing forth. The General Court ruled in 1641 that no new church might be established without approval of three or more nearby magistrates or of the elders of the neighbor churches. 27 Though it was a struggle to gain recognition from the necessary authorities, the will and stubborn intent of the separating
brethren usually won out.

Several explanations may be offered for this trend. The underlying basis of church unity was brotherhood. Since a permanent division within the church could only sour fellowship for all, a congregation might let erring brothers go to restore peace in their ranks. Alan Simpson presented a frontier explanation for the lack of violent millenarism in the colonies which can be applied to this case as well. Simpson attributes the lack of this strain to the physical possibilities of the new land.28 Incendiaries, like Samuel Gorton, were not confined to one place but could heed the injunction "if they persecute you in one city, flee into another."29 Although Salem followers of Roger Williams trailed him into Narragansett country, Salem dissenters seldom had to leave their local community. Disputes were not often as heated as those a Williams or Gorton could arouse and colonial communities had resources, space and population enough to absorb more congregations unlike Europe where the panorama was filled with old established churches. Kenneth Lockridge compares the utopianism of early New England communities to the strain that flavors any peasant community and avows that it was stronger in America because it developed in a new environment without outside restrictions.30 Just so, it might be said that idealism was stronger in the church because any group which had a scruple against practices of a congregation could go out and forge a purer communion.
Election of a new minister placed strain on the fabric of church fellowship. It was hoped that God would incline all hearts to one man and that all members would be free in his choice. The Salem Village congregation were exhorted "to be all of one heart and one soul about the choice and settlement of another minister among you.... [or] you will forfeit your name of Salem,...which signifies peace."31 But no degree of rhetoric could impel the average congregation to this attainment, for, as an anonymous contributor to the Essex Gazette observed, "whatever object ingrosses a man's supreme affections, is that man's god."32

A natural reluctance on the part of ministers to accept disputed posts could force congregations to come to better agreement. Lack of brotherly unanimity often led ministers to reject a call. Jacob Eliot refused his election by the Topsfield church because "you were so much Divided in your Choice and remain...so or more so still."33 Another ministerial candidate, John Eliot, discussed his quandry in a letter to a friend:

My own situation at present is very critical & ineligible. Last week I left Salem after preaching there 2 months for Mr. Dunbar...The New North Society agreed to confine themselves to me, & to invite me to preach 8 weeks. The meeting was large, only 6 dissentients. Should the Society invite me to settle at the end of this time, I am persuaded the opposition will be much larger, and that they will continue at the meetings a factious crew, & strive to render my life unhappy. Master Leach declares this openly; tho' he at the same time says that he likes my preaching, & would use his influence to settle me if Deacon Barret was not so officious in my behalf, but he is determined to be in opposition to him.34
In one case, Benjamin Pickman rode all the way to Haverhill for an ordination only to find the minister had withdrawn, feeling the opposition too much for him.\footnote{At times congregations were so divided that only two options remained, to begin the selection process again, or to separate over their differences. The latter proved the solution for the North Church of Salem. Seeking a colleague for Reverend Barnard, the membership vacillated between Barnard's own son and Asa Dunbar. They spent from May til September debating "to see who by Right was the person to Settle."\footnote{Though a slight majority favored Mister Dunbar, they feared to cause a schism by choosing him, and instead asked him to speak for six Sundays. As John Gardner explained in his diary, Dunbar could not decide whether to accept even this term, knowing the divisions which remained. But word that Colonel Pickman, a very influential member, was in his camp convinced him to come. After three Sundays, a proprietors meeting was held at which Colonel Pickman indicated that much of Dunbar's preaching displeased him. This to John Gardner was a base act since pickman had told Dunbar he was his choice. At any rate, the proprietors decided to lay aside the two chief candidates and try to settle on a third. Accommodation failed. Gardner felt the effort was not sincere: "Alls a Sham as neither party could be satisfied without there owne man."\footnote{Since there was still a small majority for Dunbar, the party favoring Barnard's son had to secede.}
And they went, explaining that "there...[is] no way left for us, but a Separation from this Church as we cannot for divers reasons consent to the calling & settling [of] Mr. Dunbar as our Minister with no small majority (if any) of the church collectively."38

Not all church divisions involved ministerial selection. Any scruple against an existing minister could start a migration from his ranks. The most famous church controversy in Salem embroiled a faction of the First Church with the Reverend Samuel Fiske and his supporters. An influential group in his congregation turned against their pastor because they believed he had tampered with a vote in the church records. Fiske's detractors convened church councils and finally gained dismissal from the First Church. At this juncture, they could have joined a neighboring church, but, as Benjamin Lynde explained to Reverend Warren, nothing would do but to start their own church:

For if we go to Mr. Prescott's, under the sad circumstances of Mr. Jennison, we have as great a difficulty attending us, if we go to the Rev. Mr. Clark's, he seems to have but little charity for us, and in this we have as little for him, in his exalting Mr. F. [Fiske]; and how much may we say of Mr. Ba--d [Barnard], who for a while blew hot and cold, sometimes Mr. F. [Fiske], an angel of darkness, and anon a most laborious minister? But what comfortable communion would there be when charity on both sides is wanting?39

In other words, Lynde and company required a pastor who agreed with their opinions across the board for mutual charity to exist. Other examples of church split might be enumerated (how the rest of Fiske's church later
deserted him and had to ordain their new choice in an orchard) but this treatment seems adequate to reveal the logical ends to which freedom to gather churches could be carried.

There were other dimensions to church polity besides the voluntary covenantal community of saints. Circling the original church was the geographic congregation or parish, whose residents were obliged to pay taxes to the church in their district. Theirs was not a voluntary commitment. But, in most questions of church polity, an attempt was made to satisfy the wishes of parishioners as well as the desires of the membership. Parishioners clearly had a voice in the choice of a new minister. It was customary for the church to make their selection and then swear out a warrant for the congregation's approval. Brethren of the East Church made known that they had chosen the Reverend Mr. Howard Jackson and expressed their "hearty desire... that the...Eastern Parish would meet: & unanimously concer ...therein." A stalemate resulted when the parish failed to confirm the church's selection. George Curwin's confirmation as assistant to Reverend Noyes was stalled by parish action. The parish evidently refused the first request in 1709. A petition was presented to selectmen's meeting in April, 1711, requesting a second vote. This time the parish concurred with the proviso that Curwen accept a voluntary contribution for his maintenance. A divided congregation, just as a divided church, could cause
a minister to reject a call. Samuel Hopkins at first refused a draft from the First Church of Newport because the congregation "was about equally divided for & against him." Other prerogatives of ministerial selection were shared with representatives of the parish. When Samuel Sewall's son was chosen minister of a church in Boston, three messengers from the church and a like number from the congregation were sent to inform Joseph of his election.

Though discontented church members, not parishioners, were in the forefront of most church controversies, parish concurrence was, none the less, important. There was no way Fiske's detractors could parlay favorable rulings of church councils into a decision to dismiss Fiske without the parish voting him out. Benjamin Lynde Jr. described the highly charged meeting at which this last stroke was accomplished:

A very great Parish meeting; vast numbers and many disputes. Some hours spent before a moderator [was chosen]. At last, when it came to a choice by votes, I had 72, the other votes for Capt. Osgood, about 38. We carried all and voted Mr. Fisk out...

In close disputes voting privileges became crucial and ambiguities had to be resolved. Some persons lived in one parish but preferred to attend meeting in another. In which parish were they entitled to vote? The group which opposed Reverend Fiske sought and obtained from the General Court a ruling on this question. The answer of the court that no such persons had any power to vote in calling, settling, or separating from a minister favored
their cause. Such ambiguities followed the church everywhere. During the Hopkins' controversy in Newport, Ezra Stiles mentioned that one of his hearers planned to vote in the disputed election on the strength of a family pew in the First Church. Dual voting privileges seem not to have been uncommon.

Just as parishioners described the outer ring of the church community, proprietors described the inner circle. Proprietors were members who owned shares in the meeting house and, as such, were an influential voice in church discussions. Reverend Bentley was elected pastor of the East Church and confirmed by the proprietors on the next day. As recorded in Reverend Holyoke's diary, church proprietors played a major role in negotiations with Harvard College over his removal. Proprietors were clearly in the forefront of policy making in Barnard's church. In a dramatic move, they voted to discard both Dunbar and Barnard's son by a vote of 13 to 11 and to settle a third candidate. When compromise failed, those proprietors who favored young Barnard offered to sell their shares at unrealistically high prices.

In the late eighteenth century, the proprietary form began to replace the parish as a means of financial support. "An Act to Empower the Proprietors of the Meeting House in the First Parish in Salem, where the Rev. Mr. Dudley Leavit now Officiates to Raise Money to Defray Ministerial and Other Necessary Charges" was confirmed
in 1772. Tabernacle Church was under similar governance by 1774. Samuel Williams taunted Dr. Whitaker: "And to your assembly. Is it not made up of proprietors who are the only persons who support you." William Bentley explained the reason for the changeover in his congregation:

The spirit of our times had required a change from a parish, to that of an incorporation of the proprietors in this house of worship. Other parts of town enjoyed such privileges, and many inhabitants were bound by local residence to support a minister in the parish, who had other engagements. To obtain a law to dissolve the parish was easy, but to change the proprietors of the house so as to provide such as were competent to the settlement and support of a minister, was difficult.

Relationships between churches in the Bay were consonant with the voluntary origin of congregational fellowship. Despite the addition of church councils, Reverend Fiske’s early dictum remained true: "There is a distinction of members & propriety to each church."

Ordaining councils provided the most frequent communion between churches. As mentioned above, the General Court authorized neighboring elders to examine a new candidate for the ministry and this condition was usually met by convening councils. Each church had the right to determine which churches to invite. In the same free manner, churches which received invitations could decide whether to honor them and what persons to send. For the ordination of Mr. Dimon, Benjamin Lynde Jr. acknowledged that "our Church [was] sent to, and I went
as delegate."56 Customarily, both pastor and church were asked to attend, but, in some instances, one or the other attended alone. Ezra Stiles explained that it was usual practice to allow the minister elect to choose the main speaker and very often the church would not choose to send to his congregation as well. There were also sensitive cases which constrained nearby ministers from attending. This was the explanation suggested for the ordination of Asa Dunbar: "The 2d Church of Salem were present, but Mr. Diman its pastor absent. There is great Controversy in Town. I presume he absented himself on prudence."57

Once summoned, ministers and laymen formed themselves into an ordaining council much as the primitive church gathered together. Once established, the council was responsible for its own composition. Thus, the council elected Mr. Todd to their ranks at Asa Dunbar's ordination, though he had not been sent by his church.58 Similar discretion was exercised by the ordaining council for Reverend Holt of Danvers. Deacon Pickering of the First Church of Salem was then embroiled in a dispute with Benjamin Pickman. As Samuel Gardner recorded in his journal, "Deacon Pickering sent a letter to the Council, and it was voted it should not be read; he was there himself but they would not admit him into the council."59

Council then proceeded to consider the qualifications of the applicant and to vote on whether or not to ordain. In a few special cases, they returned a negative
verdict. One refusal involved the Haverhill church: "The Counsell after much thought (and Mr. Gay being unwilling to settle with such an opposition) voted unanimously not to ordain.60

Once the verdict was in, the council had fulfilled its role as representative of the churches of the Bay and ministers present, not as members of the council, but in their "Sacerdotal Character" performed the ceremony of laying on the hands, "recieving the ordained Brother into their ministerial Fellowship."61 This last step was not strictly necessary and Samuel Gardner mentioned attending an instalment at Stoneham, so titled because "Laying on of the Hands" was omitted.62

Special councils could also be convened to advise individual churches on differences in their ranks. As in the ordaining form, the individual church could send to any churches and those requested could refuse to come. Ezra Stiles recorded the consideration given to one call in his church:

I again read to the Brethren & Sisters the Letter missive from five Aggrieved Brethren of the second Church in Windham calling an ecclesiastical call Council there on last Tuesday of the Month. There were 14 Brethren present--of which two spake against sending & seven spake for sending, I myself discovered a Disinclination, but told the Church I would acquisce in what they thought best. On putting the vote to send, all voted but two.63

To show that "the Church has right to call Churches promiscuously and at a Distance as they please,"64 Stiles listed the churches asked to attend a council at Concord.
These were the churches of Stoughton, Rowley, Newbury, Nottingham West, Newbury Falls, Screwsbury, Upton, Brocton, Portsmouth and Cambridge, literally drawn from all over the map.

The Fiske affair can be used to illustrate the powers of such councils. Dissidents in Reverend Samuel Fiske's ministry first convened a four church council but Fiske would not speak to them. Then a ten church council was called together but "Mr. Fiske would not submit himself to a hearing." Finally, the anti-Fiske members were able to muster a grand council of twenty one churches. Fiske remained obstinate so the grand council recommended that all churches break off communion with his congregation. Many churches respected the recommendations of so large a council and proceeded accordingly. The First Church of Gloucester voted:

> That they concurred with the Grand Council met at Salem from time to time. 2. and passed the sentence of non communion with the First Church in Salem, And it was done deliberately and with a great deal of awfullness and solemnity.

Excommunication effectively isolated Fiske's supporters from subscribing churches but did no more. Voluntarism of church engagements precluded stronger remedies.

In 1771, the *Essex Gazette* carried a series of articles which debated the relative merits of congregational and presbyterian communion. These arguments further elucidate the voluntary affiliation between churches in congregational practice. A pamphlet entitled *Communion of Faith Essential to the Communion of Churches* triggered the debate.
Stiles credited Nathaniel Whitaker, "an enterprizing young Presbyterian from the Jersies," with its composition. The tract proposed a binding consociation between churches, to consist of the minister and one delegate for each contracting church. "PQ" supported the plan in the pages of the Gazette. He noted that under the congregational system poor parishioners could not have their causes heard since the expences of a council would be prohibitive for them. Charges were always borne by aggrieved parties and could be considerable. Benjamin Lynde paid fifty shillings for the first church council convened in the Fiske case. "PQ" argued that it would be better if a binding settlement were reached in such conclaves and suggested that a conclave of churches could be no more arbitrary than a single church. "SR", another contributor, considered this reasoning dangerous to church liberties and pointedly asked his readers:

Don't you chuse, to call, settle, continue or dismiss your own minister, according to your own judgement, with constitutional advice, rather than to put all this out of your own hands, into the hand of the Consociation, of which, perhaps each church will only have the liberty of chusing one member to accompany their minister?

Ezra Stiles exposed the same dangers:

This transfers the power out of each distinct Church, & renders all subordinate to a Judicatorial Policy never suggested by Christ ....I am apprehensive that this Salem Witchcraft may prevail.

Neither writer debated the specific merits of the plan but simply decried the destruction of church liberties.

The voluntary covenant of the individual church and
liberties of church communion were so imbred in their thinking that they could not conceive the merits of any other plan.

However complex the interrelationships between church, minister, parish and proprietors on the internal level and between community churches on the wider scene, the key to the interworkings remained the free volition of the individual church, group within the church, or larger body of churches. Not only do church practice and structural relationships have bearing on the shape of secular organizations, the continuing viability of the local church as a free associational unit must have been a persuasive model for creation of other voluntary local community organizations.

As well as the voluntary matrix of church relations, character of church and state relations is of consequence to associational growth. Robert MacIver suggests that the stage of social development at which church and state are separated is particularly fruitful for associational development: "The freedom of association admits an indefinite multiplicity of contingent forms, with endless possibilities of interrelationship and independence."75 It is useful, therefore, to assess the degree of interdependence between church and town in early Salem and the degree to which the relation lapsed over the years.

Salem's government was not theocratic. Puritan philosophy considered church and state separate spheres, and, on this basis, the puritan commonwealth maintained
a separate list of officers for each. Nonetheless, church and state bore a symbiotic relation to one another in early practice. Salem town government was responsible for practical maintenance and public discipline of the early church. Selectmen would consult elders on how these affairs should be managed. Reverend Fiske recorded in his diary that elders were asked by the magistrates "What way or course is best to be taken...for Ministers maintenance, & the continuance & upholding of church ordinances?" Tithingmen were secular officers responsible for enforcing outward conformity to church ordinances.

In providing support for the minister, the town acted the part of a parish, only the one to one ratio between Salem and the First Church made the connection between them much closer than it would become when the town divided into several parishes. As a parish, Salem voted to confirm ministerial candidates. Freemen voted for Nicholas Noyes to assist in the ministry with "not one hand in the Negative." Again in this capacity, Salem, along with the church, sent representatives to treat with new ministerial candidates. Thus, it was "ordered that the Selectmen together with the Deacons & Mr. Gidney are desired before the next church meeting to Treat with Mr. Whittinge to know his mind about staying with us." Town and church officials shared the responsibility of seating early meeting houses. In 1673, selectmen, undertakers and Mr. Higginson were empowered to seat the new house.
examples in the previous chapter, it would seem that later seating was authorized by selectmen alone.

With just one congregation in the community, public responsibility for poor support could be channeled through the church. Special lectures or charity meetings were held at which donations were collected for the poor.80 In addition, the town voted in 1677 that "there shall bee a Constant Contribution for the poore Every Lords day, which shall be Comitted into the hands of the Deacons, & by them delivered to the Selectmen, on their order for the relief of the poor."81 In 1680, a modification was made; two selectmen were to join with the deacons in distributing monies collected for the poor.82

A dispute over Reverend Nicholet's continuance first disturbed the equilibrium between church and town. Nicholet, a young Virginian, was made assistant pastor in 1672, possibly on the suggestion of Reverend Higginson himself.83 When the question of continuing his services arose, the town alone renewed his contract in 1673 and 1674. At this juncture, some of the Church, notably Mr. Higginson, began to have doubts about Nicholet's character. Reports from Virginia raised questions about Nicholet's conduct which the elders wished him to resolve in private conference. Nicholet refused to handle the matter privately, stating "that if any would accuse him either in Church or Court, he would answer them, but not els[e]."84 The stalemate was broken when Nicholet "went out of the church in sermon time, on the Lord's Day,
and drew others after him."85 Nicholet's supporters proceeded with plans to build their own meetinghouse. Higginson considered this a personal humiliation and asked to be dismissed. When his request was refused, he saw no other course but to bring the matter to the attention of the General Court.86 A committee, appointed by the Court, declared "the course & way that hath been attended in the Calling and setting of Mr. Nicholet as a preacher by a promiscuous vote of the towne,...very irregular," and directed the "whole church and towne [to] meete together in a day of public humiliation."87 The committee halted plans for a new church and provided that Nicholet and Higginson share ministerial duties as formerly.

Close affiliation between church and town was further eroded by establishment of new parishes. No longer could the town have the same one to one relationship with the church. Though the village parish had already been established, Salem fought even more bitterly to retain the middle parish. This reaction may have been occasioned by the fact that personal differences, more than factors of distance, figured in the dispute. When townsmen objected to the inclusion of their petition in a warrant for town meeting, Captain Gardner and others approached the General Court for a separate precinct.88 Here they were countered by a Salem petition which cast aspersions on their motives, suggesting that "there was no such design until our Church had Chosen Mr. George Corwin for an
assistant in the ministry to our Rev'd Mr. Noyes, which not being pleasing to One or Two of the Chief of the Petitioners has occasioned this new undertaking, and a great unhappiness in the Town." Salem representatives fought the measure at Court. "Though the Salem Gentlemen would not suffer Capt. Gardner and company to vote...in Salem Town Meeting; they made no bones of voting against them in Council," was Samuel Sewall's evaluation of their tactics. Resolution was delayed two years but finally the council and deputies voted in favor of the precinct, since the petitioners had fulfilled the condition of building a meeting house.

To Noyes the new precinct would always be a "wicked design," but Salem government adjusted to taking a less active role in church controversies. Now that there were three parishes, the symbiotic relation between church and town no longer held. When a segment of the First Church made a bid to establish a new church in the east part of town in 1718, the event went unheralded in town records. Nor did the town feel obligated to assist new churches as it had supported the early church. In 1712, Salem was petitioned by "diverse Inhabitants of the several parishes" for forty acres of land to support "the Ministry therein," and their request was refused.

Multiplication of parishes and churches produced a climate favorable to the development of associations; each time a new church won its independence the principle
of freedom of association was implanted more firmly in the community. Further, Salem could not rely on many churches for poor support as easily as the town had channeled funds from one church. Calvin Colton observed that "the separation of Church and State...[has] given rise to a new species of social organization...the Religious and Benevolent society." Though complete separation of church and state had not been attained in eighteenth century Massachusetts, proliferation of parishes had made it difficult for any to perform so thoroughly in dispensing charity. Thus, the door was left open for other benevolent societies to fill the need. Nor were individual churches able to cooperate on measures. Bentley was disgusted to find that ministers of the congregations in town could not even agree on a fast in observance of Philadelphia's epidemic, much less manage a sizeable donation:

In consequence of the Fasts in New York & Boston, I proposed a similar observance in this Town. The Selectmen were unable to act, & were advised to address the Clergy for an opinion. As in a former instance they complained of neglect, on this occasion it might be seen how they would act in concert. The result was that Boston & New York were found to be capitol cities of the respective states, but that we who carried on a large share of the Philadelphia Trade must omit the usual ceremonies.

Through its usages and ancillary societies, the church increased the associational expertise of the community. Frequent use was made of voluntary subscriptions which were to become a mainstay of secular associations. Subscriptions were often circulated for the major expenses
of purchasing land and building meeting houses. In 1731, a project for an Episcopal church in Salem was prosecuted in this fashion: "We whose names are here unto subscribed do promise and oblige each of us to pay the Sum exprest against our Names for and towards the Erecting and building of a Church of England." Aggrieved brethren from Fiske’s ministry raised money to purchase land for their new meeting house in the same manner; the new congregation which formed around Barnard’s son was able to raise 900 pounds by subscription.

Groups within the church also employed this device; one of the most popular forms was sermon subscriptions. A minister, in usual practice, did not decide which of his sermons merited publication but waited for some of his hearers to request publication. This group then plied the subscription in town. Bentley observed:

subscriptions about for the sermon preached on the last Thanksgiving by Dr. Barnard of this Town. The Audience was thin, but it is highly praised & the subscribers are large in their numbers & probably will succeed.

In Mr. Abbots’ flock, the women requested publication of his sermon on the death of Sally Ayer, gained his approval, and then took subscription papers door to door. Mary Orne Tucker noted what a thankless task this could be: "I have with Sally Sargeant been endeavouring to get a subscription for publishing the Sermon...; we have succeeded far beyond my expectations but 'tis a unthankful
office; some who subscribed ten cents for this excellent discourse appeared to do it with the air of one about conferring a great favor—ah thought I, what a paltry sum.101

Extraordinary expenses were also met by subscriptions. When Reverend Diman's family was stricken with illness and death, some of his friends in the parish raised a subscription for him.102 As the proprietors saw fit to discharge Mr. Dunbar before the end of his speaking engagement, his friends in the First Church gathered "something that was handsome" for him.103 Reverend Bentley's tenth year in the ministry was memorialized by the women in his charge who raised money to make him a new suit.104

Other associations grew out of the church community. Ministerial societies were among the most important. Clergymen were leaders in the community whose opinions were valued. Also ministers who met regularly and invited the charge of presbyterianism by doing so could hardly look askance on other clubs.

Early Salem was somewhat more separatist in outlook than the main Bay settlement. Skelton and Williams took exception to early meetings that ministers of the Bay held, fearing they would turn into a presbytery.105 When the Court requested elders in several parts of the colony to discuss whether lectures were becoming too long, the group at Salem refused to meet.106 Despite a statute
authorizing meetings of elders, it was not until 1716 that such "Brotherly Conferences"\textsuperscript{107} won full approval in Essex County. In that year an association of neighboring ministers was projected and framed in a clear set of statutes.\textsuperscript{108} From then on, clergymen met regularly at each others houses to discuss religious subjects and problems in their ministry. It was also customary for leading laymen to attend their conclaves. John Gardner mentioned attending "association at Barnards" and carefully copied the text of the discussion.\textsuperscript{109} Contacts laymen had with ministerial groups must have familiarized them with associational forms and perhaps spurred the formation of their own clubs.

Private meetings of church members were common practice. John Higginson advised his son to attend some private Christian meeting once a month.\textsuperscript{110} Sometimes the church membership kept a fast in a private household,\textsuperscript{111} but many private groups did not include the entire membership. This seems to have been the case of a "private Society of Christians" to whom Cotton Mather preached "concerning the SLEEP of Death, on a Text assigned...by the Master of the Family who had lately buried his Pious Wife."\textsuperscript{112} Dr. Bentley instituted a Sunday evening meeting with certain gentlemen of his church.\textsuperscript{113}

A prevalent form of Christian society was the young men's association. Benjamin Lynde Jr. asked Samuel Fiske if such a society could be established in Salem in 1724.
Samuel Fiske assessed the merits of the proposal in a long letter to his young parishioner. Fiske felt such a society could steel the Christian resolve of all participants, who under the mantle of friendship could be "meekly...exposed for...miscarriages," "comforted under sorrows" and "prepared...to take the Bonds of Gods holy Covenant." After textual examination, Fiske concluded that Sunday night would be appropriate for such a meeting and that gathering "in a due religious carriage," would not defile the Sabbath. Further it would be more appropriate for young men with no family under their care to instruct to congregate together. The Reverend allowed himself to hope that such a project might play a reforming role in society: "It may put a seasonable stop to the Growth of Prophaness among us--May...your Example...bring young persons in the other towns to form such society--and Who knows how far this may lead the land into...a revival of Dying Religion." It is difficult to tell whether this plan was instituted. There are several entries in Benjamin Lynde Jr.'s diary for 1730 about meeting the society at Prats and one which notes that Lynde was the speaker for the night. This may have been the young men's club projected in 1724. If so, their meeting at a tavern indicates how far society had evolved, for a 1642 law proscribed anyone taking young persons into taverns.

Other young men's religious societies were soon in motion. John Barnard delivered a sermon which was later
published to a society of young men in 1737.¹¹⁹ Benjamin Lynde observed that Mr. Sparhawk spoke at "Young men's evening lecture" in 1741.¹²⁰ Peter Clark preached a sermon to a young men's society in the north parish of Danvers in 1757.¹²¹ Articles for a young men's society in Danvers were written in 1764.¹²² Church related young men's groups increased the number of clubs and lent a particular respectability to youth associations.

Singing schools were yet another church related institution. Church promotion of choral music widened the cultural dimensions of the community and promoted a general interest in the arts, for, as long as the church sponsored singing, the art could not be considered a frivolous waste of time. Congregations were interested in "train[ing] the members of the meeting house choir to a more appreciative rendering of the psalms and hymns of worship."¹²³ Lessons were usually subsidized by the churches involved. Bentley's papers record contributions for the singers. On one occasion thirty one dollars were collected for their support.¹²⁴ Bentley remarked that the singers took the lead in their own affairs at one juncture:

Mr. Farrington of Andover began his singing school this week. He has been teaching for the Tabernacle, & for the first time the Singers themselves have employed a Master, after engagements, to assist them with about twenty dollars for the quarter.¹²⁵

Such initiative was uncommon. Salem churches had difficulty attaining music of consistent quality. When Mr. Law came to town, "his great success" in the "best societies
of Connecticut"126 persuaded Bentley to meet with the other ministers to consider his maintenance:

The ministers had a conference upon the intended Plan of Singing at the Rev. Mr. D. Hopkins this afternoon. The result was that they agreed that they would approve the design, confer with their committees, recommend it to the students, & use prudent means to facilitate, &c the success of the Town.127

Bentley's singers decided not to become students but all other societies in town patronized Mr. Law.

The church can only be viewed as a great influence on associational life in Salem. Not only was the church predicated on free association, the very logic of its voluntarism led to such a proliferation of congregations that William Pynchon queried: "If Salem goes on thus increasing in meeting houses and ministers, will they not be the most religious people on the face of the whole earth"?128 Salem did not reach the stage of complete separation between church and state in the period of this study, but the creation of each new congregation spoke for freedom of association and lessened the affiliation between church and town. The reluctance of the town to enter directly into later church controversies and tendency of churches to relinquish parish support for incorporation are evidences of this trend. Over and above these roles, the church spawned other groups which added to the associational makeup of town life.
Footnotes

Chapter II


4. Thomas Lechford, "Plain Dealing; or Newes from New England," MHSC, 3rd Ser., III (1833), 65,68. (Hereinafter referred to as "Plain Dealing")

5. "Extracts from Records Kept by the Rev. John Fiske, during His Ministry at Salem, Wenham, and Chelmsford," EIHC, I, No. 2 (May, 1859), 40. (Hereinafter referred to as "Records Kept by the Rev. John Fiske")


8. Petition, Salem, May 23, 1735, Curwen Fam. MSS III.


10. Ibid., pp. 43-44.


12. Timothy Pickering MSS; Miscellaneous, 1735-1797, III, Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection.


VIII (1868), 277-78.


16Rev. Edward Holyoke, *Entries*, June 2, 9, 23, and July 20, 1737, *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709-1856*, annotated by George Francis Dow (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1911) p. 4. (Hereinafter referred to as *The Holyoke Diaries*).

17Entry, February 18, 1770, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College*, ed. by Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), I, 38. (Hereinafter referred to as *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*).

18*Salem Gazette*, IV, No. 454, June 23, 1795.


22*Whitmore, ed., The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts*, p. 44.


31 Fowler, "Diary of Rev. Joseph Green," EIHC, VIII, No. 3 (September, 1866), 167-68.

32 Oligoreidolon, Essex Gazette (Salem), VI, No. 269, September 14-21, 1773, p. 32.


36 John Gardner, 1736-1816, Diary, 1771-1779, IV, Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection.

37 John Gardner, Entry, September 1771, Ibid.

38 Meeting, May 16, 1772, Records of the First Church, 1736-1835, Essex Institute, Misc. MSS Collection.

39 Benjamin Lynde, Entry, November 14, 1736, The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., ed. by F.E. Oliver (Boston: Privately Printed, 1880), pp. 93-94.


41 Curwen Fam. MSS III. Though church and congregation differ in specific reference, in most of the paper, congregation is used as another designation for church.

42 Meeting of Selectmen, December 10, 1709, Salem Town Records, 1709-1725, City Clerk's Office, Salem, Mass., p. 5.

43 Meeting of Selectmen, April 17, 1711, Ibid., p. 49; Town Meeting, May 3, 1711, Ibid., p. 50.

44 Entry, March 19, 1770, The Literary Diary of Ezra
James, ed. by Dexter, I, 44.

45"Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729," *NHSC*, 5th Ser., VI (1879), 345.

46Benjamin Lynde Jr., Entry, March 10, 1735, *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.*, ed. by Oliver, p. 142.


49William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem* (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1907), I, p. 1. (Hereinafter referred to as *Diary of William Bentley*).


51Entry, September, 1771, John Gardner, *Diary, 1771-1779*.

52*Essex Gazette* (Salem), VI, No. 196, April 21-28, 1772, p. 139.


56Benjamin Lynde, Jr., Entry, May 11, 1737, *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.*, ed. by Oliver, p. 147.


58*Ibid*.


60Entry, September 14, 1809, *The Diary and Letters of Benjamin Pickman*, p. 185.
61 Entry, July 8, 1771, The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, ed. by Dexter, I, 120.
63 Entry, August 21, 1771, The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, ed. by Dexter, I, 145.
64 Entry, August 19, 1772, Ibid., pp. 368-69.
65 Benjamin Lynde, Jr., Entries, April 22, February 19, and July 21, 1734, October 15, 1735, The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., ed. by Oliver, pp. 140-41.
66 Benjamin Lynde Jr., Entry, July 17, 1734, Ibid., p. 140.
68 Essex Gazette (Salem), III, No. 131, January 22-29, 1771, p. 108.
69 Entry, February 6, 1771, The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, ed. by Dexter, I, 89.
70 "PQ," Essex Gazette (Salem), III, No. 137, March 5-12, 1771, p. 132.
71 Benjamin Lynde, Entry, July 26, 1733, The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., ed. by Oliver, p. 43.
72 "PQ," p. 132.
74 Entry, February 6, 1771, The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, ed. by Dexter, I, 89.
77 Town Meeting, November 23, 1682, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXIII, No. 1 (January, 1932), 76.

Town Meeting, April 21, 1673, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XLIII, No. 1 (January, 1907), 43.

James Jeffrey, Interleaved Almanac Diary for 1724, Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection.

Town Meeting, November 9, 1677, Howes, copier, "Town Records," EIHC, XLVIII, No. 2 (April, 1912), 170.

Town Meeting, November 24, 1680, "Town Meetings III," EIHC, LXII, No. 1 (January, 1931), 82.


Town Meeting, March 20, 1709, Salem Town Records, 1709-1725, p. 15.

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Entry, November 10, 1710, "Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729," MHSC, 5th Ser., VI (1879), 289.

Entry, October 30, 1712, Ibid., p. 365.


Town Meeting, March 24, 1711/2, Salem Town Records, 1709-1725, p. 74.

[Calvin Colton], A Voice from America to England (London: Henry Colburn, 1839), pp. 87-88, quoted in Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Cultural Perspective (New York:
Basic Books, Inc., 1963), p. 61. (Hereinafter referred to as The First New Nation)

95Entry, September 26, 1793, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 63.

96Harriet Silvester Tapley, "St. Peter's Church in Salem before the Revolution," EIHC, LXXX, No. 3 (July, 1944), 232-33.

97Timothy Pickering MSS: Miscellaneous, 1735-1797, III.

98Essex Gazette (Salem), IV, No. 168, October 8-15, 1771, p. 47.


100Entry, April 15, "Diary of Mary Orne Tucker, 1802," EIHC, LXXVII, No. 4 (October, 1941), 311.

101Entry, April 17, Ibid., p. 313.

102"Subscription to the Relief of Rev James Oman," EIHC, XXXIV, No's 1-6 (January-June, 1898), 40.

103Entry, September, 1771, John Gardner, Diary, 1771-1779.


105"Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts," MHSC, 1st Ser., X (1809), 10.


108Salem Churches, 1687-1860, Essex Institute, Misc. MSS Collection.

109Entry, September, 1773, John Gardner, Diary, 1771-1779.


113 Entry, February 5, 1767, The Diary of William Bentley, I, 51.

114 Letter, Samuel Fiske to Benjamin Lynde, Jr., Salem, February 6, 1724/5, Salem Churches, 1687-1860.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 Benjamin Lynde, Jr., Entries, January 8, 15, 22, 29 and March 17, 1730, The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., ed. by Oliver, p. 133.

118 Whitmore, ed., Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, p. 27.

119 John Barnard, Mr. Barnard's Discourse on the Great Concern of Parents and the Important Duty of Children: The First Being the Subject of the Public Exercises on the Lord's Day; the Second Delivered to a Religious Society of Young Men, the Evening After; on April 24, 1737 (Boston: T. Fleet for Daniel Henchman, 1737), Early American Imprint, No. 4112.

120 Benjamin Lynde, Entry, August 9, 1741, The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., ed. by Oliver, p. 113.

121 Boston Gazette, March 28, 1758, quoted in "Newspaper Items Relating to Essex County," EIHC, XLV, No. 2 (April, 1909), 151.

122 A Copy of the Articles of a Society of Young Men in the North Parish in Danvers [1764], Dr. Henry Wheatland MSS IV, Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection.


124 Bentley Miscellaneous Papers in American Antiquarian Society, D. Bentley, East Church, Salem, Mass., 1783-1819; Letters, etc., Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection; Entry, January 6, 1796, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 169.

125 Entry, April 10, 1793, Ibid., II, 15.

126 Entry, July 25, 1795, Ibid., II, 155.

127 Entry, July 27, 1795, Ibid., II, 156.

128 Letter, April 16, 1775, Diary of William Pynchon of Salem, ed. by F.E. Oliver (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1890), p. 44.
Role of Business Organizations in Fostering Voluntary Association

Group practices in business contributed to the associational sophistication and general ambiance of Salem society. Shaw Livermore has noted that the "proper approach to the corporation in America is to regard it as but one manifestation of the associative spirit." The subscription form was popularly used to launch a new business much as it was employed by church and town government. Voluntary nature of business commitment was often stressed; the Salem Mercury reported that "a voluntary company in Hartford and the vicinity are attempting to set up the woolen manufacture" in much the style the print would have used to announce a new church's attempt to erect a meeting house.

Group ownership was common in Salem business, especially in the field of shipping. An individual might own an entire ship but fractional ownership was popular. Presumably, the lower risk of losing just a share of a ship encouraged such arrangements. Timothy Orne, a noted merchant in Salem, was part owner of a number of vessels; his share varied from seven eights, to five twelfths, one fourth and three sixteenths. John Higginson, also of Salem,
conveyed to John Abbot "five eights parts of the good Schooner called the Pheonix." Prevalent in ordinary commerce, fractional ownership was the rule in privateering. Tristan Dalton wrote to thank his brother for an "offer of interesting me One Quarter Part in the Privateer Sloop Satisfaction." The Salem Galley, an early privateer, was held in eighth parts with Benjamin Marston holding two such rights and Samuel Brown, Benjamin Gerrish, Deliverance Parkman, John Turner, John Browne and Benjamin Stone each one. So accepted was joint ownership that admiralty procedure encompassed this form in actions of condemnation. Standard procedure allowed seamen to collect unpaid wages by proceeding to have their ship sold at auction. If, however, their craft was owned by several individuals, some of whom had paid their just proportion of the wages, then only shares of defaulting owners were sold.

Fractional or group ownership was not confined to shipping. It was not uncommon for Salemites to share other commitments. One example of their sophistication in dividing obligations is found in the Curwen Manuscripts. This transaction involved a real estate company. Investing in land companies was a popular resort in Salem. The names of two such developments, New Salem, New Hampshire and Lyndboro, Canada (named for Benjamin Lynde of Salem) reflect the heavy involvement of Salem investors. The agreement in the Curwen Manuscripts is to divide 'a right
in the Narragansett Town... into 6 parts a Single Share
must pay." None of the gentlemen involved are named
in the brief document. William Curtis was paid for bring-
ing forward and proving the claim. He may have been one
of the undertakers, or just their agent. In any case, the
contract shows how associational expertise could be
applied. Since none of the men involved wanted to pay
the five pounds due for a single share in Narragansett
land, they adroitly combined and divided one right into
six shares.

A cooperative enterprise was also formed among
Salem cabinet makers. Jacob and Elijah Sanderson formed a
plan with Josiah Austin for merchandizing their wares in
conjunction with other artisans of Salem. By combining
they could exploit a wider market for their furniture.

Not only were many individual businesses formed
on a cooperative basis, use of arbitration in Salem
business disputes bears the imprint of cooperative norms.
In his study of early American law, Richard B. Morris
observed that widespread use was made of lay arbitral
boards into the late eighteenth century. No indication
of the extent of arbitration in Salem can be given.

One Salem arbitration was between Benjamin Marston,
merchant, and Mrs. Mary Andrews. A decision was rendered
in favor of Marston and provision was made that "each
party... pay half the costs of the arbitration, which sat
at Mr prats taverne."
Captain, crew and owners of a ship might be associated as joint entrepreneurs in a voyage. It was standard practice for crew members on privateers to have shares in the voyage. The scale of shares was carefully graded. On the Junius Brutus, a common seaman garnered one half, three fourths to a full share, armourer, one and a half, cabin cook, one and a fourth, cook, two shares, captain of marines, two and a half, prize master, boatswain, gunner, carpenter and second ships mate, three shares, master and second lieutenant, five, first lieutenant, six, and captain, nine rights. Articles for the privateer sloop Rover, which sailed from Salem, stipulated "that one half of all prizes taken...be for the Owner and the other half be the Sole property of Said Sloops Company." Similar relationships seem to have pertained on other voyages, for we find Samuel Brown advising his captain, John Touzell, in 1727 to:

Take care that yourself, Mate & seamen Pay their Proportions of the charge of permission to Trade at the French Islands, if you Should go & Trade there;...it is Butt reasonable that they Should Pay their Part who Reap Equall advantage with me according to their parts.

Richard Morris confirms the fact that "mariners frequently shared in the risk of an enterprise and were compensated, not as wage earners, but as fellow entrepreneurs." Though the best examples of crew participation are found in whaling, fishing and privateering, the instructions to Touzell, cited above, were clearly for a trading voyage in the West Indies.
Marine insurance was another variant of group enterprise, "the most important kind of cooperative colonial business" in Robert East's estimation. Since insurance offices also seem to have provided a social meeting ground for men of the community, they are doubly important to the associational growth of Salem.

First some attempt must be made to determine how colonial insurance functioned. This investigation presents considerable difficulty for the author's specific knowledge of Salem insurance practices is confined to the following two references. Ambrose Walker characterized the form of early Salem insurance as "an association of merchants," while Robert East noted that the ranks of those interested in marine underwriting swelled in response to high Revolutionary insurance rates and that "in 1782 James Jeffrey opened an office in Salem." Beyond this, one must extrapolate the probable form of colonial practice from the prevailing system of British marine underwriting, Lloyds of London. It seems probable that colonial underwriting followed the Lloyds pattern, for Robert East observes that "the underwriting of marine insurance was a strictly voluntary practice by individual merchants from time to time and not a company-controlled activity."22

In British insurance there was a clear distinction between insurance brokers and underwriters. Brokers, known in the parlance of the day as office keepers, were professional insurance agents who screened individual underwriters
willing to take the risks their clients needed to place and then wrote policies. Underwriters engaged in insurance as a sideline. Their only qualification for underwriting was the needed collateral, and even this, some did not possess. Lloyds coffee shop came to be a useful meeting place for brokers and underwriters. An exclusive deal with the British postal authority to relay fast and inexpensive ship news to the house gave Lloyds extra cachet as an insurance center. There merchants, civil servants, lawyers interested in underwriting could mix daily with brokers showing them new propositions and judge the advisability of each undertaking on the latest shipping information, and sign individually for the share of the risk they were willing to assume.

Little more is known of the specific workings of early Lloyds. A parliamentary investigation in 1810 provides some of the oldest information. In view of this, it is not surprising that few details of colonial practice are available. On the British example we may assume that James Jeffrey, who opened an office in 1782, was an insurance broker and that the merchants and other notables who frequented his halls were interested in underwriting and in learning the latest shipping news. Ambrose Walker's statement that early Salem insurance offices were associations of merchants might be construed in that many individuals interested in underwriting could be found there. It is possible that Jeffrey's office was more organized than
this. Robert East uncovered one real company which was established before 1783. John Hurd of Boston masterminded a plan which obligated the twenty merchants involved, two from Salem, to assume equal shares of any risk three of their members signed for. Whether voluntary underwriting had given way to greater system in Salem itself is not known. In any case, marine underwriting was a cooperative practice which joined many merchants in a common undertaking. Joseph Lee obtained 2360 pounds insurance for a voyage of his brig from Bilboa in 1776 from eighteen separate individuals.

The reason insurance offices took on a social dimension can be suggested from this background. Here Salem gentlemen who served as underwriters repaired on a regular basis. It is probable that many learned the hours when they might meet their friends at the office. An article in the Salem Register revealed that many prominent men of Salem could be found talking over their business and news of the day while "holding up the walls of insurance offices." Ambrose Walker also noted that the insurance office was a meeting place for the gentlemen of town. Their frequent presence in the office was a great advantage for Samuel McIntire, a house builder, who held rooms above one insurance office from 1785 to 1790. Ichabod Tucker, who later moved to Salem, observed that business offices were frequent resorts for social conversation in Haverhill. One entry in his diary records "Passed the evening in Mr. B's office -- J.B. Sargent & Captain Porter Politics-Federal."
Tristan Dalton, who served as secretary of a marine insurance office opened in Newburyport in 1776, was well aware of the social importance of the contacts he had formed there and never forgot to conclude his letters with "give my Compliments to the Gentlemen at the Office." 30

Gatherings at the office followed the lines of a social club not just the strictures of business practice. When Samuel Ward disagreed with many gentlemen of Salem on the question of Beverly Bridge, he was excluded from their company at the office. Reverend Bentley recorded their pique in his diary:

During the dispute there was the greatest rancor in the parties.....S. Ward was forbid the office wherein the Gentlemen of the town converse in the evening, & for which they were lampooned. 31

Since Bentley did not elaborate, it can only be conjectured that the office in question was an insurance office. But referring to an insurance office simply as an office was consonant with the English style of calling insurance brokers office keepers. Another indication of the social importance of insurance offices is given in a letter from William Pynchon Jr. to Samuel Curwen in London. Pynchon informed his friend that refugees would be treated fairly in Salem and gave the example of E. Williams to bolster his case:

Williams met with no insult or obstruction... at Salem, but is gone into the country to settle his affairs and then return to Nova Scotia. It is true he did not choose needlessly to go to the parade, or insurance offices, etc., but went about Salem visiting his particular friends and met with no
indecency in the streets or elsewhere.  

Here Pynchon singled out the military parade and insurance office as two key institutions of society at which a refugee might feel particularly exposed.

Since insurance proposals were in the form of subscriptions which an individual signed for the share he was willing to underwrite, it does not seem unusual that other proposals which needed support of the leading men in the community were left at the office. When the marine society needed help to set up a beacon in the harbor, they solicited aid of other Salem gentlemen through a subscription lodged in the insurance office. The paper was not immediately subscribed. "It lay 36 hours in the office, & from a variety of excuses was not signed."  

Tontine societies, popular in the 1790's, also evince close ties between business and social objectives. The tontine was one of the earliest forms of personal insurance. Hamilton suggested such a scheme as one way of funding the national debt. Money invested in this fund of insurance was to be divided among the survivors at a certain point in time. Boston's Tontine prescribed that division take place after sixty years, Salem's after twenty one years. Similar funds were started in other Massachusetts towns. The plan seems to have found favor in Haverhill for Ichabod Tucker mentioned that "Tontine met with Lydia Chandler." It seems that participants
viewed tontine societies in a social vein; Mary Holyoke's diary noted for 2 November 1791, "Tontine Club here."37 Without a fuller reference we cannot be sure tontines were seen as social clubs. But it is clear that social considerations affected such business propositions for even the state legislature recognized the social dimension in criticizing tontine forms. Legislators condemned tontines because too many speculators were involved in the plans and also because they had the unfortunate social effect of making men "more deeply interested in each other's misfortunes as we see in heirships, &c."38

Group business undertakings are yet another manifestation of the "associative spirit"39 in Salem society. Group practices in town government, church and business life strengthened associative norms and prepared the ground for the growth of clubs and societies.
Footnotes

Chapter III


2Salem Gazette, No. 4, January 26, 1790.

3Salem Mercury, No. 85, May 30, 1785.

4"List of Vessels Owned Wholly or in Part by Timothy Orne, Junior of Salem, 1740-1758," EIHC, XXXVII, No. 1 (January, 1901), 77-80.

5Dr. Henry Wheatland MSS I, Historical, 1629-1890, Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection.

6Letter, Tristan Dalton to Samuel White, Newburyport, October 14, 1776, EIHC, LXXI, No. 1 (January, 1935), n.1

7"Essex County Notorial Records, 1697-1768," EIHC, XLI, No. 2 (April, 1905), 183.


9Essex Gazette (Salem), I, No. 36, March 23-April 4, 1769, p. 145.

10Benjamin Lynde, Jr., Entry, May 27, 1737, The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., ed. by Oliver, p. 148.

11Mable M. Swan, "Elijah and Jacob Sanderson, Early Salem Cabinetmakers: A Salem Eighteenth Century Furniture Trust Company," EIHC, LXX, No. 4 (October, 1934), 324.


13See Letters and Diary of John Rowe, Boston Merchant.
1759-1762, 1764-1779, ed. by Anne Rowe Cunningham (Boston: W.W. Clarke Company, 1903), for Rowe's frequent mentions of sitting on arbitral boards in colonial Boston.

14 "Essex County Notarial Records," EIHC, XLII, No. 3 (June, 1907), 246.


17 "Old Scraps," EIHC, I, No. 2 (May, 1859), 66.


21 East, Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era, p. 45; Robert East notes that a similar increase in underwriters accompanied an earlier colonial war, as illustrated in A Boston Ship Insurance Book, 1747-1756 in the Essex Institute.


24 Ibid., p. 50.

25 East, Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era, p. 70.

26 Ibid., pp. 69-70.


29. Ichabod Tucker, 1765-1856, Entry, January 1, 1797, Interleaved Almanac Diary, 1797, Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection.


31. Entry, November 11, 1787, The Diary of William Bentley, I, 80.


33. Entry, July 18, 1791, The Diary of William Bentley, I, 276-77.


35. Entry, October 29, 1791, The Diary of William Bentley, I, 319; Salem Gazette, V, No. 263, October 25, 1791.

36. Entry, February 20, Ichabod Tucker, Interleaved Almanac Diary, 1796, Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection.

37. Mary Holyoke, Entry, November 2, 1791, The Holyoke Diaries, annotated by Dow, p. 251.


Chapter IV

Ideological Beliefs and Norms of Association

Understanding the growth of associations in colonial Salem requires some conception of the beliefs which encouraged their formation. As Robert Maclver, a noted sociologist, revealed; "Every age has its own evaluations, its own appraisement of the things worthwhile, revealed...in its thought forms."1 This section will explore Salem values as they relate to associational formation. Many originally religious concepts are discussed here, rather than in the chapter on the church, because of their impact on thought forms.

Choice was an important social and religious concept. Religious commitment was voluntary in Puritan belief. As Nathaniel Appleton cautioned in his sermon, Superior Skill:

We must remember they are Souls we are treating of, rational Souls, intellectual Beings, free moral Agents, and consequently their being so as to come over to Christ, must be a rational and voluntary Act, for there is no such thing as a Soul's being won and gained over to Christ but where there is a free and full Consent of the Will, which is incompatible with Force or Compulsion.2

Because of the voluntary nature of commitment, man's failure to take the covenant could be blamed on his own
intransigence. The supposition was that his reason could see the right way but that he stubbornly chose to refuse the covenant.

In interpreting the Bible, Puritans were likely to bring out the voluntary sacrifices made by religious leaders. Belknap underscored the fact that only death of the son of God could atone for man's sins and that this sacrifice "great as it was, Christ freely offered, for the love he bare to our guilty race." In a letter to his mother, Robert Gibbs "mindfully acknowledged... God's free grace, his great mercy in dealing so mercifully with us as he hath." "Philo-Biblios", a contributor to the Salem Gazette, interpreted the prayer of Moses in Exodus XXXII as a voluntary contract. In this passage, Moses was intreating God to forgive his people for worshiping the Golden Calf; "yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin...; and if not, blot me, I pray..., out of the book which thou hast written." Although some commentators had felt Moses was venting his anger at God, "Philo-Biblios" could not agree: "I cannot but think that Moses is here mediating between God and Israel, not only in the way of fervant intercession, but by voluntarily offering himself as a Substitute for the latter."

Religious commitments took on greater significance because of their voluntary assumption. When the dissenting brethren of the First Church of Salem wanted to underscore the serious nature of their intentions, they chose to abstain
from the sacraments: "Two Sacrament Days have revolved since we received the Elements, and we have voluntarily laid this Suspension upon ourselves."6 The Dedham church was reluctant to change their form of ministerial support because they felt it had particular biblical sanction "in consideration of what has been spoken from the scripture and argument referring to the duty and rule of [voluntary] contribution as to conscience...in the sight and fear of God."7

The special import of free commitment carried over into secular engagements. As if to justify their actions, Salem's committee for reviewing the estates of departed citizens emphasized the fact "that Henry Gardner voluntarily went to our Enemies."8 The governor of Massachusetts attributed the importance of constitutional deliberations to their voluntary inception, exhorting "Almighty God...to shower down divine blessings upon the people of these United States—disposing them in a yet unexampled manner, to unite in voluntarily forming a salutary Constitution."9

In agreements whose free undertaking was questionable, voluntary commitment was still invoked. Servant indentures, even for minors, contained a clause testifying to their free inception. Joshua Jeane did "of his own free will & also by and with the advice & Consent of his present Master Elie Nichollas...sett himself an apprentice."10 In the indenture of Nicholas Bourgness, a youth of Guernsey, to William English of Salem, the phrase, "his own free and
"voluntary will" was inserted to give extra cachet to the contract.\textsuperscript{11} James Ennis was bound over to Joseph Grafton of Salem "of his own voluntary will and also by & with the Consent of his Mother."\textsuperscript{12} Enlistment papers included the phrase "voluntarily."\textsuperscript{13} When John Appleton, Abigail Eppes, Peter Frye, and Elizabeth Higginson were censured in the press for breaking the non importation agreement, Salem's committee of inspection made much of the point that they acted "contrary to their own voluntary Agreement, by them subscribed, the 2d May 1770."\textsuperscript{14} It is probable that these subscribers experienced strong community pressure to sign the agreement, and, thus, doubtful that their actions can be construed as entirely voluntary.

Other customary legal forms were couched in voluntary terms. When Alice Burroughs of Marblehead, a single woman, was questioned by Timothy Pickering about her pregnancy, the record showed that it was a "voluntary examination."\textsuperscript{15} Attached to a deed transferring a share in the Essex Turnpike from Sylvester Osborne to Thomas Brooks was the postscript "Sylvester Osborne personally appeared and acknowledged the above instrument by him signed to be his voluntary act."\textsuperscript{16}

The value attached to voluntary commitment in the belief system of early Salem helps to explain the growth of secular voluntary associations as does the cultural importance of association. Emphasis on association was also grounded in religious practice. Though Puritan
belief demanded an individual rational commitment, much essential religious practice demanded group meeting. It was their conviction that the Lord was more likely to be present and declare his will in full congregation than before a single individual. Jeremy Belknap reminded his hearers that "our great Lord...has promised his gracious, spiritual presence where two or three are...together in his name."17 In A Town in Its Truest Glory, a sermon addressed to Salem, Cotton Mather explained the import of the tabernacle of meeting:

Tis true, when the Tabernacle of old was called, The Tabernacle of Meeting...it was not so much because of Mens Meeting there, as because of Gods Meeting with men there, and there declaring His Mind unto them. Nevertheless, This affords a Glorious Reason for Mens Meeting there. A Town should have a Place, where they should attend that the mind of God may be declared unto them.18

To John Cotton's mind, sermons heard in full meeting could be catalysts to conversion but printed copies were pale imitations which did "not prosper to conversion."19 Biblical quotations could be produced to bolster the need for assembly. John Gardner kept a religious diary in which he recorded the text of one sermon as Hebrews 16:25, "Nor forsaking the Assembling ourselves together as the manner of some is."20 Gathering together was so important an injunction of religious life that dissenters from Reverend Fiske's ministry were deeply troubled that their withdrawal caused them "to Live in...Neglect of so [[plan]] a Duty...which we thought incumbent on us."21
The intrinsic value of association in religious practice was directly translated into Masonic thought. Though human brotherhood, not divine communion, was the goal, words of admonition are much the same: "May we never forsake the assembling ourselves together, to take sweet council, & join in the bonds of love."22

A church had no existence beyond the body of covenanted Christians who formed it. For God's ordinances to have validity, they had to be administered before the living body of the church. Only extraordinary circumstances would justify private baptism. Records of the First Church of Beverly, an offshoot of the First Church of Salem, show this clearly. Every private administration was excused by the poor health of the recipient and the expectation that "he would never be able to appear at the House of God, in order to come up to his Duty."23 A minister's prognosis of a child's impending death was verified in one page of the record: "accordingly it died the same day it was baptized."24 Presence of witnesses was thought to mitigate the irregularity of private administration; each notice of private baptism included an estimate of those present, usually "a considerable number of the Church."25 Despite the discretion with which private baptisms were administered and presented to the church, on at least one occasion in 1742, Beverly church and congregation objected to the private baptism of an aged man in ill health conducted "in the presence of a
In the 1780's, William Bentley proceeded cautiously to institute private baptism in the East Church and drew criticism from one of his fellow ministers for acting "against all religious institutions." Bentley carefully reeducated his parishioners to the possibility of private and clinical baptism; the care he took can be considered an index of the entrenched support for the belief that ordinances of the church were only valid performed in full church assembly:

Mary Carrol propounded for Clinical Baptism. In propounding the Subject for Clinical Baptism, in the Morning Service I mentioned after the concluding prayer, that there was a subject, & that there were no precedents in the New Testament which could imply the irregularity of it, but many to justify it. It was uncertain how many were present at the baptism of Jesus & the Nature of the baptism administered by the disciples must render it often private. The Eunuch was baptised by Philip privately. To the house of Lydia, & the Tailor, or at least nothing is said to render any time, or place or number of Spectators essential. I remarked on the baptism of Tertullian & several of the fathers, & on the practices of the English, Roman & Greek churches. On Wednesday following as no objection was offered, I proceeded to baptise.

Association was also a practical expedient for maintaining Puritan discipline. It was felt that group example helps to reinforce moral behavior on the part of the individual. When the First Church of Salem renewed their covenant in 1680, they vowed "in brotherly love faithfully to watch over one another souls" and "to endeavour to keep our selves pure from the sins of the
times." Faith in the efficacy of group discipline most likely prompted John Higginson, one of Salem's early ministers, to advise his children to attend "some private Christian Meeting once a month," and the power of example was one of the benefits Samuel Fiske saw in Benjamin Lynde, Jr.'s proposal for a young men's religious society.

Advantages to be gained through mutual watchfulness were recognized outside the church. Governor Endicott was advised from London to see that "a watchfull eye [be] held over all in each familie, by one or more in each famylie." The idea of having specially appointed persons overlook family discipline was later translated into the specific office of tithingman, but the expectation that individuals would police the conduct of their peers took even wider root in society. In some social systems, young men would never inform on their friends. Benjamin Marston of Salem felt such conduct his beholden duty; he resolved to "avoid all bad company and everything I see amiss in my friends carry itt dutifull & respectfully & obligingly to my superiours & the family wher[e] I live." John Pynchon, a Salem lawyer, was delighted when his son John and some of his friends formed a club because he hoped that association would improve all the youths: "May every seed and every virtuous sprout or shoot in those youths meet with due encouragement and produce plentiful crops." Bad company was to be avoided. Nathaniel Appleton apprised
Benjamin Goodhue of his steps in caring for Goodhue's son: "I often caution him against Evil Company: and to guard against...Evil...Examples."\textsuperscript{35}

Belief that combination was a prime means of performing God's work in society grew from the religious evaluation of association. Frederick S. Carney suggests that importance of association in Calvinist thought derived from a humanist concern. He traces Calvinist preoccupation with participation back to the Ciceronian concept of societas—"that to be truly human one must participate.\textsuperscript{36} William Bentley's assessment of the importance of Masonic society derives from humanistic and religious strains: "We can assist the world in its best hopes, and certainly concur in the best ends of civil society. Association we learn from God."\textsuperscript{37} Edward Augustus Holyoke, long a noted physician and influential citizen in Salem, deemed it a crime against God for a man to isolate himself: "[such men] do, in effect tell their maker, that they have improved upon his Plan of Nature and Providence, and found out a better Way of serving Him then the old one of doing all the Good in their Power, in the social State."\textsuperscript{38}

In part because of the beliefs examined above and simply because association became a "habitual inclination,"\textsuperscript{39} organizations proliferated in Salem. In 1798, William Bentley judged from American society as he knew it that "Hardly any man of rank, or reputation is to be found
who has not had his club nights." When he began printing the Essex Gazette in 1768, Samuel Hall felt obliged to assure groups as well as individuals of his discretion: "I shall studiously avoid inserting any Pieces that can justly give Offence to Societies or Individuals." Association was often preferred in Salem over other remedies. When danger of fire prompted several gentlemen to urge citizens to procure buckets, they recommended fire societies as a practical means to accomplish the same:

It is the earnest Request of many Gentlemen of the Town, that every House holder (who can afford it) would be provided with two or more Leather Buckets; for the Purpose of supplying the Engines with Water in Time of Fire. There was a great Scarcity of Buckets at the late Fire; it is therefore hoped the Inhabitants will comply with this Request, either by forming themselves into Fire Companies for that Purpose or in any other Way which they may think proper.

In 1793 a general subscription was circulated for piers at the entrance of Salem harbor. Only if the general undertaking failed was the project to be turned over to private proprietors. Thus, a wide association was the first preference for both fire protection and harbor improvements.

Tocqueville attributed the American preference for association to the isolation of the individual; only by combining can men become "a power seen from afar." Tocqueville's perception is as usual shrewd and it is interesting to note that there are some suggestions in the writings of the time that this advantage was recognized.
The assumption that by joining together men of like views can multiply their strength is implicit in this editorial for August 1793:

The evil spirit of confusion and anarchy begins to spread—it ought seasonably to be opposed by all sound Whigs—we have nothing to oppose to it, but the strong sense of this people; and that ought to be called forth, and a barrier made to the designs of restless intriguing and interested men. Let associations be formed, if necessary, to support the national credit and honour—let us address Congress on the subject, and tender them our services.45

More pointed is Salem's rejoinder to the Boston Committee of Correspondence, defending the right of town petition:

Nor can we imagine why it should be suggested that for the Inhabitants of a Town to state their Grievances as Individuals would be more eligible than to do it in their Corporate Capacity. The former it is true would be less likely to succeed, and therefore would be the choice of some men...but every man who sincerely desires to have Grievances redressed, must certainly prefer that mode of stating them which would probably be most easy, most regular, and most likely to succeed: and this can be no other than for the Inhabitants of Towns...to meet in their Corporate Capacity.46

Salem's commitment to civic duty also helps to explain the growth of voluntary associations. The importance of attitudes of civic responsibility has been suggested by sociologist David Horton Smith:

Specifically, we expect to find greater FVO [formal voluntary organization] participation for individuals who have "service orientation" to their leisure time (as opposed to a more hedonistic approach); who feel some sort of general moral and social obligation to participate in FVO's.47

It is well known that Puritan mores did not condone prodigal waste of time. Salem's First Church
bound themselves to shun "idleness as the bane of any State." It was assumed that every man could be useful in some occupation. A teacher informed John Gallion that his son would never make a scholar but hastened to add that he "should accomplish himself for some other sphere of usefulness." In an introspective mood on his birthday, Daniel King chastized himself for the meager accomplishments of his life:

1739 July 26th this day I am 35 years old... now have I lived this 35 years how much have I lost by negligence Sin and folly what Good might I have got to my self and Done to others By wisely Improving the many favours I have enjoyed so many years.

By the late eighteenth century, possession of leisure time was no longer considered a moral failing but as an opportunity for other useful pursuits. In April, 1774, the Essex Gazette commended a concert performed "by a Number of Gentlemen of this place, who, the Winter past, have spent their leisure Hours in perfecting themselves, for their own Amusement, in the most approved branches of that Noble Science [music]." William Bentley was unsparing in his praise of General Fiske who used "happy opportunities for leisure" to dispell Salem's "ungenerous reputation" for inhospitality by opening "his house to the worthy of all nations."

An obligation to serve others supplemented the social ethic that men should be employed at all times in some useful pursuit. In his reminiscences of life in Salem and Beverly, Robert Rantoul expressed the duty he felt
he owed the community in fire protection:

From the time of my commencing business in Beverly in 1796, until the introduction of hose and other machinery, and of fire Departments for the extinguishment of fire, it was my invariable practice, unless prevented by sickness, on an alarm of fire either in this town or Salem, by night or by day, be the weather what it might, with as much speed as was practicable, to take my fire buckets and proceed to the scene of devastation. It was then the prevalent opinion that it was a duty incumbent upon all able-bodied men so to do. This opinion had a favorable moral influence upon the mass of the community, promoting a generous desire to aid one another by personal efforts and sacrifices.53

William Bentley concurred with Rantoul about the obligation of fire fighting. When a friend obtained his admission in a fire club, Bentley was happy "to acquiesce in an institution so truly belonging to a good citizen's patronage."54 Bentley sometimes served up to his waist in mud at fires and was disdainful of any who would not do the same.55 Civic duty was one of the leit-motivs of Edward Holyoke's thought; he decried that man who did not use his talents "in some Employment or Pursuit, beneficial to others" and allowed that such a man deserved "the Contempt and Neglect of that Society he so grossly injures."56

To some, civic duty was a direct expression of God's will. Holyoke felt that the man who secludes himself in prayer and meditation suffers from the delusion that he better serves God alone than in society: "Let this Aphorism be impressed on every Mind, 'That no Life is pleasing to God but that which is useful to Mankind.'"57
Doctor Holyoke was not concerned that all men serve; "it is not of much Importance to Society, how a Person incapable of moral Action disposes of himself or his time."\textsuperscript{58} Cotton Mather dismissed those men who questioned their civic duty: "If any man ask...'What is it worth the while to do good in the world'? I must say, 'It sounds not like the question of a good man'....the spiritual taste of every good man will make him have an unspeakable relish for it."\textsuperscript{59} Inequality of condition served a divine purpose, allowing those favored with God's bounty to serve as his stewards and dispense their surplus to the less fortunate.\textsuperscript{60} In Puritan thought, men of property and reputation were surmised to be the chosen of God; those in poor and mean circumstances were held in doubt. Reverend Green pondered the fate of old William Buckly, one of his parishioners; "he was poor but I hope had not his portion in this life."\textsuperscript{61} In his sermon on the death of John Gardner, William Bentley explained that through no fault of his own Gardner may have been visited with the misfortunes of his later days but cautioned "that a too strong sympathy with misery may lead to the opposite extreme. Tho virtue may suffer, yet virtue may secure success."\textsuperscript{62}

Men of competence, estate and reputation were expected to provide civic leadership and pull their own weight in community affairs. One could mount a defense of his sincerity by claiming a larger role in
affairs than his substance required. Thus, Timothy Pickering defended his good faith in supporting Salem Hospital, demonstrating that he had contributed more according to his ability than most men. On the other hand, resentment was the portion of substantial men who did not employ their resources in public service. George Williams complained that the "new Fangled Gentlemen" made rich by the Revolution turned "a hard heart" to all public appeals.

Tocqueville contrasted the British style of having a "man of rank" at the head of affairs with the American proclivity for associations. His observation must be qualified by the expectation that a man of rank head any undertaking in Salem. Bentley was dubious when Augustine Lomellini exhibited his subscription for Algerian prisoners on this account:

As the Subscription was slow, I took a humble place on his list by a small sum without a name. He is a man of few qualities to assist in such a design.

Bentley was not the only one who held such scruples; often the ranks of militia could not be filled until the right man had been chosen commander or until some leading gentlemen had turned out. William Wetmore observed the frustration of trying to raise troops in 1776:

After an animating & encouraging speech the Drums turned out for Volunteers--none turned out. The Drums then went round for those who inclined to turn out for £10 bounty. Only 3 or 4 appeared... most of those who were now enlisted were persons of Character & property such as Masters of Vessels,
shop Keepers, &c. The Colonel who also turned out again addressed the People. The drums went round & 92 persons enlisted on the spot.  

In the case above it seems clear that enlistments by several gentlemen turned the tide, just as choice of the right commander drew enlistments in an instance cited in a Jeffrey family diary for 1778:

A Muster of the Militia on the Common at Salem to draft or by some other means, procure fifty-two men to join General Sullivan at Providence in Order to Attack Rhode Island—the drum beat sound out no one followed—then Buffington appeared as Captain if any would turn out but in vain—Major Jos: Sprague was then desired to try his influence by turning out as Captain but refus'd—soon after that Flagg turn'd out and in a very short time had Eighty odd ready to follow him many of them principle people of the Town.  

George Williams informed Timothy Pickering that a prominent group of seamen from Salem turned out for the Rhode Island campaign and that "our turning out has turned out 100 boat men from Marblehead, 60 from Newburyport."  

The leadership role of principal gentlemen was not only evinced in the military; subscriptions for the ship Essex did not take hold until two leading merchants had entered the lists. So persuasive were their opinions considered that booksellers often advertised new editions by proclaiming that principal gentlemen of the town had encouraged their issue. Thomas Cushing judged a review of Job Orton's Discourses to the Aged unnecessary since the subscription list was nearly filled "with names the respectability of which renders any other encomium on
the work unnecessary."72

Religious obligation was not the only basis for public duty; self interest was also a recognized ground. Timothy Pickering warned men of fortune, weight and figure to take active part in the militia for if they did not, leadership would descend to the lowest hands.73 Samuel Sewall was outraged by a proposition to pay militia men more than a subsistence wage: "If persons should not be spirited by Love to their wives, Children, Parents, Religion twas a bad Omen: fell below the heathen Romans."74 An article in the Essex Gazette of February 1774 stressed the importance of militia duty for "every man who...regards the Safety of his Life, Liberty or Property."75 Though all these examples deal with military duty, it may be inferred that self interest was a recognized ground for public service in other areas as well.

So strong was the norm of community service that men tried to identify their goals with the best interests of the town whenever possible. In addressing town government, individuals tended to represent their interest as the public interest. John Crowninshield petitioned that he was "concerned in the fishery, which is known to be a business very beneficial to this government."76 In like manner, Richard Derby pledged to improve Salem commerce if Obear Head were leased to him.77 It was usual to affirm one's community interest when addressing the public on a matter of controversy. An anonymous piece in the Salem
Gazette for September 1784 is fairly typical: "An inhabitant, who has the welfare of the town at heart, feels himself aggrieved at the extraordinary expenses of ferry-ways, highway—bills, &c. when the taxes, occasioned by the late war, are themselves almost insupportable." The press was also pleased to announce that the question of reopening Salem Hospital was "considered upon its proper ground, that of the general interest of the town." Men who strove too directly to achieve their own ends were held suspect; "Philo Libertas" condemned excessive campaigning for public office:

An extraordinary Eagerness to be chose, is no very good Symptom, though a Desire to serve a Community in a General Assembly is a very laudable Ambition....But very different is he, who enters the List out of Opposition, as if, a Combat were intended instead of an Election: Men of this Temper ought to be avoided, it being unnatural to suppose that such extraordinary Measures should be taken for the mere Benefit of others.

Public praise was the expected reward for civic service. Reverend Bentley was sensitive to the duty of the community to reward its deserving and was unhappy with the toasts offered at a celebration of the signing of the Constitution:

In arranging the Toasts it was proposed to add Trade, between Agriculture, Commerce & Fishery. But the connection was overruled by a celebrated Protestant so that the most useful & numerous order of citizens was forgotten in the ceremonies of the day.

When Benjamin Brown made a large contribution to the Salem schools, Judge Lynde asked "liberty to call for a vote of
thanks from the Whole Assembly, which accordingly was done by a Very Cheerfull listing up of Hands."82 No less promptly were Richard Manning, Mr. Alien Burrill and other volunteers thanked in the newspaper for clearing snow off of a major artery so that the eastern mail stage could get through.83 Sometimes praise came from outside the local community as when a committee of the General Court inspected Salem's defenses and reported that the "Fort...does Credit to the gentlemen of the Town of Salem."84 Salem might pay general tribute to a leading citizen during his lifetime as the community did for Benjamin Pickman, Jr.:

*His enlightened fellow citizens will not forget the aid of his abilities, in the future conduct of their important public concerns, and we trust, his diffidence will never suffer him on any reason to withdraw from the Town which gave him birth and which honours him with its confidence and esteem.*85

Individuals, whose public service was not recognized, were bitter at the omission. In a letter from England, Samuel Curwen expressed his resentment at the neglect his townsmen had shown him:

*They forgot or perhaps never knew that I had been in the commission of the peace for more than thirty years; nearly the same period was impost officer for the county of Essex, and a captain in the first Cape Breton regiment,...but no matter, past services are easily forgotten.*86

George Williams was similarly affronted that Massachusetts had not recognized his revolutionary service: "My serving the publick Lost many good opportunity, and the publick not paying me for my part in the Two Ships Lost at
penobscot, which is a Great Damage."\(^7\) Timothy Pickering felt himself strongly abused by the public as Quartermaster General yet he could not bring himself to quit the post:

The public is indeed to the last degree ungrateful, "That the ingratitude of one's Country should not deter a good man from serving it." Yet many times the trials of my patience are so severe, the difficulties and vexations I am obliged to encounter are so intolerable, that I am frequently on the point of resolving to quit an office so burthensome and a service so ungrateful.\(^8\)

If not recognized before, men were likely to be remembered for their public contributions in final eulogies. Though rhetoric may be overdone, obituaries are a fair measure of the value society placed on public service. Benjamin Pickman drew praise for the many "important Places of Trust; which he discharged with great Honour to himself & Advantage to the Public."\(^8\) "No man was more attentive to the police and prosperity of the town" was the final testimony to General Fiske's career.\(^9\) Jacob Fowle was extolled for the many ways in which "he was serviceable to the Public,"\(^9\) Richard Derby, Junior, for "his unshaken integrity in the discharge of the various important offices he sustained,"\(^9\) and Reverend Nicholas Noyes for "his constant solicitude for the public good."\(^9\)

Deaths of prominent citizens were recognized as a public as well as private loss. As reported in the Salem Gazette, Captain Edmund Rolland's death was "an event really to be regretted by the community."\(^9\) It was written that Stephen Higginson's "Death may be justly
esteemed, not only as a private but as a public loss."95 Phrasing of the Essex Gazette's obituary for Benjamin Pickman and the Salem Gazette's final tribute to Doctor William Goodhue are nearly identical:

His Removal is an inexpressible Loss to his friends, his family and to the public.96

His Death is much regretted, as a great loss to his family, his friends, and to the community.97

In some writings the idea is expressed that loss of a public man is more to be regretted than personal bereavement. William Bentley clearly voiced this concern in his sermon on the death of John Gardner:

When we mourn the domestic bereavement, then the grief be more pungent, yet sentiment will supply our consolations, and time renew our happy relations. When we lose the useful citizen—the friend of his neighbors and of mankind—we may not so readily find our public loss compensated.98

Sense of irreparable loss colors the description of Samuel Barton's virtues shining "with a Luster almost peculiar to himself,"99 and the representations that in Nicholas Noyes the community lost a "principal part of their glory,"100 in Benjamin Pickman, "one of the pillars of the community."101 Reverend Samuel Fiske esteemed Captain John Brown's passing "A Great Blow...to this town Especially"; and when Captain Pickman's death followed close on Brown's, Fiske was moved to pray: "Will God spare this Town & Parish & shew us why he thus sorely breaks & contendeth with us."102

Funeral honors were in keeping with the stature of prominent men. As Samuel Sewall recorded in his diary, it
was an anomaly for a man of wealth to have no mourners:

Very few at his [Captain Henchman's] Funeral; his two Servants, a white and black, carried him to, and put him in his Grave. His Wife and children following and no more but one or two more.\textsuperscript{103}

The Sewall, Holyoke, Pynchon and Bentley diaries all record funerals attended and the respectability of assemblies. It would seem that the authors desired a better fate than David Henchman's. Benjamin Pickman garnered a better fate:

His Remains were...interred with All the Respect, Honour and Solemnity that the Town could afford—a Detachment from the Regiment (of which he was lately Colonel) bearing their arms reversed proceeded the Corps, marching in funeral Procession ....A numerous Train of Mourners, followed by a large Number of the principal Gentlemen and Ladies of the Place, succeeded the Corps.\textsuperscript{104}

Ichabod Plaisted was similarly honored by the community: "The Town being sensible of his great Merit, ordered their Train of Artillery to be discharged during the Funeral Procession."\textsuperscript{105} Major General Fiske was given "every mark of respect in the power of the inhabitants to express."\textsuperscript{106}

Duty to the community might require charitable activity. Since benevolent organizations have long been a prevalent form of voluntary association in this country, it is valuable to assess the intellectual bases for such combinations in early Salem. Charity is sometimes believed to have had bad connotations in Puritan thought. William Perkins, the great English puritan, censured the very poor as "rogues, beggars, vagabonds...commonly...of no
no civil society or corporation."107 This quotation from Perkins is quite significant; the worst poor to the Puritan mind were those who belonged to no settled society or parish. Salem always felt obligation to care for her own poor in some capacity but warned out of town the wandering poor from other communities. In the seventeenth century, the town projected the establishment of a spinning factory for the employ of the poor and generally showed considerable patience in meeting needs of the indigent.108 A statement of town philosophy on poor relief is found in instructions to the selectmen, March 19, 1668: "You shall no wayes Ingage the Town so as to bringe them into debt except in case of nessety of the poore &c wherein we desire god to Incourage you."109 Salem's position was consonant with John Winthrop's admonition that "when there is noe other meanes whereby our Christian brother may be relieved... we must help him beyond our ability, rather than tempt God, in putting him upon help by miraculous and extraordinary meanes."110

In the eighteenth century, the assumption still prevailed that a man's first duty was to his immediate community. E.A. Holyoke drew a clear distinction between charity and generosity: "We ought also to be careful that we do not let our Generosity encroach upon our Acts of Charity, or incapacitate us from performing them for, though the former be an amiable Trait in a Man's Character, the latter is his indispensable Duty."111
Presumably, Holyoke's distinction was based both on the proximity and worthiness of the object for relief; Salem selectmen emphasized the unusual circumstances of their ministrations to George Gray, a stranger: "We were called to his relief, and upon Examination found him to be poor indeed & an Object of our Utmost Charity, for he was wholly a stranger." As a strain of eighteenth century thought, Masonic belief most closely blended charity and generosity. On a secular plane, Masonic rhetoric, portraying charity as a "bright gem that heals the piercing wounds of adverse fortune," came near to restoring charity to its former prominence in a religious sense as "holier than hope or even faith." But, on a practical plane, Masons did not see all men as brothers, though they envisioned a future world in which they would be. "The faithful brother in distress" Masons had in mind aiding was a fellow Mason, not a distant stranger.

Cotton Mather's views on charity deserve attention, not only because he was a leading theologian, but also because he strove to influence the Salem community. Mather wrote A Town in its Truest Glory for Salem's instruction and tried to convince leading gentlemen of the town to expend their bounty "in pius uses." Christopher Hill cites Mather as a follower of Remark in his harsh attitude toward the poor. This is not a fair evaluation of the later stages of Mather's thought. By the time he wrote Bonifacius as a handbook to show people in different professions how they might do all the good within their
power, Cotton Mather had broadened his conception of benevolence; Mather meditated on the good he could devise to do each day—one of his attempts to animate sympathy is the following:

There is a Point which I design to bring very much into my Conversation. When I Converse with people, that are (Especially) under Chronical Maladies, (As, Suppose the Gout) but are wealthy, or well-accomodated in the world; I would propose unto them, to Look out for some other person under the Like Maladies but Such an one as is poor, and Low, and destitute of all Good Accommodations and Charitably dispense Reliefs unto them.119

Mather was anxious to fill the needs of Salem's poor, both temporal and spiritual. In February, 1707, he dispatched a charity to Salem which he hoped would have a double impact:

I wrap'd up seven little Distinct parcels of Money. I annexed, seven little Books about Repentance. And seven of the Monitory Letter against profane Absence from the public Worship of God.

There is a Town in the Country, namely, Salem which has many poor and bad People in it; and such as are especially scandalous for staying at Home on the Lord's-dayes. I sent these Things with a nameless Letter to the Minister of that Town. I desired him, and empowered him, to dispense this Charity, in his own Name; hoping thereby the more to gratiate his Ministry to the people; I entreated him, to find out seven Families of People answering the evil Character aforesaid; and lodge with them, the Charity, and the Books that accompanied it; and bestow his own holy Counsels also upon them. Who can tell, how far the good Angels of Heaven, may co-operate in these Proceedings?120

Four years later, the eminent theologian journeyed to Salem, resolved to "endeavor there to sett forward Things for the Relief of the Poor."121 This time he had in mind establishing a charity school like ones he had fashioned
in Boston to teach religion and practical skills. According to his diary entry, Mather met some success: "Here at Salem, I forward the setting up of a Charity Schole."122

The value of charitable activity must also be considered. In general, writings follow the trend suggested by Christopher Hill, that is, that Puritans emphasized "charity...[as] a duty to God and ourselves even more than to our neighbour."123 E.A. Holyoke asserted that "there is no Duty more warmly urged upon us in the Gospel, and we are even directed to work with our Hands...that we may have to give to him that needeth."124 As a corollary, Holyoke enjoined men to eschew all unnecessary expenses in order to give alms. Besides being a duty to God, virtuous acts redounded to the benefit of the donor; Bentley confirmed the blessings virtue brings125 and Benjamin Pickman reminded his son that "benevolence...will afford you happiness in this present state."126 Holyoke affirmed that "there is no greater Happiness to the benevolent Man, than the Consciousness that he has promoted the Happiness of others."127 Though happiness of the donor and his duty to God were their concerns, these writers did not follow William Perkin's total emphasis upon the giver; "it is not the thing given, but the merciful and pitiful heart of the giver...that makes our giving to the poor to be alms."128 Instead they emphasized the happiness of the donor in perceiving the good he has done for the poor. Besides its importance for
the individual donor and recipient, charity was considered an essential adhesive to society. In a *Model of Christian Charitie*, John Winthrop explained that God so arranged the world "that every man might have need of [the] other, and from hence, they might all be more nearly knitt together in the Bond of brotherly affection." An anonymous article signed by "Z" expressed the same sentiment: "Society is linked together by its [benevolence] salutary and benign Influence, and from its prevailing Power in the human Mind there arises the greatest Benefit to the whole Chain of social Beings."

Charitable behavior was a favorable trait for which men and women were praised in obituaries. It is interesting to note that women were included in the approval since otherwise they were seldom lauded for civic duty. Benevolence was an acceptable female trait and, because of this, the Female Charitable Society emerged as the first woman's association in Salem. Obituaries were often couched in terms of the "benevolent" rather than "charitable" deportment of the deceased, perhaps because charity never lost the niggardly connotations of early Puritanism. Reverend George Curwin was remembered as "a great benefactor to the poor," Sarah Gardner was accorded praise for her "humane, benevolent Disposition," while Asa Dunbar was lauded as "a man of philanthropy and benevolence." Her "benevolent deportment" drew attention to Margaret Cleveland. In like manner, John Higginson
was applauded for "the Goodness and Benevolence of his Heart." Captain Edward Rolland for his "principles of humanity, benevolence and honesty." Only two notices were phrased in terms of charity. Mary Derby was noted as "very remarkable for her charity to the Poor," and Abigail West as a "charitable...benefactor." In more extended notices, the poor were pictured as grieving for the loss of their benefactors. Elizabeth Pickman earned "the undissembled grief of the poor, who shared her bounty." Ichabod Plaisted was distinguished by his daily concern for the less fortunate; "the Poor he always had with him—it was his daily Delight as Overseer, to enquire after their Welfare—No man was more beloved or lamented by them." A more poetic tribute was raised to Benjamin Pickman: "He was a Father to the Poor, & the Widow's Heart he often caused to sing for Joy."

Desire for order and harmony in human relations were strong motifs in Salem thought. Unlike unruly lower creatures, one of the truest signs of man's humanity was the ability to order his affairs. Desire for ordered arrangements had an impact on the associational life of Salem for it predisposed citizens to prefer formal societies over informal arrangements.

Confusion and riot were conditions for the good citizen to avoid. Newspaper accounts of local military parades always stressed their regularity. One military review earned this commendation: "The men like orderly
soldiers and good citizens, withdrew, without occasioning any kind of confusion."\textsuperscript{142} This was the formula for describing military parades. Note the similarity of another drill which "concluded...with the decency and good order which characterizes the respectable citizen and true soldier."\textsuperscript{143} So important was regularity that on one occasion the \textit{Salem Mercury} felt obliged to justify the minor confusion which marked one parade: "The representation of hostility by dividing the Company in two adverse parties—who alternately acted upon the offensive, with great spirit, and good order (except when confusion was purposely created, that the men might learn to recover themselves with dexterity)—was highly entertaining."\textsuperscript{144} It was also the mark of the good citizen to conduct public celebrations in orderly fashion. The expectation that no disarrangement mar public festivities accounts in part for the fact that such celebrations were carefully planned subscription dinners—or voluntary societies for a single event. \textit{Salem Gazette}'s account of the Fourth of July 1793 describes the expected form:

The Marine Society, with the Clergy and other professional characters, and respectable Gentlemen of various occupations, met at Washington Hall; and after mutual congratulations, sat down to an elegant entertainment....

We are happy to observe, that nothing like riot or confusion took place during the day, which have so often, in societies less restrained, disgraced public festivities, designed to celebrate great national blessings.\textsuperscript{145}

Good order was not only of concern in civil
society; it was also a requisite of church functions.Accounts of church ordinations usually included testimony
to their good order. Reverend Adam's ordination is typical
of the genre: "The whole of the Solemnity was conducted
without the least Shew of Opposition: and performed with
an exemplary Regularity, Decency, and good Order." Orderly arrangements were expected to dominate regular
church services as well. Mrs. Marston was warned for
disrupting a church service by sitting in the wrong pew:
"All persons ought to observe order in all things & places,
Especially in the Church at the Publick Worship, which
wee desire you will take notice of & Conform your Self
accordingly." One of the worst opprobriums a church
could cast on any members was to say that they "walk
disorderly." Maintenance of good order also entailed peaceful
discussions. "Christian unanimity and love" was the
desired shape of church deliberations. Harmonious
relations were no less valued in civil life. The town
of Salem petitioned her representatives to protest the
"discords and Divisions" following the Stamp Act which had
broken the precious thread of public harmony. Public
discussions were to be conducted in a reasoned atmosphere.
Though the unanimity hoped for in church discussions was
not expected in town government, peace and order were still
the goals. This description of the meeting to consider
reopening Salem Hospital presents a model for orderly civil
discussions: "The meeting was crowded, as the question was interesting; No intemperate warmth was discovered on either side,...[and the subject was] determined with much good humour and cordiality." Peaceful and orderly relations were the goal in private life as well. Tammassen Buffum took care writing his will "for the better satisfaction of my children & relations to the end that they may live in peace."  

The way to attain peaceful relations and avoid confusion was through good government. Edward Holyoke states this imperative in one of his sermons: "In all Societies and Communities of men whether civic or Ecclesiastical, it is absolutely necessary (to prevent Confusion and Disorder, and that the End of their Combination into such political Bodies should be answered) that there should be Rule and Government established among them." To Samuel Curwen, it was government that held in check the primal impulses of man. He reminded his correspondent that "when the bonds of society are unhappily loosened, and the laws forced into silence, [the lower classes] do not neglect to avail themselves of those times to run riot."  

Institution of some form of government was generally the remedy for problems of disorder. Governor Endicott was instructed to institute a form of family government in Salem "soe disorders may bee prevented, and ill weeds nipt before they take too great a head."
Though he did not consider them necessary in a theological sense, Bentley valued ministerial associations for church governance. As he explained to a friend, "from a principle of good order, I attached myself to the Salem association of ministers." New regulations were considered the answer to problems of disorder in the town. As funeral processions were becoming disarrayed and increasingly long, Salem drew new regulations which provided that all persons "walk orderly" two by two to the burying place and that all services be completed by the setting of the sun.

William Brown seemed to hope that strict regulations in his will would prevent his sons from quarreling after his death. To his eldest son William he granted his house:

But my other sons and all their issue male, are to have perusal of any of the books in the said Library and liberty of borrowing them from time to time, as they have occasion for them, giving receipts for them in a receipt book, fixed to the Catalogue for the said Library, and using them carefully and returning them safely, after a reasonable time allowed them for the reading thereof, when the receipts given are to be cancelled.

Belief that "peace, order and security [are] the most valuable blessings of social civil life" and that good government enabled men to achieve the same had an impact on the associational life of Salem. As men were scrupulous of public order and regularity in their private affairs, they expected their clubs and organizations to be similarly well ordered and free of dissension.

Values discussed above shaped the nascent associative
impulses in Salem society. Favorable connotations of voluntarism and association stemming from religious belief were supportive of free association in secular life as well. Conviction that a gentleman had an obligation to perform his public duty and extend charity to the poor spurred participation in community affairs while favorable connotations of voluntarism, association and good order suggested permanent arrangements to handle given community problems. The way William Bentley joined a definition of true charity to a belief in the efficacy of associations for dispensing the same reveals, in the workings of one mind, how belief could buttress association:

The hand of charity may be extended to the sufferer, in the hour of his distress: but this is not substantial relief. The good should be permanent; and as the object is great, the hands should be united. The helpless children are not relieved, merely by the bread they eat....A generous relief is such as a father would bestow—the familiar means of education, for the valuable ends of the society in which they live....And this assistance can be had only from happy combinations in society.
Chapter IV

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Section II: Chapter V

Chronological Development of Voluntary Associations

Evolution of a fertile and diverse associational life in Salem can only be substantiated by careful chronological examination of the growth of voluntary associations in the community, both single events and ongoing clubs. One caution must be entered at this point; a modern researcher cannot hope to uncover a complete roll of associational commitments for, as William Bentley cautioned, this could not be done in his own time: "In voluntary associations, and in the great towns, in which society forms, changes and multiplies continually a precise number cannot be fixed." Purposes of associations fall into four basic categories: social, civic duty, mutual aid and self improvement, and benevolence.

The earliest known association for mutual aid and civic improvement was a wharfage agreement confirmed by town government in 1662. Merchants who financed the project not only provided better mooring for their own vessels but for the rest of their townsmen who had the right to land crafts there. However, to unload goods, townsmen had to seek permission of the owners. The reserve of Salem's old troop asked the General Court to appoint officers for them so that "still in the best way Wee can be serviceable.
to God & to Country."

Presumably, the commitment of the reserve was largely voluntary; in which case, this troop may be considered the prototype of Salem's voluntary military societies. Another wharf project was authorized in 1681. Again both mutual advantage and civic improvement were the ends. William Browne Jr. and other merchants were permitted to build wharves on the cove on condition that Salem have wharfage free there." Still another wharfage association was formed in 1684; again town inhabitants seem to have been privileged to use the wharf for, when proprietors asked to be granted the site in perpetuity, they pleaded as cause the extensive repairs necessitated by other townsmen damaging the piers.

An association may have existed during Salem's witchcraft hysteria. George F. Cheever notes that the warrant for John Willard's arrest does not include his accuser's name and speculates that this discrepancy may be due to the fact that Willard was accused by an organization said to have functioned during the witchcraft outbreak, a society to catch witches and wizards. No other substantiation has been found for its existence, but it is true to the character of Salem society that ad hoc groups might form at times of emergency.

A subscription by leading gentlemen to provide a scout shallop for town defense is the next instance of voluntary association. Here again civic duty was the primary aim. Owners of Salem fishing vessels jointly
launched an expedition in 1674 to recover their fishing vessels held at St. Johns. By so doing, they were aiding each other to recover property and, by launching an armed ship to make the recovery, they were taking the civic function of defense into their own hands. The next year John Higginson, Jacob Manning and other petitioners were allowed to drain water on the town common.

Mutual advantage and community service are the aims of associations prior to 1700. Values ascribed to useful activity and fruitful use of time in Puritan thought would suggest this orientation for early organizations. Also growth of the community to a town of 85 houses and some 800 inhabitants by 1678 and development of the fishing trade probably underscored the need for better docking facilities. Some social occasions may have been celebrated in the seventeenth century which escape our purview for lack of newspaper accounts. Though few early examples are available, it is likely that one major social institution, the characteristic New England funeral, began to evolve in the 1600's. As early as 1646, Salem provided that the meeting house bell be rung before all funerals so that the community could gather. Funerals were major social occasions and can be considered voluntary associations for single events. Careful preparations selectmen made for Captain William Trask's internment in 1666 suggest an early elaboration of funeral practice in Salem. Soldiers who marched before the corps were given "allowance to make them
drink at Mr. Gidney" and a black drape was provided for the drum. Nearest of kin invited friends to serve as bearers. Those nominated might decline the honor as William Bentley did for the funeral of Reverend Diman, since his relations with his predecessor had never been close. If nominees accepted the appointment, they were generally given some token of the day's association. Rings, scarves and gloves were common.

A volunteer expedition to capture Quelch, the pirate, is the first usage in the eighteenth century. Civic improvement was the keynote of an attempt by Jas Symonds and his Northfield neighbours to build a causeway over the North River. Fishing merchants continued to provide for their defense. Captain William Pickering was hired by several owners in 1707 to convoy their fleet but was unable to honor the contract because William Lillie held up his vessel in litigation.

There is a gap of over a decade before the next associations are logged. Town meeting authorized several citizens to build Ipswich Bridge at their own cost in April of 1721. A year later John Higginson and his neighbors successfully petitioned for the right to lay a drain in front of their houses, improving their own property and also the condition of town streets. The next undertaking was a bridge, again reflecting the growing transportation needs of the community. James Rusk and other proprietors built a bridge over South River near the mill.
Four years later the proprietors asked town government to take over repairs on the facility. Several merchants constructed a large wharf out to Jeggles Island in the South River in 1727. Though townsmen did not enjoy free wharfage at this dock, long wharf added measurably to harbor facilities and townsmen could rent space from proprietors. The piers were kept in good repair, with additions authorized in 1735 and 1765, until the wharf was sold to Richard Derby and George Crowninshield in 1780.

A young men's club in 1730 is the first basically social organization to be noted. Benjamin Lynde Jr. was a member and the club may have been the church society he discussed with Reverend Samuel Fiske in 1724. The fact that Lynde refers to this association as the old club in 1730 suggests that it had been functioning for some years. This society met at Pratts and seems to have had some goal beyond conviviality for Benjamin Lynde Jr. mentioned being speaker for the night. Five years later another civic improvement was accomplished by group action. Residents of Love Street obtained permission to erect posts in front of their houses. By the end of the decade, another sodal club was functioning,—again a young men's club. Our only knowledge of this society comes from Philip English's tavern account book where their bill from November to January 1739 is recorded.

Since two of the earliest social organizations met in taverns, it seems worthwhile to consider the interrelation-
ship of clubs and tavern practice. The oldest meaning of club is not of a group of people who met together regularly but is a designation for a share of a tavern bill. When Benjamin Lynde recorded that "I put our Courts club, 4 of us at Coffin's on my account," he used club in its older meaning of reckoning. As an accounting practice, Philip English kept a record of clubs due from specific individuals. The Young Men's Club of 1739 is the only example in his ledger of his carrying the account of an organization. Some of the individuals charged with clubs may have been in the position of Judge Lynde,—they may have placed the tab for a group's drinks or dinner on their account. In other cases it is clear that individuals who appear in the ledger were assessed only their share of refreshments. Entries in the ledger suggest it was early practice for military captains to take refreshment together after militia drills with prominent citizens. For November 5 and 8 1734, identical clubs were charged to the accounts of Mr. John Varrott, Captain Joseph Fry and Captain Faler, suggesting that they had partaken in a joint libation on the dates in question, possibly after a militia drill. "Expences for your men" itemized on David le Gallias's bill for November 8 supports the interpretation of a militia drill, for it was customary to provide cider for the soldiers after their training. Captain Blue and Captain Barlow were each assessed four shillings six pence on July 10, 1727, and Captain Barlow an additional charge for his
men's punch. Desire for ordered arrangements for splitting tavern bills may have inspired formation of early clubs. Though records are not available on the two earliest social clubs in the 1730's, most club charters provided that members attend all meetings and be responsible for their share of the reckoning even in their absence. The Civil Society formed in 1745 stipulated in its first article that "every member shall pay his club." Instead of friends meeting informally at taverns, not sure how many would appear to share the evening's entertainment, these same friends could be sure of the number to arrive under a formal association and could anticipate their share of the night's expenses.

The pace of associational growth quickened in the next decade. Where there had been only three new undertakings in the previous decade, there were nine new associations in the 1740's. A new concern for fire protection was prominent on the list. Presumably, increase in population had made the community's vulnerability to fire manifest. In 1732 Salem's population was around 5000; with wood buildings and a growing population, Salem could no longer afford to entrust fire protection to divine providence. The first undertaking of the decade was a fire engine subscription. Colonel Plaisted, William Browne, Timothy Pickering and other citizens made contributions to a fund which was to provide Salem with a fire engine. In the event they failed to raise enough money for an engine, contributions
were to be returned to the donors, and this seems to have been the likely outcome of this first attempt to shore up Salem's fire defenses. Another attempt at civic improvement proved abortive the following year. In this case a subscription for repairing the fort broke down, as Benjamin Lyde Jr. put it, "about who should command it." A major transportation link was begun by proprietors in 1742. The North Bridge, built by James Lindall and others, was destined to become a point of continuing controversy between proprietors and the town until 1789.

1744 saw the introduction of fire clubs into Salem. Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia club, dating from 1739, is usually taken as the earliest such institution, but Carl Bridenbaugh has noted an earlier association in Boston, founded in 1717. Salem's Old Fire Club, which functioned continuously through the 1790's, was formed in September 1744. Mutual aid was the main aim of the association. Members pledged to aid each other when in danger by fire. Since such clubs always required their members to maintain buckets and often to procure ladders for company use, they were an important addition to the fire fighting potential of the community. Fire clubs were also social clubs and often met together at taverns in town. In March a second fire club was started. This club was undoubtedly influenced by the Old Fire Club and, since no secondary sources have mentioned its existence, it may be presumed to have had a much shorter history than the first club. A handwritten
undated copy of its articles is contained in Salem Miscellaneous Manuscripts. James Jeffrey's diary entry for March 10, 1745 "at night at Pratts to Settle Articles of Fire Club" and Jeffrey's name on the membership list for this club place its formation in the same year as the Old Fire Club.

Another interesting society was formed in February of the next year. Just as the second fire club, the Civil Society planned to meet at Pratts tavern. The Civil Society was probably a social club. Clearly self improvement was one of its aims for strict penalties were assigned for swearing, cursing or lying in meetings. The Civil Society soon performed a benevolent action, distributing food to families whose men had been impressed for the Cape Breton campaign. The society may have been intended for such exertions in the community (certainly its name could bear this interpretation) or its existence when the need arose may have made the club a likely vehicle for such a contribution. James Duncan Phillips assumes that the club may have continued functioning to mid century.

The first public dinner held in Salem, of which the author has clear knowledge, was given for William Pepperell in the old Town House on July 4, 1746. Since later public functions were managed as subscription dinners and since there are no accounts in town records of paying for this entertainment, it may be presumed that a group of Salem gentlemen arranged this celebration of
Pepperell's capture of Louisbourg.41

More associations concerned with fire protection fill out the picture of the 1740's. Another attempt to provide Salem with a suitable fire engine was mounted in December 1746. Joseph Bowditch, Thomas Lee and Samuel Gardner were to purchase an engine when enough money had been raised or return funds to the subscribers. As in the first attempt to provide Salem with this important facility, this subscription proved abortive.42 The Union Engine company achieved the objective two previous subscriptions fell short of. In March 1748 Captain Richard Derby and the rest of the company petitioned town government to be released from all town offices on the condition of providing and manning a suitable fire engine. Their proposal was gratefully accepted. In 1750 Judge Benjamin Lynde and other subscribers purchased a larger engine and presented it to the town. Unlike the Derby group, they allowed selectmen to choose a company for the engine.43

Some commentators have suggested that there were few voluntary associations outside the church in the first half of the century. In A.M. Schlesinger's view, "the associative impulse began to invade more mundane undertakings [only] as the break with England approached."44 James Duncan Phillips agrees with Schlesinger that there was little organizational activity outside the church before 1750:

Thus, by the middle of the century four Congrega-
tional churches were serving the territory which had been served by one previous to 1718, and they were a very vital part of town life. Down to this time there was practically no social or intellectual organization in the town outside of the churches. Every thing revolved around them, and even the men had not begun to organize for any purposes. 45

Study of Salem's associational development from 1700 to 1750 would seem to belie Schlesinger's and Phillip's assumptions. If Schlesinger would characterize bridges, causeways and drains as mundane concerns, it can be seen that the earliest Salem associations had practical purposes. Phillip's statement that there were few social and intellectual organizations and no men's clubs to mid century can also be held up to scrutiny. To be sure, there were no ongoing social organizations until the 1730's but in that decade two young men's clubs were formed. The two fire clubs which began to function in 1744 promoted good fellowship as well as protection of property and can be considered the first two men's clubs in town. The Civil Society held regular meetings at Pratts and served the ends of friendship. Several fire engine subscriptions mounted by men of Salem belie Phillip's contention that "even the men had not begun to organize for any purposes." 46 In only one respect can Phillip's analysis stand unchallenged. With the possible exception of Benjamin Lynde Jr.'s young men's club which assigned speakers, none of the organizations in the first half century have a clear intellectual purpose.

The decade of the 1750's was not nearly so productive of associations as the previous ten years. Civic duty
prompted the major subscription of the period. Because several Salem men had enlisted in the expectation of earning the King's bounty of ten pounds if Canada were reduced but had returned before this was effected, prominent Salem gentlemen made up the difference. A list of subscribers and the amount they contributed to provide the Salem contingent with their bounty is contained in the fly-leaf of Captain Richard Derby's ledger. It seems that gentlemen of the town also provided bounties for Salem men who were ineligible for the province bounty because they had been pressed into service. Joseph Lae acknowledged receipt of ten pounds bounty raised by gentlemen of the town and explained in a note that he had been "Presst & lost the province Bounty which was $30." Another social club was projected during this decade. Samuel Gardner declined Mr. Watson's invitation to join a club since he was soon to undertake a long voyage.

Social and intellectual horizons of Salem society began to expand during the 1760's. In that year Salem's Social Library was founded. Members began to collect a sizeable library and as a community service offered to share their collection with neighboring ministers. Salem's first dance assembly in 1761 ushered in a new social era. Early dances were held in the school house. Assemblies were highly organized subscription series which met during the winter months. According to Mary Holyoke's diary, dance assemblies became a regular feature of Salem society.
In 1762, the first notice of a meeting of the Monday night club is entered in Mary Holyoke's diary. This club, which continued meeting until 1810, was an intellectual discussion group of some consequence. Though Mary Holyoke never included any notice of topics discussed at her husband's club (as well she might not for only on one occasion did she mention being allowed to sit with them), William Pynchon's accounts of meetings give evidence of their literary direction. On one occasion they read Jeayne on Evidences of Christianity; on another Mitchell Sewall showed "Johnson to be wrong in his criticism on Addison's simile of the Angel."

Brooke Hindle has suggested certain patterns for American scientific development which conform to phases of the revolution. He first notes a stage of cultural nationalism coinciding with protests over the Sugar, Stamp and Townshend acts. Hindle does not posit a cause and effect relationship but considers cultural developments of the period due in part to English political developments and in part to the stage of maturity the colonies were reaching. In detailing Salem's organization development in the period from 1763 to 1775, some attempt will be made to see if Hindle's evaluation applies to a more local sphere.

The first organization in 1763 seems to have no relation to the political climate. A group of friends arranged a farewell dinner for Mr. John Pickering and arranged
to have John Appleton speak for his supper. 56 Like other public dinners this was a well organized single event. By February 1766, a more politically motivated group had taken root in Salem, the Sons of Liberty. As soon as Captain Hawthorne had deposited the first stamped papers in Salem's custom house, Sons of Liberty demanded these marks of tyranny and carried them to the London Coffee House for a public burning. 57 The marine society associated in Salem the next month cannot be said to have drawn direct stimulus from the political situation but, in its basic plan, indicates the increasing sophistication of society. Besides improving navigation and in other ways aiding trade, the marine society provided financial assistance for families of members. 58 In March of the next year, another fire club was associated. This club does not appear to have been bound to any revolutionary identity for their watchword was Crown and Scepter. Like earlier fire clubs, this was a community service organization which pledged that its members not only maintain buckets but procure suitable ladders for fire protection. 59 Several meeting of merchants and traders were held over the next two years which were directly tied to the political situation. Merchants and traders were warned in the public prints to attend meetings in King's Arms tavern to discuss the assumption of a non-importation agreement and ultimately to enforce the same. 60

From another perspective, the decision of several gentlemen of Salem to build a new assembly room in 1769 can
be related to public events. Increasing turmoil in Boston had given rise to the idea of moving the seat of government to Salem. As one of the preliminaries to courting Salem, Governor Bernard's son gave a ball at the assembly room in November 1678. Since Mary Holyoke first mentioned seeing the new rooms in August 1769, the Bernard Ball was most likely held at the school house or some other older facility but Salem gentlemen soon provided new rooms befitting Salem's probable destiny as provincial capital.

A new fire club was the first organization of the 1770's. This club, the Union Fire, assumed no political stance in its articles or name, unlike the Anti Stamp Fire Club of Boston which "voted that in case the Stamp Office took fire, and if no other buildings were in danger, they would not assist in extinguishing it." Nonetheless, the club seems to have been composed of members who were firm in the patriot cause for the Union was the only fire club in Salem to send in a separate contribution when Boston was under the Port Bill.

Reflecting increasing interest in military affairs, officers of the Salem militia prepared an elegant dinner at Goodhue's tavern after militia drill and invited leading gentlemen of the neighboring towns to join them. A seamen's dinner and the toasts offered by the company were reported in the Essex Gazette for December 1770. Perhaps this report was prompted by the same comraderie which caused the print
to glorify the Sons of Liberty.

In August, 1771, several citizens offered a reward for any information leading to the persons who broke into Salem's new workhouse. Clearly these citizens were motivated by civic duty in taking this action "as such Villany brings a scandal upon the Town."69 Another civic undertaking was promoted in 1773. Several citizens, Samuel Curwen, William Vans, Joseph Sprague, E.A. Holyke among them, procured a subscription to pave the road from North Bridge into town so that traders could more easily come into Salem in all weather.70

In October, Peter Frye and others petitioned town meeting for the right to set up a small pox hospital.71 A hospital to house 100 patients was subsequently built by proprietors and Dr. James Latham employed to inoculate patients.72 Proprietors also provided a fund for inoculating Salem's poor. Though this undertaking does not reflect any direct revolutionary involvement, the newspaper debate over Latham's competence does mirror the tenor of the times. Though much of the argument centered on Latham's deceitful refusal to admit the use of mercury, portions of the argument were particularly chauvinistic. Timothy Pickering Jr. argued that Latham's system of inoculation "'tis neither safer nor easier than the American Method, as improved and practiced by our own best inoculators,"73 and exposed as a fraud the Suttonian system of allowing American doctors to practice its methods only on payment of a healthy
Pickering chided Dr. Latham for inventing excuses for his incompetence: "Did any American inoculator ever excuse his blunders by telling the world his patients had got the natural small pox?" The newspaper debate divided Salem along somewhat political lines. Friends of the English inoculator held a ball for him. Dr. Latham's demeanor as a pure gentleman made him even more attractive to his supporters. Ann Jeffrey confessed to her brother James that she could not understand objections to Latham for he was a thorough gentleman.

In April 1774 a subscription was undertaken which had clear revolutionary implications. Timothy Pickering Jr. evidently wrote it but none of the other signers are appended. The object of their subscription was to expedite continuation of Continental postal service into the Salem area. Also in April, Salem enjoyed the fruits of the labor of an association of gentlemen who had spent the winter studying instrumental music in a concert at the Assembly room. The same month Salem's Assembly room hosted a ball in honor of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Events were moving swiftly. June 6, Governor Gage came to Salem and brought the promised sitting of the provincial assembly. On that night a ball was held to celebrate his Majesty's birthday; 110 gentlemen and as many ladies attended. The sitting of the General Court ended in less than a fortnight. Salem also suffered her first serious fire this year and in response to the danger yet another fire club
was formed, the Social Fire. Its formation makes clear that even in the midst of turbulent days Salem citizens could make provision for their civic concerns.

Lexington and Concord has long been a point of contention for Salem as Timothy Pickering Jr. and the militia did not arrive in time for the battle. But it seems that one Salem group went in advance of the regiment and made it to Lexington. This was a voluntary uniformed military company from Salem officered by Captain Joseph Sprague and Lieutenant Joseph Hiller. In line with later military associations of the Confederation period, this first military society dressed in style in "a short great coat with gold trimming, cap of black beaver with four ostrich feathers, and similar trimming; underdress with black gaiters, and ruffles over the hands."

According to Joseph Felt, they asked to be incorporated but no evidence can be found in the private acts of the province that their plea was granted, and, in any case, they soon disbanded as many of their members left on privateering voyages. Another defense measure was taken in July 1775. Merchants of the town employed Samuel Williams to go southward and procure powder for their defense needs. Massachusetts Provincial Congress approved this venture since Samuel Williams was a known friend of the patriot cause. Another Salem volunteer company was formed in 1776. Unable to procure the number of recruits Washington requested, Timothy Pickering Jr. wrote to the commander and
chief informing him of the hard pressed state of Salem with so many men engaged in privateering and offering, rather than standard enlistment, formation of voluntary corps of Salem men who could serve the cause in case of dire need. Washington thanked Pickering for his offer but there is no evidence that he ever called upon this volunteer corps. A company was also formed this year with the objectives of turning a profit and also supporting the revolutionary government through contributing to the Continental Lottery. Eight Salem men planned to buy the same ten lottery numbers in all three classes of the Continental Lottery and split the profits.

For two years no further associations were begun in Salem. It would seem that even the assemblies were in hiatus during this period. Mary Holyoke recorded no balls between 1774 and 1779. Salem's Marine Society distributed funds to several widows in 1776 and then suspended meetings for four years. Presumably, widespread interest in privateering kept many of its members at sea. As a last resort, the society imposed a $36 fine for failure to attend meetings in 1780. In a similar manner, the Social Library suspended meetings between 1776 and 1784. For May 1766 the minutes read: "The Annual meeting wholly neglected, on account the continuing Troubles of these Times of civil Discord, and Contentions." Though the society was inactive during the Revolution, its library was still open to patrons. William Pynchon took out books regularly
Some writers like James Duncan Phillips have assumed that the Monday Night Club "gradually petered out" during the Revolution because of the active tory sympathies of so many of its members. Their tory position follows a pattern Carl Bridenbaugh suggested for Philadelphia clubs. Members of literary societies, thoroughly imbued with British literary forms, were likely to favor the British cause. Phillips quotes Pynchon's letter to Colonel Brown in which he describes the care club members had to take to avoid controversial subjects. Far more significant than any caution club members exercised is the fact that associational freedom was so firmly valued in Salem that the Monday Night Club was allowed to function during these years. True, the frequency of meetings and attendance may have been down over prewar years but, nonetheless, the club continued to gather often at E.A. Hojoke's or William Pynchon's home. There was at least one meeting in 1772, 1773, and 1774, two in 1776, 1777 and 1778.

Brooke Hindle's assumption that the early revolutionary period was one of considerable associational activity in the sciences seems also to apply to Salem's social growth. Several associative drives have direct links to the political situation, emergence of the Sons of Liberty, construction of a new Assembly house, merchants organization, subscription for postal service, agreement to buy ammunition and formation of two voluntary military societies. Other developments follow established patterns and are indicative
of the continuing sophistication of Salem society.

Carl Bridenbaugh identified a drive for consolidation among Philadelphia's major societies which coincided with the association of her merchants in protest to British policy. In his view these moves were a prelude to Revolution: "The emergent unity of merchants and others in the face of British restrictions and the concurrent integration of the city's library and fire companies further emphasized the utter folly of thus maintaining petty differences." The trend which Bridenbaugh considers important for Philadelphia failed to emerge in Salem. Salem's fire clubs did not consolidate. New fire associations were formed, the 1767, Union and Social clubs. Leading citizens recognized the need for better fire protection after the first 1775 fire but they did not suggest consolidation of existing clubs as a solution. During this period the Beverly branch broke off from the Salem Marine Society. The Beverly contingent did not recognize any new need for unity but obeyed the older urge for local autonomy.

Brooke Hindle postulates a second stage of organizational development, a higher and more sustained peak of enthusiasm beginning in the later revolutionary period and continuing through the Confederation period. Merrill Jensen confirms this analysis. Jensen's faith in the Confederation's ability to solve its problems is based in part on the extraordinary social inventiveness of the period:

Between 1783 and 1786, eleven pre-revolutionary
societies got going again and no less than eighteen new ones were formed. Between 1786 and 1789 fourteen more new societies were formed and most of the rest of the pre-revolutionary ones were reorganized. This was extraordinary activity: more societies were organized between 1776 and 1789 than in the whole colonial period.97

Again we shall see how far this analysis holds for Salem's local development.

Social life began to revive in 1778. In September "the Young ladies had a ball."98 This does not appear to have been part of a subscription series for Mary Holyoke mentions no further balls for the year. The next year a new and vital organization entered the list of Salem associations,—the Essex Lodge of Freemasons, Salem's first association to include charity and benevolence among its prime aims.99 The chapter was particularly active in its early years, publicly celebrating St. John's day in 1780, 1781 and 1782.100 The patriotic tenor of the lodge was clearly marked in its early celebrations. Note Pynchon's description of the 1789 festival:

The Freemasons meet at church, have anthems, etc. to Hancock and Washington, repeating and reciting their names as they proceeded with the musick; the organ and a bass viol by turns were heard. That done, Mr. Hiller in the pulpit rose and delivered a kind of 5th of March oration.101

In 1781 Salem had the good fortune to acquire a second library society. A direct result of the war, the Philosophical Library was not motivated by increasing confidence in the outcome but by the happy accident that a Beverly privateer captured Richard Kirwan's scientific library.
This was clearly a specialist's collection and no provision was made for even the town's clergy to partake of its bounty. Perhaps the wider store of scientific knowledge made available by the library stimulated a Salem observation of the Transit of Venus in 1782. Two of the participants, Mr. Prince and Dr. Holyoke were members of the Philosophical Library. Mr. Pickman, their partner, was not. Dr. Holyoke recorded that the "Transit [was] observed by Mr. Prince with Mr. Pickman's reflecting Telescope with magnific[ation] 34," and took time to speculate "whether what is here Advanced will serve to Credit our Observatory...if it should be confirmed by any Observations made in diff[erent] parts of the Country I think We may conclude them to be of Consequence." Holyoke was able to answer his question positively when he found that observations made at Cambridge were in major agreement with "ours in Salem." 

In February of the same year, the first celebration of Washington's birthday was held at Salem. The day served the cause of patriotism and benevolence for a concert of music was performed in honor of the commander and chief with proceeds slated to go to families of Salem continental soldiers. A month later a celebration of St. Patrick's day was held in Salem. This was the first and only time St. Patrick's was celebrated in Salem before 1800. It may be supposed that the general good spirits of the time sought as many outlets as possible. "Friendly Brothers and
others who wish[ed] to participate [were] to notify Captain Goodhue. Also in Goodhue's tavern, there may have been a club of merchants. The Marquis de Chastellux noted their presence on his visit to Salem in November. Whether this was a formal club is not known, though the merchants did indeed act as a group, sending a delegation to Chastellux to express their sorrow that they had not been able to do him the honors of the town. June 13, 1782, a third public celebration was staged, no less political than the first. Prominent men gathered to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin. Evidently turtle was the menu for Pynchon recorded an "Invitation to turtle at Webb's on account of the birth of the Dauphin."

Opening of a new assembly room enhanced 1783's social season. The Federal street hall was built by "a club or syndicate of gentlemen" who counted Elias Hasket Derby, Salem's wealthiest merchant, among their numbers. Clearly, they were a convivial group for Pynchon observed on April 30, 1784 "The Assembly company meet at Baron's, sup, and have a high go." Their hall was a social mecca for the Salem community. Pynchon's diary is replete with assembly outings in January, February, March, April, October and November of 1783. So often did Salem notables troop off to assembly that they had difficulty maintaining peace with each other:

Jealousies, slanders, envying, among several of the assembly folk. Parties are forming, and a little more tattling and imprudence throw the whole into confusion.
The hall was used on occasion for charitable functions. On January 24, a concert and dance was held for the benefit of the poor. For January Pynchon also recorded a dance at Tradesman's Hall. Presumably, this was a Salem occasion but no other record of Tradesman's Hall or of such an early craft organization in Salem has been found.

In November the Assembly company invited the court, then sitting in Salem, to a ball. This was one of the advantages the new facility had for Salem; it provided a more cosmopolitan setting for entertaining worthy visitors.

Filling out the picture of this busy social year, another fire club was founded. In line with pro-French feelings of the time, the Number Five adopted as its slogan, "Toujours Pret."

1784 also boasted an active assembly season. Again the court was invited to assembly when the justices were in town. For one evening alone, William Stearns billed the Assembly company for 82 gallons of wine, 50 pounds of loaf sugar, ten jars and six pounds raisins, five ounces Nutmegs, 5 3/4 gallons West Indian rum and seven pounds almonds. Reflecting an increasing preoccupation with the militia after the war, several gentlemen projected a plan in May to uniform privates in the Salem militia.

Early in 1785 another library company of a sort was projected. Samuel Curwen was still residing in England and William Pynchon and others decided to subscribe to English magazines through their friend. The Political
Magazine, Town and Country, Gentlemen's Magazine, Ladies Magazine and Monthly Review were among their sampling of the British press. Salem Assembly was in full swing again and a special event was held in the hall, a dinner and ball in honor of the Marquis de Lafayette. A complete subscription list remains for this ball. Subscribers could go to both dinner and ball or choose to attend only one. Dinner cost £1.4.2, the ball twelve shillings eight pence. In December the first voluntary military organization since the war was organized at the Bunch of Grapes tavern. Stephen Abbot, commander of the Salem Cadets, was commissioned this year but the rest of the officers did not receive their commissions until the following year.

Two clubs first come to light in 1786. John Pynchon, son of the diarist, and a group of young friends fashioned a club. William Pynchon also mentioned judges Cushing and Sumner, J. Sewall and Attorney General Paine visiting town and "at evening sup[ping] at Major Sprague's with Sunday night Club." This is the only reference to the Sunday Night Club and it can only be presumed that the club was social in nature. In line with established practice, Salem's Assembly company again made a ball for the court and William Pynchon was satisfied to observe the chief justice enjoyed himself dancing two country dances. By December another voluntary company began to form. William Bentley drafted a petition for them and the nucleus of Salem Artillery under Captain Zadock Buffington
escorted Isaac Combs, a condemned murderer, to his place of execution. 127

1787 had a distinctly martial flavor. Alarm over Shays rebellion brought the Second Corps of Cadets and Salem Artillery into the forefront. A subscription which had originated in the best clubs of Boston was sent on to Salem in January. General Lincoln needed funds to put down the rebellion and these were readily supplied by leading men of Salem. "The subscription, it is said, goes on; H.D. [Elias Hasket Derby] $100, J.A. [Jacob Ashton], W.G. [William Gray], B.P. [Benjamin Pickman] $30 each." 128 Martial spirit was high and the younger Salem Artillery beat their older rivals to the public stage. In April the company appeared on Salem Neck to fire at targets. As yet ununiformed, the corps was hardly pleasing to the eye and their inability to hit any targets scarcely reassuring. 129 On April 19, Salem Cadets, dressed in their uniforms of red and white, made their first public appearance. 130 Even the artillery put in a credible performance in their first public dress display in May. 131 The Fourth of July was first publicly celebrated this year and both Cadets and Artillery paraded. Dispute over the right hand in the order of parade prevented the companies from marching or lunching together so the Cadets alone joined the reverend clergy for dinner. 132 Later that fall a volunteer company from Ward IV joined the roster of Salem military societies. The company, commanded by Captain John Page and wearing rifle frocks and overalls,
paraded with Cadets and Artillery on the anniversary of Burgoyne's surrender. 133

In the summer of 1787 a new project began to agitate Salem—construction of a bridge over Beverly ferry. The transportation drive which Merrill Jensen considers one of the main themes of this period 134 did not leave Salem untouched. Essex Bridge was largely unwelcome in Salem. Salem petitioners tried to block the project and promote an alternative route over Orne's Point in Danvers but all in vain. 135 In hopes of ruining Beverly Bridge, Joseph Sprague and other contributors built a bridge over Orne's Point and opened it free of toll. 136 They were never able to siphon off the main stream of trade and their effort, which was known as Spite Bridge, was destroyed by ice in the winter of 1792. 137

Military concerns also dominated Salem social life the following year. There may not have been a regular assembly series in 1788 for Pynchon records only two balls in his diary. 138 Militia reviews provided a focus for community social life. A regular militia review was staged April 30th, and a ball in the evening. William Pynchon marvelled at the excited bustle attending this event: "All is hurry and confusion preparing for training tomorrow and for a ball at evening." 139 Artillery and Cadets were reviewed separately by Major Titcomb in May. On this occasion officers of both troops dined together with other militia officers and gentlemen of the town. Major Titcomb
was guest of honor. Celebrations of the signing of the Constitution and the Fourth of July brought both companies out again. On short notice Salem was able to mount a procession of clergy, physicians, seamen, mechanics and schoolchildren on news of the Constitution's approval. Cadets and Artillery paraded and ate separately on the Fourth, Cadets at the Sun Tavern, Artillery at the Court House. August brought a regimental muster and a "Federal entertainment at the Sun Tavern for the reception of the officers and a number of other gentlemen." In October another engine company was formed, Engine Company No. 2, and later that month a general review was held on the common which followed the same scenario as the August regimental review with the addition of a ball at evening.

Hindle's and Jensen's assumption that social activity began to pick up in the 1780's is confirmed by Salem's history. Late years of the war did see a resurgence of social activity. A Masonic Lodge, new assembly hall and two library societies attest the vigorous renewal. The only question which needs to be asked is whether this spirit faltered before the end of the Confederation period. As of May 1787, Pynchon's magazine company had folded for lack of interest. Salem Social Library was also experiencing rough going:

Our Library company & their concerns like almost all others in this Quarter of the Country seem to be in a decline. The opposition to Government seems to be the only business carried on
Essex Lodge was also mired in difficulties. Finding the Salem Marine Society in a similar position, William Bentley gave up all hope of retaining the lodge charter:

Was inclosed in a letter from Major Hiller the letter of G. Master Webb, respecting the Essex Lodge, begging the Lodge to comply with requisition or return the Charter. The latter seems preferable, Salem not being a sil for such institutions, as the Clerk informed me at the Marine Society, the attendance was careless, & at the last December the interest of the fund was appropriated for the charities, without any charitable contribution of the members. The conclusion is safe.

Neither Pynchon nor Bentley blamed hard economic times for their faltering societies but rather Salem's apathy toward associations and her zeal for politics. In actuality, both the inclinations of the times and economic conditions probably played a role in the dulling picture. Interest was drawn away from usual organizations into military societies and political speculation and Salem lacked capital to support both old pursuits and new interests. Military societies gained great acceptance after Shay's rebellion. Mary Harrod Northend faithfully recorded her great grandmother's diary in which she expressed the military enthusiasm of the time:

Soon after the Revolution when we were excited with the thought of having obtained our freedom, great attention was paid to the militia. It was then that the entire male population of the state that had attained a certain age were enrolled. . . . Your great-grandfather always claimed that this was the period when the militia was at its height.

From the signing of the Constitution to 1800,
Salem's associational growth paralleled her growing economic health. Her population nearly doubled between 1762 and 1790 and by 1800 Salem Custom House accounted for 1/20th of the national revenue.

1789 was still a slow year associationally. Washington's visit was the high point of the year. Stearns, Waldo and Pickman had built a new hall which gradually supplanted the Federal street house. It was here that the President was feted in what would become known as Washington Hall. Whether there was a regular assembly season this year is not known. The Holyoke diaries do not mention any, William Pynchon's diary ends in 1788 and William Bentley as a clergyman took no part in such frivolities. But since Bentley chided the community for spending so little on Washington's entertainment, it may be safe to assume that Salem's social life was less than full this season.

Following the usual pattern, militia drills were capped with public dinners. One community service group was formed during the period. A group of associators agreed to build a pump in the main street and to be assessed their proportions of it by two indifferent persons. Some informal clubs of young women are also mentioned for this year. Bentley was informed that the circles in which young ladies drank tea were "not friendly to the suitable decorum required of the sex." One young lady had been heard to swear on the main street and certain persons blamed her associations for this performance. It is
interesting that a woman's association, however informal, should be clouded with opprobrium. To this date formal clubs remained the exclusive province of men.

Though they cannot be dated specifically, several friendly clubs functioned during the 1790's. Bentley mentioned those in passing in his article for the Massachusetts Historical Society.157 Presumably, he did not consider them more thoroughly because such institutions were always changing. It is not known whether "friendly" applied simply to their social nature or to some services they performed for members.

1790's social season was somewhat fuller. There was a winter Assembly series for Mary Holyoke recorded two Assemblies besides a Court Ball.158 Later in the fall a military review was turned into a social event: "The Gentlemen of the Town with the Officers obtained a dinner in the Court House & gave generous invitations. Nearly 200 dined at the table."159

1791 also sustained an Assembly season. On November 15, subscribers were requested to meet at the house of Mr. Robinson for the purpose of choosing managers and stewards and for admission of new subscribers.160 Salem's Masons were encouraged to regroup and regain their charter.161 This year the Marine Society embarked upon their most ambitious project since the war, erection of a beacon on Baler's island. A committee of three was appointed to head the affair. The beacon was painted red and cost
the society twenty pounds. Later that fall they
began to place buoys in the harbour to improve navigation.

One of their moves, liberalization of membership requirements,
caused William Bentley serious worries:

Large additions are making to the Marine Society,
& they view the Masons as their rivals. It
would be desirable to form one society, if the
institutions would admit....The obvious causes
for extending the terms of admission into the
Marine Society, so as to comprehend all men
concerned in navigation, is that this town,
neither from its real numbers, or the spirit
of its associations can admit two flourishing
societies. It is said that the Humane Society
in Boston has united with the Marine. How far
this is true I do not know.

In the fall another lavish public dinner was held at the
Court House after a militia review.

An Assembly season was also held in 1792.

William Bentley embarked on a personal charity drive this
year. He wrote letters to E.H. Derby and other prominent
Salemites, persuading them to contribute assistance to
the blind lad Perkins. A successful municipal project
was undertaken by voluntary subscription, the paving of
Essex street.

In May Jonathan Peele, Samuel Ward and
other citizens gained permission of town government to
build a market house. The Salem Military Society first
comes to attention this year. This club of military
officers had probably existed before this date and their
ministrations may have been responsible for dinners after
militia drills. At any rate, they wrote to congratulate
John Fiske of Salem upon his appointment as Major General.
The committee who signed the letter were Stephen Abbot, John
Page, Jacob Sanderson, Thomas C. Cushing, the first two respectively commanders of the Salem Cadets and volunteer artillery from Ward IV. Absence of militia drills this year was due to the fact that Salem officers had resigned their commissions in part to face Major General Titcomb's resignation (which seems to have been accomplished with Fiske's appointment) and in part to protest a new militia law which did not provide clearly for election of officers.

Another Salem club is first noted this year. Bentley recorded in his diary that "for the first time after several years I was present at the Thursday night club at Esquire Pullens by his invitation." Clearly this club had a previous history; James Duncan Phillips assumes that it may have been founded as early as 1787.

Whether there was an assembly season in 1793 is not known. Mary Holyoke did not mention any but since she attended less and less in her later years, her silence does not settle the matter. A new fire club was associated, the Social Fire, named for the first Social Fire club that had disbanded during the war. In February, Washington's birthday was celebrated for the first time in a decade. A subscription dinner was held at Washington Hall and a ball in the evening. A group of neighbors gained town approval in May to build a fence at their own expense on burying point. The same month a subscription was circulated for building piers at the entrance to Salem harbor. This was a year for municipal improvements; a project to level
the town common was also forwarded in early summer but, by July, Bentley was forced to admit that it was proceeding slowly. During the summer a convivial turtle feast was held. Elias Hasket Derby presented a large sea turtle to the Marine Society and the membership decided to hold a subscription feast at two dollars a head in Washington Hall. The Fourth of July was commemorated with a subscription dinner attended by Marine Society, clergy and other gentlemen of the town. On November 25 another celebration was held. Ropemakers honored St. Catherine's day. Whether these festivals held for the patron saint of ropemakers were handled by an association of ropewalk owners or were funded by individual owners for the amusement of their men and entertainment of their customers is not clear but similar celebrations were held in 1795, 1796 and 1797. Gentlemen of the town banded together in December to warn innkeepers not to allow young men to play billiards in their houses of entertainment. Much like seventeenth century tithingmen, community leaders still felt a responsibility to uphold moral standards.

The following year a form of organization frequently used during pre-revolutionary times was again employed. Salem merchants met to frame a representation to Congress regarding their unhappy trading position. Then representatives were chosen to meet with Newburyport merchants and, at length, representatives from Boston, Salem and Newburyport carried a joint petition to Congress.
Perhaps indicative of these concerns, dinner after May militia drill was not particularly lavish: "the dinner was frugal in Marine hall at General Abbot's, & the Clergy were invited by the Officers of the Regiment, & such Military Gentlemen as were in Town."\textsuperscript{184} However, gentlemen were moved to another expense on behalf of the militia: "The appearance and behavior of the militia last Wednesday were so rightly gratifying that we hear a number of gentlemen have declared themselves ready to contribute generously to a fund for providing a uniform for the privates of the Regiment."\textsuperscript{185} A civic association, evidently formed some years previous, first comes to attention in 1794. Proprietors of the town pump assessed subscriptions for a new pump. Jacob Rust, wishing to join the group, added this postscript at the end of the list: "I agree to repay the subscription of any Person who shall object to pay for the second Pump."\textsuperscript{186} Assembly got under way November 14 with a ball to which the court was invited.\textsuperscript{187}

Reflecting current events, the first association attempted in 1795 was to aid Algerian prisoners.\textsuperscript{188} Clergy and other respectable citizens were able to get together a public meeting but nothing came of their efforts.\textsuperscript{189} Again Washington's birthday was observed. One wonders if the company which met at Frye's tavern included the Salem Military Society because of the preponderance of military men among those who offered toasts: Captain Hovey of Salem Artillery, General Fiske, General Abbot, Major Hawthorne, D. Little,
Captain Hodges in the Salem Cadets, Captain Holman, Captain Cushing, Captain Frye of the corps of Artillery and Engineers, Mr. Vincent. This was the major celebration of the year. Neither Cadets nor Artillery drilled and no militia review with customary dinner enlivened the calendar. These omissions probably owed more to dissatisfaction with a new militia law than to trading concerns. One private charity was entered during the year. William Gray, E.H. Derby and other town gentlemen contributed $70 to enclose land of the Widow Whitford and to make repairs on her home.

In February of the following year, a new fire club was formed, Amity Fire Society, with the same aims as preceding clubs. The President's birthday was celebrated on a larger scale than the year before with subscription dinners at several of the public houses. Officers of the militia held a dinner at Frye's and private gentlemen formed groups at other taverns. A deputation from the group celebrating at the Sun Tavern presented themselves at Frye's Long Room and asked to be joined in a toast to the Illustrious President. In May a regimental review was held in Salem, followed by a "handsome entertainment" at Capt. Frye's and in mid October a second review was capped by three separate dinners, Regimental officers at the Court House, Cadets at the Sun and Artillery at the Lion tavern. That winter first plans were laid for an aqueduct to serve Salem. This was the first major public works project since the Beverly and Spite bridges and its
undertaking may have been encouraged by the progress Daniel Frye and some associators had made in setting up a smaller aqueduct earlier in the year.198

In 1797 Washington's birthday was again remembered with a dinner and ball. Following Benjamin Pickman's oration, a collection was made for town poor.199 Sally Crowninshield's letter to her aunt would lead us to believe there was no regular assembly this year and that the Washington ball was the high point of the social season:

We have no amusements here—The Gentlemen exerted themselves the President's birth night and made a very elegant Ball there was 130 Ladies and a number of old people among the rest Mr. Curwin and he appeared to enjoy himself remarkably well.200

A more serious exigency caused Salem men to band together the next month. Salem was suffering a rash of robberies and groups of townsmen formed volunteer watches in different wards.201 It is doubtful that their exertions outlasted the year. As Bentley observed, many subscribers were affronted when fellow watchmen sent servants in their stead and obliged them to make the rounds with persons below their social station.202 A social club was inaugurated this year. It was composed of young men who proposed to meet together on club nights and partake of wine and fruit of the season.203 Regimental review was not an auspicious occasion. Salem militia was directed by Captain Lawrence of the Cadets since all their officers had resigned in a dispute over the militia law. No dinner was held.204

Salem Gazette reported that the Cadets planned to celebrate
the Fourth of July so it would seem that some public display was held. A music society was also begun this year. Reverend Bentley characterized it as a general society for private amusement and it may have been the Essex Musical Society which drew members from a whole county, not simply from Salem.

Interest in secular music was not a passing fad for Bentley noticed two more organizations the next year, one, "a musick society...formed by young mechanics who met occasionally," the other, a more ambitious group who had procured a hall in Cambridge Street for their performances. Salem had not one but possibly two Assembly series to choose from this season. At least this is the implication of one of Sally Crowninshield's letters: "We have very good ones [assemblies] in Salem this season, they are under good regulation, one is to break up at 12 o'clock. I have been to two." A dinner was held at Captain Frye's tavern to commemorate Washington's birthday. Salem Gazette criticized the community for neglecting the Fourth of July: "Every town of considerable numbers (except Salem) has felt the duty and importance of displaying the banner of independence." Though the Fourth was hardly a standard celebration, fervor over the quasi war with France had made such omissions a patriotic failing. Military service was again a major concern. The Gazette noted with satisfaction that the Salem Cadets were reviving. From this we may infer that this corps had been
somewhat off its form in the past few years. In many communities companies of exempts were worked into shape and Salem Gazette reported each new group in hopes of stimulating Salem to similar exertions. Joseph B. Felt records that a company of exempts was forming in Salem on August 7. This date corresponds to an issue of the Gazette but if the reference is included, the author overlooked it. As a further patriotic exertion, Salem began a subscription to aid the government which was used to build a frigate just as Newburyport had done. The patriotic mood of the time was also reflected in a ball Salem held for President Adam's birthday.

In 1799, the last year for our purview, a second major marine society was formed in Salem, reflecting the growing importance of the East India trade. Less practical in its orientation than the earlier Salem Marine, this society was comprised only of captains who had rounded either Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. Soon the East India Marine began a cabinet in which they displayed various curios from their voyages. In February, Salem remembered Washington, 'the second best gift of heaven.' This time Salem Military Society was mentioned as a group who celebrated the day in Lion Tavern with other gentlemen. As Major General Abbot, Samuel Page, Colonel Hawthorne and Major Hovey were in attendance, the society does seem to have been comprised of Salem military officers. For the first time several mechanics held their own dinner in the
evening. A Salem medical society was instituted this year. Since the South District Medical Society of the Massachusetts Medical Society was not instituted until November 1805, this must have been a separate society. Loan books for the society show Doctor Pickman charging out Memoirs of the Medical Society of London and Dr. Waldo, Chemical Essays. Washington’s death in December drew a major exertion from all Salem societies. Committees began to form immediately. A committee of the Salem Military Society asked the Salem Marine to join with them in appropriate tribute to Washington. Salem Marine Society willingly complied and voted to notify other societies which might be interested in joining them. Different societies devised their own badges of mourning.

By 1799 Salem was a community with a vigorous social life, sporting two assemblies, two marine societies, three library societies, the Social, Philosophical and medical collections, not to mention several convivial clubs, among which the Masons, Monday Night and Thursday Night club bear mention. Cadets and Artillery were her voluntary military societies. Salem was no less served by community action groups. By 1800 Salem enjoyed the services of several fire clubs, Old Fire, Union, Number 5, Amity and Social, as well as at least two fire engine companies, Union and Number 2. Salem streets had been paved, bridges erected, a market house built and an aqueduct begun by voluntary subscription. The ability of Salem's
inhabitants to join and provide public testimonies on such occasions as the signing of the Constitution, Fourth of July and Washington's birthday stood them in good stead in their final tribute to Washington.
Footnotes

Chapter V

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Chapter VI

Organizational Structure of Salem Associations

Salem associations exhibited a high degree of executive competence. On his visit to America, James Bryce was struck by the associational ability of Americans and likened their talents to those of "administrative rulers, generals, diplomatists." Clubs may have played a larger role than government itself in refining these skills:

Day in and day out, this irregular government, by enlisting the constant participation of its members, stirs more interest and often possesses a greater reality than the constituted authority. Nor is comparison with the political state a mere figure of speech, for voluntary bodies actually exhibit many of the attributes of government.

Though articles are not available for every association discussed in the previous chapter, there are grounds for assuming that most had formal rules. Orderly arrangements had very strong appeal to Salem society and enough constitutions of various types of associations remain to support the assumption that other organizations of the same type had similar charters.

Single event associations did not have elaborate sets of rules but did have subscription papers which defined the limits of the contracts. For instance, Salemites who agreed to pave Essex street clearly stipulated that "the
Town...pave what our Subscription shall fall short of completing."³ Ordinarily, the charge for public dinners was not known ahead of time and gentlemen simply signed a paper promising to pay their proportion of the entertainment. But this practice was tightened in later years; for a Marine Society turtle feast, subscribers had to sign the subscription paper and pay two dollars in advance. As Bentley explained, "This regulation was made in consequence of a defection of some of the guests at the time of payment on the last public occasion."⁴ For important visits a committee of arrangements published a set of instructions to the citizens, "to establish order, and prevent the danger which might ensue from so great a con­ course of people."⁵

Military societies also framed careful sets of regulations. Though early articles for the Salem Cadets and Artillery have not been uncovered, constitutions published in 1801 and 1804 respectively are available. Salem Artillery rules were considerably revised from their earlier form as the preface to the 1804 articles informs us: "The Committee appointed for the above purpose, having carefully looked over the Articles formed in 1786, were of the opinion, that they were not calculated to produce the desired effect."⁶

Dance assemblies also had written rules to govern their conduct. From its English beginnings this form of entertainment was noted for its careful regulation. Bath's
favor as an English watering spot was greatly enhanced by the subscription balls held in the town hall which followed "a code of rules and a strict etiquette."7 Marianne Silsbee's memories of assemblies at the Federal street hall evince their careful ordering:

The Evening's amusement began at six o'clock. First in order came the draw-dances, that were to give every person present two or three opportunities to share in the pleasure for which they had helped to pay. The manager, arrayed in black coat and knee-breeches, voluminous white neck-cloth, silk stockings and pumps, standing where all eyes might fix themselves in deferential gaze, called in sonorous voice "number one, a lady," and number one took her place at the head of the room, a little anxious about "number one, a gentleman," who, on being summoned, took his stand opposite the lady, and soon the lines were filled....After the draw-dances came the voluntaries, realts, and contra-dances in due proportion....A comfortable supper was usually served at ten o'clock; at midnight the revelers went home.8

Articles for the Salem Assembly, drawn in 1807, confirm the suggestion that all functions at an Assembly followed an established pattern. These prescribed ages for prospective male and female subscribers, accepted attire (no boots or pantaloons allowed), and decorum at dances.9

Although articles are not available for all Salem social clubs, it appears likely that many possessed constitutions. Articles can be found for all Salem fire clubs. It seems that even the Monday Night Club, longest lived of Salem social clubs, had some form for its discussion meetings. No articles for the club have ever been found but Samuel Curwen's inquiries in a letter from London lead to the belief that the club had some structure:
I have a few questions to ask....--Is the monday night Club still kept up; are new additions made to it, if so, of what quality & age? Is the Original plan still adhered to?10

Beyond possession of formal charters, strict adherence to constitutional forms in Salem clubs indicates a strong emphasis on fundamental law. James Bryce felt that the dual constitutional system in America, both state and federal constitutions, shaped the particular legality of Americans:

The habit of living under a rigid constitution superior to ordinary statutes--indeed two rigid constitutions, since the State Constitution is a fundamental law within its own sphere no less than is the Federal--intensifies this legality of view, since it may turn all sorts of questions which have not been determined by a direct vote of the people in questions of legal construction.11

Importance of established forms in clubs and organizations can be added to this picture.

In various ways Salem associations contrived to thoroughly familiarize their members with club charters. Some provided that their articles be read every so often. Old Fire Club went so far as to have their clerk read the entire charter at each meeting.12 Salem Marine Society provided that their clerk read the complete charter to any new member "and as often at other times as the society shall think proper."13 Number Five Fire Club and Union Fire made provision that a copy of the articles be distributed to each new member.14 1744 Fire, Old Fire, Second and Social Fire also legislated that each member "keep by him a Copy of these Articles" and produce them at each quarterly
meeting. Need to have each member familiar with names and addresses of fellow clubmen in case of fire is one explanation for this usage but a literal constitutional emphasis might have dictated this provision as well. Salem Artillery had as one of its standing rules the provision that "these Articles shall be constantly kept by each individual Member." So great was the emphasis on constitutional forms that no member could easily plead ignorance of their requirements. William Bentley had "signed the Covenant to fulfill all obligations, submit to all Laws, &c. of the Philosophical Library" yet he said he did not know of the provision that all books had to be returned by the annual meeting to escape a sizeable fine. That a duly constituted member be ignorant of the rules was a nonsequiter to other library members and they would not relieve the reverend of his fine.

In all probability, Salem clubs based their charters on the accumulated experience of other societies. Similarity of Salem's fire club charters suggests that new clubs used old charters as guidelines in forming their own. This is not to say there were no differences between fire clubs. Each club adopted the articles best tailored to its needs. Bentley's club, the Union Ere, questioned the standard fire club procedure of paying for buckets lost by members: "Whether the Society in making up the loss of Buckets & Bags at fires do not relax the care, which they ought to strengthen; & whether every member is not supposed voluntarily to make the sacrifice at his own expence." The only example
available in which a clear overview of other societies was made is beyond the scope of this paper. In 1833 a Salem group interested in forming a charitable fire association chose a committee to procure and study constitutions and other similar associations in New Haven, Boston, Lowell and Lynn, and to "Collect...facts in regard to the Government, Mode of procuring funds and Benefits paid by these associations."20

A legal concept was important to the constitutions of most of the clubs. This was the injunction that members be legally warned of all meetings and responsibilities in order to become liable for any fines incurred by nonattendance. Legal warning had long been a practice of Salem town government and of common field associations.21 Salem’s Book of Grants outlined a procedure for calling legal town meetings, ordering "that for all publique meetings that concern the towne in generall or the ffreemen of the towne warning being given on a lecture day by the Constable of the day and tyme of meeting shalbe a legall warning."22 Salem’s associations fulfilled this requirement in a variety of ways, some as unspecific as the Salem Cadets’ injunction that due notice be given of all times to train,23 other requiring as much as the Social Library’s three day notice for meetings.24 The Marine Society only required notice for special meetings but this was a rarity.25 The Social Library provided strict rules for special meetings; a complete agenda had to be included in the notification and no subject
not in the agenda could be considered. It became common for clubs to require that written notice be left for each member. This was the practice of the Salem Artillery and of many town fire clubs. Old Fire, Number 5, Amity and Social fire clubs required their clerks to leave a printed ticket at each brother's home the day before regular meetings. On the back of the ticket, the clerk was to include all sums that individuals owed the club, names of candidates for admission and any changes of address among members. Several of these printed notices remain. Blanks were left on the printed form for the names of clerk, brother warned, place of meeting and date. This notice of a Number 5 meeting is typical:

Capt W. Derby Jr. the Number Five Fire-Club will meet at the House of Samuel Robinson at 7 o'Clock Next Thursday Evening, where your company is desired.

D. Webb--Clerk
Salem, Sept. 7th., 1791.

As consensual societies, Salem clubs provided screening processes for new members. Though they had no leader comparable to a minister to coalesce disputes, most clubs had clearer standards on this issue than did the church. With exception of the Salem Cadets which provided that their commander approve new applicants, all associations provided some form of company approval for new members. Several required that a prospective member be presented to the club a meeting before the one at which his application was considered. Even the Assembly, which was essentially a dance society, was careful about membership.
Once in the 1790's a newspaper notice called members together to approve new applicants and by the 1807 rules three fourths of the existing members were needed to sanction new applicants. Salem Social Library and Artillery required majority approval for new members; most other clubs had stiffer requirements than this. The Philosophical Library, Old, Amity 1767, and Number Five fire clubs, Civil Society and Wednesday Night Club would not admit a new member unless all existing brothers gave their consent. Remaining clubs pegged their standards in the mid ground between majority and unanimous approval. In their first rules, Salem Marine had no requirements for members beyond their status as master mariners but by 1784 had adopted a three fourths standard, later employed by the East India Marine as well. The charter of the Social Fire Club was more stringent, stipulating that "new members shall be admitted by the Votes of the major Part of the Members present at any Meeting, provided the Number of Dissentients shall not exceed Two." Two members were also all that were needed to table an application in the Union fire society.

In addition to careful admission procedures, some clubs set prescribed ceilings on their membership. In this way members could be assured that their associations would not grow from small face to face consensual societies into unworkable large associations. All fire clubs had limits on membership of 25, 30 or 35. Articles of the Salem Cadets provided that "the Company shall not exceed Sixty Four rank..."
and file."37 Wednesday Night Club limited their society to thirteen members.38 Others relied on special requirements to hold down membership. The maritime requirements of the Marine and East India societies were sufficiently restrictive in themselves.

Standards for dismissal were not as carefully detailed as those for admission. In the society records available, there is no evidence that there were serious disputes over this question. Most societies did not explain what their members had to do to attain honorable dismissal but only the acts they might commit to earn a dishonorable discharge. Salem Marine had broad standards for dismissing members:

If any member of this society shall commit any notorious crime, or be a common drunkard, a quarrelsome person, disturbing the peace and good order of the society, or be guilty of any other vice, he shall be discharg'd from the society, by vote of the major part of the members present at the annual meeting, and shall be excluded from any benefit of the box, unless he be reclaimed; and in such case he may be admitted into the society again.39

This ordinance was not empty rhetoric; brothers like George Southward who ran afoul of the thirteenth article were dismissed summarily.40 Salem Marine was joined by Salem Artillery, which would cashier a member for "willfully neglecting to demean himself as becomes a good and orderly Soldier, on a public parade,"41 as the only societies concerned with their members' behavior in general society as well as within established confines of the club. They regulated their members much as seventeenth century
tithingmen policed the moral behavior of townsmen. Other societies dismissed members for failing to pay dues or conform to the articles and employed rhetorical devices to make their final sanction appear odious and dishonorable. The Old Fire Club had a rather moderate style; if a member neglected the articles of this society or was absent from four consecutive meetings he ceased to be a member. Amity Fire and Second Social Fire clubs borrowed the congregational formula and excommunicate recalcitrant members. Several societies did not make any provision for dismissal in their articles, no doubt, presuming that brothers would remain members for life or at least until they moved away from Salem. In both Philosophical and Social Library companies, one ceased to be a member if he moved more than ten miles from Salem.

Salem associations drafted careful procedural requirements for voting. Some fire clubs substituted a lottery or detailed succession for balloting for their clerk. The Old Fire Club followed this procedure—tickets numbered from one to twenty five were rolled up and dispensed to the members and the brother who got number one served as clerk for the first year. Some added special refinements on the system to make it difficult for the person in nomination to know who had and had not voted for him. Marine Society procedure of collecting corns in a hat from members who wanted to vote for a given individual was one such safeguard. Social Library had no charter rules on voting
for officers but adopted standing rules year by year. Most years membership voted that the committee which handled the day to day business of the association be chosen by written votes but, in 1774, the crush of the times dictated a more cursory procedure and hand votes were taken. 47

Some companies also incorporated a concept of quorum into their operating procedures. Salem Marine Society made no provision in their first articles for what would constitute a legal meeting but incorporated in their minutes for 1771 the ruling that ten members would constitute a legal meeting to act. 48 Sodal Library never defined a legal meeting but did seem to have an undefined notion of too small a meeting. In 1775 one meeting was adjourned to another date because of the "Thinness of attendance." 49 In 1797 articles of incorporation, a provision was included to describe how many members might properly vote to enlarge the library. At any given meeting, a vote for more than ten pounds worth of new acquisitions could not be taken and any vote had to be made by members holding at least seven shares. 50 Salem Cadets also sensed the need for a particular requirement for voting to raise money but failed to define their conception in any detail. Articles asserted that no unnecessary expense be made without the general consent. 51 Old Fire Club had a simple requirement—all matters save admission of new members were to be decided by a majority of brethren present at any
given meeting. Presumably, a vote of just five members would have bound all twenty five. The second 1744 club and 1767 fire clubs followed this same practice. Salem Social Fire modified this procedure slightly; on the assumption that some members might be late to meeting, the constitution stated that no vote passed before 8 o'clock be considered valid. Salem Artillery had one of the most explicit rules on legal voting and this provision included in the club's 1804 articles may well represent a refinement on earlier practice: "Every Member is bound in honour to abide by the votes passed in his absence, provided it be done by a majority of the Company—a less number shall in no instance be legal and no votes shall be considered unless done by a like legal majority."

A more interesting question is whether Salem clubs distinguished between ordinary votes and votes to modify the articles and thus the constitutional bases of their societies. Salem Marine had no notion that special votes were needed to revise rules. When the Marine Society raised the fine for nonattendance to eight pence, William Lilly complained of this practice on his implicit understanding of how constitutional revision should take place: "It's my opinion, that no Law can be made in the Society respecting Fines, without at least the unanimous consent of at least thirteen, the number that first Constituted the Society." Social Library considered formulation of standing rules a majority decision like any other practice of the society.
Essex Lodge of Freemasons, chartered in 1779, was the first Salem society to formulate an explicit rule for constitutional revision: "Future Laws found necessary to be enacted, or old ones Altered or Abrogated by the majority of the Members of the Lodge they having ten days notice thereof, and not to be deemed valid, until entered in the Book, by the Master's order."57 In later articles, the club raised its requirements. Proposed changes had to be notified three lodge nights in succession and be accepted unanimously.58 Philosophical Library did not have a rule on constitutional revision but club practice indicated adherence to a high standard. On June 25, 1782, the company determined that their rule requiring return of all books every three months was inconvenient and voted "by the Unanimous Consent of this Company, that this Rule be repealed."59 Their commitment to unanimous approval is underscored by a footnote indicating that consent of the only absent member was sought to validate the rule change. Salem Artillery rules for 1804 also contain a standard for rule change: "No Alteration of, or addition to, these Articles shall be made, but by a majority of two-thirds of the company."60

How democratic Salem societies were in basic structure and practices is also worth considering. Since most of their decisions were by majority, they were democratic in basic form. Nearly all rotated their officers on a yearly basis. Both library societies had committees to handle
day to day problems and only held yearly meetings of the membership; fire clubs typically held quarterly meetings; social clubs met more frequently. In some clubs the membership chose their own moderator at each meeting, in others this function was assigned to a set official who served for a year or more. Salem Marine and Artillery were most tradition bound in the matter. President, Master or senior officer always presided and, in their absence, the next ranking officer or eldest member present. Salem Marine Society further stipulated that the master always be seated at the head of the table with other members grouped around him in order of seniority. Salem Cadets followed the same procedure as the Artillery but did allow members to elect their own moderator on those rare occasions when no officers were present. Both Social Fire companies, Amity and Number Five and Union Engine Company gave their membership the right to elect a new moderator at each meeting. Old Fire Club, Union, Second Fire, and 1767 Fire Society provided that their clerks moderate at each meeting.

Other provisions for direct initiative on part of the membership were built into some club charters. The question of who should call special meetings was variously decided. In the Second Social Fire Club only the moderator could convene a special meeting; only the master was authorized to do so in the Essex Lodge; Salem Cadets allowed three members to petition the standing com-
mittee for a special meeting but it was left to the judgment of the committee to convene the meeting. Social Library required trustees to call a special meeting upon application by five members. Some allowed members to submit their fines and penalties to the direct judgement of the club. The Second Social Fire Club added this postscript to its articles—"Provided, nevertheless, nothing in these Articles shall be so construed as to debar any Member from offering his plea for the violation of them, and making his appeal to the judgement of the club." Number Five Fire Club allowed a member to appeal excommunication to the judgement of the club. Similar failings could be excused by the membership of the Philosophical Library and Union Engine Company. As a check on the clerk, members of the Amity Fire Club were allowed to peruse records of the club at each meeting.

Seymour Martin Lipset also considers paid officials a democratic feature:

... it may be suggested that inherent in the ideology of an egalitarian society like ours, as contrasted with those of countries like Britain and Sweden in which aristocratic values remain significant, has been the principle that a man should be paid for his work. The conception that public or social service is best performed when a leader is not paid, or is paid an honorarium, is basically an aristocratic value linked to the concept of noblesse oblige.

Some Salem clubs paid their chief officials. Essex Lodge did not want their Tyler (clerk) to request money from each guest served in the lodge so they paid him a salary. Several fire clubs maintained salaried clerks. Second Social
Fire, Number Five and Amity all paid their clerk four dollars for a year's service and stipulated that he could not be fined in excess of four dollars for derelection of duty. Second Fire and 1767 Fire Club excused their clerk from paying his club during the period of his service. Union Engine Company provided a thirty shilling salary for their clerk in 1779 and Salem Artillery later adopted a ten dollar renumeration for theirs.

William Bentley viewed his clubs as schools of human nature:

Fire Club supper this evening. Tho' we may be subject to many mortifications in such associations, yet they are excellent Schools, & such as my own mode of life requires. If we do not love mankind more, we see them better, & when we understand how they exist, & are governed, we are less often deceived by trusting to the sublime effects, we hope, from candid disquisition.

Bentley's practical view of human nature is reflected in regulations of Salem clubs. Rather than "trusting to...sublime effects," associations constructed elaborate fine schedules to insure proper behavior. As few brethren left home the "narrow prejudices of private life," some clubs even felt obliged to legislate brotherhood. Salem Marine assessed a fine of not less than two nor more than twenty shillings on quarrelling brothers and fined members who failed to attend brothers' funerals. Civil Society required a member lying or quarrelling at meetings to pay the entire reckoning.

Fire clubs had the longest fine schedules of any
associations. Though each fine was designed to promote proper behavior, their cumulative effect was to swell organization coffers. Clubs like the Masons and Marine Society that levied more frequent assessments on the membership did not find it necessary to devise so many penalties. Thirteen different fines were levied in fire clubs. Though few had all thirteen, most included eight in their articles. All provided a fine for a member's failure to provide himself with proper equipment. Some clubs also brought ladders and fined their members for removing them for unauthorized business. If club members failed to honor the prime directive to aid the brother most in danger from fire, they forfeited a healthy sum. Unlike most other Salem clubs, fire associations also fined their chief official. Brothers were penalized for failing to give new addresses to the clerk two days before the next meeting, for failing to remember the club watchword, or for divulging it to a nonmember. Characteristic of their precise time sense, fire societies drew up graduated fines for absence at meetings—one assessment for being late at roll call and a stiffer penalty for missing the whole meeting. In several clubs anyone leaving a meeting without the moderator's permission faced a penalty. Both Social Fire Clubs, Old Fire, 1744 and Union Fire fined members for not producing club articles at each quarterly meeting. The more convivial clubs also fined brothers for missing the annual dinner meeting.
No other clubs showered their members with quite the number of penalties fire clubs devised but many others did assess fines to assure behavior essential to the organization. Thus, Salem Artillery assessed a penalty for failing to exercise and Salem Cadets a penalty for appearing without fire arms or other necessary accoutrements.84 Union Engine Company fined members for not appearing at a fire and for failing to return the engine to the engine house.85 A basic aim of the Essex Lodge was conviviality and brotherhood and, in line with this goal, the lodge provided a stiff fine for failure to attend meetings—one dollar for a whole night's absence.86 Social and Philosophical libraries assessed fines for keeping books beyond their due date; to see that their stock was not depleted, Social Library added a special assessment for carrying books more than ten miles from Salem or lending to a non member.87

In constitutional emphasis, community clubs paralleled American development on the state and national level. They provide another explanation for the organizational expertise James Bryce observed in Americans. Salem clubs patterned many of their organizational forms on prevailing practices in church and town government. Moderators were frequently chosen to preside over both town and parish meetings. Legal warning was a basic concept of town polity. Alexis de Tocqueville noted such similarities: "The Americans have also established a government in their associations, but it is invariably borrowed from the forms of
In line with this reasoning, Salem clubs did not follow direct democratic forms exclusively but displayed the mixed forms of state and national government.
Footnotes

Chapter VI

1Schlesinger, "Biography of a Nation of Joiners," pp. 24-25.

2Ibid., p. 21.

3Loring, communicator, "Pavement of Essex Street."

4Entry, July 8, 1793, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 33.

5Curwen Broadsides, Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection.


7Mary Bateson, "Social Life."

8Silsbee, A Half Century in Salem, pp. 8-10.

9Rules of the Assembly, 1807, Essex Institute, Broadside Collection.


12Article II, Articles of the Old Fire Club (Salem, Mass.: Dabney and Cushing, 1789), p. 4. Early American Imprint, No. 22125.


14Article XIX, Articles of the No. 5 Fire-Club Associated in Salem, December 8, 1783, Revised and Corrected, 1791, p. 10 (Hereinafter referred to as Articles of the No. 5 Fire-Club); Article XIII, Rules and Orders for the Government of the Union Fire Club, Instituted in Salem on the 13th...
of September 1770, p. 7 (Hereinafter referred to as Rules and Orders for the Government of the Union Fire Club)

15Salem MSS: Misc. I; Article VII, Articles of the Old Fire Club, p. 7; Article XVIII, Articles of the Social Fire Club, p. 7.


18Entry, May 31, 1796, Ibid., II, 186.

19Entry, September 13, 1792, Ibid., I, 392-93.

20Naumkeag Engine Company No. 4, No. 5, No. 1, No. 6, The Union Engine of Salem, Franklin Hook and Ladder Company, Essex Institute, Misc. MSS Collection.


27Article II, Articles of the Old Fire Club; Article VIII, Articles of the No. 5 Fire-Club, pp. 6-7; Article VII, Articles of the Social Fire Club (Salem, Mass.: Thomas C. Cushing, 1793), p. 4; Article VIII, Articles of the Amity Fire Club.

28Fire Club Miscellany, Essex Institute, Misc. MSS Collection.

29Article XXV, Rules and Regulations of the Salem Cadets, p. 13.

30Salem Gazette, I, No. 265, November 15, 1791.


33 Article I, The Covenant Articles of the Philosophical Library, Philosophical Library Records, 1781-1810, Essex Institute, Misc. MSS Collection; Article X, Articles of the Old Fire Club, p. 7; Article XIV, [Fire Club 1767]; Article XVI, Articles of the Amity Fire Club; Article XVI, Articles of the No. 5 Fire-Club, p. 10; Article VIII, Rules of the Civil Society; "An Old Salem Club of 1797."


35 Article XII, Articles Agreed to Be Observed by the Social Fire-Company, in Salem, p. 6.

36 Article IX, Rules and Orders for the Government of the Union Fire Club, p. 6.

37 Article II, Rules and Regulations of the Salem Cadets, p. 4.

38 "An Old Salem Club of 1797."


41 Article VIII, Rules and Regulations of the Salem Artillery Company, p. 6.

42 Salem, Mass., Fire Clubs, Old Fire Club.

43 Article XXII, Articles of the Amity Fire Club; Article XXII, Articles of the Social Fire Club, p. 8.


Article V, Laws of the Marine Society at Salem in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, p. 3.

Meeting, May 19, 1774, Salem Social Library Records, 1760-1809.


Meeting, June 5, 1775, Salem Social Library Records, 1760-1809.

Bylaws and Regulations of the Social Library, Salem, Mass.

Article XV, Rules and Regulations of the Salem Cadets, p. 8.

Article XII, Articles of the Old Fire Club, p. 7; Article XII, [Articles of a Fire Club], Salem MSS: Misc. I; Article XV, [Fire Club 1767].

Article XI, Articles Agreed to Be Observed by the Social Fire-Company in Salem, p. 6.


Meeting, May 24, 1762, Salem Social Library Records, 1760-1809.


Article X, Bye-Laws for Essex Lodge, Dr. Bentley, East Church, Salem, Mass., 1783-1819, Letters, etc.


Article IV, Laws of the Marine Society at Salem in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, p. 4; Article V, Bylaws and Regulations of the East India Marine Society, Records, Salem East India Marine Society, 1799-1824; Article V, Rules and Regulations of the Salem Artillery Company, p. 5.
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Article XI, Rules and Regulations of the Salem Cadets, p. 6.

Article IX, Articles Agreed to Be Observed by the Social Fire Company, p. 4; Article V, Articles of the Social Fire Club; Article V, Articles of the Amity Fire Club; Article V, Articles of the No. 5 Fire Club, p. 6; Union Engine Co. Salem, Mass., Account Book 1779.

Article II, Articles of the Old Fire Club, p. 4; Article II, Rules and Orders for the Government of the Union Fire Club, p. 4; Article V [Articles of a Fire Club, 1744], Salem MSS: Misc. I; Article V, [Fire Club 1767], Salem MSS: Misc. I.

Article V, Articles of the Social Fire Club.

Article II, Section 2, Bye Laws for Essex Lodge.

Article XIV, Rules and Regulations of the Salem Cadets, p. 7.

Article I, Section 4, Bylaws and Regulations of the Social Library, Salem, Mass.

Article XXII, Articles of the Social Fire Club, p. 8.

Article XXII, Articles of the No. 5 Fire Club, p. 12.

Philosophical Library Records, 1781-1810.

Article VIII, Articles of the Amity Fire Club.


Article II, Section 5, Bye Laws for Essex Lodge.

Article VII, Articles of the Social Fire Club; Article VII, Articles of the No. 5 Fire Club, p. 6; Article VI, Articles of the Amity Fire Club.

Article V, [Articles of a Fire Club 1744], Salem MSS: Misc. I; Article V [Fire Club 1767], Salem MSS: Misc. I.


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80Entry, December 12, 1793, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 76.

81Entry, November 14, 1795, Ibid., II, 166.

82Articles XIV & XVII, Laws of the Marine Society at Salem in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

83Article III, Rules of the Civil Society.

84Article IX, Rules and Regulations of the Salem Artillery Company, p. 7; Article X, Rules and Regulations of the Salem Cadets, p. 6.


86Article IX, Bye-Laws of Essex Lodge, Adopted March 14, 1779.

87Article IV, Section 7, Bylaws and Regulations of the Social Library.

88Tocqueville, Democracy in America, I, 205.
Chapter VII

Patterns of Governmental and Associational Cooperation

The relationship between voluntary associations and government holds considerable interest. Since associations performed many tasks we might consider governmental (civic improvements and fire protection, among them) it is valuable to learn how Salem town government interacted with private groups in these areas. Also involved in the relationship between constituted authorities and private groups are the sociological hypotheses that associations help to distribute power to a wider group of the populace and that associations serve as a source of countervailing power against government and these will be tested against the record of Salem clubs.

Salem clubs and groups collaborated with town government on many projects essentially municipal in character. In each instance, two basic questions will be asked—who instigated the enterprise, and how well were town and private groups able to cooperate?

Road building was an important area of contact between private subscribers and town selectmen. One of the first negotiations over street widening was instigated by a group of townsmen whose homes fronted on the street. John Mascoll, Henry West and Mr. Pickman wanted to widen
their street and selectmen were willing to give them five pounds of town money "Provided they widen it at the Corner over against Mr. Parkmans twelve foot and so to run on a strait line to the Northwest Corner of Mr. Benjamin Mar- stons fence as it now stands." 1 By giving the proprietors this aid, selectmen were able to dictate the course the widened road would take.

In the sixteen hundreds, Salem had used voluntary subscriptions to support the church; in the next century this device was most frequently used to fund road building. Somewhat like present day matching funds, the common procedure was for subscribers to raise a certain amount on condition that Salem defray the remainder. In 1754, townsmen were asked to vote sufficient funds to pave the street between Captain West's and Captain Breton's corner. When this failed to pass, it was proposed that sixty six pounds thirteen shillings of the needed sum be raised by subscription and only the balance defrayed by the town but still the measure failed to pass. 2 In 1789 a similar procedure was approved for paving the highway from Jonathan Hodges' ship out to long wharf. One hundred pounds were to be raised by subscription and the rest from town funds. 3 Six years later a similar method was employed to resurface Liberty Street. As had been done for the highway from Jonathan Hodges' to the wharf, a committee was first appointed to determine how much the project would cost and what proportion of the charge might be raised "from Persons who live
on said streets, or Contiguous thereto or from any other persons." The first two projects were instigated by the town but the idea of paving Essex Street may first have been broached by a group of citizens interested in its completion. At any rate, the form was voluntary subscription. In April 1792 subscribers 'agree[d] to pay to the Town Treasurer the Sums set against our respective Names, towards paving the Street....provided the Town will pave what our Subscriptions fall short of completing." A month later a separate list was appended to the main subscription of those persons who were willing to donate to paving a walkway in front of the main street.

For other civic occasions Salem also resorted to voluntary subscription. Sometimes it served as a stopgap measure. When town fathers found there was no money from the current rate to supply the needs of the poor house, a committee was instructed to get needed funds from citizens and to give them tax credits for the same. Salem needed cisterns to provide her water needs in case of fire. The town was able to agree with a group of proprietors on a suitable place to sink cisterns and agreed with the proprietors to defray half the cost. In this case it is not clear whether selectmen or proprietors instigated the project.

When Salem was beset by a series of robberies in 1789, private groups volunteered their services to supplement the town watch. It is difficult to tell whether
formal town government was involved in the creation of these cadres. A special meeting of inhabitants was called on a Wednesday afternoon. It is not clear whether there was a formal warrant for this gathering or whether concerned citizens simply suggested the meeting. At this meeting a man in each ward of town was appointed to draft ten men in his ward to patrol the streets every night. General Abbot headed the subscription in the east part of town.

It proved more difficult for proprietors and town government to cooperate on longer term municipal projects. On larger enterprises the aims of both parties were not likely to coincide as closely as on a simple street widening. Moreover the question of continuing maintenance was likely to divide them.

Salem's attempt to get proprietors to wharf their rights on burying point is a good example of a situation in which aims of proprietors and selectmen did not correspond. The town granted sections of the flats to several proprietors on condition that they build wharfs adjoining. Salem wanted to secure old graves on burying point and felt wharfing would be a logical solution. Proprietors were happy enough with their grants but had no immediate interest in wharfing them. The situation hung fire for several years. In March 1715 selectmen gave original proprietors one last chance to make good on the agreement first drawn "many years since." The gentlemen were
given until October next to finish securing the bank or have their grants passed on to other hands. Just to prod them further, selectmen arranged a meeting at Pratts tavern in mid summer and made the proprietors renew in writing their commitment to wharf the flats. All this urging seems to have come to nought. By 1717 the job had not been completed and selectmen again assigned the rights--this time to Samuel Brown, Jonathan Archer, Walter Price and James Lindall. Selectmen hoped to secure the bank further by this additional grant to Samuel Browne:

"And if said Browne will make a good stone wall to secure the bank from tumbling down he hath liberty to run ten feet further northward into the bank." The four men most likely wharfed their rights for there is no more mention of the problem in town records. Samuel Browne was not enticed to build a stone retaining wall; selectmen were still trying to lure proprietors to do this in the early nineteenth century.

Though town and proprietors were generally agreed on the importance of building bridges and though such projects were initiated by proprietors, they posed questions of long term maintenance which often brought town and proprietors to loggerheads. In 1736 James Rusk and other townsmen petitioned for the right to build a swing bridge over the creek to the south mill. Selectmen agreed to the undertaking on condition that the bridge be a swing or draw type, thirty feet wide, so as not to impede river
traffic, and on condition that Rusk and his group bear the total expense of its construction. Three years later proprietors of the swing bridge requested town government to take over annual repairs and a Salem town meeting agreed to the proposal. This is a simple and straight forward history in comparison to the tangled events surrounding the north bridge, next to be reviewed. It may be supposed that costs of maintaining the less traveled south bridge were minor compared to the larger north bridge and that, for this reason, the matter was settled simply and amicably.

Just as some seventeenth century projects drew together proprietors of common lands, the north bridge was undertaken by north field proprietors. In 1742 James Lindall and other proprietors of the north fields who had a particular need for good transportation into Salem proper asked permission to build a bridge from Ornes to Simonds point. Town meeting agreed to allow James Lindall and associates to construct a swing bridge and selected a committee to draw a set of specifications for the project. The committee thought of everything; they not only stipulated the dimensions and type of bridge to be constructed but provided that the link be completed in two years and that the owners keep the structure in good repair or forfeit the bridge to the town. Proprietors were not allowed to levy any charges on town inhabitants to pay repair costs. They were directed "to permit all Town Inhabitants & others to pass free and unmolested at all times [and] to allow & permit all Fishing Vessells & others to land Goods & lay
at Said Bridge free of any charge, provided they don't encumber said Bridge so as to prevent the Proprietors or others passing freely."20

This settlement indicates town reluctance to jeopardize any town right of way. Salem had hesitated to grant northfield proprietors right to build a causeway over the river in 1705 and now the town was not going to jeopardize free access of citizens to all parts of town to the needs of a bridge company.21 Thus, the bridge had to be a draw type that would not obstruct boats passing by and proprietors were prohibited from charging any toll.

How many proprietors were involved in this undertaking is not known. It would seem that considerable outlays were necessary to complete the bridge. On March 13, 1743, Samuel West, treasurer of the company, received ten pounds in "ould Tennor" from Philip English as part of his subscription toward the bridge.22 If this was only a portion of his share, the total amount due from each subscriber must have run even higher. Evidently, the company had trouble finishing the bridge on time. Thomas Blaney and others complained in March meeting 1745 that "James Lindall Esqr. and others have not made and finished the Bridge over North River, from Ornes Point to Symonds' according to the Grant of the Town, to the Damage of the Petitioners."23 It does not seem that this complaint was acted on; the company probably finished the bridge shortly after this.
By 1753 major difficulties had begun to surface. By this date the bridge was in serious disrepair and proprietors lacked funds to refurbish it. In a warrant for town meeting, one possible solution was proposed—granting town flats adjoining the bridge to some individual or group who would undertake to maintain the bridge. These terms did not please many townsmen for both Samuel West's and Benjamin Pickman's offers to maintain the bridge under them were rejected at March meeting. In September 1754 a committee was chosen at town meeting to find new proprietors to maintain the bridge and to learn the terms on which they would undertake this expense. John Nutting and his committee turned up a new set of proprietors by March; these townsmen promised to maintain all the bridge except the draw and two piers next to north bridge for a grant of the adjoining flats. In case they should fail their trust, the associators were to return to the town not only the flats, but any warehouses they may have constructed there. In May three selectmen were deputed to agree with the proprietors named in Nutting's report or any other proprietors to take over the bridge. A new set of proprietors, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Orne, Francis Cabot and Joseph Cabot, were instituted by this committee. Since the new undertakers did not have responsibility for the draw, selectmen issued an indenture of eleven pence for a new draw.

These measures to further divide responsibility for the great bridge between proprietors and the town were
only satisfactory for a little over a decade. In 1768 John Nutting and other townsmen again raised the bridge question. They asked Salem meeting to consider whether north bridge did not need to be widened "considering the great Number of Persons and Carriages that pass over said Bridge since the late road has been laid out" and whether current proprietors had not forfeited their rights through neglect. Selectmen viewed the structure and concurred with Nutting and his fellow petitioners on both points. Whether Samuel Gardner, Timothy Orne, Francis Cabot and Joseph Cabot were divested of their rights at this time is not apparent from town records nor is it clear what happened to the question of widening the bridge.

Neglect marked the course of the bridge question until 1782. In that year a committee was chosen to see what repairs were needed and to find out who owned the bridge. The series of proprietors had left that question in doubt. Current proprietors were located for, in April, selectmen joined with them in petitioning the Court of General Sessions to take the bridge under County charge. Finding its maintenance unworkable even by combined town and private exertions, Salem was now in hopes of turning the responsibility over to the County. Essex County was not receptive to their proposal and in March of the next year the bridge problem was again broached at annual meeting. No action was taken. By 1785 Salem had devised a complicated cooperative scheme for managing north bridge:
Voted, that the Town will be at the Expence of Repairing & widening the North Bridge in this Town, so as to make said Bridge thirty feet in Width provided the County will Defray One third part of the Expence forever afterwards & will keep the third part of said Bridge in good Repair, & the Proprietors of said Bridge will advance three hundred Pounds towards defraying the Expence of the other two thirds, that then the Town will pay the Remaining part of the Expence of Widening & Repairing said Bridge,—And the Town hereby engages after said Bridge is Complanted to keep two third parts of said Bridge in good Repair & to exempt the Proprietors ever afterwards from any charge or Expence. 34

This elaborate plan seems to have fallen of its own weight.

In 1786 the town began to take more practical steps towards restoring the bridge. In April selectmen were empowered to find out how much it would cost to refurbish north river bridge and also to apply again to Essex County for relief. 35 By March of the following year a committee was chosen to confer with proprietors about needed repairs to the bridge. 36 A decision on proper measures to take was deferred until May meeting but, in the meantime, Deacon Gould was appointed to make temporary repairs on the channel arch. 37 The town decided at May meeting to raise two hundred pounds for repairing the bridge. 38 It is doubtful whether any more than Deacon Gould's temporary repairs were accomplished as a suitable course of action was still being debated in 1788. In March selectmen were directed to inspect the bridge, find out what part belonged to Salem, and confer with proprietors about what they were willing to do toward repairs. 39 By
March of the following year, Salem was still negotiating with proprietors. Selectmen were now directed to determine the expenses of widening and repairing the south side of the span and to offer bridge owners exemption from any further expenditures if they would pay their proportion of these repairs. Whether proprietors complied is not clear from town records but, in any case, north bridge became town property in 1789.

The north bridge project defines the limits of private initiative in municipal concerns. Expecting a private group to provide and maintain a major facility to complete town satisfaction without collecting any rent proved illusory. Salem's unwillingness to redefine the basic relationship and allow proprietors to operate a toll bridge compounded difficulties. Reassigning proprietors, enticing new undertakers with grants of the flats and taking the draw out of their control were only half way measures which confused the situation more than they helped. In the 1770's and 1780's these reassignments proved a confusing factor. Town selectmen had to determine just who had rights in the bridge and whether they had forfeited their interests through neglect before north bridge could become a town structure.

Salem Hospital was another major municipal undertaking; much like north bridge, it was designed to give Salem maximum control over a public facility without burdening townsmen with a large financial outlay. The
project was initiated by a private group. In October 1773 several citizens petitioned Salem for the right to set up a smallpox hospital for the "benefit of the Inhabitants." Town meeting agreed and drew a detailed list of regulations for its government.

The *Essex Gazette* characterized the project as an ideal blend of private and town initiative:

To allow a few individuals to erect a hospital for their own private emolument would, it was thought, render the process too expensive for general benefit. For the Town, in its corporate capacity, to be at the expense of building one, would be too great a burden on the poor. We have the pleasure to inform the public that these difficulties are all avoided. One thousand pounds lawful money has been raised by subscription, for the erecting and furnishing an inoculating hospital, which is to be entirely under the regulation of the Town. A small sum, not exceeding 12 S. (besides the other necessary expenses) is to be paid by each person inoculated for the use of the building and furniture. When a sufficient sum is raised, in this way, the subscribers are to be reimbursed (without interest) the money advanced, and the hospital, &c., is to become the property of the Town.

Following the tenor of the *Essex Gazette* article, the constitution drawn for the hospital invested most important powers in the town. Subscribers retained the right to decide on appropriate furnishings for the hospital and to appoint a building committee. A town committee was to choose the site for the hospital; overseers charged with actual operation of the hospital and even the treasurer were Salem's appointment. Overseers were to appoint nurses, cleansers and guards needed at the facility, and, in conjunction with town overseers of the poor, were to decide what poor people in the community would be inoculated
Powers remaining to the proprietors are suggested by the controversy which surrounded Salem Hospital's first physician. It is clear that proprietors had a hand in selecting Doctor Latham to attend the hospital. Timothy Pickering Jr. was dispatched to New York to negotiate with the famed innoculator. It may be suggested that he went in two capacities—both as representative of the town and of the subscribers for, at the time Pickering was both a selectman and one of the shareholders in the new hospital. At the time Latham was the popular choice of the town, "People's hearts were set upon him."45 Besides having a hand in choosing Latham, shareholders figured prominently in salary negotiations with the doctor. When Dr. Prince impugned Pickering's motives in opposing Latham, Timothy Pickering stuck back by reminding Prince that he had tried to have a fund for inoculating the poor applied to Dr. Latham's already considerable salary.46 These exchanges most likely took place at a proprietor's meeting. Pickering waged a heated newspaper campaign against Latham and also attempted to have the fame innoculator dismissed from his post at a shareholder's meeting; Pickering's actions make it clear that he thought it within the province of the subscribers' power to remove an attending physician and appoint another. His first attempt to have Latham removed was thwarted by the Englishman's friends among the proprietors. Pickering described the debacle in a letter to his cousin,
Rev. Mr. Weeks:

You may remember,—a meeting of the subscribers to our hospital was notified in the last week's "Gazette." My intention in this was, by a true representation of Latham's conduct, to get him cashiered. But Prince, I suppose, from the little ceremony with which I have long treated his dear crony and brother doctor, suspected my design, and mustered the whole posse of Lathamites,—the Curwens, the Pickmans, the Vanses, the Rouths, the Sparhawks, and others of less blustering note....A full meeting was what I desired, But I little expected to stand alone.47

It need hardly be said that all the controversy surrounding Latham reflected adversely on the hospital. Pickering hoped to have a firm commitment from Doctor Jackson in nearby Marblehead to take over ministrations at a lower salary than Latham's in order to convince the community to keep the hospital open.48 Here his powers of persuasion failed him. Salem voted to close the hospital and to reimburse proprietors over a six year period. Salem Hospital was to revert to the town immediately.49 Promise of eventual payment was all subscribers attained; immediate deficits were their problem as a meeting held later that month makes clear: "The Subscribers to SALEM HOSPITAL are desired to meet at the Town House Chamber next Wednesday Afternoon, at five o'clock, to determine on some measures for paying the monies for which the Hospital is in Arrears."50

Salem Hospital was reopened and used extensively in 1777 and 1778.51 Since the house had become property of the town in 1774, it most likely was operated by the town
during these years. Inoculation fees were now six dollars a person. Mr. C. Gayton Pickman gave Jas. Henfield, the new treasurer, sixty dollars to defray the cost of inoculating ten persons at Salem Hospital.  

It is doubtful that the town made any payments to subscribers during this period. Bentley noted that the town had no claims upon the hospital when it was again reopened in 1792: "Without any arguments against the proposal it obtained to open a Hospital under such regulations as the Selectmen, with a Committee appointed for the purpose should propose, for such persons as would defray their own expences, & this not by permission of the Town, which has no claim upon the Hospital." Salem finally took steps to reimburse proprietors for their investment in 1793. In July of the year a five man committee was appointed to "make a statement of all Accounts between the Proprietors of said Hospital and the Town." Evidently, this committee's findings did not satisfy townsmen for they refused to accept the report and instructed yet another committee "to confer with each Proprietor in the Hospital in the Great Pasture to know what they will take for their Interest." To keep pressure on the town to work for a settlement, proprietors threatened incorporation at this juncture. The new committee commenced negotiations and found most shareholders willing to accept ten shillings on the pound as complete satisfaction of the debt.
Cooperation between town and proprietors on the hospital was somewhat more successful than collaboration on north river bridge. Since the hospital did not require the steep continuing outlays for repairs that plagued the bridge project, proprietors were not faced with the need to provide many more funds for the project than they had originally intended. This is not to say there were no problems in the relationship. Consensus over the doctor originally selected to attend the hospital broke down, dividing both townspeople and subscribers and resulting in the hospital's closing. From the first, Salem treated the hospital as a town institution. In all probability, selectmen ran the hospital without consulting proprietors between 1774 and 1793. It is not surprising that this maneuver made the town reluctant to pay subscribers for their investment in Salem Hospital and that threats of incorporation were necessary to bring the community to its duty.

Construction of a market house is a case of more limited cooperation between town and proprietors. In 1792 a group of citizens petitioned town government for the right to build a market house. Prevailing practice was for merchants to ply their wares door to door but the petitioners wanted all sellers to gather in a central market house. Salem authorized the project of Captain Jonathan Peele and other townsmen to the extent of quit claiming an old dock to them as the proposed site of the
market. Peele and his associates probably thought that this action implied greater approval of their undertaking than it, in fact, did. Town government made no attempt to convince sellers to buy stalls in the new house and center their business there and most of the populace preferred the old door to door sales. From the first, the market house had difficulties filling its stalls and use of the upstairs as another concert hall was not enough to save the project. At March meeting 1796 shareholders asked Salem to buy them out, but town meeting dismissed the idea. As Bentley noted, the whole subject was taken lightly:

At the last meeting of the Town the present Market house was offered to the Town, at the Bills which it cost, which were stated at 1850$, or about 6,000 Dollars. But no person appeared to urge the purchase. It was to the Town rather a subject of diversion.

The abortive market house project illustrates yet another way Salem utilized private groups. Town government risked little in quit claiming an old dock to the group and, if the project had met public acceptance, it would have been an asset to the town. If the project failed, as it did, only the proprietors were losers. Salem town government preferred private initiative in such town projects of doubtful acceptance over full public involvement.

Another area of public concern in which private and quasi-private groups played a considerable role was
fire protection. The relationship between private fire clubs and town selectmen raises some intriguing but largely unanswerable questions. Town government had no control over the internal ordering of these clubs. In some ways the aims of fire clubs were complementary to town policy. Coping with the extreme danger of fire was a considerable burden to selectmen and any organized groups devoted to fire protection were welcome. Salem needed to increase the number of buckets available for fire duty and private clubs always stipulated that their members procure two buckets. Town fire regulations provided that lights be set in all windows in case of fire on dark nights; fire clubs echoed this directive in their regulations. At this point their aims diverge. Primary goal of town policy was to extinguish fires with all possible dispatch. Fire clubs, on the other hand, directed their members to help the member most endangered by fire remove and secure his household goods. It is conceivable that club members bent on removing a member's goods might have obstructed town fire lanes and, in other ways, interfered with fire fighting measures. Further, some club personnel must have had difficulty reconciling their duties as club members with their roles as town officials. For many years William Gray was both a member of the Old Fire Club and a town fire ward. Which duties did he honor first, the requirements of his office or of his club membership? William Gray was not the only club member involved in such
conflicts. Many fire club brethren were high ranking civil and military officers and under town directives these gentlemen were to stay by fire wards in case of fire and help these gentlemen determine town policy.63

Fire companies were quasi-public groups which manned Salem's engines. A town policy toward these groups began to evolve when Captain Richard Derby and company offered Union Engine to the town. They bought the engine for Salem and offered their services as its crew on condition that they be excused from all other town offices.64 Salem complied with these conditions, and, from the first, had authority to approve new members. When Philip Sanders took the place of his brother Henry in the company, selectmen approved the appointment and granted Philip the same privileges granted to other members of the company.65 Since the engine was privately owned, transfer of membership was actually a two step process. In one instance, John Cabot sold his interest in the "Little Engine with the advantages & privileges arising to me as one of the old Engine company" to Mr. Stephen Goodhue for three pounds twelve shillings.66 Then presumably, Stephen Goodhue had to present himself to the selectmen to have his membership confirmed.

When Benjamin Lynde and other gentlemen presented Salem with a second larger engine, Salem solved the problem of manning it by assigning its management to the Union Engine Company and by extending that company's privileges
so that they would take the assignment. They were now to be excused from serving as jurors in addition to their previous exclusion from town offices. Salem also agreed to be responsible for repairs on the new engine.

Though Salem had far more control over engine companies than over fire clubs, there were still grounds for conflicts between engine companies and the town. Ridard Derby, as a member of one of Salem's most powerful families and owner of a considerable interest in the Union Engine, might have demanded that the engine visit Derby mansion first in case of fire. Though there is no evidence that Derby or any other member of the company made such demands, this possibility is not farfetched. When Mr. Green of Boston turned over his private engine to Boston selectmen, he made "this reserve, that in case any part of his own Estate or Mr. David Wheelers should be in danger by fire, they may have the right to order said engine to repair to the place so endangered." When Salem bought its first engine under the auspices of Benjamin Pickman, a private group petitioned to be made the company for that engine, and were granted the privileges they required, presumably the same ones already attained by the Union Engine Company. Though Benjamin Pickman had not given the engine to the town, his services in procuring it were rewarded by the appointment of Clark Gayton Pickman and company to man the engine.

How later engine companies were formed is not clear.
Selectmen authorized their formation and approved any changes in membership. All we know of the formation of new companies is contained in references in the Town Records: "Voted That the Engine Company No 1030 be filled up & that they be allowed the same privileges & advantages as is allowed the company belonging to the Little Engine, so called."70

The only record of the year by year relation between town government and engine companies is contained in the records of the Union Engine Company. From 1777 to 1780, the records deal with routine matters, changes in membership, adjustment of the fine schedule, but mention no dealings with Salem selectmen. By 1790 Salem evidently determined to tighten regulation of fire companies. In that year selectmen requested a list of the current members of the society and, in addition, current articles of the company. Town government maintained a tighter rein over the company in the years that followed. Again in 1794, 1795 and 1796 the company submitted their articles for selectmen's perusal.71

Restitution of property lost in town fires was left to private generosity. It is interesting to note that on one occasion Salem's Masonic Lodge conferred with town selectmen before making an award: "A Mr. Gideon Batchelor in his own name presented a petition to be read for a Contribution to relieve him under the distresses of the late fire in Beverly, stating his loss at three hundred
dollars, & mentioning the Articles—but the Wardens did not agree that it should be read without a recommendation from the Selectmen."72 Reimbursement for buildings pulled down to halt the course of a fire was also the province of charity. William Bentley explained why this was the only logical course of action:

At the fire some think more property was lost than was needful for safety. Question, why should not the Town restore property destroyed for the public service by law? Because it would not in all cases be a charity, & the rich would demand it, or because the poor would assist with reluctance to remove property they must restore. It is best to leave it to generosity.73

Private groups also often collaborated with town government on major public occasions. At times they provided the major impetus to action. This was clearly the case at the death of Washington. News of Washington's death arrived in Salem the evening of December 23, 1799.74 Salem Military Society called upon the Marine Society to join them in choosing an orator to give a fitting tribute to Washington, observing that the "countenance and support of so respectable a body will add that dignity and consequence worthy the Object we wish to Commemorate."75 Salem Marine fell in with the design, appointed a committee to carry it out and further "voted that the above Committee Should invite any other Society to join in paying that Tribute of Respect to the Death of Genl Washington."76

It seems that one of the groups contacted was the Masonic Lodge for Bentley notes in his diary for December 27:
"St. John's Day was celebrated by the Brethren in private & a Committee chosen to confer with the committees of yesterday." By the 28th, Salem town meeting was roused to action and, as William Bentley makes clear, ground work laid by private committees was instrumental in this; "the Salem Committees have resulted in calling a Town Meeting. The sentiments for G.W. are general." It is interesting that the town committee designated to choose an appropriate tribute to Washington included members of the private committees—John Page and Jonathan Waldo of the Military Society, Benjamin Pickman Jr. and Joseph Hiller of the Marine Society.

Local Salem organizations not only interacted with town government but were often involved in transactions with State and, at time, national government. State and federal government also looked to local groups for loan capital. During the Revolution, Salem Marine Society loaned all the money it had on hand to the colony of Massachusetts Bay on colony security. During Shays' rebellion, Massachusetts again sought loans from local groups. As General Lincoln explained in a letter to Washington:

The command of the troops was given to me, being the first Major General in the State. At this moment, when every part of the system was digested, and nothing remained but the offering the orders to raise the men, and carry it into execution, information was received from the Commissary General that the necessary supplies could not be obtained without a considerable sum in cash, without which was not within the
power of the Treasurer to borrow. On my hearing this from the Governor, I went immediately to a club of the first characters in Boston, who met that night, and laid before them a full state of matters, and suggested to them the importance of their becoming loaners of part of their property, if they wished to secure the remainder. A subscription was sent on foot in the morning headed by the Governor. Before night the cloud which twenty-four hours before hung over us disappeared as we had assurance of obtaining the sum we wanted.

The subscription was sent on to Salem where many of the leading men also joined the plan. Federal government actively solicited loans during the Quasi War with France. Communities were asked to loan money or build frigates for the federal cause. After considerable hesitation, a group was formed in Salem and their subscription allocated to building a thirty two gun frigate, the Essex.

During the building and final outfitting, the Navy Department deferred to the Salem committee on many occasions. Secretary Stoddart appointed Captain Preble as an interim commander in the expectation that Captain Derby might return from sea before the Essex was due to sail:

Having heard nothing of Capt. Derby, and the frigate Essex being now ready for the attention of a Commander I have the honor to direct that as soon after the receipt of this as you conveniently can, you repair to Salem and assist in preparing that ship for sea, to command her in the event of her being ready before Capt. Derby's return. It may possibly be a favorite object with the Committee that Capt. Derby should have the command of the Essex, and I have therefore informed them that he might command her if he should choose to do so upon your return from a cruise.

Ben Stoddart also waited for the Salem committee to appoint
a lieutenant for the *Essex* and only ordered Lt. Phipps of New Haven to join the ship when the committee failed to exercise their option. On other appointments Captain Preble also deferred to the Salem committee. As acting captain, he consulted the committee on nominations for warrant officers and selected a man who had been "employed on board her by the Committee for some time past" as sailing master.

Voluntary associations also came in contact with State authorities through their power to authorize or encourage associations. In 1798 the General Court framed a law to promote social libraries by providing an easy means for such bodies to incorporate. Some groups, notably voluntary military societies, had to procure sanction of State government to exist. Salem Artillery Company enlisted the forensic talents of William Bentley to present their case. Tucker family papers indicate just how Haverhill men went about forwarding their plan for a voluntary artillery company:

1801 February 9. Stormy—a Subscription for an Artillery company about 25 subscribers met in the evening at Bradleys chose Committee to petition the General Court for a Company of Artillery.

11...met in the evening at Bradley's to consider the expediency of raising an Artillery Company—a subject of considerable consequence consulted some of the principal men in town on the subject & by their advice—chose a committee viz. Capt Emerson, W. Appleton & myself to procure signers to petition & present the same to the General Court all appeared pleased with the plan
18 Waited on the Honorable General Court with petition for Artillery Company presented by Capt. Willis read & committed to General Montague, General Goodwin & Major Jackson—afternoon waited on the Committee who recommended to procure sanction of General and Field officers to the Petition. 90

Ways in which associations sought to influence government provide one more dimension of their relationship. Voluntary associations have long been credited with helping "distribute power on the grass roots level." 91 Seymour Martin Lipset considers voluntary associations a valuable adjunct to a democratic society as "a source of countervailing power, inhibiting the state or any single major source of private power from dominating all political resources." 92

In this section we will consider how well Salem groups measured up to these expectations. Salem clubs often lobbied for proposals and measures of particular interest to them, and could often influence Salem town government through such activities. When Samuel Browne, Stephen Sewall and Jonathan Turner became concerned that the Fort at Winter Island was in such poor repair, they recommended to town meeting the "Setting up a plank fence where[e] the Timber is rotten & fallen Down and the Setting up Some Supporters under the Chamber that is nigh falling down." 93 Town meeting saw the wisdom of their proposal and began to make repairs. It was customary for groups of townsmen to lobby for new streets in their area. An example of such a petition is one framed in 1761 for a new
way between main street and the north river from Curwen's Lane; "your Petitioners apprehend [it] would not only be a benefit to the Town, but would be very much to the benefit & advantage of the Owners of the Lotts through which the same way is proposed to be laid out, as it would greatly increase the value of said Lotts, inasmuch as House Lotts are now much wanted in said town."94 Union Fire Club discussed at their meetings several matters of town policy. On one instance, William Bentley recorded the society's suggestion of "having Axmen with each engine & a great number of Buckets provided at the Town charge."95 It may have been at the recommendation of the Union Fire Club that Salem went on to appoint squads of axmen.

Salem groups also attempted to influence national government. In 1794 Salem shipowners reacted to the increasing rate of seizures on the high seas by forming a committee, conferring first with a similar group from Newburyport and then with a committee from Boston. "This Committee has chosen another Committee of three, one from each town, vizt Boston, Salem & Newbury Port, to go on to Congress to make a statement of their affairs. Mr. John Norris of Salem."96 Reverend Bentley was dubious of their chances of success; "the object cannot be well within their reach."97

Salem Marine Society repeatedly urged Congress to build light houses the society thought were necessary. Salem Marine long campaigned for a light house on Cape Cod. In
November of 1792 a committee of the society wrote to Benjamin Lincoln, Collector of Boston, "to observe that a Light house upon Cape Cod is an object that has long and zealously engaged the attention and wishes of the Gentlemen in Trade in this Town, and of the Marine Society in particular." Salem Marine went on to ask fellow marine societies to join them in petitioning Congress for the light. Boston Marine thought it would be more advisable to ask the governor to request Congress to act and planned to approach the governor with representatives of the Boston Humane Society and asked the Salem society to join them in this. The following year Benjamin Lincoln addressed the President of the society in flattering terms: "The Society of which you are the head, are good judges of the subject, I therefore wish for your opinion whether new Light Houses, Bouys or Beacons are necessary—If necessary where". It may be supposed that Salem Marine renewed their application for a light house on Cape Cod but again nothing was done. The question hung fire for three years. In 1796, Boston Marine informed its Salem counterpart that the Boston society and Boston Chamber of Commerce intended to renew their petition for the light and requested Salem's compliance. Salem Marine Society appointed a three man committee to form a petition and to call on Marblehead, Beverly, Manchester, Cape Ann, Newburyport and all seaports to the eastward to do the same.

At the same time Salem Marine was working for a
light on Cape Cod, the society was striving to convince Congress to build a light house on Baker Island in Salem harbor and to repay the society for their own exertions in placing a beacon on that island and bouys around the harbor. Salem Marine sent letters to their Congressmen, asking how to proceed in the matter. Benjamin Goodhue and other representatives found that existing law did not cover the question of reparations and suggested that "it would be best the subject should come before Congress by way of Petition from you in behalf of the Marine Society, stating the expences you have already been at, and praying for a reimbursement of the same, and that they would cause such other Bouys, and a Light house, &c., as you may think proper, may be erected, and the expences of maintaining the same be paid by the United States."  

The society proceeded as their Congressmen advised and received no answer. In order to compile information on how important Salem harbor was to national commerce, Salem Marine appointed a committee to confer with neighboring towns to determine the number of ships trading with Salem and neighboring ports.  

A renewed drive to promote the Baker Island light house accompanied the revival of the Cape Cod project. Salem Marine Society devoted the main section of their petition to the Baker Island project:  

The Memorial of the Marine Society at Salem in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, respectfully shews:
That much of the property and many of the lives of their fellow citizens are almost every year lost in coming into the Harbour of Salem, for want of proper lights to direct their course. That no less than three vessels with their cargoes and sixteen seamen have perished the present season.

This calamity, can, in the opinion of this society, be prevented only by erecting a light house on the northern end of Baker's Island, which would lessen, if not entirely remove, the peculiar dangers of the navigation into the Harbour.  

This time the society was successful in persuading Congress to fund a light house; the light was completed in 1797 but question of repayment for the society's beacon and bouys remained.

Salem Marine appointed a committee to sell the beacon at the best terms they could get and to petition Congress again for their money. The committee made one last attempt to evoke the full sympathies of representative Benjamin Goodhue:

Sir. The Marine Society of this town erected on Baker's Island a beacon, and placed several bouys at the entrance of the Harbour. The expense incurred on these objects was mostly from the funds of the Marine Society. Such expenditure of the funds was not the original design of the Institution, and the fund has thereby been lessened; and in consequence thereof they can not distribute so much to the necessities of poor widows and fatherless children, as otherwise they would be able to do. The United States having passed an Act relative to bouys and beacons being placed at the entrance to large commercial harbours, &c., the Marine Society entertain an idea that, upon a proper presentation of the humane principles upon which the society is formed, and the appropriation of the income of their funds to so benevolent a purpose, that the monies they have expended on those objects would be refunded to the society by the United States.
Benjamin Goodhue reported that beacons and bouys had yet "been imperfectly provided for by Congress," and that application would have to be made to the Commissioner of the Revenue. But since Tench Coxe had just been removed from that post, their application should not be made until the next session. There the matter rested. For all their efforts, Salem Marine was never able to recover its expenditures. Had there been clearer legislation in the field, their persistent efforts might have brought results.

Organizations not only used their influence to promote proposals that interested them but also used their power to block measures they disapproved. Town subscriptions allowed citizens to exercise this power. If citizens approved a measure, they subscribed to it; if not, it went down to defeat. In 1747, the town tried to get inhabitants to subscribe for an almshouse but citizens were not in favor of the measure and refused to support it. This also seems to have been the fate of the proposed memorial to George Washington, to be built by subscription. Raising money for a community project by subscription gave subscribers greater leverage over its execution. In 1741 a subscription was started for repairing the fort. When subscribers and town could not agree on a suitable commander for the fort, the project was discontinued. In a similar manner, groups could refuse State requests; in 1782, Massachusetts Bay
asked for additional monies for a State frigate and was rebuffed in the Salem Gazette:

A request in writing, for the loan of $600 by subscription, to be applied towards fitting the State ship Tartar for sea, paying agents' bills, and charges for taking up deserters, &c. &c. was forwarded to the merchants here the last week, from Boston. The reason given for this extraordinary measure, is, that the Treasurer is out of cash; but the money, it seems, is to be repaid as soon as he is in cash. It is supposed that a similar request hath gone to every seaport, and every wealthy inland town, through the Commonwealth. But it is ardently wished that everyman who hath the interest and credit of his country at heart, may exert himself to oppose so destructive a project, and put a stop to such wild profusion of the public money as this of keeping a State ship in pay, at an enormous expense, without any prospect of honour or advantage. We are enquiring what have become of the great sums we have paid in taxes? Can we be at any loss, when we squander our money on State ships! State schooners! State cockboats! 113

Legislation unfavorable to the interests of a group was often resisted. In 1793 a new militia law was passed placing a ceiling on the number of men in each ward who might join a voluntary military company. 114 There was a great deal of contention in Salem over this article and it cannot but be thought that Salem Cadets and Artillery were in the forefront of the opposition.

Though Salem organizations collaborated with state and federal government on some projects, their primary relation was with town government and their role in municipal concerns earned them considerable power in town affairs. Interaction with town selectmen proved most satisfactory in areas such as fire protection where many
initiatives were needed and the activity of one group
did not preclude participation of others. Turning larger
municipal concerns over to private groups proved less
satisfactory. In the case of the north bridge proprietors
were not able to continue large outlays and town meeting
had to disqualify existing proprietors before assuming
management of the bridge. Even when a private facility
was found inadequate, it was often considerable time
before its function was returned to the town. The tendency
was for private groups to consider themselves exercising
a public trust and to resent any criticisms of their
functioning. This was certainly true of the Salem and
Danvers Aqueduct Company which began supplying Salem with
water in 1799. Many times the company fell short of
supplying the community with adequate water; complaints
were raised but the company kept hold of its franchise.
When a rival company began to organize, Endicott, one of
the Directors of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct, attributed
the attempt to private spleen, prejudicing "the public
mind." Endicott failed to understand any of the com-
plaints raised against the company: "The perplexing and
various impositions this company have experienced throughout
its whole existence, we have forborne to recount or com-
ment upon, as they would show up the worst phase in human
nature."
Footnotes

Chapter VII

1Meeting of Selectmen, May 22, 1711, Salem Town Records, 1709-1725, p. 52.

2Town Meeting, May 15, 1754, Salem Town Records, 1742-1773, p. 175.


4Town Meeting, March 14, 1796, Salem Town Records, 1788-1800, p. 332.

5George B. Loring, communicator, "Pavement of Essex Street."

6Ibid.

7Town Meeting, March 12, 1787, Salem Town Records, 1774-1788, p. 395.

8Meeting of Selectmen, February 20, 1789, Salem Town Records, 1788-1800, pp. 7-8.

9Salem Gazette, XI, No. 589, March 21, 1797.

10Entry, March 16, 1797, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 217.

11Salem MSS: Misc. I.

12Town Meeting, March 21, 1714/5, Salem Town Records, 1709-1725, p. 143.

13Meeting of Selectmen, June 6, 1715, Salem Town Records, 1709-1725, p. 147; Salem MSS: Misc. I.

14Meeting of Selectmen, March 18, 1717/8, Salem MSS: Misc. I.

15Meeting of Selectmen, March 25, 1717, Salem MSS: Misc. I.
Meeting of Selectmen, August 12, 1811, Salem MSS: Misc. I.

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Town Meeting, June 14, 1742, Ibid., pp. 335-36.

"The First Connection with North Salem."


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Town Meeting, March 10, 1755, Ibid., pp. 188-89.

Town Meeting, May 14, 1755, Ibid., p. 196.

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Town Meeting, March 28, 1768, Ibid., p. 343.


Town Meeting, April 1, 1782, Ibid., p. 250.


Town Meeting, April 3, 1786, Ibid., pp. 377-78.

Town Meeting, March 12, 1787, Ibid., p. 396.

Town Meeting, April 2, 1787, Ibid., p. 401.

Town Meeting, May 15, 1787, Ibid., p. 407.

Town Meeting, March 10, 1788, Ibid., p. 428.
40 Town Meeting, March 9, 1787, Salem Town Records, 1788-1800, pp. 13-14; Town Meeting March 23, 1789, Ibid., pp. 15-16.

41 Phillips, Salem in the Eighteenth Century, p. 175.

42 Town Meeting, October 27, 1773, Salem Town Records, 1742-1773, pp. 488-89.

43 Essex Gazette (Salem), VI, No. 276, November 2-9, 1773, p. 59.

44 Small Pox Hospital Regulations, Town Meeting, November 1, 1773, Salem Town Records, 1742-1773, pp. 490-93.


48 Ibid.

49 Town Meeting, March 14, 1774, Salem Town Records, 1774-1788, p. 8.

50 Essex Gazette (Salem), VI, No. 296, March 22-29, 1774, p. 139.

51 Small Pox Hospital Records, Salem, 1778.

52 Receipt, Salem, July 8, 1774, Benjamin Goodhue MSS IV: Deeds and Misc., 1685-1856.

53 Entry, October 12, 1792, The Diary of William Bentley, II.

54 Town Meeting, July 1, 1793, Salem Town Records, 1788-1800.

55 Town Meeting, September 10, 1793, Ibid., pp. 202-03.

56 Entry, September 20, 1793, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 63.

57 Town Meeting, October 24, 1793, Salem Town Records, 1788-1800, p. 208.
Meeting of Selectmen, November 23, 1792, Ibid., p. 161.

Town Meeting March 14, 1796, Ibid., p. 330.

Entry, March 15, 1796, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 175.

Essex Gazette (Salem), VI, No. 176, December 3-10, 1771, p. 77.


Essex Gazette (Salem), VI, No. 176, December 3-10, 1771, p. 77.

Town Meeting, March 20, 1748, Salem Town Records, 1742-1773, pp. 73-74.

Meeting of Selectmen, May 20, 1757, Ibid., pp. 116-17.

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Town Meeting, May 15, 1754, Salem Town Records, 1742-1773, pp. 174-75.


Town Meeting, November 23, 1767, Salem Town Records, 1742-1773, p. 322.

Town Meeting, March 10, 1783, Salem Town Records, 1774-1788, p. 279.


Entry, August 31, 1792, Ibid., I, 390.

Entry, December 23, 1799, Ibid., II, 325.

76 Meeting, December 26, 1799, Salem Marine Society Minutes I.

77 Entry, December 27, 1799, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 325.

78 Entry, December 28, 1799, Ibid., p. 325.


82 Entry, January 29, 1787, The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem, ed. by Oliver, p. 263.

83 Entry, October 25, 1789, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 286.

84 Letter, Ben Stoddart to Capt. Edward Preble, Navy Department, October 21, 1799, "The First Cruise of the U.S. Frigate Essex, 1799-1800, Captain Edward Preble, Correspondence with the Department" EIHC, X, Pt. 3 (1869), 34. (Hereinafter referred to as "The First Cruise of the U.S. Frigate Essex.")

85 Letter, Ben Stoddart to Captain Edward Preble, Navy Department, November 15, 1799, Ibid., p. 36.

86 Letter, Capt. Edward Preble to Ben Stoddart, Salem, November 21, 1799, Ibid., p. 36.

87 Letter, Captain Edward Preble to Ben Stoddart, Salem, November 21, 1799, Ibid., p. 41.


89 Entry, December 18, 1786, The Diary of William Bentley, I, 48.

90 Tucker Family Papers II, Essex Institute, Fam. MSS Collection.


Meeting of Selectmen, September 5, 1720, Salem Town Records, 1709-1725, p. 262.

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Entry, September 13, 1792, The Diary of William Bentley, I, 392-93.

Entry, April 24, 1794, Ibid., II, 87.

Entry, April 4, 1794, Ibid., p. 86.


Letter, Benjamin Lincoln to President of the Marine Society at Salem, Beverly, November 28, 1793, Ibid., p. 25.


Meeting, January 28, 1796, Salem Marine Society Minutes I.


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107 Meeting, December 4, 1797, Salem Marine Society Minutes I.


110 Town Meeting, May 11, 1747, Salem Town Records, 1742-1773, p. 50.


112 Entry, April 1, 1741, The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., ed by Oliver, p. 161.

113 Salem Gazette, I, No. 43, August 8, 1782.

114 Entry, December 11, 1793, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 76.

115 C. M. Endicott, "History of Salem and Danvers Aqueduct," EIHC, II, No. 3 (June, 1860), 111.

116 Ibid., p. 115.
Chapter VIII

Role of Voluntary Associations in Social Integration

The social impact of voluntary associations on their members, the immediate community and wider society will now be traced. Voluntary associations are considered a cohesive influence on their communities. Murray Hausknecht states the prevalent sociological view when he asserts that "affiliation with an association acts as a bridge between the immediate life situation of an individual and the wider community and society."¹ Three questions will be raised: How associations served the communal needs of their members, whether clubs helped to unify a community in which their members represented only a minority of the population and in what ways clubs bridged the gap between the Salem community and other municipalities.

Associations provided their members with an identity in the community. Moisii Ostrogorski believes that voluntary association membership in America, even in the early period, can be traced to "the need of the isolated individual in an egalitarian society for a sense of identification, of belonging."² Whether his thesis is correct or not, there are records of several new residents of Salem who quickly joined clubs to establish their community.
identity. Soon after Dr. Joshua Plummer moved to Salem from Gloucester, he joined the Monday night club. Dr. Putman joined the society shortly after his arrival in Salem and Colonel Benjamin Pickman promptly renewed his affiliation with the same club on his return from self imposed exile in England. Through their role in public affairs, clubs involved their members more deeply in the community. Societies also helped their members cope with adversities. After one St. John's Day, brethren of the Essex Lodge remembered an old member: "A Refreshment was sent from the table to Brother Col. Samuel Carleton, paralytic & disabled, with a note expressive of esteem & affections." Club affiliations also served members well in the final transition of life. Brethren often escorted their fellows to the grave. Captain John Govett was remembered by the Essex Lodge of Freemasons in this fashion. Captain Patterson was "Attended by the Marine society in form." Even Dr. Logan, who had moved to Salem shortly before his death, was given all the considerations the Masons could bestow, including internment in the Mason family tomb. He had been senior Warden of the Union Lodge, Charlestown, before coming to Salem.

Contemporary commentators viewed Salem as a well integrated community,--one in which there were no glaring differences in wealth and one in which all classes were allied by family ties. Duke de La Rochefoucoult assessed the community: "With the exception of two or three large
fortunes of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, the opulence of the merchants is not very great; but all the inhabitants find themselves in a flourishing condition."\textsuperscript{10}

Reverend Bentley was similarly optimistic:

The rich do not corrupt the poor by luxury; and the few, who are poor, are too strongly allied to the rich by kindred to separate from them. Manners are the same in all.\textsuperscript{11}

It may be questioned whether clubs and societies served to cement these trends or whether they tended to divide the populace by setting up distinctions. The considerable influence clubs had on the community belies their numbers. At no time did club memberships represent more than a minority of the total populace. Even such a popular measure as a subscription to build the armed ship Essex was actively supported by a small group, one hundred people out of a population of nine thousand.\textsuperscript{12}

Military service raises particularly sharp questions. Many wealthier citizens were exempted from serving in the militia. If they wanted to play a military role, Salem gentlemen joined voluntary military companies which outclassed the common militia. William Bentley was of the opinion that private military companies were an irritation to the common militia man:

I have observed whenever Independent Companies have been established, they have been engaged in contentions with the Militia. The uniform itself being partial operates as a discouragement to the poorer citizens, & injures that very order of men upon which the country depends for its defence.\textsuperscript{13}

A contributor to the \textit{Salem Gazette} was also apprised of
the inequities of the situation: "The rich screen themselves under the banners of the independent companies—the middle class take sanctuary in the timidity of the clerks—and the poorest labourers and mechanicks, who can ill afford the time which is too valuable to them, these alone, I say, support the fatigue and expence of militia duty." To the degree that military societies did generate resentment, they cannot be considered a cohesive influence of the community. The offer of several gentlemen of the town to buy uniforms for privates in the Regiment could only have served to ease tensions slightly.

To a lesser extent, all Salem clubs could be viewed by nonmembers in the same light as militia men viewed the independent companies. The fact that many Salem organizations shared their celebrations and performances helped to bind them to the rest of the community. Often some form of charity was involved in club functions. Proceeds from many Salem Assemblies were earmarked for the poor. On one occasion the Assembly company invited old folks to their dance. After a militia exhibition, a group of gentlemen dined together and made a collection to release a debtor from jail.

Major yearly celebrations could be enjoyed by numerous spectators. Masons did not allow non-brethren into their private ceremonies on St. John's Day but they usually walked in procession to Mason hall, an enjoyable parade to enliven a cold winter day. Mary Holyoke
mentioned rising early one December morning so she could be at Mrs. Pynchon's shop in time to see the Ropemasons pass by. Flags, entertainments and parades marked the Ropemakers' celebrations of St. Catherine's day. On one such celebration, "the Ropemakers....had military music with them as they marched through the streets." Militia trainings were holidays to the populace and these were made all the brighter by the snappy appearance of Salem Cadets and Artillery.

Public celebrations were often arranged so that all of the community had a part in them, not just the wealthy at subscription dinners and balls. Bentley felt that this type of community involvement was extremely important and upbraided the committee for their neglect on the occasion of La Fayette's visit:

When before, the Marquis de la Fayette visited, he left the Town to themselves, a very elegant dinner was provided in which the poor had no part, & were not but at will diverted a moment from their employments. They did not consider this neglect, but prudence.

Washington's visit was better managed; as well as organizing a subscription ball at evening, the committee of arrangements provided diversion for the town poor. Salem Mercury reported that "on the day of the President's arrival in this town, in order to communicate the general joy to the very abodes of wretchedness, and to light up a smile in the aspect of wo, the Committee of Arrangements ordered an excellent dinner, of plum puddings, roast beef, &c. for the tenants of the poorhouse and prison."
Though they were only spectators at club functions, many Salemites must have taken pride in the light associations cast on their community. They must have taken pride in the fact that Salem had eight companies of militia, a light company, the Cadets and Artillery at a time when Marblehead regiment was wholly disorganized. The cut of town military societies, urbanity of her library societies and dance assemblies all pronounced Salem a town of the first rank, a judgement satisfying to the whole population.

Further, associations played a role in uniting the community through their impact on public opinion. Societies often influenced the patriotic mood of the Salem community. To publicize the need for militia enrollments in 1770, officers of Salem militia provided an entertainment after a militia drill. The year of Shays rebellion was marked by vigorous patriotic demonstrations on the part of three new voluntary military societies, Cadets, Artillery and Ward IV company. Celebration of public events was first inculcated by private societies. Voluntary military societies marched on the Fourth and usually dined together at public houses. Gentlemen of the community often went together on an entertainment. Their exertions underscored the importance of the celebration for the rest of the populace. Attempts by private groups to enforce moral behavior must have had an impact on public opinion. Salem gentlemen banding together to prevent billiards in public houses
must have highlighted the issue in Salem. That a similar group so decried the breaking and entering of public property that they would offer a reward for the culprits may have impressed on the Salem community the special importance of public buildings.

Societies played an important role in uniting Salem with wider society. In the simplest sense, they served to introduce foreigners and guests to the community. When Spanish captain Barlasca visited Salem, he was invited to review the volunteer artillery company. Francisco de Miranda was taken to see the Social Library. Strangers of distinction were often invited to partake in dinners after militia reviews and members of the Court were invited to Salem Assemblies when they were in town. Strangers were often asked to the Monday night club. Mr. Gee, a native of Lisbon, educated in England, who now lived in Philadelphia, was one such visitor. William Pynchon's diary notes how some distinguished visitors were treated:

Sunday, A fine day, At church I find Judges Cushing and Sumner, they, J. Sewall, and Attorney-General Paine dine with me. In the afternoon J. Sewall goes to church with me; the others go to other meetings. At evening all sup at Major Sprague's with Sunday night Club.

Similarity of Salem clubs to those in other communities evince the uniformity of early American society. James Bryce was amazed to find so much similarity between associations in the different American cities he visited:

So it is with the charitable insititutions, with the libraries, the lecture-courses, the public
amusements. All these are more abundant and better in their kind in the richer and more cultivated parts of the country, generally better in the North Atlantic than in the inland states, and in the West than in the South. But they are same in type everywhere. It is the same with social habits and usages.33

Salemites were conscious of the organizations of other cities and tended to judge their own performance in light of their neighbors. For this reason, Bentley was affronted when Salem did not organize a fast for yellow fever victims in Philadelphia. Boston and New York had done so and "were found to be capitals of the respective states;" "by omit[ting] the usual ceremonies,"34 Salem was shown to be a second rate city. There was concern that George Washington be entertained in a "style becoming the rank of the town."35

These pressures were generally subtle and not open to analysis. Salem gentlemen probably had occasion on their travels to measure the institutions of other cities against those of their own town and newspapers kept them abreast of developments in other cities. The best example of concerted pressure from other communities forcing Salem into line is found in the history of the Quasi War with France. Salem Gazette reported all preparations undertaken in other cities to combat the French menace, all the while urging Salem to assume the role of a city of her standing. The Gazette launched its campaign on May 15 by urging Salem gentlemen to enroll in corps of exempts:
Should the French put into execution their threat of ravaging our coasts, and plundering our sea-
ports, no town will be more exposed than this. And as a great proportion of the property of the
town belongs to persons who are legally exempted
from Militia duty, and who have still the appearance of being sound able-bodied men, it is sug-
gested that such exempts would do only a common
duty, at the present alarming crisis, "to form
themselves into a volunteer corps, to be ready
on an emergency, to act in conjunction with their
fellow citizens for the protection and defence
of the country."36

The newspaper kept its readers informed of all develop-
ments in other communities. Newburyport was first to
compile a subscription for building a ship to loan to
the government and, by the first of June, Salem Gazette
could report that "the subscription for the Newburyport
ship is filled, and contracts are made for building
her."37 A week later the journal summarized the progress
in other localities toward forming volunteer companies.
Charlestown Ancient Battalion reorganized and promised to
serve as admirably as they had during the Revolutionary
War. Pennsylvania youth were forming volunteer companies
and, in pointed comparison, "The regiment in this town
has--Two officers in it."38

Later in the month, Salem Gazette reported that
Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia were taking up the
good work Newburyport had begun,39 and reminded Salem of
the possible ramifications: "Would it not be extremely
mortifying to have the Merchantmen of this town protected
by armed vessels fitted out by the Merchants of Boston and
Newburyport, while we had contributed nothing to the
protection of their commerce"? Near the end of July Salem gentlemen did begin to circulate a subscription for aiding the government but, for a long time, it remained unassigned. They still had not formed a volunteer company and under the title of "Patriotic Spirit" the *Gazette* extolled the efforts of nearby Marblehead:

Last Thursday afternoon a Most respectable company, consisting of Gentlemen exempted from militia duty, warned out, in Marblehead. They are under mutual engagements to meet once a fortnight, to be completely armed and equipped, and to be ready to act when their services shall be necessary.41

Marblehead's example may have induced Salem to form a company of exempts. The record is unclear on this point. Constant prodding and the example of other communities did induce Salem to undertake building a frigate and one equal to the standing of the community. Concerns like this one voiced in the *Gazette* led subscribers to opt for a thirty two gun rather than a twenty gun frigate:

Some of your correspondents who feel for the honour of the town of Salem, wish to be informed of the probable size and force of the ship, which is to be built from this, or any other subscription—whether she is to be equal to the one which is building, and which is in so good forwardness at Newburyport—or whether her dimensions will rise in some promotion to that increase of wealth and ability with which the enterprising spirit of the merchants of Salem has of late been succeeded.42

Clubs and societies clearly had an important role in socializing their own members. Their role for the rest of the community is not so clear. To the extent that other citizens could take pleasure in their performances and pride
in the character they gave Salem and to the extent that they shaped public opinion, associations were a cohesive force on local society. But the distinctions they drew between their members and the rest of the populace must have mitigated their positive influence. The interplay between the societies of one community and another was responsible in part for the sameness and uniformity of American social life.
Footnotes

Chapter VIII


5Mary Holyoke, Entries, May 18, and August 29, 1785, *The Holyoke Diaries*, annotated by Dow, pp. 113-14.


7*Salem Gazette*, VIII, No. 139, June 8, 1784.


14 Salem Gazette, V, No. 248, June 12, 1791.
15 Ibid., VII, No. 403, May 13, 1794.
16 Entries, January 24 and 25, 1783, The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem, ed. by Oliver, p. 142.
17 Essex Gazette (Salem), III, September 18-25, 1770, p. 35.
18 Salem Gazette, VI, No. 12, January 3, 1782.
21 Entry, November 26, 1796, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 206.
22 Entry, January 24, 1793, Ibid., p. 3.
23 Salem Mercury, No. 160, November 10, 1789.
25 Essex Gazette (Salem), III, No. 113, September 18-25, 1770, p. 35.
26 See Chapter V, p. 154.
28 Entry, December 30, 1793, The Diary of William Bentley, II, 78.
31 Entry, July 4, 1784, The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem, ed. by Oliver, p. 178.
32 Entry, November 12, 1786, Ibid., p. 255.
34 Entry, September 26, 1793, *The Diary of William Bentley*, II, 63.

35 *Salem Mercury*, No. 158, October 27, 1789.

36 *Salem Gazette*, XII, No. 707, May 15, 1798.

37 *Ibid.*, XII, No. 712, June 1, 1798.

38 *Ibid.*, XII, No. 714, June 8, 1798.


42 *Ibid.*, XII, No. 742, September 14, 1798.
Conclusion

Associations were a vital component of early American society, not just of the Salem community. James Bryce's observation on the sameness of American social life is confirmed by the presence of similar types of associations in many cities. Social libraries were so widespread that a Boston bookseller advertised reduced rates to gentlemen considering setting up such libraries.1 Marine societies dotted the eastern seaboard. "The first one was the 'Marine Society of Boston in New England,' organized in 1742; this was followed successively by the 'Marine Society at Salem, in the County of Essex, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England,' in 1766; 'The Marine Society of the City of New York, in the Province of New York, in America' in 1769; 'The Marine Society of Newburyport, in the County of Essex and the State of Massachusetts, in New England,' in 1772; the 'Portland Marine Society,' in 1796, 'The Salem East India Society,' in 1799 and the 'Portsmouth Marine Society,' in 1808,"2 Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston all had agencies for the relief of seamen but not on the same plan as the New England societies3

Masonry quickly spread among the colonies. In 1758, Ezra Stiles took issue with Scott's published list of

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North American lodges:

J. Scott's History of Masonry published 1758,
List of Lodges in... North America: Georgia 1, North Carolina 1, Virginia 2; New England=5.
N.B. All the American Lodges were not exhibited above; for 1758 there were 2 Lodges at Boston, one at Piscataqua, 1 Newport, one at Providence, 1 at New Haven & I think several more Besides at N. York, Philadelphia.  

Fire clubs were also a widespread expedient.

Published sources reveal thirty six clubs which functioned in New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania between 1736 and 1800. This excludes Salem. At least two operated in Trenton, five in Burlington and one in Newark, New Jersey; seventeen were chartered in Philadelphia, and three fire companies operated in Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Worcester, Newburyport, Gloucester, Cambridge and Haverhill all boasted one club; seven were formed in Boston. Manuscript sources would probably reveal a larger list than this.

Several commentators do not think that voluntary association is as important a tradition in modern America. Murray Hausknecht is of the belief that association played a more vital role in producing an informed citizenry in the early stages of our history and he assumes that this may still be the function of voluntary associations in developing nations. Hannah Arendt is pessimistic because so many modern associations take the shape of special interest groups and lobbies.

There are reasons for these changes. Salem was a small community in which the major needs of man's life
could be met. Townsmen could band together to solve many of their problems on the local level. Gordon Allport does not feel that this sort of public exists in the modern world. Murray Hausknecht feels that the sphere for effective action is now larger than the local community:

Because many of these problems are either inherently area problems, or because effective "solutions" depend upon resources beyond those commanded by local communities, an adequate approach to them must assume that the state and federal governments must be involved in any ultimate practical measures.

Alexis de Tocqueville predicted that a larger role for government would erode the American style of association:

A government might perform the part of some of the largest American companies, and several states, members of the Union, have already attempted it; but what political power could ever carry on the vast multitude of lesser undertakings which the American citizens perform every day, with the assistance of the principle of association: It is easy to foresee that the time is drawing near when man will be less and less able to produce, by himself alone, the commonest necessaries of life. The task of the governing power will therefore perpetually increase, and its very efforts will extend it every day. The more it stands in the place of associations, the more will individuals, losing the notion of combining together, require its assistance; these are causes and effects that unceasingly create each other.

And this is the factor considered by some responsible for the eclipse of the associative spirit in modern America. Not only does government command resources beyond those of the local community but the attitude toward government
action has changed. As Murray Hausknecht puts it, "it is now generally thought that certain functions should be assumed by the state rather than left in the hands of voluntary associations." In Salem, the attitude was quite different; any municipal and charitable functions that could be performed without direct government action were valued over government participation. Salem gentlemen looked on their clubs as a shield against the need for government assistance. Benjamin Warren emphasized the gravity of his situation to the Marine Society by declaring that he would soon be driven to seek town assistance:

I am in hopes Gentlemen you will think of me, to give me relief, or else I must apply to the Town, for I cannot stand it much longer, this one thing, I do not eat one meal of meat in seven days, small Fish & Clams, is the chief of my Diet—I hope Gentlemen you'll think of my poor Situation, & hope God will never let any of you be in the same situation, as I am at present.

To be effective, modern associations of more than a social nature have to be much larger than most Salem clubs. What they gain in influence, they lose in close personal involvement. It may be the size and impersonality which makes Hannah Arendt decry modern lobbies. As Truman David has noted, societies in the early period of our history resorted to lobbying but they were not as visible or as effective as the highly organized lobbies of today.

In Tocqueville's view, American intellectual and
moral associations were of signal importance. Salem had some associations of this type. Her library societies would certainly qualify. Attempts to prevent immoral behavior in the community also figure in Tocqueville's concern. Thus, the attempt by gentlemen of the town to ban billiards in public houses can be considered a moral association. Currents of reform which swept America in the 1830's brought many more of the associations Tocqueville considered so vital—prison reform, temperance organizations and anti-slavery societies.

Hannah Arendt feels there is one area in which this vital tradition of moral association is still alive:

It is my contention that civil disobedients are nothing but the latest form of voluntary association, and that they are thus quite in tune with the oldest traditions of the country. What could better describe them than Tocqueville's words "the citizens who form the minority associate in order first to show their numerical strength and so to diminish the moral power of the majority?"

Miss Arendt draws a clear distinction between a conscientious objector and a civil disobedient: "In contrast to the conscientious objector, the civil disobedient is a member of a group, and this group, whether we like it or not, is formed in accordance with the same spirit that has informed voluntary associations." She feels it is a fallacy that our society and courts do not recognize the civil disobedient as a member of a group. This is not just a problem of our own time. In early history, associations which seriously questioned established government policies were less
likely to gain recognition and approval than their less militant counterparts. Note the Chief Justice of Massachusetts' opinion of farmers' groups which formed in western Massachusetts before Shay's rebellion: "The setting up smaller bodies of men in the form and semblance of representative bodies, to act and resolve upon public matters and measures, has a dangerous tendency to draw away men's minds from their duty and obedience to that constituted authority."24.

Example of the church, encouragements of town government, prevailing business practices and norms of civic duty all encouraged participatory voluntarism in the formative period of our commonwealth. Each association was not only important in itself but for the other engagements which might spring from it. A fire club served not only the essential role of fire protection but as a springboard for new ideas. It is understandable that Ichabod Tucker would take his plan for a social library to his fire club for an airing25 and that William Bentley would first be introduced to the idea of a volunteer watch at his club.26 Habits of association nurtured during the early decades of the eighteenth century must have facilitated the creation of special bodies on the eve of the Revolution. In Philadelphia, the counsel of existing fire clubs was requested. The city committee called together representatives from the city's fire clubs to discuss policy before the meeting of the First Continental Congress.27
Though there are larger associations today, Americans no longer seem to have such strong habits of association, to apply this logic to the smallest undertakings in their lives. Tocqueville's fear that a larger role for government would erode American associative habits seems to have been realized.
Footnotes

Conclusion


3Ibid.

4Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., 1755-1794, with a Selection of His Correspondence, ed. by Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1916), p. 224.


9"Lancaster Firemen in 1766, Notes and Queries," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, III (1879), 469.

10Articles Containing the Rules and Regulations of the Worcester Fire Society, Worcester, Mass., 1793, Early American Imprint, No. 26507; Articles and Regulations of the

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