Preserving Sociability: Negotiation and Mediation in Transatlantic Puritan Correspondence Networks, 1625-1649

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By
Sarah Kate Hall
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Abstract

This thesis offers a new perspective of puritan sociability from 1625-1649 in England and New England. Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, this thesis builds on our understanding of puritanism as inherently dynamic and develops the existing picture of the tools and mediums that puritans used to overcome the fragmentary potential they have often been remembered for. Exploring processes of mediation and negotiation in correspondence, this study examines the informal mechanisms utilised to overcome discord and distance in the early and mid-seventeenth century transatlantic. Crucially, the use of social network analysis brings to light the active roles played by the laity in the construction and maintenance of their communities and networks. In using letters, this work also highlights the extra-textual life of correspondence, emphasising the vital structural roles played by bearers and also providing access to oral patterns of negotiation that were later reported in letters. Engaging with letters reveals the lesser known informal, quotidian practices of mediation and negotiation that took place alongside the discussions in print and pulpit. In doing so, this study demonstrates that notions of trust, evaluations of credibility and social credit, and conceptions of spiritual brotherhood underpinned and informed puritan sociability in this period.

Contents:

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

Introduction

Overview

We must understand puritanism as fluid and dynamic if we are to explore puritan sociability. Its nebulous nature is clearly identifiable in the lengthy debate over definition. The terms 'puritan' and 'puritanism' are often based on ideals or conceptual models. Puritanism was not a discrete faith or movement, offering historians no clean partitions or definitions by which it can be conceived, and its numerous definitions reflect the need for a fuller understanding of the mechanisms by which subscribers negotiated their often-differing viewpoints. For Patrick Collinson, Elizabethan puritanism consisted of a 'select' or 'common brotherhood' of saints who came together through a shared tendency in orthodox Protestantism.[1] Collinson's construction of 'puritanism' was largely determined by the definitions of those that had first applied the term. In using contemporary frameworks to define his subject, he hoped to identify puritans based on what they held in common rather than what divided them.[2] But Collinson was well aware of the doctrinal fragmentation of the Elizabethan puritan stalwarts, presenting a 'movement' in name, not in nature. The picture that emerges is one of people calling ultimately for the same goal – a completed Protestant reformation – but with increasingly diverse ideas as to what this should look like and how it should be achieved. It is exactly this tension between cohesion and fragmentation that provided the inspiration for this thesis.

To develop our understanding of godly sociability during this unsettled period of puritan history, this thesis explores mediation and negotiation in the British Atlantic. The particular challenges of migration and settlement present an important perspective because the congregational puritans in New England were time and again challenged by their brethren in their new home and in Old England, forcing them to negotiate their doctrinal and political positions to promote solidarity and unity. Spanning the period 1625-49, the thesis explores sociability prior to migration, through the years of the Great Migration, and ends as many New England puritans left the colonies to return home during the English Civil War. This timeframe allows for a wider perspective that takes in overlapping phases of preparation, settlement, and reverse migration in order to look at processes of mediation and negotiation over

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[1] P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Berkeley, CA, 1967), pp. 13-14, 26.
[2] Ibid*, p. 28.

time and in different circumstances. Three collections of letters are consulted: five volumes of the *Winthrop Papers*, the *Correspondence of John Cotton* and the *Letters of John Davenport*. Together, the volumes contain 1,523 letters from the years 1625-49, providing a wealth of evidence. In order to make full use of these letters, this thesis builds on important research conducted by Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert, who have worked extensively on Tudor letters.[3] Ahnert and Ahnert's innovative methodology has significantly emphasised the benefits of social network analysis for historians, which provides invaluable new perspectives. In light of this, this thesis employs social network analysis and digital spatial analysis to uncover patterns in puritan correspondence that have been previously overlooked because the technology either did not exist or was unrefined. This analysis will provide deeper insight into puritan sociability in the transatlantic environment than have previously been available, and also considers the extra-textual life of the letter. By blending qualitative and quantitative analysis of these letter collections, this thesis brings together the scholarly fields of puritanism in England and New England, digital humanities, and epistolarity to provide new insight on puritan sociability in the early and mid-seventeenth century transatlantic.

Puritanism was characterised by tensions between unity and discord. This thesis looks at those tensions to understand the methods undertaken by subscribers to preserve cohesion. As noted by Francis Bremer, members of puritan communities sought unity but not necessarily uniformity, which is why this thesis looks at the tensions and mechanisms to resist fragmentation as part of a process of overcoming differences.[4] It was a negotiation ingrained in the puritan experience. Peter Lake argued that the community of the godly in England was monitored and regulated from within, creating a picture of a group concerned with spiritual binding, mutual advice, admonition, and sometimes rebuke in order to reconcile the spiritual experience with the demands of changeable orthodoxies disseminated by the clergy. As Alexandra Walsham has noted, there had to be a perimeter fence of sorts, forming a distinction between acceptable and unacceptable belief and behaviour, but boundaries were

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[3] Ahnert, R., & Ahnert, S. E., 'Protestant letter networks in the reign of Mary I: a quantitative approach', *ELH,* 82 (Spring, 2015), pp. 1-33.

[4] F. J. Bremer, *Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism* (Basingstoke, 2015), p. 88.

drawn in different ways by different people.[5] This, according to J. S. Coolidge, was the 'essence' of the puritan religion.[6] Ryrie has built on Tyacke's notion of 'consensus' in English Protestantism and Collinson has emphasised broader cultures of Protestantism that lay under theological and doctrinal differences.[7] Michael Winship has recently utilised a 'big-tent' approach to reading transatlantic puritanism, describing a canopy woven together out of personal friendships and affinity, shared backgrounds and agendas for reform.[8] He purported that this allowed discordant puritans to subsume their differences. However, Winship also argued that the 'big-tent' philosophy was severely in decline by the 1640s, differences between ministers on either side of the Atlantic having grown too stark.[9] These approaches make clear that puritans negotiated their positions in order to establish distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable, to overcome dispute and disagreement. But what many of these scholars has explored to date has been largely political, theological and clerical in nature. We know that there was some connection through shared orthodoxy, and through a sense of what Lake calls 'godly insiderhood,' but not how far this connection extended, nor how far it pervaded into daily life.[10] This thesis begins to fill in this gap in our knowledge by showing in more detail the role of the laity in preserving the cohesion of their communities, particularly in challenging times. Shared orthodoxy was at times defined in opposition, in direct comparison with that deemed wrong, or 'unacceptable.'[11] We do not fully understand the lived experience of being a member of a puritan community, but this thesis will show the workings of the sociability that was at its core. It was a crucial part of the process by which clergy and laity alike participated together in negotiating the differences between themselves. Part of this process included building social credit in shifting

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[5] A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006), p. 14; J. Coffey & P. C. H. Lim, 'Introduction,' in J. Coffey & P. C. H. Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 5.

[6] J. S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford, 1970), p. 403.

[7] A. Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2013), p. 7; N. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism: c. 1530-1700* (Manchester, 2001), p. 57; P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982).

[8] M. P. Winship, 'Straining the Bonds of Puritanism', in C. Gribben & R. Scott Spurlock, *Puritans and Catholics in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 88-89, 91.

[9] Ibid, pp. 91-92.

[10] P. Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'Heterodoxy' and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001), p. 409.

[11] F. J. Bremer, *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692* (Boston, MA, 1994), pp. xii, 41.

communities, enabling the godly to adapt to new environments. It also meant establishing a cohesive 'orthodoxy' that would promote unity and encourage solidarity. Exploring this facet of the puritan experience will, therefore, add important depth to our understanding of puritanism.

This thesis builds on the recent problematisation of networks in writing on the subject, which has complicated our understanding of them. John and Sheryllynne Haggerty have convincingly demonstrated that a network is no longer necessarily simply the actors, the individuals in the network, but also vitally the relationships between them.[12] This shows that we cannot hope to understand a community without considering the ties that bound it together and thus establishing how it functioned. Haggerty and Haggerty argue that it is important that historians ask further questions of the historiography of networks, noting that networks have generally been used to talk about people, but have pointed out that they may also describe patterns of distribution, credit or information.[13] Francis Bremer has suggested that transatlantic study of a religious network would be a beneficial complement to previous studies by Kenneth Fincham, who consulted the Jacobean episcopate, and Philip Gura, whose work identified connections among radical sectarians.[14] Rather than using 'network' as a metaphor like Bremer in his work on clerical friendship, 'network' is used here as a methodological term.[15] In this thesis, social network analysis is used to explore community and sociability and brings to light the roles of lesser known individuals as active participants in their communities. As noted by Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert, while there have been significant developments in the utilisation of statistical methods of analysis, there is still much work to be done before these methods are embedded within the historian's

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[12] J. Haggerty & S. Haggerty, 'Visual Analytics of an Eighteenth-Century Business Network,' *Enterprise and Society Advance Access* (Sept., 2009), p. 1.

[13] J. Haggerty & S. Haggerty, 'The life cycle of a metropolitan business network: Liverpool 1750-1810', *Explorations in Economic History*, 48 (2011), p. 189; Ahnert & Ahnert, 'Protestant letter networks in the reign of Mary I: a quantitative approach', *ELH,* 82 (Spring, 2015), pp. 1-33.

[14] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. xiii; K. Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990); P. Gura, *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England* (Middletown, CT, 1984).

[15] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 9.

toolbox.[16] This thesis builds on the important work conducted by historians like Ahnert, who has demonstrated the value of early modern correspondence as a 'unique textual witness' to social relations and structures.[17] Using a body of sources collated from the *Winthrop Papers*, volumes I-V, *The Correspondence of John Cotton* and *The Letters of John Davenport*, this thesis will use a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis to interrogate aspects of puritan sociability in the transatlantic world, highlighting the vital role of letters to facilitating the continuation of social practices after migration that had been learned in England. The quantitative analysis has allowed for the identification of patterns and trends in correspondence and, vitally, brings to light the important mediating and facilitating roles of those lay puritans who rarely emerge from beneath the role of the prominent actors in narratives of the period.

This thesis examines four key themes using correspondence as a source base. Each chapter focuses on a particular theme and addresses the specific historiographical framework for the chapter in more detail than is presented here, to avoid repetition. In so doing, the thesis contributes to scholarship primarily on puritan sociability, but draws connections between this and social credit and credibility; mediation and dispute on social and theological matters; and news. Each theme is approached using letters as a foundation, and employing innovative digital, quantitative methods to provide new perspectives.

Literature Review

Puritanism was no single, static entity. Indeed, it is the views of the onlooker, contemporary or modern, that throughout the years have done much to characterise puritanism.[18] The context within which each friendship or disagreement played out

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[16] Ahnert & Ahnert, 'Protestant letter networks,' p. 2.

[17] Ibid, p. 2.

[18] P. Collinson, 'A comment: concerning the name puritan,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), pp, 487-488; *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. 143; 'Antipuritanism,' in Coffey & Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, p. 23; M. P. Winship, 'Were there any puritans in New England?', *NEQ,* 74 (2001), pp. 119-120; C. G. Schneider, 'Godly Order in a Church Half-Reformed: The Disciplinarian Legacy, 1570-1641,' PhD thesis (Harvard University, 1986), pp. 12-14.

did as much to determine what puritanism meant to its subscribers than did anything inherent in the complex ideology deemed puritan.[19] The very dynamism of puritanism has caused scholars no end of trouble when seeking to understand its nuances. Charles Cohen wrote that 'puritanism seems easy to categorise until one actually takes a step to qualify it; then, it bounces tantalisingly out of reach.'[20] C. H. George highlighted the difficulties faced by historians of puritanism arguing that 'puritanism' did not truly exist, but that his peers should focus on the individual puritans themselves, that puritanism was an analytical concept that served to obscure the 'realities and significance of differences in ideas, [and] ideals.'[21] There is validity in George's recognition that puritanism cannot be conceived of as a distinct entity.[22] Hunter Powell's recent monograph has shown the inherent complexity of trying to define the many shades and groups that existed under the broad term 'puritan,' highlighting the variability inherent in the term.[23] However, for most scholars of early modern England and, in particular, New England, the term has proved indispensable. Cohen made a clear statement in his refusal to dismiss the term as an empty concept.[24] The category may be, as Michael Winship has found, 'imprecise,' but is a useful classification when given the appropriate care and context.[25] With the more sustained attacks on our understandings of puritanism in recent decades - indeed, Lake suggested that 'puritanism' had begun to go into terminal decline by the late 1990s - it has become increasingly apparent that members of puritan communities did not all subscribe to the same set of beliefs and that, subject to discussion and reinterpretation, these evolved over time.[26] David Como has drawn particular attention to the instability of puritanism, most prominently by uncovering a radical

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[19] Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge,* p. 392.

[20] C. L. Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 3-4.

[21] C. H. George, 'Puritanism as history and historiography', *Past and Present*, 41 (Dec, 1968), p. 104.

[22] George, 'Puritanism', p. 96; H. F. Kearney, 'Puritanism and science: problems of definition,' *Past & Present*, 31 (Jul., 1965), pp. 105-106; Coffey and Lim, 'Introduction,' p. 1.

[23] H. Powell, *The Crisis of British Protestantism: Church Power in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-44* (Manchester, 2015), pp. 3-6, 10-1.

[24] Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 4.

[25] Winship, 'Were there any puritans', pp. 137-8.

[26] Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 12; T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-1643* (Cambridge, 2009); Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 334; P. Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590-1640* (Stanford, CA, 2011), p. 126; J. Morrill, 'A Liberation Theology? Aspects of Puritanism in the English Revolution', in L. L. Knoppers (ed.), *Puritanism and Its Discontents* (London, 2003), p. 25.

puritan underground in the 1620s, long before the years of 'teeming liberty' that Morrill identified during and after the English Civil War.[27] While Tom Webster has suggested that we might still use the term 'movement' when discussing English puritanism, calling for a more fluid understanding of the term, the fact of the matter is that we have no identifiable conscious, organised action to justify the nomenclature of a 'movement.'[28] Webster's study on the Caroline puritan clergy focused on sociability rather than ecclesiological difference, contributing to a wider trend in Reformation scholarship that identified commonality and comparative development across Reformation Europe.[29] In this thesis, the primary focus will be on the congregational puritans in New England and their interactions with their English brethren. This group can in large part be defined by their social communion and their commitment to mutual edification and exhortation.[30] However, the fact remains that the many definitions of puritans and puritanism reflect the myriad varieties of religious life that were seen by contemporaries to have some kind of unity. And it was unity if not uniformity that congregational puritans craved, reinforced by Cotton's claim that in certain things, 'Christ never provided for uniformity, but only for unity.'[31] This unity was not automatic but instead a process: the result of godly commitment to preserving bonds of sociability and maintaining orthodoxy through a continual and collective search for God's truth. This played on ethical Christian ideals of neighbourliness, morality and belief that were promoted to 'protect the good, and to keep corruption from spreading.'[32]

Questions about the relative success or failure of puritanism, and attention to the rise and fall in the significance or prominence of puritan factions over the course of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, has contributed to a picture of a faltering progression in radical Protestantism. However, this can in large part be attributed to

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[27] D. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil War England* (Stanford, CA, 2004); J. Morrill, 'The Puritan Revolution' in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 67.
[28] Webster, 'Early Stuart Puritanism,' p. 61; Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. xi; Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge*, pp. 12-13.
[29] Webster, *Godly Clergy*.
[30] Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 151.
[31] J. Cotton, *The Keys to the Kingdom of Heaven* (London, 1644), p. 28.
[32] C. Muldrew, 'The culture of reconciliation: community and the settlement of economic disputes in early modern England,' *Historical Journal*, 39, 4 (Dec., 1996), p. 921.

the continual reshaping of puritan ecclesiology and theology, influenced by the discussions of a diverse group constituted of clergy and laity. Stephen Foster addressed the notion of the multiple 'demises' of puritanism in the early seventeenth century by arguing that 'in a number of instances a simple shift in direction has been transformed into the final climacteric.'[33] Polly Ha's study on English presbyterianism revealed that presbyterianism was not fully quashed in 1592 as had previously been accepted.[34] Her work has emphasised the complexity of wider debate amongst English puritans, arguing that 'controversy was carried out not only between nonconformists and conformists, or separately between godly disputants, but also between diverse sets of participants.'[35] Having demonstrated this, she drew attention to the presbyterian focus on 'dispute resolution,' which can also be found in the ranks of congregational puritans in England and New England and will be a significant point of focus in chapter three.[36] Foster argued convincingly that 'the respective aims of the components of the movement usually overlapped, but they were never identical and often came into conflict with one another.'[37] For Foster, it was crucial to demonstrate that the process of puritanism 'falling apart' and 'regularly being put back together again' was intrinsic and actually beneficial. He wrote that the very strength of puritanism, at least in its healthier moments, was rooted in the fact that its 'anomalous composition' allowed for negotiation and accommodation of 'diverse temperaments.'[38] Puritanism was dynamic and never homogenous 'at any single period in its eventful period.'[39] Its inherent fluidity emphasises the fact that historians must pay attention to patterns of mediation that enabled such adaptability when debate and disagreement could, and sometimes did, instead lead to discord and fragmentation.

Peter Lake responded to Collinson's call for in-depth local studies of Reformation England with a micro-study of the debate between Stephen Denison and John

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[33] S. Foster, *The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570-1700* (Williamsburg, VA, 1996) p. 4.

[34] Ha, *English Presbyterianism*.

[35] Ibid, p. 3.

[36] Ibid, p. 4.

[37] Foster, *Long Argument*, p. 7.

[38] Ibid, p. 7.

[39] Ibid, p. 4.

Etherington in the early and mid-seventeenth century.[40] Seeking to place the dispute in its multiple social, cultural, polemical and political contexts, Lake hoped that these would give a clearer picture of the religious history of early Stuart England.[41] Lake identified a storm of debate and discord in the ranks of the godly in the early Stuart Church, finding 'polemic and polarities' and little by way of unity.[42] Michael Winship in *Godly Republicanism* has similarly placed focus on contentious relationships in England and the New World. He has looked in detail at the shared origins of separatists and puritans in Elizabethan England, identifying the reasons for their divide and examining their relationship and interaction in the New World.[43] David Como's work on antinomianism in 1620s London likewise pinpointed fine-grained theological dispute amongst English puritans.[44] Taken together, these works could present a picture of an irrevocably fragmented nonconformist population. Each has a tight focus and a sensitivity to division, uncovering the things that divided puritans. However, Lake acknowledged that his approach, which focused on polemical sources, could only be partially successful. Indeed, Lake, Winship and Como all retained a sensitivity to the dynamism of puritanism, acknowledging godly communities bound together in defiance of hostile external forces.[45] Winship's puritanism is defined by its movability, constantly undergoing regeneration.[46] This marks a step away from scholarship that identified New England as an indicator that puritan demands for reform could lead to the fragmentation of English puritanism and the Church of England, a view that Susan Hardman Moore has characterised as an overstatement.[47] This thesis finds more nuance, identifying a desire to connect and preserve community and sociability in spite of disagreement and discord. It builds on the work of Tom Webster and Francis Bremer, who have added much to our understanding of puritan communities, defining puritanism as something bound through spiritual and

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[40] Ibid, p. 15

[41] Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 5.

[42] Ibid.

[43] M. P. Winship, *Godly Republicanism: Puritans, Pilgrims, and a City on a Hill* (Boston, MA, 2012).

[44] Como, *Blown by the Spirit*.

[45] Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge,* p. 389; 'William Bradshaw, Antichrist and the Community of the Godly', 36, 4 (October, 1985), p. 571.

[46] Winship, *Making Heretics*, p. 5.

[47] Foster, *Long Argument*; P. Miller, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650* (Cambridge, MA, 1933); S. Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation: 'Wee shall bee as a Citty upon a Hill, the Eies of all People are upon Us,' in K. Fincham & P. Lake (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 144.

social ties.[48] Bremer's particular attention to puritanism in New England has contributed significantly to our knowledge of the characteristics of congregational puritanism in the New World. In both England and New England, negotiations of doctrine, ecclesiological practice, and ideological position took place along and between the ties that Bremer and Webster have highlighted, bringing into focus the broader significance of sociability in our understanding of puritanism. This sociability and the efforts expended in its preservation provide the focus for this thesis.

One thing that a number of scholars do seem to agree on is that puritans bonded themselves together as a minority in the face of criticism and ridicule, but that this in itself was unstable and dependent on context.[49] Collinson argued that 'despite their opposition to separatism, the godly were in fact a religious minority, emotionally and psychologically separated from conventional society.'[50] For William Hunt, they were 'a people apart,' but a community who worked together, sharing spiritual resources.[51] Recognising the oppositional nature of puritans in terms of political and ecclesiastical objection and defiance is only a partial picture, however, and we can learn more about the nuances of puritanism if we explore the process by which orthodoxies were negotiated and established within their ranks. This is particularly relevant when it comes to transatlantic puritanism. David Hall has argued that it was the very dynamism of New England puritanism that resulted in the fact that the godly there, many of them congregationalists, were more united than their English counterparts. That congregations could diverge safely from one another meant that they discussed and debated rather than quarrelling and fragmenting.[52] But we must remember the

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[48] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 38; T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-1643* (Cambridge, 2009); 'Early Stuart Puritanism,' in J. Coffey (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 61.
[49] Collinson, *Birthpangs*, p. 143; 'Antipuritanism,' particularly pp. 23-4; J. Eales, 'A Road to Revolution: The Continuity of Puritanism, 1559-1642', in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (London, 1986), p.206; A. Walsham, 'The Godly and Popular Culture,' in Coffey, J. & Lim, P. C. H. (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 277; D. Willen, 'Communion of the Saints: spiritual reciprocity and the godly community in early modern England,' *Albion*, 27, 1 (Spring, 1995), p. 22; Winship, 'Bridget Cooke', p. 1047.
[50] Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, p. 271.
[51] W. Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English County* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), pp. 231-2.
[52] D. D. Hall, *A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011), p. 142.

enduring links between the colonies and the motherland, recognising that debate also took place across the Atlantic. David Cressy has convincingly shown how Old and New England were closely tied from the moment colonists first set foot in Massachusetts. Correspondence, kinship, money, inheritance and reverse migration powerfully and enduringly connected brethren across the Atlantic Ocean.[53] Colonisation was a venture shared by many puritans who never even left England but, as Stephen Foster has demonstrated, in New England puritanism would be 'further defined and transformed . . . over the course of the seventeenth century.'[54] Noting that puritanism in New England may have begun to look different to English puritanism, Foster was clear that this process of change was a 'continuation of the fluctuations that had repeatedly restructured the English movement from its Elizabethan genesis onward.'[55] Foster's argument shows the importance of looking at puritanism in Old and New England together. Foster called for attention to the 'various successive challenges' that puritans faced and emphasised the importance of understanding the 'cultural resources' that they drew on to meet them.[56] This thesis responds to Foster's call and also builds upon his pivotal demonstration of the importance of looking at England and New England together. Focusing on sociability allows for a different perspective to explore how the people that fell under the broad spectrum of 'puritans' experienced and coped with challenges, adapting to their transatlantic environment.

Tom Webster wrote about the 'supportive sociability' that characterised puritanism, which this thesis seeks to explore in more detail. Social historians have done much to develop our understanding of the structures of English society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not least Keith Wrightson's recognition that local communities were 'held together less by dense ties of kinship than by relationships of neighbourliness between effective equals, and ties of patronage and clientage between persons of differing status, wealth and power.'[57] Emphasis has been placed on society as dynamic, with ideals of order and harmony at its core. Crucial to

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[53] D. Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), p. viii.
[54] Foster, *Long Argument*, p. 3.
[55] Ibid, p. 3.
[56] Ibid, p. 5.
[57] K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (London, 1982), p. 61.

Wrightson's definition, however, is the recognition that 'conflict between individual neighbours was an essential feature of the constant process of readjustment of social relationships.'[58] Where Wrightson emphasised the unifying activities of 'village sports and games, dancings, wakes and ales,' the English puritan communities drew together on different grounds.[59] Instead of games and formal festivities, they sought conventicles and mutual edification. Phil Withington reminds us that there is no easy connection between society and sociability.[60] In doing so, he makes the point that we can address the problem by paying more attention to how early modern people described and discussed their own sociability.[61] Paul Seaver tells us that the puritan community was extensive, transcending parish, county, and country, encompassing numerous shades of doctrine and fervour.[62] Patrick Collinson sought to understand what provided stability and legitimacy to puritan communities in the face of these differences, suggesting that practices adopted within the community that constituted voluntary religion formed this core. For Thomas Gataker, the company of other puritans was central to his spiritual health.[63] This company was more than an opportunity to meet with friends with similar beliefs. Diane Willen has argued that 'puritans fashioned their own sphere: a community borne from godliness, neither public in the sense of the established church not as private and confined as the spiritualised household.'[64] They came together to practise mutual exhortation and edification, founded in the belief that their dialogue with God also involved conversations with one another.[65] For Bremer, the very experience of regeneration brought men and women together, binding them to one another and simultaneously distancing themselves from the unregenerate.[66] The practice was keeping track of their spiritual experience was a key aspect of puritan piety and it was discussed in groups just as it was the subject of private reflection.[67] Cohen argues that 'a religious

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[58] Ibid, p. 62.

[59] Ibid, pp. 63-4.

[60] P. Withington, 'Company and sociability in early modern England, *Social* History, 32, 3 (Aug., 2007), p. 296.

[61] Ibid, p. 296.

[62] P. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, 1985), p. 103.

[63] T. Gataker, *The Spirituall Watch or Christs generall Watch-Word, A Mediation on Mark. 13. 17* (London, 1619), p. 53.

[64] Willen, 'Communion of Saints,' p. 31.

[65] Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 140.

[66] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. xxi.

[67] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 149.

sensibility intimately bound up with conversion, an emotion confrontation with grace borne by the Holy Spirit in the Word' was one of the defining aspects of puritanism, something that permeated puritan interactions.[68] This was in no small part a lay process. As Willen argues, 'because puritan spirituality emphasised experiential religion, any one of the godly was qualified to counsel and edify the others.'[69] They turned to one another to cope with the burdens of searching for assurance, sharing spiritual advice, prayers, and mutual support.[70] John Winthrop wrote that there was 'no pleasure like the fellowshipped with Christ Jesus, no joye on earthe like the Communion of Saints,' and felt 'much quickened and refreshed' when he spent time with 'a Christian friend or 2.'[71] Through this interaction, they would collectively grow in grace, showing themselves to be saints and engaging with their fellow spirits in tandem. Congregational puritans certainly had a strong sense of the ideals underpinning their sociability, and we can understand how these functioned by exploring them at moments of challenge and consolidation. In order to do so, it is important to understand how congregationalists articulated their communities. Geoffrey Nuttall has considered at length the language that congregationalists used, finding 'brotherhood,' 'society,' incorporation,' 'gathering,' and 'communion.'[72] It was a language of commonality and implied a level of consensus in religious matters. Nuttall and Webster have both highlighted this as emphasising voluntary association and the language helps us to understand the experience of their sociability.[73]

Craig Muldrew's argument that most individuals lived within 'negotiated' communities based on immediate social exchange in the sixteenth century is particularly prevalent for our understanding of congregational puritanism.[74] While Muldrew was writing about economic relationships, there is much in his conception of credit that also applies to religious bonds, and ties of friendship and kinship. Discussion was part of life, which I have already acknowledged was central to the

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[68] Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 21.
[69] Willen, 'Communion of the Saints,' p. 25.
[70] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 3.
[71] *WP*, I, pp. 213, 202.
[72] G. F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints: The Congregational Way 1640-1660*, (Oxford, 1967), pp. 70-100.
[73] Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p. 57.
[74] Muldrew, 'Culture of reconciliation'; L. O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia, PN, 2015), p. 156.

dynamism of puritan communities. However, as with Muldrew's economic communities, when discussion turned to dispute it disrupted the peace and harmony of community relations.[75] Margo Todd has also highlighted this in Scotland, demonstrating how the reformed Scottish kirk provided a service of arbitration as a new mechanism for conflict resolution.[76] Because unity was a central aim of congregational puritanism, the mediation and negotiation of dispute is also identifiable in New England congregations, though not as formally enacted. However, it was at the very foundation of puritan sociability. O'Neill has argued that with significant shifts in English sociability in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came an increased need for Britons to negotiate between 'transforming ideas of social organisation.'[77] While O'Neill was addressing the process whereby individuals came to place their trust in larger institutions in contrast with earlier patterns of immediate social exchange, similar processes of negotiation were prompted by the onset of transatlantic migration in the 1630s, which significantly altered the social experience of members of puritan communities. The distinctive practices of English puritanism, such as sermon 'gadding,' conventicles and conferences, could no longer be practiced in the same fashion once parties began to cross the Atlantic.[78] By looking at the ways in which congregational puritans in New England handled their disputes and their distance we begin to see the nuances of their sociability. Following emigration, puritans were forced to extend their practices of sociability more emphatically into their letters. It was in these letters that they expressed their spiritual connections at the same time as they organised their businesses. They poured spiritual encouragement onto page after page and hashed out doctrinal and ecclesiological disagreements. These letters enable us to uncover some part of the writers' experience of their own sociability. The experience of the colonists differed from that of their English brethren as congregational sociability was intrinsically tied to covenantal practice.[79] Congregationalists in New England, Susan Hardman Moore reminds us, used vows and covenants 'to steady themselves in times of difficulty, and to give a framework to their fellowship.'[80] It was not the same for their English

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[75] Muldrew, 'Culture of reconciliation,' p. 927.
[76] M. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London, 2002), chapter 5
[77] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 156.
[78] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 151.
[79] Hall, *A Reforming People*, p. 132.
[80] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 149.

brethren who took to letters to express concerns over colonial innovations in church practice. But this practice of negotiation was also fundamental to congregational and wider puritan discourse. This thesis uses letters to explore the shifting practices of puritan sociability and how the godly used their correspondence to try to preserve their unity and cohesion.

This thesis also builds on the important work of scholars like Bremer and Webster who have largely focussed on clerical solidarity and sociability. Carol Schneider's formative PhD thesis laid the foundations for a lay focus. Her detailed mapping of ministerial influence in doctrinal and ecclesiological discussion brought to light a network of clerical friends in communication, a focus which she rightly argued was necessary to provide the framework for understanding the role of the laity.[81] Stephen Foster made an early effort to bring to light the role of lay puritans, noting that the engagement of lay puritans in their religion, enabling them to be able to 'explain and argue' about their beliefs, was rooted in English Protestant traditions.[82] For David Hall, the empowerment of lay people was a 'crucial aspect' of the congregational way.[83] Bremer's more recent work on the laity in early New England sets a precedent to draw out the role of lay puritans from under the shadow of the heavyweights, the ministers and magistrates who tend to dominate narratives of early New England.[84] The importance of the laity 'was something Winthrop never doubted,' so it follows logically that we should access them through his correspondence.[85] Noting that the laity in New England, empowered by the spirit, played a significant role in seeking further light and striving for unity, Bremer drew together threads that appear in other works and consolidated our understanding of the New England puritan lay woman or man.[86] This thesis takes Bremer's work further, looking closely at the particular mechanisms the laity and the clergy used to resist fragmentary tensions. Beginning in England prior to the first waves of migration to New England, this thesis uses the

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[81] Schneider, 'Godly Order.'
[82] Foster, *Long Argument*, p. 7.
[83] Hall, *A Reforming People*, p. 187.
[84] Bremer, *Lay Empowerment*.
[85] F. J. Bremer, 'John Winthrop and the shaping of New England history,' *Massachusetts Historical Review*, 18, Massachusetts and the Origins of American Historical Thought (2016), p. 10.
[86] Ibid, p. 8.

correspondence of clerics and lay puritans to uncover the processes of mediation and negotiation that many puritans adopted in order to preserve their sociability and sense of community in the face of separation and theological disparity between 1625-49 and across the Atlantic Ocean.

Accessing the voices of the laity is rarely a simple task, but we can do so if we consult their letters. Neil Keeble's comment that 'puritanism was an intrinsically bookish movement' characterises the unusually literate puritan population.[87] This has led historians to explore in detail the way in which puritans used books, diaries and journals for edification, argument, identity and self-reflection.[88] However, we know less about how puritans used their letters, which were a vital part of the intense voluntary activities that sustained puritan sociability. Letters provided the means through which puritans could prepare themselves and their communities for the challenges of migration and separation, and a space in which to meet, discuss, and debate, when face-to-face communication was not possible. Through letters we can also start to access the informal processes of dispute resolution that Craig Muldrew has explored in depth. Muldrew has made a strong case for the consideration of the social impact and processes of dispute rather than the legal mechanisms alone, in particular the 'practices, conceptions, and emotions of disputing individuals.'[89] Using letters as a way to explore the personal and informal patterns of negotiation that the transatlantic communities of the godly used to navigate their differences allow us to access this social aspect. It is important to look at letters to gain insight into the informal mechanisms for resolving dispute before disagreements reached the point of formal litigation. Muldrew tells us that this informal stage was a vital step in dispute settlement and 'was what most people relied on to help settle matters.'[90] This is of

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[87] N. H. Keeble, 'Puritanism and Literature,' in J. Coffey & P. C. H. Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 309; M. Cohen, *The Networked Wilderness: Communicating in Early New England* (Minneapolis, MN, 2010), p. 1.

[88] A. Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge, 2011); 'Reading, the godly, and self-writing in England, circa 1580-1720,' *Journal of British* Studies, 46, 4 (Oct., 2007), pp. 796-825; M. Winship, 'Bridget Cooke and the art of godly female self-advancement,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33, 4 (2002), pp. 1045-1059; M. Todd, 'Puritan self-fashioning: the diary of Samuel Ward,' *Journal of British Studies*, 31, 3 (Jul., 1992), pp. 236-264.

[89] Muldrew, 'The culture of reconciliation,' p. 918.

[90] Ibid, p. 931.

particular relevance to these communities as we gain insight into the ways in which disputants employed religious notions of compassion and charity that stressed concord and reconciliation to shape their negotiations.[91] The disputes that feature in this thesis range from small local disagreements to more significant theological and ecclesiological debates, shedding light on the ways in which disputes were resolved, and the intermediaries that were at times involved in the process. Letters brought news and well-wishes, sometimes challenges and accusations. But they could also carry assertions of solidarity, and undoubtedly connected the godly to one another in the transatlantic world. Although Matt Cohen has suggested that looking at cultures of print and the written word can be restrictive, obscuring important complexities in communication and interaction, letters often contain evidence of oral patterns of communication that occurred alongside and in connection with the written word.[92] They reveal more fluid cultures of communication than print alone.[93] However, the interactions and negotiations that took place in letters remains largely unexplored in this period. We do not yet know the patterns of communication that energetically crossed the Atlantic in the early and mid-seventeenth century, or how puritans used their letters to sustain their communities across an ocean and around the unfamiliar and hostile terrain of the New World. To gain a fuller picture of how puritan communities used their correspondence to negotiate their differences and their distance is to reveal a key aspect of puritan sociability: the distinctly transatlantic mechanisms by which letters were utilised to sustain their communities and to promote cohesion.

The New England colonies have perhaps received more thorough study than any comparable settlements in human history, and historians of colonial America have looked repeatedly at the puritan mentality, the colonising impulse, and the continuation of English 'ways' in the wilderness. Francis Bremer was not exaggerating in his statement that the 'puritan legacy' in America and the resulting debate over its meaning lie at the very heart of American experience.[94] Early historians of colonial New England often represented the two centuries before Independence in terms of a

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[91] Ibid, p. 920.
[92] Cohen, *Networked Wilderness*, p. 2.
[93] Ibid, pp. 1, 2, 8.
[94] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. xi.

process of Americanisation, a prelude to revolution and democracy. The English heritage of these years was often given even less attention, seen as little more than a distant background to colonisation. By contrast, this thesis explores the early settlers of New England in the context of their English experiences and relationships. Charles MacLean Andrews began to change the way in which historians engaged with early New English history, drawing on the traditions of the *Annales* School and new trends in social history developing in England, and placing focus on the importance of studying the New World in the context of the Old.[95] It was clear to Andrews and his disciples that the history of New England could not be fully understood without an immersion in its heritage.[96] Sharing a number of Andrews's views, Perry Miller is often credited as one of the key voices in early American history. He, along with Curtis P. Nettels and Carl Bridenbaugh showed that there was more complexity to New England than Andrews had realised and turned some attention to puritanism and the colonial mind.[97] Miller was not alone in this. Daniel J. Boorstin, Robert E. Brown and Bernard Bailyn, amongst others, were writing that the American experience had soon deviated from that of England. They were setting the New World alongside the Old, following Andrews's example, but found contrast rather than continuity in religious and political practice, identifying the emergence of distinctively American principles and attitudes.[98] Stephen Foster identified an important need to shift away from studies that simply compared Old and New England, and political and institutional works that focused on what aspects of England influenced 'Americanness' in terms of developing identity and ultimately the American Revolution.[99] Timothy Breen has placed emphasis on the fact that puritanism alone could not account for developments in the New World, and that historians needed to be looking in more

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[95] The formative work of a prodigious output is C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, 4 vols (New Haven, CT, 1934-38).

[96] Notable amongst Andrews's heirs are Leonard W. Labaree, Lawrence Henry Gipson, and Viola Barnes.

[97] A number of works were born as a result of C. M. Andrews' revised focus, though each has taken a different path, see: P. Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness (*Cambridge, 1956); F. J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (Lebanon, NH, 1995)*;* D.D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England (*New York, NY, 1989).

[98] D. J. Boorstin*, The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York, 1958); R. E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts*, 1691-1780 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1955); P. Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, MA, 1953); B. Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1960).

[99] Foster, *The Long Argument*.

detail at the individual or congregational experiences of institutions in England before migration.[100] Virginia DeJohn Anderson has further highlighted the fact that the New England migrants more closely resembled the non-migrating English population than they did other New World settlers, demonstrating that a full understanding of early New England was not possible without immersion in English social history. Largely as a result of these developments, we now understand New English puritanism as intrinsically connected to English puritanism, and as more than a predecessor to the American Revolution. Such progress is characterised in a recent analysis by Michael Winship, which focuses on the transatlanticism of the puritans in New England, using this as a tool in establishing the origins of the characteristic congregationalism of New English puritanism.[101] Writing against the earlier waves of scholarship that viewed puritanism as a seed bed for modern democracy, Winship traces the 'long arc' of disillusionment with their monarchs, adopting a focus which allows for an appreciation of the development of puritanism. This approach by nature follows English puritanism to the New World, aptly describing the puritans there as 'veterans' of 1630s England, speaking again to the necessity of viewing English puritanism in its true transatlantic context.[102]

However, not all emigrants remained 'veterans' of Old England and no small number returned to England. The rationale of looking at England and New England together is further justified by the waves of reverse migration that began at the same moment as migration and did not wane; around 200 people who sailed as part of the original fleet to New England in 1630 with John Winthrop left that very same year. A steady stream of colonists returned home from 1630 onwards but it was intensified in the 1640s and 1650s, when at least 1,500 left for England and over a thousand of them never returned to New England.[103] Part of the focus of chapter four, reverse migration also brought news of the colonial effort back to England and reminds us that these returning settlers contributed to a diverse network of actors who helped define the news that left England for New England and vice versa. Crucially, these were informal

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[100] T. H. Breen, 'English social change and the shaping of New England institutions', *WMQ*, Third Series, 3, 32 (Jan., 1975), p. 4.
[101] Winship, *Godly Republicanism*; F. J. Bremer (ed.), *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston, MA, 1993).
[102] Bremer, *Puritanism,* pp. 6-7.
[103] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 154.

communication networks that took place in correspondence. Senders included printed and published news, interacting and engaging with it and with its provenance and trustworthiness, but there is much yet to be learned from the correspondence of puritans in the transatlantic world. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxam's recent invaluable volume on European news networks has made a significant impact on the field, but while Nicholas Brownlees highlighted 'the fundamental importance of correspondence in the transmission of news in seventeenth-century Europe,' similar developments have not yet reached the study of transatlantic news networks.[104] There is a distinct lack of recent scholarship focusing on transatlantic news, particularly that transmitted in letters. David Cressy's seminal work on transatlantic communication remains at the forefront of scholarship on the field and, utilising new technological advancements providing different perspectives, this thesis will build on Cressy's work.[105] Lindsay O'Neill's monograph has provided a significant addition to the field but her focus on the period between the establishment of a permanent national postal system in 1660 and the flourishing of the newspaper press in the mid-eighteenth century means that the question of how news was exchanged, shared, and disseminated in the early years of New England colonial settlement remains unanswered.[106]

Historians must understand the role of news in transatlantic puritan sociability because it was a vital aspect of the continuation of the intense voluntary activities that had promoted sociability in England. Even more important when godly communities were scattered over large distances, news in correspondence was especially valuable in the transatlantic world. It ties in closely with reverse migration. Negative reports from the colony could prompt challenges from observers in England, threatening to unsettle the valuable but fragile transatlantic solidarity, something that greatly concerned Edward Howes in 1632 when he cautioned John Winthrop Jr that 'there are here a thousand eyes watching over you to pick a hole in your coats.'[107] Events in England similarly called colonists back from New England. For

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[104] N. Brownlees, "Newes also came by Letters': Functions and Features of Epistolary News in English News Publications of the Seventeenth Century,' in Raymond & Moxham, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), p. 394.
[105] Cressy, *Coming Over*.
[106] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*.
[107] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (3 April, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 75-76.

those settlers sitting out the storm of Caroline England in the New World, the English Civil War brought the prospect of a godly Reformation at home, and an opportunity and reason to return.[108] News was thus integral to the shared transatlantic experience and is deserving of more consideration. Attention to news exchange also carries the benefit of providing historians with access to the words and actions of the laity. Foster argued that 'the best place to lay hold of the puritan movement is with its other and less obvious side,' those lay men and women who only infrequently emerge from behind the narratives of godly ministers.[109] However, early New England was home to an unusually literate population due to the puritan emphasis on education and literacy, and because of this we are granted a particularly strong sample of sources to draw from to develop our understanding of puritan news exchange in correspondence in these early years of colonial settlement. The godly laity participated actively in their correspondence networks, and eagerly shared news with one another. It is in the extensive collection of correspondence collated in the five volumes of the *Winthrop Papers* explored in this thesis that the voices of lay friends, kin, and neighbours can be heard. Lindsay O'Neill prefers to call these networks based on social connections, family and friends, 'familiar' networks.[110] They served many uses and were by definition voluntary in nature. O'Neill's definition chimes with my own findings, that these networks 'helped writers keep track of their dispersed worlds and could be put to work when problems arose.' They were motivated by a sense of mutual obligation and a desire to keep in touch.[111] Foster has also mentioned the 'networks covering long distances' that connected towns and settlements in New England to one another and to the Old World, but we do not know what these looked like.[112] To explore the functionality of correspondence news networks means lifting to the surface the role of letter bearers. More often than not, these were ordinary people, servants and, in the colonial context, merchants.[113] Mapping the exchange of letters and understanding the extra-textual characteristics of those letters. James Daybell and Andrew Gordon have highlighted the importance of understanding the

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[108] Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 193.

[109] Foster, *Long Argument*, p. 10.

[110] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 143.

[111] Ibid, p. 143.

[112] Foster, *Long Argument*, p. 18.

[113] K. Grandjean, *American Passage: The Communications Frontier in Early New England* (Boston, MA, 2015), p. 59.

'networks of transmission' and material life of letters.[114] By examining the processes by which letters travelled, highlighting the vital role played by ordinary men and women, servants, and merchants, we can start to piece together the structures that supported transatlantic puritan sociability, revealing a complex pattern of lay and clerical interaction that relied on evaluations of credit and credibility, were grounded both in immediate need and long term gain, and demonstrate contemporaries' detailed knowledge of their correspondence networks and how they could utilise them.

Sources and Method

A fuller, more nuanced understanding of transatlantic puritan sociability in the early and mid-seventeenth century can be developed now with the aid of innovative tools of analysis. Historians now have the means to assess large quantities of data using digital methods such as spatial and network analysis. These tools provide the opportunity to condense a great amount of letter data into an accessible format, helping to untangle the 'thicket' of interconnections identified by David Cressy, and make sense of such a vibrant and active culture of connection.[115] Conceptualising the many local, kinship, and religious communities of the transatlantic puritan community in terms of the networks that underpinned them allows for a fresh perspective. Networks have most commonly been utilised in early modern historical research as a way in which to examine business ties and political circles, increasingly as a device for analysing commerce.[116] However, they are particularly valuable for exploring sociability in this period as many contemporaries well aware of their personal networks, the value of them, and how to utilise them for their own gain. Members of these communities may not have used the term 'network' to describe their personal

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[114] J. Daybell & A. Gordon, 'The Early Modern Letter Opener,' in Daybell & Gordon (eds.) *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia, 2016), p. 3.
[115] Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 277.
[116] J. F Wilson and A. Popp (eds.) *Industrial Clusters and Regional Business Networks in England, 1750-1970* (Aldershot, 2003); Haggerty & Haggerty, 'Visual analytics,' pp. 1-25; D. Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks: managing the Scots' Madeira trade', *Business History Review,* 79 (2005), pp. 467-491; A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and his Circle in the 1630s – A 'Parliamentary-Puritan' Connexion?', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 29, No. 4 (Dec. 1986), pp 771-793; R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653 (*Cambridge, 1993); J. T. Peacey, 'Seasonable Treatises: a godly project of the 1630s', *EHR,* 113, 452 (Jun., 1998), pp. 667-679.

connections, but the letters examined in this thesis clearly denote a dense and interconnected network of friendships and acquaintances that puritan correspondents actively used to achieve goals, remain connected, or to debate and negotiate theological matters. Network analysis has been used for a number of years by historians assessing the complex associations that linked together mercantile or civic communities, but they are gaining increasing traction as a tool for a wider group of historians.

Recent technological developments mean that analysis on a large scale is possible in ways that did not exist for previous generations of historians. Social network analysis, which utilises network theory in the examination of friendship, kinship, and business networks, allows us to look again at the social webs that were sustained by correspondence, providing new insight into the ways the network actually functioned, rather than the more common 'who's who' of the community in question.[117] An early exploration of social network analysis in the field of transatlantic puritan studies came from Francis Bremer in 1983, but significant developments have since been made.[118] This occurred largely in the wake of a series of key publications in the 1990s and early 2000s that showed that a number of real-world networks – for example social networks and transport networks – followed simple rules and shared an underlying order. Therefore, these networks can be analysed using the same mathematical tools and models.[119] Large quantities of data can now be input into social network analysis programmes that can give us an alternative perspective to that relying on qualitative data alone. A recent study of the correspondence of Marian Protestants conducted by

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[117] For an introduction, see: A. Degenne & M. Forsé, *Introducing Social Networks*, trans. A. Borges (London, 1999); S. Yang, F. B. Keller & L. Zheng, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Examples* (Los Angeles, CA, 2017); J. Scott, *Social Network Analysis* (Los Angeles, CA, 2013); *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (London, 2000); C. Prell, *Social Network Analysis: History, Theory and Methodology* (London, 2012); S. Wasserman & K. Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (New York, NY, 1994); B. Wellman & S.D. Berkowitz (eds.), *Social Structures: A Network Approach* (New York, NY 1988).

[118] F. J. Bremer, 'Increase Mather's friends: the trans-Atlantic congregational network of the seventeenth century,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 94, 1 (1984), pp. 59-96.

[119] D. Watts and S. Strogatz, 'Collective dynamics of 'small-world' networks,' *Nature,* 393 (1998) pp. 440–42; R. Albert and A. Barabási, 'Statistical mechanics of complex networks," *Reviews of Modern Physics,* 74 (2002) pp. 47–97; M. E. J. Newman, *Networks: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2010). For a general overview, see Barabási, *Linked: The New Science of Networks* (Cambridge, MA, 2002) pp. 1-2.

Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert found that social network analysis shed new light onto the ways in which the letter network of the Marian Protestant community survived, despite the periodic eradication of members that were burned at the stake for heresy. Ahnert notes that significantly larger and stronger Protestant networks existed during the reign of Mary I than had been realised.[120] This research demonstrates a step forward in establishing a digital field in the wider sphere of early modern history, broadening our understanding through collaborations with computer science. Ahnert's study is formative but utilised on a small population. In contrast to her 289 unique letters, leading to a network comprising 377 actors, and 795 interactions. This thesis utilises 1,523 letters, creating a network of 2,118 actors, with 6,375 interactions. Social network analysis, the mapping and measuring of relationships and flows between people, groups, organizations, and other connected entities, offers insight into the workings of social groups, and new digital methods allow for this to be done on a larger scale, assessing great quantities of data in an accessible format.

This thesis will show that the integration of digital tools with qualitative analysis is an important development in writing social history. These mathematical tools offer valuable ways of understanding patterns of communication, negotiation, and mediation in puritan communities in the seventeenth century, methods that will be applicable to communities and networks in future studies. It provides the opportunity to condense a great amount of letter data into an accessible format, making sense of a vibrant and active culture of sociability.[121] Jared Van Duinen has rightly stated that 'a future direction for studies of dissident thought and action in the 1630s could lie in network analysis and, in particular, the examination of puritan networks of association.'[122] This thesis demonstrates that puritan communities participated in continual processes of evaluation, negotiation and mediation in order to promote unity and a sense of commonality in an uncertain transatlantic environment. The research contained in this thesis does show, however, that a different terminology should be employed. These were not 'networks of association' for the duration of

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[120] Ahnert & Ahnert, 'Protestant letter networks,' p. 275.
[121] Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 277.
[122] J. Van Duinen, 'An engine which the world sees nothing of': revealing dissent under Charles I's 'Personal Rule,' *Parergon,* Vol. 28, 1 (2011), p. 195.

their existence, but complex, active and productive connections that were regularly in use and frequently reiterated. More passive 'webs' crop up periodically in puritan historiography.[123] However, to talk about ties of association as opposed to ties of kinship, shared belief, patronage, or commonality, is to imply passivity. Instead we should allow members of the community more awareness of their connections and explore the agency with which they navigated them. This thesis throughout explores contemporaries' connections on their terms, considering ties of credit, assessments of credibility, conceptions of trustworthiness and betrayal, all within the remit of their correspondence. Such strong and productive ties call out for detailed analysis, the undertaking of which will demonstrate the complexity of puritan sociability in terms of its underlying network structure and restore some agency to the laity.

Daybell and Gordon recognised that 'the letter is a powerfully evocative form' which seems 'to promise a unique kind of access to the lives and thoughts of the past.'[124] Erasmus understood that, at its best, the familiar letter was able to provide insight into the relationship between writer and recipient as it was a 'conversation between absent friends.'[125] In early modern England, letterwriting was the means by which people could exchange news, maintain contact, foster alliances and conduct commercial business. They were ubiquitous in daily life, and as such remain rich and vibrant sources for understanding early modern sociability. Even some of the illiterate could take part in correspondence, 'private' letters as we might imagine today were often far from it.[126] They are more than correspondence between select individuals, but crucial material evidence of social connection. Letters were read and retained, reread to others, lent to family and friends, and sometimes even circulated more widely, speaking tangibly of an epistolary community. [127] This was not always an

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[123] Como, *Blown by the Spirit*; Van Duinen, 'Revealing dissent,' pp. 187-188, 191; Winship, 'Were there any puritans?,' p. 130; D. M. Robinson, 'The cultural dynamics of American puritanism,' *ALH*, 6, 4 (Winter, 1994), p. 740.
[124] Daybell and Gordon, 'Letter Opener,' p. 1.
[125] *Conficiendarum epistolarum formula,* cited in A. Stewart and H. Wolfe, *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (Seattle, 2004), pp. 21-22; the second comment is quoted in Daybell and Gordon, 'Letter Opener,' p. 6.
[126] Cressy, *Coming Over,* p. 213; O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 41; Stewart & Wolfe, *Letterwriting*, p. 181; S. McIntyre, 'I heare it so variously reported': news-letters, newspapers, and the ministerial network in New England, 1670-1730', *NEQ*, 71, 4 (Dec., 1998), p. 613.
[127] Stewart and Wolfe, *Letterwriting,* p. 181.

informal action. Some senders extended the reach of their correspondence by directing a recipient to pass on a letter after it had been read, by enclosing specific instructions, messages, or even other letters for further recipients. These were at times oral messages for the letter carrier to deliver with the message, the evidence of which exists in the letters themselves, or the replies returned. This further highlights the importance of letter carriers to the correspondence network and thus the community. With their letters they carried great trust from sender and recipient, sometimes carrying the most sensitive information in their minds rather than in print, and always providing an essential point of contact for the actors in a network. Correspondence in the early modern period, particularly across the Atlantic, could be intermittent and slow, but it bonded people together, giving them a continued feeling of attachment despite the ocean that separated them.[128] Transatlantic correspondence was extensive, providing a cord of communication between the Old World and the New, though 'absent from each other many miles . . . [we] ought to consider ourselves knit together.'[129] The richness of the sources in part comes from their personality for, as Alan Stewart has noted, the nature of letterwriting could be 'wonderfully miscellaneous, even chaotic.'[130] Rules, structures, hierarchies and conventions were indeed present, but local level letterwriting was in many ways an improvised and ad hoc affair. The letters consulted in this thesis certainly do not conform to a single universal style and as such provide rich evidence of the intent of the author, their emotions and motivations, attempts to come together with their brethren and the tone that they employed to promote unity or challenge radicalism.

The sources selected for this thesis are volumes I-V of *The Winthrop Papers* spanning the timeframe 1625-49, *The Correspondence of John Cotton* and *The Letters of John Davenport*. Together, these collections produce a database of 1,523 letters, a sample that is sufficiently large to thoroughly explore the sociability of puritans in the transatlantic world, particularly pertaining to the themes consulted in this thesis: credit and credibility, social, theological and ecclesiological mediation and

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[128] Cressy, *Coming Over,* pp. 209, 211, 213; O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 148.
[129] John Winthrop to Sir William Spring, 8 February 1630, *WP,* II (Boston, MA, 1929), pp. 203-206.
[130] Daybell and Gordon, 'Letter Opener,' p. 5; A. Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 14, 30.

negotiation, and news exchange. In addition to the wealth of qualitative detail contained in these letters, a sample of this size is well-suited to quantitative analysis. The sample is variously examined as a whole to identify broader patterns across a wide geographical, thematic or chronological scope, or broken down into smaller thematic and chronologically defined networks in order to ask more focussed questions of the data. The scope and size of the primary source base makes this possible. *The Winthrop Papers* were selected for this project as they are one of the most important collections of transatlantic correspondence from the early and mid-seventeenth century. The primary actors in these volumes are John Winthrop, who was Governor of Massachusetts for a total of eight years between his arrival in Massachusetts in 1630 and his death in 1649, and Deputy Governor for another three, and John Winthrop Jr, his eldest son.[131] John Winthrop Jr was an early governor of the Saybrook Colony, founder of the Connecticut settlement of New London, and later Governor of Connecticut.[132] These two men held leading roles throughout their lives in New England and their letters, as well as those of their families, provide a unique insight into the quotidian backdrop of their political careers in addition to the more routine correspondence concerning colonial government, dispute resolution, attempts to rehabilitate wayward individuals, and theological discussion. Moreover, the Winthrop family were prolific correspondents with other lay puritans: those well known to historians of the period and those less familiar. As such, this well-known collection of letters becomes a means through which to access the voices of lay puritans that have largely been overlooked. This expands the outlook of this thesis beyond the typical, known stories found in Bremer, Hall and Webster's work on the godly clergy. These three letter collections provided ample data to construct the arguments in this thesis. The inclusion of other notable collections, such as Roger Williams's correspondence, would have served to alter the direction of the thesis and to make the dataset bigger and harder to work with for a project of the size and scope of this thesis. Williams's correspondence does make a significant contribution to chapters three and four of this thesis due to his interactions with John Winthrop and

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[131] Bremer, 'John Winthrop,'; *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (Oxford, 2003).

[132] W. W. Woodward, *Prospero's America: John Winthrop, Jr., Alchemy, and the Creation of New England Culture, 1606-1676* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010); S. Hardman Moore, 'Winthrop, John Jr (1605-1676)' in *Abandoning America: Life Stories from Early New England* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 377-378; W. W. Woodward, 2004 "Winthrop, John (1606–1676), colonial governor and physician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (accessed 22 Jul. 2019).

John Winthrop Jr, which divulged sufficient evidence of his role in the network without requiring a thorough consultation of his entire surviving correspondence for this project.

This thesis particularly highlights a small number of lesser-known actors: Thomas Fones in chapter one, Stephen Bachiler, Walter Allen, William Peirce and John Sandbrooke in chapter two, and Francis Kirby and John Humfrey in chapter four. Fones's efforts to mediate in the troubled relationship between John and Henry Winthrop ultimately led to his own implication in the disagreement, showing his attempts to arbitrate in a family dispute. Bachiler's petition for appointment to the ministry at Exeter, New Hampshire, exhibits clearly the perceived power of the collective and harmonious voice of a New England congregation. Through this letter it is possible to identify the ideal congregational image as well as the negotiation of one troublesome minister's actual position. In Edward Rawson's detailed accusation of Walter Allen for adultery and immoral behaviour, the role of the lay community in rooting out members of their congregations and communities who did not conform to standards of acceptable behaviour is made clear.[133] Allen remains an obscure figure in the period, but his accusation shines a light on the obligation felt by lay puritans in New England congregations to hold other members of their communities accountable for their moral and spiritual standing. William Peirce, a shipmaster who traversed the Atlantic many times during his career, is highlighted as a trusted figure in the network. Through detailed quantitative analysis of Peirce's position and role as a facilitator in the network, it becomes clear that his prominence in the network was significant for a merchant who only appears once as a correspondent. Without network analysis to bring to light Peirce's integral position in the network, he would have continued to have been largely overlooked. By looking at the few surviving letters of John Sandbrooke, an early migrant who successfully sought access through his own network connections into John Winthrop's personal network, it is possible to visualise the impact of an endorsement on the correspondence network. In chapter four, building on the findings in chapter two regarding the prominent role of merchants, Francis Kirby and John Humfrey are shown to be notable in collating news in London and sending it from there to New England. While Humfrey spent a short

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[133] Edward Rawson to John Winthrop (2 July, 1639), *WP*, IV, pp. 97-98.

time in Massachusetts, Kirby never left England, which further deepens our understanding of relationships that, following the migration of one party, remained exclusively transatlantic. These two actors provide the opportunity to understand the way that social credit and credibility influenced news exchange, highlighting the importance of news to godly sociability, but also of good prior sociable relationships to the maintenance of effective news networks. Network analysis allowed for these lesser known actors to be set in the wider context of the network, meaning that their positions can be better understood as parts of a larger body. Drawing attention to these particular actors also reveals how this thesis will integrate quantitative methods with qualitative analysis. Where Bachiler and Allen are largely explored through qualitative close readings of the letters, the positions of Peirce and Sandbrooke are examined primarily through their quantitative positions in the network and supported by detail found in the letters themselves. It is through this integration that we are able to develop our understanding without making broad claims that are unsubstantiated in the qualitative data.

Access to these actors and an understanding of the roles that they played in establishing or negotiating credit and credibility or consolidating and mediating their positions in relation to community and congregational ideals, is made possible by the *Winthrop Papers* and the use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis. Together, these methods reveal new key players and provide a more detailed understanding of how the congregational puritans of New England and the members of their networks navigated their connections and used correspondence to negotiate, mediate, discuss, and evaluate their relationships and themselves. The *Winthrop Papers* contribute the largest proportion of letters to the correspondence network created in this thesis by a significant margin. 1,409 letters, some 92.5% of the total network, are drawn from the *Winthrop Papers* over the years 1625-49. There are 2,095 actors in the network created from the *Winthrop Papers*, with 6,148 connections between them. This means that 98.9% of the actors in the full network can be found in the *Winthrop Papers*, and 96.4% of the connections are found in this collection of letters. Because of this, the network is largely constructed of lay people rather than clerics, which immediately alters the focus of this thesis from the work of Bremer and Webster on clerical communities and instead explores a wider range of

relationships between clergy and laity, and between lay puritans and others like them. the result is that we are left with a fuller picture of the 'cultural resources' that the laity used their connections, their letters, and their networks in order to navigate in their daily lives, mediating and negotiating on spiritual and social matters.[134] Crucially, this focus also reveals the means through which lay residents of the New England colonies responded to their church covenants and engaged actively in the process of monitoring the other members of their congregations. John Winthrop's roles as Governor and Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony means that parts of his network can be characterised as what Lindsay O'Neill calls a 'problem solving network,' which were not about maintaining a large social web but was instead about managing an office.[135] To a certain extent, these parts of Winthrop's network were constructed of professionalised relationships, and what this means is that it provides access to the processes by which lay men and women employed their agency and reported on members of their communities for perceived contraventions of the congregation's moral and spiritual codes.

One of the notable quirks of this collection of letters is that family and kinship thread throughout the five volumes consulted here. Because of this, the theme runs throughout the thesis and, while I have remained aware of this characteristic, family and kinship bonds are not the primary subject of focus. Instead, they are considered alongside other relationships and community ties. An additional characteristic of these correspondence networks are the geographical points of focus. These will be examined in some depth in chapters one and four, but it is worth noting here that there are some prominent areas of gravity: the Winthrop's English home in Groton, Suffolk is prominent in the years before emigration; London is a point of focus prior to Winthrop's emigration in 1630 and throughout the period to his death in 1649; Boston, as John Winthrop's main residence from 1630-49 is the primary destination for letters in the collection; and John Winthrop Jr's various places of residence also draw some focus, namely Ipswich, Massachusetts, and New London. These centres of gravity largely denote the primary areas of residence of the Winthrop family and their main acquaintances, but they also reflect prominent areas of transatlantic activity as

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[134] Foster, *Long Argument*, p. 3.
[135] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 143.

will be demonstrated in chapter four. Port towns such as London, Boston, and New London were vital to news exchange and the dissemination of correspondence, and this significance is not the result of the geographical gravity of the particular correspondence collection alone.

The Winthrop Family Papers currently exist in two published forms: the print volumes published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, which I used for the majority of my research and compilation, and the newer, digitised collection also produced by the Massachusetts Historical Society and launched in 2017.[136] The digital edition comprises the digitised content of the previously published documentary edition, and at the time of writing the first four volumes of *The Winthrop Papers* have been digitised along with a comprehensive and interactive index. The digitised edition is a valuable database for historians of the period and contributes to the growing number of databases available online. It has been used in this thesis to supplement the research undertaken using the printed editions, but where differences in the page numbers emerged, the page numbers from the print editions have been recorded for consistency. The collection includes correspondence, diary entries, receipts, deeds, account books, estate settlements, speeches, and inventories. However, only the letters in the collection have contributed data to the networks in this thesis. This is partly because John Winthrop did not write much about the everyday in his journal. His letters contain more evidence of his experience, and I agree with Bremer that these 'can help us paint a more complex picture.'[137] The majority of the papers in this collection were donated to the Massachusetts Historical Society by members of the Winthrop family since 1803. As many of the original manuscripts are now too fragile to be handled and five of the six published volumes of the *Winthrop Papers* currently out of print, the digital edition is a welcome addition, enabling scholars to easily access the published material online. The five volumes consulted in this thesis span the years 1603-1649, but the correspondence network is compiled from the period 1625-1649.

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[136] Available at http://www.masshist.org/publications/winthrop/index.php (accessed 16 June 2019)
[137] Bremer, 'John Winthrop,' p. 9.

The first step in creating the correspondence network used throughout this thesis was reading each of the letters in the collections consulted. I narrowed the timeline to 1625-1649 in order to join the puritans in the years prior to the onset of the Great Migration in 1630, exploring their English sociability practices and how networks were utilised to prepare the migrants and their brethren for the challenges of migration and separation. The death of John Winthrop in 1649 marks a particular change in the structure of the network. As the actor with the most network connections, Winthrop's death significantly altered the focus of the network, shifting to his eldest son, John Winthrop Jr. In addition, the 1640s saw the biggest wave of reverse migration than had been witnessed until that date. The thesis, then, is bookended by preparation for migration and the inevitable fears that John Winthrop felt as he saw his brethren leaving the colonies to return to England. It explores a particular moment of transatlantic interaction during a period of settlement and uncertainty, which was later compounded by the outbreak of civil war in England and the prospect that God had chosen to enact his revolution in the Old World rather than the New. This moment in transatlantic history provides an ideal opportunity to explore puritan sociability. Never before had the godly faced such geographic dispersal and they were forced to utilise their networks and their letters to sustain their practices of sociability across a significant expanse. As such, the letters consulted in this thesis have become an important record of the way in which puritans experienced their separation and the consequences of transatlantic migration, utilising their letters as a space in which to meet, discuss, and debate when previously they may have been able to do so in person. This is not to say that English godly communities were not, at least in part, sustained through letters before migration. Correspondence was, of course, a key aspect of puritan sociability until the onset of transatlantic migration. However, this thesis demonstrates that letters became even more important following migration, when the godly were 'scattered across the face of the world, speaking different languages.'[138]

Additional sources are provided by the *Correspondence of John Cotton*. Sargent Bush Jr.'s influential edited collection of Cotton's letters provides essential detail on the context of the correspondence and contains fragments of letters that no longer exist

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[138] Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p. 286; Bremer, 'Increase Mather's friends,' p. 64.

in their original form. Bush has compiled his collection from manuscript and published sources. Where both a manuscript and later publication survives, Bush selected the manuscript 'to establish its text.'[139] Where a manuscript no longer exists, Bush selected the earliest published edition on the rationale that the editor who transcribed that version likely had the manuscript in front of them. Bush acknowledges the potential for some differences between modern and contemporary editorial methods, but considers the earliest publication as being the closest thing we have to the original document. Bush's collection is valuable in that the editor has tried to publish each letter as closely as possible to the original, not modernising the spelling or formatting, with the aim to 'bring the reader as close to the letter and its moment of composition as possible.'[140] There has been significant damage to a number of the manuscripts, as I found when originally consulting the letters in the Thomas Prince Collection at the Boston Public Library. The result for the editor, Bush writes, 'is that sometimes portions of text are unreclaimable,' but Bush presents certainly the fullest collation of John Cotton's correspondence in a form that is readily accessible. As such, this volume provides a fuller picture of Cotton's important body of letters than can currently be accessed through archival research alone. Due to the inconsistent, but often poor, material quality of the surviving letters in the *Winthrop Papers*, John Cotton and John Davenport's correspondence, it was more useful to consult the edited collections of these volumes rather than to consult the archival copies. While archives in England, Massachusetts and Connecticut were consulted during the research for this thesis, I found that using the edited collections of the letters provided a fuller and more accessible body of data for the labour-intensive task of cataloguing the letters and each connection contained within them for the purposes of quantitative research. This has resulted in a fuller record and, of particular relevance for the *Winthrop Papers*, the extensive work of identifying lesser known individuals in the letters, or those referred to only by surname had already been undertaken. This meant that the data consulted in the quantitative analysis in this thesis is more accurate and can be more readily trusted.

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[139] S. Bush Jr., *The Correspondence of John Cotton* (Chapel Hill, NH, 2001), p. 80.
[140] Ibid, p. 80.

John Cotton and John Davenport's correspondence was explored alongside the *Winthrop Papers* because, though the collections are significantly smaller, they provide a clerical perspective which was incredibly useful for examining certain events and alternative roles. John Cotton's correspondence is utilised for the exploration of the Antinomian Controversy in chapter three. Though little remains in Cotton's correspondence to directly address the events as they occurred, what can be found in his letters is evidence of the processes of negotiation and reparation that took place following the events of the controversy in 1637-8. This provides a valuable insight into the ways in which Cotton worked to redeem himself and demonstrate the negotiation and repositioning of his own beliefs to bring them into line with the Massachusetts Bay authorities, as well as in repairing damaged relationships with fellow ministers. Moreover, Cotton's correspondence details the process by which he worked to bring other wayward members of the Boston congregation, Francis Hutchinson and the former pastor John Wheelwright, back into the 'safer' bounds of Boston and the church there. His letters not only provide insight into the interactions of the laity with the clergy, but the letters Cotton exchanged with his fellow clergymen provide a point of contrast for exploring the differences in form between the different interactions. The particular geographical focus of this collection is Boston, Massachusetts, though letters are included in the volume from Cotton's years in Boston, Lincolnshire. The primary contribution of this collection to the thesis comes from Cotton's tenure as minister of the First Church at Boston, Massachusetts, however, as it is in these years that his letters reveal most evidence of his interaction and negotiation with his lay brethren. This allows us to 'eavesdrop,' as Cohen put it, on the 'dialogue about faith' between preacher and parishioner, which Cohen felt incredibly useful for understanding their mutual importance.[141] The collection contributes ninety-six letters to the entire correspondence network created for this thesis, or 6% of the complete body of letters. Cotton's correspondence network contains a total of 202 actors and 443 connections between them, which constitutes 9.5% of the total network connections and 6.9% of the edges between them. Of this, twenty-eight letters receive closer qualitative analysis in the thesis.

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[141] Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 21.

It was equally important to include John Davenport's letters in order to broaden the geographical scope of the thesis. The volume contributes eighteen letters to the correspondence network, a mere 1.2% of the total body, with 65 actors (3.1%) and 119 connections between them (1.95% of the total network). Isabel MacBeath Calder's edited collection of Davenport's letters contains correspondence that had previously been published and that which existed only in manuscript form.[142] It was the first serious attempt to bring together Davenport's papers and contains very little by way of editorial comment. As such Calder presented the letters in such a fashion that the reader can explore with little editorial interference. This has proved particularly helpful in this thesis as the letters have been examined in conjunction with two other correspondence collections, allowing me to consult the letters without preconceptions of their contents. Though the contribution of Davenport's letters to the thesis appears small, Davenport's time in the Netherlands in the early 1630s prior to his emigration to the New World in 1637, while not addressed in detail in this thesis, reveals through spatial analysis the vital connections between England, New England, and the Netherlands.[143] It is this perspective that consolidates our understanding of these transatlantic communities as diverse and covering a wider area, and therefore drawing information and experience from a broader geographical scope than simply between England and New England. Davenport's chronological reach quickly expanded to New Haven after his arrival in Boston failed to yield the environment that he and his fellow emigrant, Theophilus Eaton, sought. Because of this, Davenport's letters present the opportunity for a fuller understanding of the links between the Massachusetts, New Haven, New London, and Connecticut settlements. The primary contribution of Davenport's correspondence to the arguments made in this thesis is through spatial analysis, though four of the eighteen letters that the collection contributes to the network are given closer, qualitative attention in the thesis. Each of these four letters was sent prior to Davenport's emigration and concern his personal relationship with Lady Mary Vere, his stance on

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[142] I. M. Calder, *Letters of John Davenport, Puritan Divine (*Oxford, 1937).

[143] The Netherlands, though essential context for the New England venture along with Ireland, are not addressed in detail in this thesis because the two places are largely absent from correspondence following the early years of settlement. While connections certainly continued, they were not prevalent in these letter collections. My expectation is that in the decades following the 1640s there would be more interaction with these locations as more colonists returned from New England and settled in England, Scotland, Ireland and the Netherlands.

the potential factionalism of puritanism and the need to distance himself from separatism in 1625 and 1634 respectively. Moreover, the collections of Davenport and Cotton's letters provide an additional perspective that the *Winthrop Papers* is largely unable to present. Where the *Winthrop Papers* give access to a wide range of interaction between lay puritans, the letters of Cotton and Davenport reveal interactions between the laity and the clergy and the clergy with their clerical brethren, which adds important nuance to our understanding of godly sociability. The involvement of the laity in negotiation on social, political and, crucially, ecclesiological and theological matters amongst themselves and with the clergy sheds light on the credibility and agency that the clergy allowed their lay brethren.

As already noted, this thesis employs innovative digital methods, social network analysis and spatial analysis, to provide new perspectives on the structures that underlay puritan sociability in the transatlantic world. In order to perform such analysis, the original documents must first be turned into meta-data.[144] As Ruth Ahnert has demonstrated clearly through her work on Tudor letter collections, letters 'offer themselves very naturally to network analysis because they are relational' by their very nature.[145] A piece of correspondence characteristically draws a connection or, to use the network terminology, an edge between two individuals, or actors. When a body of letters has been systematically digitised, it can be possible to extract the network data digitally. However, as the digital edition of the *Winthrop Papers* was not available at the start of this project, nor does it yet include the fifth volume of the published edition, I worked manually to extract the required data. Working manually was also necessary to achieve the level of detail that I wanted to explore. It meant that I was not confined to recording the sender and recipient of letters alone, but also each connection mentioned within those letters. Daybell and Gordon have argued that any attempt to locate an individual within the cultures of their correspondence ought to encompass not only those letters that he or she or they penned, but also those received, read, endorsed, archived, and carried.[146] Reading each letter thoroughly and then manually extracting the data allowed me to consider these

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[144] R. Ahnert, 'Maps versus Networks,' in J Raymond & N. Moxham, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), p. 133.
[145] Ibid, p. 133.
[146] Daybell and Gordon, 'Letter Opener,' p. 9.

extra-textual relationships, resulting in a much fuller picture. This also enabled me to categorise each type of relationship identified in the correspondence: correspondence connections (those between sender and recipient), reported connections (where a conversation or other exchange was relayed); implied connections (where the sender appears to assume the recipient's knowledge of an individual); requested connections (where an endorsement or recommendation encourages a new connection); and kin or spousal connections. This achieves a multi-layered approach and a significantly more detailed picture of the myriad connections between puritans and their friends, acquaintances, and families. For the purposes of constructing the network, I recorded from each letter the sender and recipient, date of writing, location of origin and destination (where available or reasonable ascertainable), and the relationships noted within the letter. For my own records, I also attributed themes to each letter regarding its contents: theological (104 letters), ecclesiological (111 letters), political (341 letters), spiritual encouragement (134 letters), personal and family (513 letters), neighbours (153 letters), and legal, financial and business (514 letters). Some letters, of course, dealt with more than one theme, but all concerned at least one. This basic information is sufficient to carry out network analysis. The senders, recipients, and their contacts, provide a series of nodes, following a process of disambiguation to eradicate variant spellings or instances where a title has been used in place of a name, i.e. Lord Saye and Sele to refer to William Fiennes. This data was run through the social network analysis programme, Gephi, to generate a network graph from which to run various measures of quantitative analysis. For each relationship a line, or edge, was drawn. These edges create the paths in the network, demonstrating connections and the lines along which information could travel. It is important to note that these edges do not have a spatial aspect; rather they are non-physical paths between two nodes in a network. Quantitative network analysis offers both a large-scale picture, and the ability to 'zoom in' to the detail in connections, what Martin Mueller has termed 'scalable reading.'[147] 'Zooming in' might take the form of measuring the paths in a network, which can tell us important things about the way that information travels. This was particularly useful when exploring news exchange in chapter four, as it was possible to identify the key facilitators in the network. A wide view allows the identification of

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[147] M. Mueller, http://scalablereading.northwestern. edu/ (accessed 22 July, 2019).

individual players and letters that require closer reading. Hubs, or the actors in the network with the most connections, are usually stakeholders or gatekeepers of information. Clusters of actors reveal pockets of micro-community and denote key players in passing information to individuals otherwise unconnected to the network.

A network in its most simple form is a collection of links, which can be combined into innumerable possible paths. The measurement of these paths is a fundamental way in which to establish the tiered importance of the people in that network. Closeness centrality provides one such insight. Again, this does not refer to physical proximity but to the strength of a relationship. Closeness centrality has been particularly useful in this thesis when exploring trust, credit and credibility in chapters two and four. Individuals closer to others in the network are usually less reliant on a chain of actors for the receipt of information. Those ranking highly by this measure can interact quickly with other members of the network and are less reliant on others for information. Actors that belong to groupings with a high closeness centrality are more likely to have readier access to the latest information, indicating a particular social benefit that often signifies a level of trust.[148] This tells us less about the important actors in the network, but more about the way in which information travelled. As such, closeness centrality often reveals network facilitators, those with structural, strategic benefit, that can be easily identified using quantitative measures but had real-life significance. In chapter two, this form of analysis is used to explore the prominence of merchants, especially William Peirce, as a group that were awarded significant social credit as a result of their strategic position in the network. Additionally, for any two actors in a network there exists a shortest route between them, and this is the basis of betweeness centrality that will also be used in this thesis.[149] Betweeness tells us how many of these shortest paths go through a particular actor, which shows their centrality to the organisation of the network, identifying points of control. Those with high betweeness scores possessed significant influence within the puritan community, acting as the 'chokepoints' of a network,

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[148] K. Okamoto, W. Chen, & X. Li, 'Ranking of Closeness Centrality for Large-Scale Social Networks,' in. F. P. Preparata, X. Wu, & J. Yin (eds.), *Frontiers in Algorithmics* (New York, NY, 1998), pp. 186-195; Degenne & Forsé, *Introducing Social Networks*, pp. 136-136; Wasserman & Faust, *Social Network Analysis*, chapter five.
[149] Wasserman & Faust, *Social Network Analysis*

where the actor in question had the choice to retain or share the information that he or she possessed. The thesis also explores degree, the number of unique connections of an actor in the network, and weighted degree, the total number of interactions with those connections. This indicates the level of involvement of any actor in the network and provides context on the relative strength of their position. For example, William Peirce had a relatively small number of connections, but retained a strong position in the network, indicating that his prominence originated from something other than simply being well-connected to many people.

By looking at the intricate ways by which the network functioned and understanding the mechanisms by which members resisted fragmentary impulses, we can see the manner in which people used the connections afforded to them, and how they navigated the complex world of correspondence and interaction with their contemporaries. Letters show not only an awareness of one's personal networks, but a broader knowledge of the networks of their friends, providing access to a far greater number of individuals than would have been possible through personal acquaintance alone. In this thesis I have also used visualisations of the networks to demonstrate the evolution or manipulation of an actor's network ties for gain. These graphs allow for a different perspective of puritan communities, providing a clear and accessible visualisation of what are often complex patterns of connection at particular moments in time. These graphs enable the isolation of a network, for example those of William Peirce or John Sandbrooke in chapter two, for closer analysis. As shown in the example of John Sandbrooke, visualisations enable the historian to see how an individual might manipulate their own personal network in order to extend it or utilise it to achieve a stronger social position. This thesis does not rely on quantitative analysis alone, however, and the results that these methods reveal are explored in conjunction with qualitative analysis wherever possible. Integrating qualitative and quantitative methods means that more context can be provided to understand data-driven results, that statistical results can be corroborated, or sentiments expressed in letters interrogated from a different angle. Where I argue in chapter two that William Peirce was trustworthy as shown through his network significance, this can be corroborated in statements of trust from his peers. Where Roger Williams appears in chapter four to be a closely connected and trusted member of the network,

qualitative evidence indicates that his significance was the result of a strategic benefit that overrode the intense differences in ecclesiological outlook that had tested his relationship with John Winthrop for years.

It is not always possible to find qualitative evidence to corroborate quantitative findings, so it is vital that the network data in any study can be trusted and that it appears to be representative, as any correspondence network can be exposed to criticism because by its nature it is limited to the sources consulted. This remains true in any instance, but network analysis can indicate whether a sample is representative of a wider body by assessing its modularity, but also its assortativity and clustering coefficient. Organised by degree, or the number of links, assortativity is a measure of how far nodes of similar degree values are grouped together. M. E. J. Newman has clearly demonstrated that real-life social networks are assortative, contrasting with technological and biological networks that tend to be disassortative.[150] The closer the grouping, the higher the assortativity. Clustering coefficient is a measure of the degree to which nodes in a graph tend to cluster together, identifying cliques.[151] Research into fictional networks by Mac Carron, Kenna and Gleiser draws on the idea that real-world social networks are largely characterised by a large density of ties, which is demonstrated by both assortativity and high clustering coefficient.[152] Applying this assessment to the full correspondence network that forms the basis of the network analysis in this thesis can reveal whether the network is reflective of real-life social networks and can therefore be trusted to be representative. The placement of nodes with high degree scores at the core, closely connected, with the low degree nodes featuring on the periphery, it is clear that it is an assortative network. Moreover, a clustering coefficient of 0.76, on a 0-1 scale, leads to the conclusion that this network has properties that are closely linked to real social networks.

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[150] M. E. J. Newman, 'Assortative mixing in networks,' Phys. Rev. Lett., 89 (2002), 208701.
[151] P. Mac Carron & R. Kenna, 'Universal properties of mythological networks,' *EPL*, 99 (Jul., 2012), 28002, p. 5.
[152] Mac Carron & Kenna, 'Mythological networks,' p. 3; P. M. Gleiser, 'How to become a superhero,' *Journal of Statistical Mechanics: Theory and Experiment* (Sept., 2007), P09020, pp. 2-11.
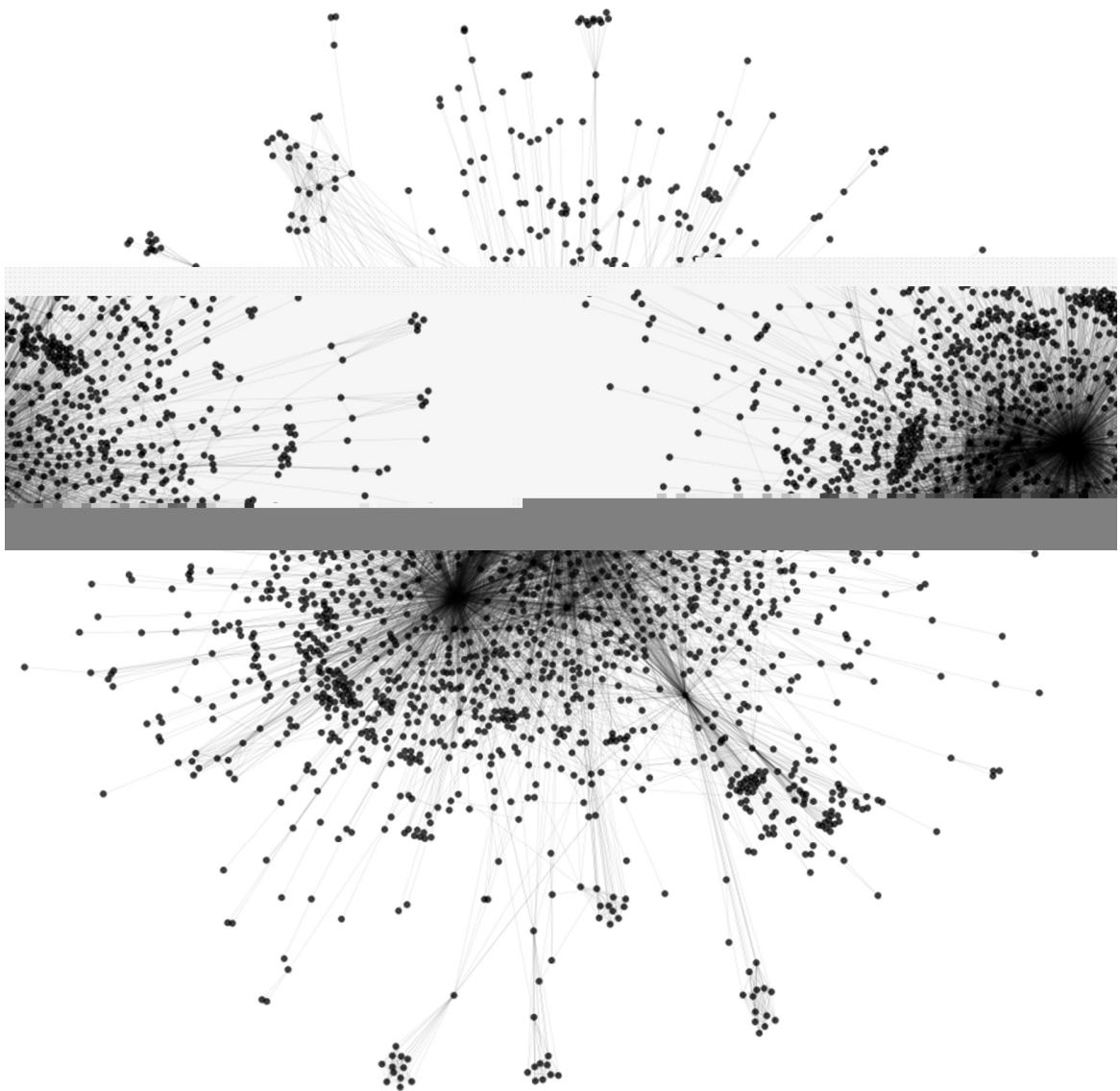
Fig. i: Giant component network for all connections, 1625-49.

The network is somewhat surprising in its demonstration of both characteristics, considering that it is created from the letter collections of selected individuals, a pattern that would normally lead to the creation of a clear ego-network: disassortative and almost completely reliant on a small group of actors.[153] But a simple filter applied to the network which removes the two most connected nodes, those representing John Winthrop (degree of 1079) and John Winthrop Jr (degree of

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[153] Newman, 'Assortative Mixing,' p. 1; Mac Carron & Kenna, 'Mythological networks,' p. 5.

755), reveals a graph that is not significantly damaged. 71.26% of the total 6,375 edges remain (fig. ii).
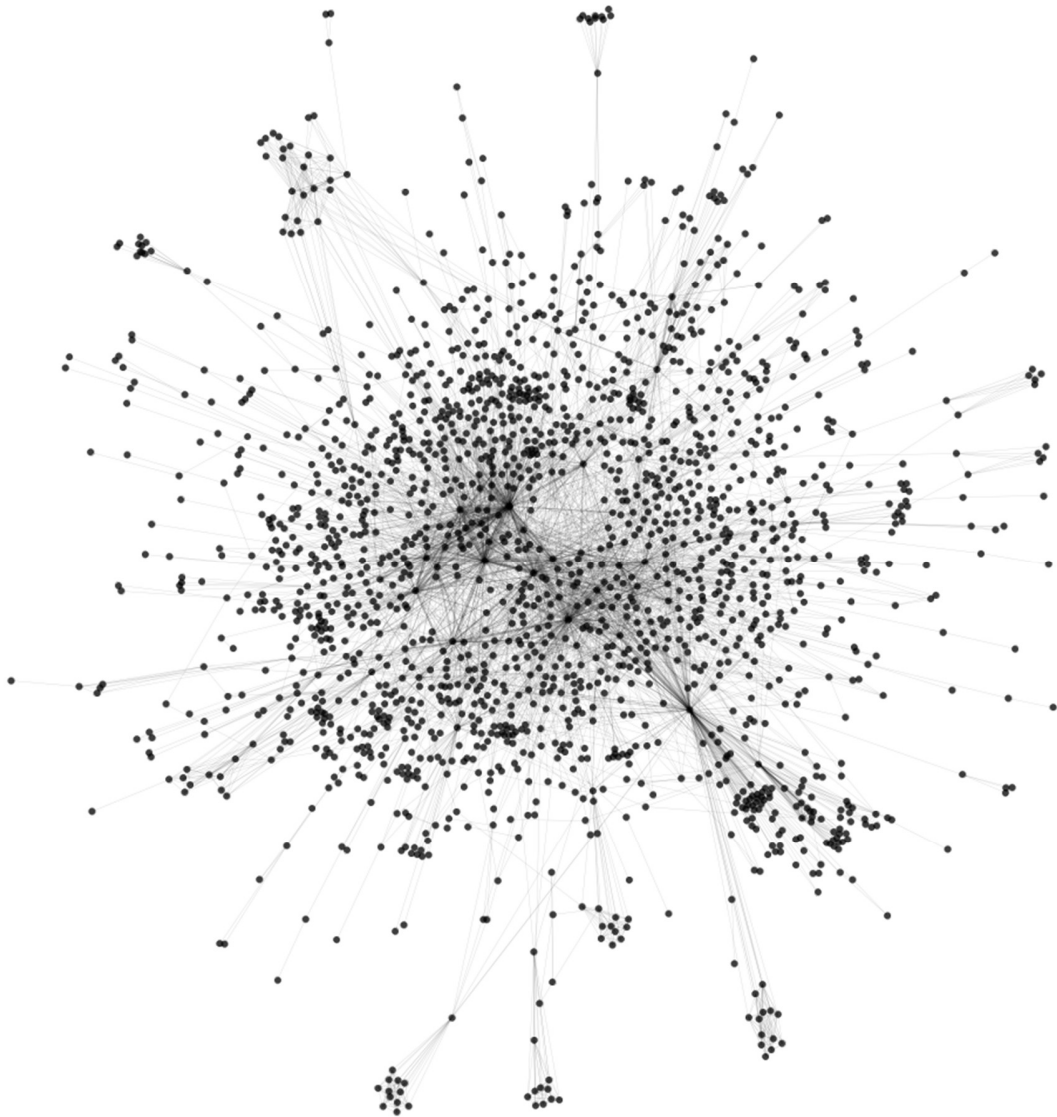
Fig. ii: Giant component network for all connections, 1625-49 with a degree filter applied to remove John Winthrop and John Winthrop Jr.

What this shows is that even when the two most prolific correspondents in the network are removed, there remains a functioning network that maintains the characteristics of a real-life social network, with a clustering coefficient of 0.55 and the main hubs still connected to one another. The resilience following the removal of the central hubs and the consistently high clustering coefficient indicate that conclusions drawn from the data are more likely to be representative of a wider population. Moreover, it is this very density that enabled enduring ties, as interlocking micro-communities provided myriad pathways along which news and

information, affection and brotherhood could travel, in spite of discord and declension, crucially allowing for mediation. Dynamic and adaptable, the network was structurally able to preserve positive and discursive sociability even at great distances, and by exchanging correspondence in their changing world, the participating godly actively utilised their networks to promote cohesion. This by no means suggests that every connection was preserved in spite of discord, but it demonstrates the ability that the godly had to do so. Their characteristic negotiation was made possible even when they were not face-to-face, meaning that one of the core methods of settling dispute could take place in the realms of a letter when in-person discussion was not an option.

Also of great use for understanding patterns through the adoption of a wider perspective, is spatial analysis. This thesis employs spatial methods with a light touch, using them to identify broader trends and clusters in correspondence, such as the geographic centres of correspondence promoting solidarity in the congregational methods of church government, in contrast with letters that sought to undermine it. To achieve this, the co-ordinates of the origin and destination of each letter in the seven volumes consulted in the thesis were recorded and run through the Stanford University data visualisation tool, Palladio.[154] These maps provide an additional spatial understanding of the networks that are explored in this thesis, allowing us to see not only who was connected to who, but where they were when they penned their letters. Not only does this highlight the dispersal of the puritans throughout the New England colonies but, as demonstrated in chapter four, this can help us understand how news travelled in correspondence. The spatial perspective highlighted the prominence of port towns as centres where news was received and collated, before being disseminated to settlements further inland. What this ultimately achieves is the visualisation of the extra-textual paths of the letters examined in this thesis, which is important for providing a fuller picture of the correspondence networks consulted here.

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[154] Hdlab.stanford.edu/palladio (accessed 18 June 2019).

Daybell and Gordon argue that 'the letter now emerges as the most vital and wide-ranging sociotext of the early modern period and one whose resources remain largely untapped.'[155] This thesis firmly endorses this statement, highlighting letters as a rich and vibrant resource that allows for the exploration of puritan sociability, in particular when interrogated using a combination of qualitative and innovative quantitative methods. Through these integrated methodologies, this thesis will highlight the vital structural roles of lay puritans not traditionally prominent in historical narratives to date, showing them firmly as actors who engaged with the clergy and their social superiors in debate and discussion over ecclesiology and theology, who watched over members of their congregations in New England with commitment and fervour, and who worked hard to preserve their traditional practices of sociability over great distances. Digital methods also enable a wider perspective, and this thesis identifies patterns of transatlantic solidarity competing with networks that sought to undermine the New England venture. The spatial characteristics of news exchange allow for a fuller understanding of the ways in which information travelled across the Atlantic and around the New World, shedding light on the ways in which transatlantic puritan communities engaged with and utilised their networks to remain connected and informed. By exploring the way in which congregational puritans in the British Atlantic mediated their distance from one another and negotiated the differences that emerged between themselves in order to resist fragmentation, this thesis helps to explain an aspect of puritan sociability in the early seventeenth century. It adds important nuance to our understanding of transatlantic puritanism by bringing to light the methods through which laypeople and clergy alike sought to mediate disputes and estrangement through their active and prolific correspondence. There were of course disagreements that could not be overcome, which contributed to the ecclesiological turbulence and theological division that have long been associated with congregational puritanism. But this is far from the complete picture, in which the role of characters who rarely emerge from beneath the shadow of the dominant ministers and magistrates is more important than often acknowledged. This thesis, then, builds on our understanding of ecclesiology in England which, as Ha rightly notes, 'underwent continual adaptation and change well before the rise of Laudianism,' and continued long after.[156] By expanding the narrative to encompass

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[155] Daybell and Gordon, 'Letter Opener,' p. 19.
[156] Ha, *English Presbyterianism*, p. 3.

early New England and the tumultuous years of the 1640s, this thesis builds on Ha's English focus, developing our understanding of puritan sociability, and what was at stake in its cohesion.

Structure

The thesis as a whole is loosely chronological in its organisation, but the primary structure is thematic. Chapter one explores how the communities represented in the correspondence sustained and expanded their networks in a fashion that helped to prepare for the challenge of Atlantic migration. It explores correspondence as one aspect of the intense voluntary activities that long sustained puritan sociability. The chapter loosely focusses on the years leading up to migration and the immediate years after the Winthrop fleet landed in 1630. English puritans relied on their communities for spiritual edification and support, and this chapter demonstrates that the godly used their letters to engage in spiritual communion with one another when they could not do so in person. Chapter one shows that correspondence was vital to emotional and spiritual sustenance but also, crucially, to the maintenance of long-distance friendships and the facilitation of extending and refashioning networks to prepare for migration.

Chapter two builds on the foundation of sociability established in chapter one, exploring credibility and how the godly in New England built social credit in fragile new communities thrown together from different places of origin in England. The first part of the chapter is largely qualitative in its methodology, focusing on the New England church covenants, exploring the obligation that these bestowed on subscribers to watch over one another, holding other members accountable for their moral and spiritual demeanour. This discussion encompasses the lesser known role of lay puritans in testifying on behalf of others for inclusion in the colonial enterprise, for endorsing membership to a church, and for testifying to the credibility of one another and their correspondence. It considers Stephen Bachiler's emphasis on the importance of communal agreement and endorsement and how this was distinctive of the congregational vision in New England. The second part of the chapter utilises social network analysis extensively to explore trust, credit and credibility in those that

facilitated transatlantic communication, such as William Peirce. It brings to light the vital structural dimension of exploring these networks and communities, balancing this perspective with a qualitative demonstration of the critical awareness that many colonists had of the potential reach of their personal networks, and how they evaluated the social credit of their brethren in order to establish the most effective course for their endorsements.

Chapter three turns to the role of negotiating orthodoxy amid tensions in the communities and networks in the thesis, addressing this on two fronts: firstly, a primarily qualitative exploration of the Antinomian controversy on free grace in New England in 1637-8, which particularly focuses on the negotiations to restore acceptability in the aftermath of the controversy. And, secondly, the transatlantic debate between New and Old England on the subject of colonial innovations in church practice. The second part of the chapter utilises spatial analysis to explore transatlantic patterns of transatlantic solidarity and the conflicting challenges to the New England godly. The chapter reinforces our understanding of letters as a vital medium for the mediation and negotiation of dispute within New England and across the Atlantic Ocean.

Chapter four focusses primarily on the impact of news from England on the transatlantic network. The first part of the chapter draws largely on quantitative analysis to uncover the structures of transatlantic and New England news networks, with particular focus on local and political news, which was at a premium during the English Civil War. It highlights the vibrancy of news networks and the key facilitators that were relied upon for the timely receipt of information. Building on this foundation, the chapter explores how correspondents gathered, assessed, and disseminated news in order to ensure the maintenance of their own good position or to improve a damaged reputation. Trustworthy news was of vital importance and to include such in correspondence was to win valuable social credit. The second part of the chapter looks in particular at reverse migration. It explores the feelings of betrayal felt by John Winthrop as his fellow colonists returned to England but demonstrates that some returned migrants were able to retain some good credit with the aging

governor by sharing news from the Old World. The role of puritans who never left England is also key here, and through the exploration of news this chapter reveals that some who had never been to New England were able to maintain stronger relationships with their brethren there than those who had been to New England and left. This adds important nuances to our understanding of sociability among congregational puritans and shows that the relationships between these puritans cannot be treated in an undifferentiated way.

Chapter One

Letters and Sociability

Puritans in early seventeenth century England were far from isolated. Despite being a largely oppositional, minority group, Patrick Collinson's now familiar description of puritanism as 'one half of a stressful relationship' continues to hold weight, the puritan population in England was deeply interconnected.[1] Bremer tells us that puritan friendships were both spiritual and social, and communion between friends provided emotional, spiritual and material support.[2] Groups met privately throughout the seventeenth century in cities, towns and villages across England, engaging in what Tom Webster termed 'supportive sociability.'[3] This sociability is central to our understanding of puritanism, but for many years it did not attract the same level of intensive study as did the relationship of the godly with the larger society of Tudor and Stuart England.[4] Seeking to understand the tension between puritans and their conforming neighbours, historians have often paid significantly less attention to the relationships existing between puritans themselves. Francis Bremer and Tom Webster have contributed significantly to our understanding of the friendships and interactions between godly clergy, though there is much yet to uncover about interactions between lay puritans and between the laity and the clergy.[5] This chapter builds on Bremer and Webster's work, drawing the English puritan laity into clearer focus. As Andrew Cambers more recently acknowledged, the very culture of puritanism was shaped by the intersection of the public and private, of the individual and communal.[6] Puritan culture had sociability at its heart, and to understand puritanism, we must seek to understand the daily life and sociability of puritans.[7] Where Cambers has made significant progress in demonstrating the importance of

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[1] P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. 143.

[2] F. J. Bremer, *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692* (York, PA, 1994), pp. 6, 8.

[3] T. Webster, 'Early Stuart Puritanism', in J. Coffey (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 61.

[4] M. Winship, 'Bridget Cooke and the art of godly female self-advancement,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33, 4 (2002), p. 1054.

[5] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*; T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-43* (Cambridge, 1997).

[6] A. Cambers, 'Reading, the godly, and self-writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British* Studies, 46, 4 (Oct., 2007), p. 802.

[7] Ibid, p. 824.

diaries and memoirs to puritan sociability, and therefore to our understanding of puritans, this chapter will locate correspondence as a vital aspect of that sociability, first in England as members of godly communities prepared to uproot, and following the onset of transatlantic migration on a large scale in 1630.

The first part of this chapter explores the creating and maintaining of bonds. It locates correspondence as one aspect of the voluntary sociability that encompassed the puritan communities in England, but also across national borders. This chapter stablishes that puritans were accustomed to maintaining relationships that crossed parish and county borders, seeking their fellow saints across the country. John Winthrop's correspondence in the mid and late 1620s reveals the role that correspondence played in sustaining bonds with his wife and his friends. Crucially, this was achieved through a combination of letters and visits, ensuring a balance of in-person interaction and written communication. The interactions that took place in letters also highlight the extension of spiritual guidance in correspondence, which provided, at a distance, a supplement to face to face meetings like conventicles, conferences, and those facilitated by sermon gadding. The section focuses on connections in England, primarily employing qualitative analysis to explore the forms of sociability practised by the puritan communities there. Spatial analysis is utilised lightly to provide a fuller picture, drawing attention to the centres of correspondence and the breath of the network from 1625-1629, with qualitative analysis supplementing the digital visualisations for a more detailed picture.

The second part looks at the experience of emigration and the function of networks in the creation of the 'self-selected groups' that were characteristic of puritan emigration. As Susan Hardman Moore has noted, these people were 'unlikely migrants' with 'strong local ties,' and as such they sought to feel familiar security as they prepared to uproot.[8] They moved as pressure against puritan clerics built, but it

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[8] S. Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation: 'Wee shall bee as a Citty upon a Hill, the Eies of all People are upon Us,' in K. Fincham & P. Lake (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 147.

was never an easy decision.[9] This builds on important work by Alison Games, bringing to light parts of the process by which groups came together, which Games was unable to recover using port books.[10] John Winthrop's position as Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony means that the *Winthrop Papers* contain numerous letters from individuals seeing passage or good favour with him, for themselves or for their friends and acquaintances. Those featuring in these letters are largely lay puritans that exercised their agency over their networks in order to increase their chances of good favour in New England. This rich body of evidence enables a qualitative exploration of the role of letters in expanding networks to prepare for emigration, and in working to ensure the good character of the emigrating parties. This section also looks into the ways in which networks were put to use to help men and women refashion or adjust their connections to one another when one party emigrated, leaving the other in England. Of particular focus is the emotive correspondence between John Winthrop and his friend, Sir William Spring. The letters exchanged between the two on the eve of Winthrop's emigration serve as a reminder of the pain of separation, but vitally reveal the spiritual communion and the words expressed in letters that could provide comfort to two spirits. This section is entirely grounded in qualitative analysis and primarily explores letters that were used to prepare for transatlantic emigration. As such the focus is largely on England in the late 1620s.

The third part of this chapter focuses on letters and the challenge of distance. It returns to England in the early and mid-1620s, revealing the way that people tapped into their networks in order to alleviate feelings of separation or to reassert bonds. Using spatial analysis to demonstrate the scope of the network as it extended outside of England, this section shows the reach of puritan networks and combines this perspective with qualitative analysis that shows how writers coped with the distance. Where letters alone could not suffice, some mediated the challenge of their separation through assertions of their mutual faith in God. This interaction between faith and letters draws attention to the manner in which correspondence could

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[9] S. Hardman Moore, 'Popery, Purity and Providence: Deciphering the New England Experiment,' in A. Fletcher & P. Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 267.
[10] A. Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), p. 57.

provide space for spiritual sustenance. The role of letters in alleviating the challenge of distance is developed with the exploration of the extra-textual life of letters in acknowledging the bearers that carried them.

Letters could also be used to mediate distress and conflict, demonstrated in this chapter primarily in examination of the relationships between John Winthrop and two of his sons: the eldest, John Winthrop Jr, and the next eldest, Henry Winthrop. The former example reveals the way in which John Winthrop used his correspondence to watch over Winthrop Jr from afar while the young man attended Trinity College Dublin. His absence from the family home sparked concern in the father, who sought to preserve his son's spiritual safety through advice in his letters. Other examples develop the picture, showing that this was not an isolated case and that letters were not uncommonly used to watch over family and friends at a distance. The chapter moves on to explore one key moment where John Winthrop's relationship with his son, Henry, was under intense strain due to the young man's actions. Craig Muldrew tells us that the family and extended kin could play an important role in resolving disputes, which can be seen clearly through this example.[11] The role of Thomas Gostlin, John Winthrop's brother-in-law, as intermediary in the exchange is a rich example of the processes of mediation through correspondence, but also as performed by members of the extended family. Crossing the Atlantic, the section considers the ways in which others were called to mediate in family disputes following the separation of kin by the Atlantic Ocean.

Correspondence networks sustained emotional and spiritual connection in England and only became more crucial as migration to New England began in earnest in 1630. This chapter will explore how letters were used to ensure that ties between friends, neighbours, and kin were prepared, at least partially, to overcome the trauma in parting and the challenge of maintaining familiar relationships at a distance. The networks that underpinned and sustained puritan connection across the Atlantic were facilitated by merchant ships and trusted bearers as the correspondence

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[11] C. Muldrew, 'The culture of reconciliation: community and the settlement of economic disputes in early modern England,' *Historical Journal*, 39, 4 (Dec., 1996), p. 918.

network expanded as the puritan people grew more mobile and widespread than ever before. Puritan culture was intrinsically interactive, and the sending and receipt of letters, keeping and re-reading them, passing them onto others, was central to that culture.

Creating and Maintaining Bonds

Correspondence was part of a wider pattern of intensive voluntary activity that sustained puritan sociability, a sociability that spanned England and crossed borders into Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and into mainland Europe.[12] For most people, letters would only ever be one part of their daily communication. John Winthrop continued in correspondence discussions that were begun in person, but was reminded by Sir William Masham in 1627 that their business could not be concluded until Masham's daughter Joan Altham and his wife were present.[13] The following year Sir Robert Crane thanked Winthrop for news sent, but added that he would discuss it further with Winthrop in person.[14] Even for the lower ranks in the countryside, their realm of experience was wider than the immediate parish. Research undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s has demonstrated that the English population was rather more mobile than we had originally thought, and the puritan population of England was no exception.[15] Indeed, William Sheils built on Margaret Spufford's work to show that nonconformist communities often consisted of members from several different parishes.[16] There was a long tradition of private godly gatherings in England, which

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[12] C. L. Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (Oxford, 1986), p. 151; P. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, 1985), p. 103.

[13] Sir William Masham to John Winthrop (14 November, 1627), *WP*, I, p. 343.

[14] Sir Robert Crane to John Winthrop (28 January, 1628), *WP*, I, pp. 346-347.

[15] K. Wrightson, *English Society: 1580-1680* (London, 1982), p. 49. For more on English migration see: P. Clark & D. Souden (eds.), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (Totowa, 1988); R. Thompson, 'Early modern migration,' *Journal of American Studies*, 25, 1 (Apr., 1991); P. Clark, 'Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,' *Past and Present*, 83 (May, 1979), pp. 57-90; P. Clark & P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (London, 1976); J. Patten, *Rural-Urban Migration in Pre-Industrial England* (Oxford, 1973).

[16] W. Sheils, 'Religious Divisions in the Localities: Catholics, Puritans and the Established Church before the Civil Wars,' in T. Dean, G. Parry, & E. Vallance (eds.), *Faith, Place and People in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Margaret Spufford* (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 32-33.

took the form of prophesying, religious exercises, fasts and conventicles.[17] Collinson uncovered 'loose groupings' of puritans in East Anglia, in various conferences and exercises dependent on their distribution and accessibility, but found that these clusters often formed larger groups for fasts.[18] These informal groupings could consist of clergy as well as lay men and women, but Winship acknowledged that clerical presence at conventicles was not consistent, and that clerical attitudes towards them were ambiguous.[19] Nevertheless, there was a network of conferences and conventicles in existence, providing spaces for discussion, for spiritual devotion, and for the freer practice of 'voluntaristic Protestantism.'[20] It was in this fashion that puritan sociability extended across parish boundaries.

It was not only conventicles and conferences that drew the godly from their home parishes. By the early seventeenth century one of the more characteristic aspects of puritan sociability and worship was what authorities called 'gadding,' the practice of travelling to other parishes to hear sermons.[21] If sermons in the home parish were lacking, puritans might seek out well-known preachers or the kind of sermon that they wanted. Michael Winship found that Bridget Cooke, a seventeenth century puritan woman from the Stour Valley, would 'goe on foot many miles' to hear the famous theatrical evangelist John Rogers of Dedham on his lecture days and would speak to other Christians of his sermons 'with great affection.'[22] Some parishes even became 'resorts' for the godly, attracting large numbers of worshippers. When challenged by the Bishop of Lincoln, John Williams, over charges that he did not

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[17] P. Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590-1640* (Stanford, 2011), p. 100; Cohen, *God's Caress*, pp. 159-60.

[18] P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), p. 219.

[19] Winship, 'Bridget Cooke,' p. 1046.

[20] Ibid, p. 1046; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 231.

[21] M. Ingram, 'Puritans and the Church Courts, 1560-1640', in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (London, 1986), p. 87; C. Haigh, 'Success and failure in the English Reformation,' *Past & Present*, 173 (Nov., 2001), p. 39; C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism* (London, 1996), p. 31; P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988), pp. 4-7; 'Puritan identities', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35 (1984), pp. 112-123; 'Defining Puritanism: Again?,' in F. J. Bremer (ed.), *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston, 1993), pp. 3-29; J. Coffey, 'Puritanism and liberty revisited: the case for toleration in the English Revolution', *The Historical Journal*, 41, 4 (Dec., 1998), p. 962.

[22] Quoted in Winship, 'Bridget Cooke', p. 1054.

require his congregation to kneel, Cotton blamed it on 'the store and multitude of Communicants, which often doe so thronge one another in this great Congregation.'[23] Cotton's charisma and popularity drew lay men and women from their home parishes, but he also fostered connections with nonconformist clergy. Housing ministers training at Cambridge University, Cotton continued to attract puritans out of local centres, forging connections that cut across parish boundaries. Ralph Levett, likely one of the graduates that had spent time at Cotton's house, reached out to his mentor; 'being the more bold upon the consideration of your former love,' he asked for advice in resolving some theological questions raised in his new household.[24] Cotton's swift response indicates a strong bond, and a desire to engage in theological discussion, a key aspect of puritan sociability in itself, to which this thesis will later return.[25]

It is clear that English puritans were mobile, that their connections crossed parish boundaries, and that their sociability was intensely active. As Cambers has demonstrated, the sharing of the godly life was integral to the sociability of puritan culture.[26] Puritans were, after all, inherently anxious people. Assurance of godly salvation was rarely consistent and doubts about salvation plagued puritans. Conference and support provided some relief, albeit temporary, and public prayer might even have provided some comfort in the demonstration of a level of prowess and Biblical fluency.[27] In addition, the laity could share tales of conversions and spiritual growth when gathered together.[28] Indeed, private prayer and devotion, self-examination and diary-keeping might have been at the heart of puritan culture, but the reality was that the godly sought support alongside these private practices. Conferences, fasts, and gadding to sermons were as much a part of puritan culture,

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[23] John Cotton to John Williams (31 January, 1624), in S. Bush Jr, *The Correspondence of John Cotton* (Chapel Hill, NH, 2001), p. 98.
[24] Ralph Levett to John Cotton (3 March 1626), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 104-5.
[25] John Cotton to Ralph Levett (March, 1626), in Bush Jr, *Correspondence*, pp. 107-9.
[26] Cambers, 'Reading, the godly, and self-writing,' p. 818.
[27] Winship, 'Bridget Cooke', p. 1048.
[28] Ibid, p. 1048

making sociability a crucial dimension of puritan spirituality, providing a balance between private piety and open devotion.[29]

While friendship might have been an important bond for all English men and women, Francis Bremer has demonstrated that friendships amongst the puritan clergy were compounded by a sense of duty.[30] This was not only true for the puritan clergy, but crucially for the laity. Diane Willen, finding that the clergy participated in processes of spiritual counselling but 'were not necessarily dominant,' highlighted the importance of examining relationships between lay puritans to fully understand puritan community.[31] The shared experience of the 'society of God's saints' led to a phenomenon that Peter Lake has described as 'a process of collective growth in grace,' one that depended on godly fellowship and would ultimately, according to John Cotton, enable them to 'teach and learne one of another the way of God more perfectly till we all grow up in the unity of the faith, unto a perfect man in Christ Jesus.'[32] This chapter will develop our understanding of how godly communities operated in practice by examining the dynamics of godly obligation and duty as experienced by believers, revealing the daily mechanisms of puritan sociability. The *Winthrop Papers* contain evidence of the family's travels around the region to visit friends, but also the obligation they felt to do so. When John Winthrop felt unable to visit his wife at her family home at Maplestead, Essex, it was because his friend Mr. Sands 'preachethe with vs, and if I should be from home I knowe not how some would take it.'[33] In 1623, he wrote that he was 'sory that I cannot returne to thee so soone as I made account,' because on arriving at Childerditch, a parish in Essex, he found his cousin Barfoot ill 'and decayinge so fast as on mundaye morning I could not leave him.'[34] He explained that he 'sawe Godes providence has brought me thither to

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[29] I. Stephens, 'Confessional identity in early Stuart England: the 'prayer book puritanism' of Elizabeth Isham', *Journal of British Studies,* 50 (Jan., 2011), p. 28; Webster, 'Early Stuart Puritanism', p. 53.

[30] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 6.

[31] D. Willen, '"Communion of the Saints": spiritual reciprocity and the godly community in early modern England,' *Albion*, 27, 1 (Spring, 1995), p. 20.

[32] Quoted in Willen, 'Communion,' p. 1; P. Lake, 'Feminine piety and personal potency: the 'emancipation' of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe,' *Seventeenth Century Journal*, 2 (Jul., 1987), p. 144; J. Cotton, *The Doctrine of the Church, to which is committed the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven* (London, 1642), pp. 4-5.

[33] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (1620), *WP*, I, pp. 232-3.

[34] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (11 December, 1623), *WP*, I, pp. 268-9.

be a stay and a comfort' to Barfoot's widow because she had no other friends nearby.[35] Winthrop knew that this duty to Barfoot's widow was God's plan for him. It was not just social convention, to leave the widow against God's providential guidance would have been sinful. The deathbed was significant within the puritan community, making Winthrop's providential call to the widow's side all the more important.[36] The godly in England looked outside of the parish for fellowship because God's grace worked through his saints, who might be found elsewhere. They were driven to build networks and friendships that crossed parish boundaries precisely because of their belief in the society of saints, and the knowledge that faith must be communal to be fruitful, which led to a prolific pattern of puritan correspondence in the mid-seventeenth century. It was vital for sustaining sociability across parish and national borders, making it a valuable tool for historians. The Winthrop family's correspondence develops our picture of the social reach of the family, and the potential for other families of the same social standing to do the same. This enhances our understanding of the breadth of puritan sociability and shows clearly that it was enacted in person and in ink, together and at a distance. Between 1625 and 1630, the letters sent and received by the Winthrop family reveal a social network that extended far beyond the Winthrops' close neighbours.

We can develop this picture by using digital modes of analysis. Using GIS (geographic information systems), we can map the origins and destinations of letters and the links between them. The location of the sender or recipient of each letter has been recorded, where available, and the coordinates were input into a mapping programme to create a visualisation of the Winthrop family's connections and movements between 1625-1629. Where a location for both sender and recipient is available, a line is drawn to demonstrate the passage of the letter (fig. 1.1). However, this provides only a partial picture. Where only one side of the connection is available, a point has been created to demonstrate the location of either a sender or recipient, to provide a more complete impression of the spatial dimensions of the Winthrops' correspondence network. The two clear centres for the family were Groton, the Winthrop family's home, and London, where John Winthrop worked, and members of

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[35] Ibid, pp. 268-269.
[36] Willen, 'Communion,' p. 28.

his extended family resided. However, the spread of the connections into Essex and East Anglia, across to Haverfordwest in Wales, and Preston, in the North of England, demonstrates that the Winthrop family's network stretched far beyond their local area. The map clearly identifies Groton and London as the two centres that saw the most activity, and further concentration around Essex and Suffolk. Even without the wider spread of the network, this dense collection of nodes demonstrates a regular correspondence that makes clear the way that these puritan friendships crossed boundaries. The Winthrops were a prominent family in the Stour Valley and the extent of their connections might not be typical of the average puritan layman, due to Winthrop's prolific correspondence and pre-eminence as a spiritual counsellor in the puritan community. This map demonstrates that friendships and family connections could regularly cross parish boundaries, which disrupted local ties and created expansive correspondence networks that could sustain their members when they were physically apart. This disruption of local ties is of crucial importance to understanding the role of correspondence networks in the preparation for transatlantic migration. Networks provided the structure for emigrants to reach outside of their home parishes and forge new links with others planning to uproot, facilitating the creation of the self-fashioned communities that characterised migration to New England.

Fig. 1.1: Locations of letters sent and received, 1625-1630. Winthrop Papers vols. I, II, III.

John Winthrop's correspondence reveals no small movement of friends and family around the country, but particularly in South-East England. He relayed to his wife his own plans to go from his cousin Barfoot's in Childerditch 'to keepe the lords day at Sir Henry Mildmaies' at Graces, in Little Baddow, Essex.[37] He heard from his sister, Lucy Downing, that her husband 'is att Nellmes,' a manor and park in Hornchurch, Essex, then held by Sir Robert Naunton.[38] She added that he had that same week been to christen Mrs. Motham's child for Mrs. Tyndal. Writing from London, Winthrop instructed his wife that the eminent minister John Cotton should stay the night in their family home if he visited, indicating a network extending from Essex to Lincolnshire, where Cotton preached at Boston, St. Botolph.[39] The movement of puritan men and women around the country was critical to the development and maintenance of networks that could in turn sustain sociability at times where physical proximity was not an option.

Correspondence was only one facet of sociability, but it was a vital one. Letters were a proxy for human connection, allowing distant puritans to maintain their relationships across parish and county boundaries. Francis Bremer touched on this in relation to the development of puritan networks, noting that lay and clerical leaders could 'retain a sense of community' at a distance because of their networks.[40] The intervention here is to take forward Bremer's argument and show that this was also the case for 'ordinary' lay people. It also provided a space for mutual edification and introspection, a process which any of the godly was able to partake in, and each was qualified to guide and counsel.[41] For many men and women that made up the social networks explored in this thesis, short-term separation was simply a part of their daily lives. John and Margaret Winthrop were regularly apart while he worked in London, something that they both frequently lamented. 'These tymes of separation are harsh and grevious while they last,' wrote Winthrop to his wife in 1624, but they found comfort in their correspondence.[42] He thanked God that 'in this tyme of our absence

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[37] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (1 January, 1624), *WP*, I, pp. 287-8.
[38] Lucy Downing to John Winthrop (March, 1628), *WP*, I, pp. 350-1.
[39] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (24 November, 1629), *WP*, II, p. 174.
[40] F. J. Bremer, 'Increase Mather's friends: the trans-Atlantic congregational network of the seventeenth century,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 94, 1 (1984), p. 64.
[41] Willen, 'Communion', pp. 19-20, 23, 25.
[42] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (1 January, 1624), *WP*, I, pp. 287-8.

from each other we may yet heare of one anothers welfare, and have comfort in our mutuall love, which through his grace is so setled, as neither tyme nor absence can alter or deminishe.'[43] Margaret Winthrop lamented that 'now in this solytary and uncomfortable time of your longe absence, I have no other meanes to shew my love but in theese poore fruts of my pen, with which I am not able to expresse my love as I desire,' all the while making clear the value that she placed in it: 'but I shall endeavor allwaies to make my duty knowne to you in some measure though not ansearable to your deserts and love.'[44] It was through correspondence that other friends articulated the value of the letter in maintaining relationships. One Rachell Huntley wrote to John Winthrop, thanking him for his letter, 'whar in you shewe your great love in desiring that the Bond of our Cristian frindship should not growe could.'[45] Letters were an important and valued medium for those that hoped to nurture and sustain distant friendships. Correspondence was a part of the voluntary sociability in which puritans participated in England but would become even more valuable as the Great Migration began in earnest.

For the puritan community in the mid-seventeenth century, short-term separation would soon become long-term, if not permanent, separation. With the dispersal of the puritan community across the Atlantic world, letters were even more valuable for those family and friends that could no longer sustain their relationships with frequent physical contact. For Mary Cole, wracked with anxiety about the status quo in England, and doubtful of her own salvation, the comfort she found in letters from her pious former neighbours was significant. In 1640 she thanked them for the entire course of their mutual friendship, and that 'especiallye now in sutch a time of abundance of businesse you would be pleased to take the paynes to wright to me: that is unworthye of so great love from you.'[46] Their correspondence filled the precise role of godly gatherings and fasts, as described above, a space where doubts could be alleviated and the Christian experience could be shared. She sought spiritual encouragement from Winthrop, thinking that she had weak faith: 'I cannot yet attayne to full assurance of my salvation, but still am doubting: I still find sutch a

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[43] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (1 May, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 86-7.
[44] Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop (1 May, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 363.
[45] Rachell Huntley to John Winthrop (10 March, 1620), *WP*, I, pp. 225-7.
[46] Mary Cole to John Winthrop (2 May, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 235-6.

corrupt hand, and strong inclinations to sinne, and weaknesse to resist temptation that upon every new assault I have new fears.'[47] This exploration of God's work in their hearts together was at the very core of the puritan social experience, where Cole sought to demonstrate her own salvation through the conviction of her own sins. This was not just sociability, but it was edification, and Cole and Winthrop continued this in their correspondence even when separated by the Atlantic Ocean. More than just a social courtesy or obligation, correspondence was a powerful spiritual lifeline.

Correspondence was an important part of maintaining godly relationships in England and would only become more valuable as the puritan population took part in the Great Migration in the 1630s, separating friends and kin for longer periods of time, or even permanently. Puritanism was intensely social, and the godly relied on conference and collective worship, spiritual encouragement and support, just as they sustained themselves with private devotion and prayer. That kin and friends felt a duty to write to one another demonstrates that letterwriting was valued, and closely intertwined with the notions of obligation that were characteristic of puritan friendships. These correspondence networks, formed in England and sustained by physical contact, were vital to the godly as they prepared to uproot during the 1630s.

Letters and the Experience of Migration

The intense reliance on godly fellowship meant that when puritans emigrated to the New World, they often did so in groups. Because of this, New England settlers more closely resembled the non-migrating English population than they did other English colonists in the New World. Migration to New England was primarily a transplantation of families, where migrants to Virginia, Bermuda, Barbados and St. Kitts were 'distinctly male dominated'.[48] Alison Games has clearly shown the stark demographic difference between the New England venture and the Chesapeake and Caribbean migrations, where the majority of those travelling to the latter colonies were servants, young enterprising men, merchants or adventurers, and that they journeyed

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[47] Ibid, pp. 235-6.
[48] V. DeJohn Anderson, 'Migrants and motives: religion and the settlement of New England, 1630-1640', *New England Quarterly*, 58 (1985), p. 348; Games, *Migration*, pp. 46-7.

alone.[49] In contrast, the character of the New England colonial population ensured the successful transfer of familiar patterns of social relationships, where the emigrant populations of the Chesapeake and the Caribbean hindered it.[50] Many of the travellers bound for New England were families with young children, or bringing servants.[51] Games also found that those travelling to New England and Providence exhibited a fairly even ratio of men to women, unlike their counterparts to the Chesapeake and to the other island colonies.[52] This supports the notion that New Englanders crossed the Atlantic, at least in part, as 'self-selected groups,' seeking to transplant their households and experiences to the New World, rather than to seek individual economic success through new business ventures, as was common in the Chesapeake.[53] Indeed, John Winthrop strongly desired that families would join him in New England, employing his network connections to establish a group of migrants suitable for creating a religious commonwealth of mostly modestly wealthy and respectable families.[54] He believed that troubles in the Chesapeake were directly the result of their employment of the wrong kinds of people, 'the very summe of the land,' and the lack of 'a right forme of government.'[55] Since migrants often moved with families and sometimes neighbourhood groups, they brought with them the kind of community ties that took time to forge in other colonies.[56] Games's use of port books revealed significant evidence of groups travelling together to New England, but one drawback of this method is that the process by which men and women organised themselves into these groups remains 'invisible.'[57] Using correspondence, this chapter shows how puritans reached out along the sinews of their correspondence networks in order to foster new connections and maintain existing ones in preparation for the upheaval of Atlantic migration. Even for those not emigrating, correspondence

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[49] Games, *Migration*, pp. 46-9.
[50] DeJohn Anderson, 'Migrants and motives', p. 346.
[51] Games, *Migration*, p. 49.
[52] Ibid, p. 52.
[53] T. H. Breen, 'English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions', *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, 32, 1 (Jan., 1975), p. 17; Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' pp. 144, 146.
[54] S. Sarson, *British America 1500-1800: Creating Colonies, Imagining an Empire* (London, 2005), p. 127; John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (20 October, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 160-1; Arthur Tyndal to John Winthrop (10 November, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 166-7; John Winthrop to William Gager (1630), *WP*, II, p. 199.
[55] Sarson, *British America*, p. 127.
[56] Ibid, p. 128.
[57] Games, *Migration*, p. 57.

became a powerful lifeline between family and friends in the months leading up to emigration, and the years that followed. They wrote letters to inform, comfort and persuade, and each was consciously created for a specific purpose.[58] Letters were not passive, but pragmatic and goal-oriented tools.[59]

Short-term separation might have been a part of the daily experience for a number of English puritans, but new challenges faced the Winthrop family in the late 1620s. Henry Winthrop, John Winthrop's second son, moved to Bermuda in an attempt to profit from the lucrative trade in tobacco. John Winthrop Jr embarked on a sustained period of travel around Europe, leaving his family and friends for months at a time. By 1630, with migration to New England a tangible option, a large number of puritans were facing the reality of longer-term, or permanent, separation. With the expansion of social networks, letters arguably became an even more important resource. Enabling the survival of friendships over significant distances and allowing kin to keep watch over one another from afar, letters were an emotional lifeline. Stewart and Wolfe found that these links sustained family and friends, providing a 'cord of communication' between sender and recipient.[60] But letters not only provided links between distant friends and kin, they facilitated the coming together of groups of puritans seeking to emigrate. Community was important to the emigrating party, and Winthrop was exacting about who entered the new colony, seeking 'pietie and devocion,' and a 'good inclination to the furtherance of this work,' as well as 'godlinesse.'[61] Those leaving for the New World sought to create a sense of belonging amongst themselves and in the new colonies, but they also sought social organisation, which would provide the godly fellowship craved by those leaving for an uncertain environment. Having heard that a number of Christians were thinking of migrating from Leicester, desiring Henry Roote as their 'Godly minister,' Isaac Johnson stipulated that they could have him only if they were willing to join with the forty others that Roote brought with him from Manchester to form a congregation.[62] But

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[58] D. Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 213.
[59] A. Stewart and H. Wolfe, *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (Seattle, 2004), p. 35.
[60] Ibid, p. 121.
[61] Arthur Tyndal to John Winthrop (10 November, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 166-7; John Winthrop to William Gager (1630), *WP*, II, p. 199.
[62] Isaac Johnson to John Winthrop (17 December, 1629), *WP,* II, pp. 177-9.

not all puritans had a ready-made community to emigrate with, and tapped into their networks in England to gain that vital sociability and partnership with other spirits that would be essential to their success in the New World.

Thomas Motte wrote to John Winthrop in 1629, enquiring about the possibility of emigrating to New England. Thanking Winthrop for being 'so mindfull of my business,' he asked if Winthrop could 'send me word whether or not there goe noe more shipps over into New England this summer.'[63] He also asked if he 'could by any meanes meete' with John 'Century' White in London, who he believed 'hath a great stroke in the plantation,' and he saw 'noe man so fit to resolve me as he is; specially since he meaneth for to goe himself,' but with whom he had no personal connection.[64] Motte addressed John Winthrop as 'his very much respected freind,' suggesting more than a passive connection between them, and using this suggestion to gain a favourable result from his letter. Making use of his personal connection to Winthrop, he used Winthrop's connection to White in order to 'goe with the consent of som of those that are the cheife dealers into this plantation.'[65] John Winthrop was connected to White through White's wife, Katherine Barfoot, a kinswoman of the Winthrops.[66] The lawyer was credited with drawing up the charter for the Massachusetts Bay Colony, of which Winthrop had recently been named governor, making Winthrop a key point of contact for the undecided Motte. Motte's use of his extended network seems to have been successful, for in a letter to his wife written soon after Motte's original request, John Winthrop enclosed a letter to be delivered directly into Motte's hands.[67] This was in response to a direct request from Motte that 'if you send me a letter to order it soe that it may be first of all delivered into my hands and into noe mans else.'[68] The letter has not survived, but even though we do not know Winthrop's response, what remains apparent is the way that Motte sought to extend the reach of his own network in order to prepare for emigration. Correspondence was central to this enterprise, providing Motte the space within which to seek resolution on the 'many

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[63] Thomas Motte to John Winthrop (ca. 13 June, 1629), *WP*, II, p. 97.
[64] Ibid, p. 97.
[65] Ibid, p. 97.
[66] J. Eales, "White, John [called Century White] (1590–1645), politician and lawyer." *ODNB* (accessed 23 Jul. 2019).
[67] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (17 June, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 98-9.
[68] Thomas Motte to John Winthrop (ca. 13 June, 1629), *WP*, II, p. 97.

doubtes and questions' that still troubled him, and also gain acceptance to the colony from the exacting governor.[69] Crucially, he used his correspondence and connection in a manner that would reassure Winthrop of his position and status and encourage Winthrop to help him emigrate.

Some puritans organised themselves into self-selected groups prior to emigration, including the Rev. George Philips, who brought his flock with him to New England.[70] Robert Parke wrote to John Winthrop that his company was prepared to go with him to New England at short notice, and that he was waiting for instructions from the governor.[71] Likewise, Stephen Bachiler brought other newcomers to the New World when he emigrated to minister there. He wrote that 'our Sosiate: . . . as members of the sam bode send greeting,' adding that a number of 'our bretheren . . . are now to com unto you.'[72] Acknowledging the efforts that 'our brother cermen' had gone to, having 'straynd him sellfe to provid provision for him sellfe and his famally and hath dun his uttermost indever to hellp over as mane as possible he can,' he hoped that Winthrop would find Cermen 'an espeshell instrement to unit you all together in th[e] loufe unto god, and unto one another which will be our strongest wallse and bullworkes of defens against all our enemies.'[73] Bachiler tactically sought to extend the networks of those travelling with him by using his own connections, bringing certain members of his society to the attention of the Governor in hopes of favourable treatment in the New World. He reinforced his efforts to persuade by appealing to Winthrop's sense of community, for if 'the lord unit you all together . . . then shall you put to sham and silanse mane that do now shamfulle ris up against us.'[74] Bachiler used this sense of community to shore up the effort of uprooting, seeking to alleviate the anxiety of the emigrating party by guaranteeing them space and security in the new colony. In this manner the sociability of puritan culture led to the desire for community in the New World. But even more importantly, this form of

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[69] Ibid, p. 97.
[70] John Maidstone to John Winthrop (4 November, 1629), *WP,* II, pp. 164-5.
[71] Robert Parke to John Winthrop (28 February, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 212-3.
[72] Company of Husbandmen to Members in New England (8 March, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 67-71.
[73] Ibid, pp. 67-71.
[74] Ibid, pp. 67-71.

sociability could also be employed to persuade and gain outcomes for the writer. Far from passively social, these were practical methods by which to achieve their goals.[75]

Even for those that were not a part of an emigrating community, they still sought that same comfort that came with a sense of belonging to a group. Rather than reaching out across the sinews of their network to find good favour in the New World, these men and women sought to create, strengthen, reaffirm, or revitalise connections with those in England, or already in New England, in advance of their emigration. Emmanuel Downing, brother in law to John Winthrop, kept close contact with his friends in New England after their emigration, and while planning his own. His wife, Lucy Downing, 'feareth much hardshipp' in New England, and Emmanuel Downing asked John Winthrop Jr, already resident in New England, 'in your next writ hir some encouragement to goe hence unto you.'[76] Downing added that 'my brother Gostlyn if possiblye I can I will helpe him over,' believing that Gostlin's emigration might persuade his own wife to do the same.[77] Lucy Downing deeply felt her roots to her kin in England, if she would be persuaded by Gostlin's emigration, and her husband clearly sought to use the couple's connections to kin already in New England to ease their transition to the New World. Emmanuel Downing's request that Winthrop Jr write to his aunt in 'your next' letter not only provides evidence of a longer correspondence between the two, but it shows how letters could be used as tools to persuade.[78] Recognising that the effect of Winthrop Jr's words would be stronger coming from his own hand, rather than through Emmanuel Downing as proxy, Downing employed his nephew to persuade Lucy Downing to emigrate. Thomas Gostlin also sought information from friends overseas prior to his own planned

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[75] For more examples see: Sir Matthew Boynton to John Winthrop Jr (13 April, 1636), *WP*, III, p. 248; Sir Matthew Boynton to John Winthrop (26 August, 1636), *WP*, III, p. 293; George Jenney to John Winthrop (18 February, 1640), *WP*, IV, p. 196-197; Nathaniel Lufkin to John Winthrop (1 April, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 222-33; Francis Borrowes to John Winthrop (6 January, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 183; Samuel Borrowes to John Winthrop (6 January, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 184; Henry Paynter to John Winthrop Jr (14 March, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 109-10; Henry Jacie to John Winthrop Jr (12 June, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 126-8; Mary Wright to John Winthrop (15 May, 1635), *WP*, III, p. 197; Richard Crane to John Winthrop (9 May, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 238-9; Edward Norris to John Winthrop (9 July, 1640), *WP*, IV, p. 263; Edward Cooke to John Winthrop (20 July, 1640), *WP*, IV, p. 268; Henry Jacie to John Winthrop Jr (12 June, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 126-8.
[76] Emmanuel Downing to John Winthrop Jr (1 March, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 232-233.
[77] Ibid, pp. 232-233.
[78] Ibid, pp. 232-233.

emigration. Reaching out to his nephew, John Winthrop Jr, he reminded the young man of his promise 'that yf I would send you word when I could come over, that you would give me the best directions that you would,' and called on his cousin, 'I praye be as good as your word.'[79] Letters were central to preparations to uproot and move to New England. Far from passive records of transatlantic communication, letters were a central aspect of that sociability that gave men and women the strength, information, security, and connections that they craved before undertaking such a significant transatlantic voyage. They were a source of information as well as comfort, aid as well as friendship.

David Cressy found that through communication, latent kin could become effective, and distant kin could become close.[80] It was exactly this process that prompted Isaac Lovell to write to John Winthrop in 1637, seeking to rejuvenate a prior connection between them. Lovell set out the numerous connections between himself and the governor prior to his emigration. Sending the letter by 'our loving frind Mr. John Hales passing for niw Ingland,' he employed a mutual network connection, which had the potential to imply a stronger connection to the recipient before the letter was even opened.[81] Judging from Lovell's acknowledgement that he was being 'bold' in writing to the Governor, a declaration that God 'hath commanded us to love on another' by providing this 'fit opportunity' to write, any prior stronger relationship between them had most likely lapsed.[82] He sought to revitalise this connection made in 'Christian love' by calling on the Christian bond 'which was longe since begun betweene our parents Sir John Tindal and his virtuous Lady your Wives Father and Moother and your good Father and my Father Mr. Thomas Lovell in his life time a long time minister of Gods word in great Waldingfild.'[83] This effusive report of their mutual and historic connections demonstrates how correspondence could be used to re-energise past bonds and, crucially, to persuade. Moreover, how it could be used to express spiritual bonds between fellow saints. Lovell sought to cement these claims when signing off his letter, commending Winthrop and his wife to God, as was customary,

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[79] Thomas Gostlin to John Winthrop Jr (11 June, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 124-5.
[80] Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 287.
[81] Isaac Lovell to John Winthrop (2 May, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 408-9.
[82] Ibid, pp. 408-9.
[83] Ibid, pp. 408-9.

but adding a line to explain that Winthrop's wife was also 'my ould acquaintance whose moother was one of the witnesses at my baptisme.'[84] The letter was a request for help and an effort to persuade, guiding Lovell to mention the recent 'grete toubels' that would meant he and his wife would 'not be so ritchly provided for the viadge as many of our brethren.'[85] No response survives, so we do not know whether Lovell's efforts were successful. However, his only other appearance in the network comes in the form of a letter from London, further indicating future plans to emigrate 'if God give life and liberty.'[86] His acknowledgement in the letter, while asking for a further favour, that he had a 'beene alreddy to bould' with Winthrop suggests that Winthrop may have responded favourably in 1637. Even though we cannot confirm this, the letter does shed light on the mechanisms employed in correspondence networks in order to prepare people to uproot. By calling on old familial obligations and employing a mutual network connection as bearer, Lovell used his correspondence not only to reach out for aid, but also to invoke a sense of social obligation in John Winthrop. He wrote about an old, shared culture of sociability between their two families, linking his present correspondence to a longer tradition of Christian friendship and duty.

Hardman Moore tells us that migration to New England was 'intensely collaborative.'[87] It required not only the will of an emigrant to leave, but the consent and support of their brethren to do so. This support can be found in the efforts non-emigrating parties made to secure good favour for their friends and their kin. While not planning to emigrate himself, Edward Revell recommended certain of his emigrating friends from Derbyshire to Governor Winthrop. Drawing on a prior bond with the governor, when Revell was 'a poore servant with your deere associate and my good Mr. maister Gurdon,' Revell asked Winthrop to remember 'my humble service unto yow.'[88] Revell did not seek favour for himself, but to promote a new set of network connections between his Derbyshire friends, 'whom I trust yow shall have cause . . . comfortably to entertaine' and his old acquaintance, John Winthrop.[89] He

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[84] Ibid, pp. 408-9.
[85] Ibid, pp. 408-9.
[86] Isaac Lovell to John Winthrop (11 May, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 239-40.
[87] Hardman Moore, 'Popery, Purity and Providence,' p. 271.
[88] Edward Revell to John Winthrop (20 April, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 251-3.
[89] Ibid, pp. 251-3.

named two friends in particular, Richard Griffen and the servant James Farren, asking Winthrop directly to look out for them and bestow his Christian favour on them. Farren was also tasked with carrying the letter, increasing the chance of a direct meeting with Winthrop, and also the chances of Revell's request being granted.[90] James Daybell and Andrew Gordon argue that understanding this metatextual context is vital to our understanding of epistolary communities, and that these interactions should be considered a part of the material life of the letter.[91] As with Isaac Lovell's letter, the bearer was carefully selected, demonstrating that the bearer could often be more than a passive carrier, demonstrating the importance of considering bearers as a part of the epistolary communities present in these correspondence collections.[92] Selecting a bearer was also an extension of trust, signalling to the recipient that they could place their own faith in that individual.[93] While the selection of bearers sometimes indicates convenience, as with John Hales's convenient 'passing for Niw Ingland,' as much as trust, it was usually a combination of the two factors that influenced a correspondent's choice.[94] Correspondence was thus more than the content of the letters, but the passage of them, the sociability that this afforded in creating new connections, and the social credit that was attributed to carriers. Correspondents prepared to uproot together, or they used their correspondence networks to reach out to those well placed to help them in their travels. In this fashion it is evident that the godly used their correspondence to sustain that all important sense of Christian fellowship in England, New England, and across the Atlantic. In doing to, correspondence was used to promote the rootedness that differentiated puritan settlements from those in the Chesapeake that were largely populated by solo adventurers and indentured servants.

Puritan men and women in England might have felt strong connections to one another, leading some to emigrate in groups, and others to extend their own

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[90] Ibid, pp. 251-3.

[91] J. Daybell, & A. Gordon, 'The Early Modern Letter Opener,' in Daybell & Gordon (eds.) *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia, 2016), pp. 13-4.

[92] Steward and Wolfe, *Letterwriting*, p. 121; J. Daybell and A. Gordon (eds.), *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia, PA, 2016), p. 13.

[93] Ibid, p. 121.

[94] L. O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia, 2014), p. 38.

networks, or those of their friends and family, in order to feel that same spiritual connection and comfort in New England. However, this rootedness did not always lead the godly to emigrate together. Instead, some had to refashion or adjust their connections to one another as one party emigrated, leaving another behind in England. Adaptation to long time separation tested the social networks of the godly. Much as it was in preparing them to uproot for the New World, it also played a pivotal role in preparing those remaining in England for the physical absence of their friends and their kin. Deane Tyndal acknowledged this very readjustment, recognising that 'the distance of the place' would prevent he and his brother in law, John Winthrop, from being so 'comfortable one to an other as now we are.'[95] Winthrop clearly felt the challenge of adapting to new circumstances when he wrote a powerfully emotive letter to his friend, Sir William Spring, in advance of his own migration. Winthrop's declaration that 'my soule is knit to you' clearly shows the close friendship shared by the two men in England.[96] He wrote that he envied Spring's colleague Nathaniel Barnardiston, who would continue to enjoy Spring's company, highlighting the value he placed in the potential for physical presence, or even contact.[97] Winthrop addressed God in closing his letter, leaving Spring in 'his arms, who loves him best,' and asking him to bond the two men tightly together, 'united to thee, make as one in the bonde of brotherly Affection: Let not distance weaken it, nor tyme waste it, not change dissolve it, nor selfe love eate it.'[98] Winthrop's farewell brought with it 'the addition of for ever,' alluding to of the significance of the undertaking, and serving as a poignant reminder of the pain of separation. He was able to find some comfort in the prospect of a continuing spiritual connection, hoping that 'when all meanes of other Communion shall faile, let us delight to praye each for other.'[99] More powerful than friendship, this 'communion' signifies a close bond of the spirit, between two saints, and therefore indicates a relationship grounded forcefully in the mutual recognition of, and reliance on, the ability to access the Spirit through one another. Spring wrote to John Winthrop from England in 1636, reaffirming the enduring friendship between them, addressing his letter to 'my Ever Honored and faythfully Beloved Friend,' and 'Most Beloved and still Honored Freinde

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[95] Deane Tyndal to John Winthrop (23 October, 1629), *WP,* II*,* pp. 162-3.
[96] John Winthrop to Sir William Spring (8 February, 1630), *WP,* II, pp. 203-6.
[97] Ibid, pp. 203-6.
[98] Ibid, pp. 203-6.
[99] Ibid, pp. 203-6.

and Brother.'[100] Fearing that his letters had not been reaching Winthrop, 'for else I know in your last I had from you I should have found mention of theire arrivall,' it is evident that the two relied heavily on their shared correspondence. Spring wrote that 'itt is your charity and not my words that I rely uppon for my fairest and best Excuse of my seeming neglect and faylings of the dues of love.'[101] Spring had also tapped into his personal network to ensure that his most recent letter reached his friend in New England, sending it by the hand of their mutual friend Gurdon.[102] The sociability of this correspondence network enabled the relationship between the two men to adapt to their distance, however much Spring missed the immediate presence of 'that love I soe much covet.'[103] Letters were far more than a means of communication, they were an emotional and spiritual lifeline.[104]

Not able to travel to the New World himself in 1631, John Humfrey relied upon John Winthrop Jr and his family to look after Humfrey's interests overseas. He 'cast my selfe and mine in an especial manner under him upon your selfe for directing and disposing of my servants and estate,' relying upon a continuing correspondence to do so.[105] He asked Winthrop Jr to 'remember mee in the most respective manner to your good mother, your wife and Sister,' since he was unable to go in person to see the family off on their voyage.[106] Conventional at the close of a letter, remembrances to friends and family local to the recipient were more unusual in the main body of the letter. Humfrey's decision to request this before signing his letter shows that he was using his correspondence actively and consciously to send a message to a wider audience, rather than opting for the more formulaic remembrance. He used his correspondence network to ensure the safety of his estate overseas, but his use of this network to extend good wishes to a wider audience than the recipient alone demonstrates a conscious action to maintain wider connections. Humfrey clearly felt the challenge of separation following Winthrop Jr's emigration, grasping any 'small occasion and the least opportunitie to have such fruition of the partie loved as our

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[100] Sir William Spring to John Winthrop (16 April, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 249-51.
[101] Ibid, pp. 249-51.
[102] Ibid, pp. 249-51.
[103] Ibid, pp. 249-51.
[104] Stewart and Wolfe, *Letterwriting*, p. 121.
[105] John Humfrey to John Winthrop Jr (18 August, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 49-50.
[106] Ibid, pp. 49-50.

distance will afford.'[107] Correspondence became a necessary and sole interaction between them, where before it had served to supplement friendship between physical meetings. Henry Paynter used correspondence as a proxy when he was unable to see John Winthrop Jr prior to 'sudden going awaye', finding it difficult to deal with their impending long-term separation without the opportunity to see his kin again 'that we might comforte our hearts togeather in one meeting agayne before your departure.'[108] This was about more than physical proximity and is rooted in the emotional bonds between puritans. It was the spiritual bringing together of two hearts on the eve of separation. The letter was a way in which he could prepare himself for the emigration of his extended kin. The sociability of the godly in England might have tested their comfort in uprooting from one another, but their correspondence actually enabled them to sustain connection at great distances. It was not a perfect replacement, but it clearly bridged the physical gap that increasingly stretched between puritans.

Correspondence not only acted as a lifeline when friends and family were separated, but it was a core function in stretching and expanding networks to prepare for emigration. For Stephen Bachiler and Edward Revell, letters were a way in which to forge ties for their emigrating friends, to facilitate their journey into unfamiliar territory. The Downings used correspondence to consolidate roots overseas prior to emigration, maintaining kin connections to those already in New England so as to find the necessary godly fellowship as soon as they arrived. Even those that remained in England still desired to feel and sustain their connections with friends and kin in the New World. Correspondence networks, then, were not only essential to the maintenance of relationships at great distances, but they were actively used in order to attain a sense of community, security, or belonging prior to emigration. Letters were a key part of the active preparation for emigration, and also for the longer-term sustenance of long-distance friend- and kinship.

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[107] John Humfrey to John Winthrop Jr (4 November, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 51-4.
[108] Henry Paynter to John Winthrop Jr (June, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 38-9.

Letters and the Challenge of Distance

As we have seen, letters in England linked pockets of locality together, broadening the daily sphere of experience for all those that had access to letters sent or received. Letters sent during the seventeenth century usually had a wider audience than simply sender and recipient, and should not be treated as private interactions in the way we might conceive of correspondence today.[109] Indeed, the practice of sharing letters was so commonplace that it was 'an acknowledged fact,' and that letter writers knew that the entire family would read letters sent to a single member.[110] The result is a dense and interlocking network of connections that extended beyond the immediate corresponding parties, consisting of direct and indirect modes of contact.[111] Subscribers to this network could tap into it at any point to alleviate feelings of separation or reassert bonds, as when Henry Winthrop hoped that his brother's 'Love is not one whit decaid from that it was in former times unto me,' and believing that his own love would 'be so to you.'[112] Forth Winthrop also put pen to paper to articulate his hope that 'althou the distans of place hath set us one from another yet nether sea nor land nor any thinge else can part our affections one from the other.'[113] It is important to remember that distance must play a significant factor in any correspondence network. People more frequently wrote when they could not meet, which makes correspondence an ideal tool for understanding how people used their networks, refashioned their connections, or worked to maintain them. It is clear that even before the first major wave of migration was underway in 1630, puritans in England utilised their correspondence to overcome the physical distances between them, and by plotting these connections on a map, we are able to demonstrate the breadth of the correspondence network. By conducting this spatial analysis in addition to a qualitative analysis of the content of the letters, we can learn how people maintained their existing networks, or expanded and re-fashioned them to cope with new locations and changing relationships. It is apparent that

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[109] Stewart and Wolfe, *Letterwriting*, p. 181; S. McIntyre, 'I heare it so variously reported': news-letters, newspapers, and the ministerial network in New England, 1670-1730', *NEQ*, 71, 4 (Dec., 1998), p. 613.
[110] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 41.
[111] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 10.
[112] Henry Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (4 October, 1622), *WP*, I, p. 251.
[113] Forth Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (17 April, 1623), *WP*, I, pp. 256-7.

correspondence played a central role in this process, providing the space to air concerns, mediate disputes, and assert feelings of connection and friendship.

Even before the first major wave of migration to New England began in 1630, English puritan networks were far from limited to Britain. However, in the correspondence network explored in this thesis, travel was largely temporary and limited to Europe. Permanent relocation overseas was significantly less common. The Winthrop family's correspondence network shows clearly the fluidity of migration and movement in the years leading up to the major wave of transatlantic emigration. In 1627, Henry Winthrop was attempting to settle in Barbados, and a letter from Capt. Thomas Best to one Sackville Crow reported that Robert Atkins had been moved from the *Seahorse* to the *Repulse* and discharged on sickness (fig. 1.2).[114] In 1628, John Winthrop Jr's travels in Europe meant that the correspondence network reached Constantinople, the Dardanelles and Belgrade, including a letter from Tobias Watkin to his brother Joseph, making an introduction for 'my good friend Mr. Wantrope' (Winthrop Jr), who soon intended to travel via Venice to Leghorn, where Joseph Watkin lived (fig. 1.3).[115] His travels continued in 1629, with letters travelling to and from Venice, and Constantinople as he maintained correspondence with friends made on his travels, and with his family in England (fig. 1.4). It was also in 1629 that Henry Winthrop failed to solicit further help from his father as his business efforts in Barbados failed.[116] Maps depicting the origin and destination of letters during these years clearly

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[114] Henry Winthrop to John Winthrop (15 October, 1627), *WP*, I, p. 333; Capt. Thomas Best to Sackville Crow (27 October, 1627), *WP*, I, p. 336.

[115] John Winthrop Jr to John Winthrop (14 July, 1628), *WP*, I, pp. 373-4; Judah Throckmorton to John Winthrop Jr (16 September, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 377; John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (30 September, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 378; John Winthrop Jr to John Winthrop (18 October, 1628), *WP*, I, pp. 378-80; John Winthrop Jr to John Winthrop (15 November, 1628), *WP*, I, pp. 381-2; Tobias Watkin to Joseph Watkin (11 December, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 385; John Winthrop Jr to Sir Peter Wyche (26 December, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 387; John Winthrop Jr to John Freeman (26 December, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 388.

[116] John Freeman to John Winthrop Jr (7 February, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 69-70; John Winthrop Jr to Emmanuel Downing (9 March, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 72-3; John Winthrop Jr to John Freeman (13 March, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 73-4; John Winthrop Jr to John Freeman (28 March, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 76-7; John Hopkinson to John Winthrop Jr (4 April, 1629), *WP*, II, p. 77; Judah Throckmorton to John Winthrop Jr (17 April, 1629), *WP*, II, p. 80; John Winthrop Jr to John Winthrop (28 July, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 103-4; Lucy Downing to John Winthrop Jr (8 August, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 104-5; John Winthrop Jr to Paul van Houke (21 September, 1629), *WP*, II, p. 154; William Ames to John Winthrop (29 December, 1629), *WP*, II, p. 180; John Winthrop to Henry Winthrop (30 January, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 67-9.

demonstrate both the reach of the network and the lack of permanence in settlement. The transitory nature of John Winthrop Jr's travels led to new friendships, such as with John Freeman. Setting sail from the Dardanelles, Winthrop Jr vowed continuing friendship to Freeman, 'which I shall endeavor with my whoole power to mainteine, desiring the continuance of yours.'[117] The maintenance of this was clearly intended to be through correspondence, as Winthrop Jr wrote that he hoped to hear of Freeman's welfare even though Winthrop was leaving for Venice. The two men continued to write between Constantinople and Venice, and later London, throughout 1629 and into 1630.[118] While sustained through correspondence, it is apparent that the relationship between the two men had been consolidated in their shared experiences in Constantinople, evident in a letter that Freeman wrote to Winthrop Jr in London, setting down his firm belief that 'it is enough, that litle Conversatione wee have had, heare in Contran[t]i[no]p[e]ll togeather, hath united us; and made us one boddie of friendship, till envious Death, shall make his unwelcome Division.'[119] Freeman does not appear again in the network so it is not possible to establish here what became of the friendship between the two men. However, we can see through their letters that do survive that it was through correspondence that this friendship was refashioned to cope with the new, and shifting, distances between them, requiring a mutual commitment from both parties.

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[117] John Winthrop Jr to John Freeman (26 December, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 388.
[118] John Freeman to John Winthrop Jr (7 February, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 69-70; John Winthrop Jr to John Freeman (13 March, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 73-4; John Freeman to John Winthrop Jr (5 February, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 202-3.
[119] John Freeman to John Winthrop Jr (5 February, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 202-3.

Figure 1.2: Correspondence Network for the Winthrop Papers, 1627

Figure 1.3: Correspondence Network for the Winthrop Papers, 1628

Figure 1.4: Correspondence Network for the Winthrop Papers, 1629

Not all relationships were so easily sustained through correspondence alone and some mediated the challenge of their separation through assertions of trust in God. This was particularly prevalent as puritan men and women began to leave for New England. The prospect of greater distances stretching between them inspired Margaret and John Winthrop to reassert their love and affection and trust in God that they would be reunited in New England, and in doing so prompted a significant

increase in their correspondence. Margaret Winthrop wrote that her 'grief is the fear of staying behind,' while she turned her thoughts to 'our great change and alteration of our corce here.'[120] Faced with uncertainty, she wrote that she 'must leave all to the good providence of God,' knowing that to do otherwise would be to sin.[121] Margaret Winthrop clearly felt that this separation was 'a very hard tryall for me to undergoe,' writing that 'if the lord doe not supporte and healpe me in it, I shalbe unable to beare it.'[122] John and Margaret Winthrop had friends and family in London, and John Winthrop also spent time working in the city during the latter part of the 1620s, creating a regular flow of letters between the Winthrops' home in Groton, Suffolk, and various London locations (fig. 1.5). But of the 33 letters sent between the two locations in 1629, at the peak of John Winthrop's preparations to emigrate, 24 of them were between John and Margaret Winthrop (fig. 1.6). It is important to recognise this upswing in correspondence in the months prior to migration, because it is precisely what we would expect to see. This confirms the central role of letters in preparation for emigration, which provided a space for sustaining existing relationships just as much as they aided the expansion of personal and professional networks as men and women prepared to leave England.

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[120] Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop (ca. 5 November 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 165-6.
[121] Ibid, pp. 165-166; Susan Hardman Moore demonstrates the importance of providence in the Great Migration in 'New England's Reformation', pp. 146-8.
[122] Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop (2 February, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 199-200.

Figure 1.5: Correspondence in the Winthrop Papers sent between London and Groton, 1629

Name	1625	1626	1627	1628	1629
John Winthrop & Margaret Winthrop	1	-	7	3	24
Henry Winthrop & John Winthrop Jr	1	-	-	-	-
John Winthrop & John Winthrop Jr	1	2	2	9	4
Thomas Fones & John Winthrop Jr	-	1	-	-	-
William and Elizabeth Leigh & John Winthrop	-	-	1	-	-
Joshua Downing & John Winthrop	-	-	1	-	-
Emmanuel Downing & John Winthrop	-	-	1	-	1
Lucy Downing & John Winthrop	-	-	-	2	-
Forth Winthrop & John Winthrop Jr	-	-	-	2	-
William Leigh & John Winthrop	-	-	-	1	-
Edward Howes & John Winthrop Jr	-	-	-	1	-
Anne Brown Winthrop & John Winthrop	-	-	-	1	-
Priscilla Fones & John Winthrop	-	-	-	-	2
Forth Winthrop & John Winthrop	-	-	-	-	1
Isaac Johnson & John Winthrop	-	-	-	-	1
Total	**3**	**3**	**12**	**19**	**33**

Figure 1.6: Frequency of correspondence between London and Groton, 1625-1629

Trusting in God provided a personal comfort when the godly were faced with the prospect or reality of separation. Priscilla Fones wrote to Winthrop of the 'grife it hath cost me,' when she heard of his decision to emigrate to New England, taking it as God's decision 'to take away my props that I may wholy rely on himself.'[123] Deane Tyndal likewise lamented at the thought of John Winthrop's journey, 'for though the bond of love still contineues, yet the distance of the place will not let us be soe usefull, and comfortable one to an other as now we are.'[124] But like Fones and Margaret Winthrop, he trusted God's direction, knowing that Winthrop could not stay unless 'it may be for Godes glory, and your owne good.'[125] John Winthrop himself felt the same insecurity prior to his emigration, and made similar prayers to God to help 'the soules of thy servantes, thus united to thee, make as one in the bonde of brotherly Affection: Let not distance weaken it, nor tyme waste it, nor change dissolve it, nor selfe love eate it.'[126] Recognising the significant role that faith in God played in alleviating the fears of these puritan men and women on the eve of their separation is key to understanding the ways in which they negotiated the challenge posed by the distances between them. They placed their faith in God as a mutual commitment to the relationship, acknowledging the additional challenge that distance would bring to their relationships and vowing to overcome it. It was no trivial gesture and shows clearly that the spirituality of puritan sociability was a vital part of sustaining relationships that were facing significant change. But this reassurance through faith was more than trust that they were being guided by God's hand. The puritan belief that they could access the spirit through other saints meant that they depended on these relationships to affirm their own sanctity. John and Margaret Winthrop's vow to meet in spirit every Monday and Friday was therefore driven by something more powerful than a measure taken to relieve emotional anguish, but a continuing commitment to shared communion.[127] Even at great distances, then, the very essence of puritan sociability was made to endure, providing clarity and comfort

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[123] Priscilla Fones to John Winthrop (September, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 153-4.
[124] Deane Tyndal to John Winthrop (23 October, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 162-3.
[125] Ibid, pp. 162-3.
[126] John Winthrop to Sir William Spring (8 February, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 203-6.
[127] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (26 February, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 211-2; John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (9 September, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 314. John Davenport and Lady Mary Vere made similar vows after her removal to the Netherlands: John Davenport to Lady Mary Vere (18 January, 1628), *Letters*, pp. 27-9.

to those on either side of the Atlantic. Correspondence was the means and method by which these promises were made, and connections extended, but the spirit remained a vital point of connection for puritan saints.

With any correspondence network, we must remember the bearers that carried letters from their point of origin to their destination. These men and women were essential points of connection that facilitated the enduring ties between people that lived far apart.[128] But correspondence networks are by nature more complex than the passing of letters back and forth. Instead, they are constructed of numerous links, featuring any number of paths via which information could be shared and received.[129] In many ways this is a result of the fact that correspondence was not private but often shared, as when Arthur Tyndal was instructed to relay details of John Winthrop's first Atlantic crossing when delivering a letter to Margaret Winthrop.[130] It was not uncommon to entrust oral messages to bearers rather than set everything down in ink, and it broadened the reach of a single communication to multiple parties. Even more common practice was for a sender to enclose additional letters in a single packet, requesting that they be passed on to others in the area of the original recipient.[131] This was not always a smooth process, however, as demonstrated by Joseph Downing's request that Winthrop 'enquire out the man who should have the inclosed letters,' not knowing exactly where his friend resided.[132] He hoped that this would be an ongoing arrangement, directing that 'if the man will write backe I pray let him inclose his letters in yours to me.'[133] Downing not only needed Winthrop to make contact with his old friend on his behalf, but he created a link between the two New England men in order to maintain that relationship. It was an active extension of his own network to ensure the endurance of a connection that had lapsed with his friend's emigration to the new Plymouth colony. By using the correspondence network in these ways, men and women extended the reach of their correspondence,

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[128] Stewart & Wolfe, *Letterwriting*, p. 121.
[129] R. Ahnert & S. E. Ahnert, 'Protestant letter networks in the reign of Mary I: a quantitative approach', *ELH,* 82 (Spring, 2015), p. 12
[130] Ibid, pp. 2-3; John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (16 July, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 301-2.
[131] William Hilton to John Winthrop Jr (18 April, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 118-9; Stephen Bachiler to John Winthrop (3 June, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 122-4; Thomas Arkisden to John Winthrop Jr (20 March, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 71-2.
[132] Joseph Downing to John Winthrop Jr (28 February, 1634), *WP*, III, pp. 153-4.
[133] Ibid, pp. 153-4.

which Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert cite as clear evidence of epistolary communities at work.[134] High chances of miscarriage, especially once letters began crossing the Atlantic Ocean, made these complex pathways even more important, giving senders multiple routes by which to send their correspondence and ensure safe delivery.[135] Fearing that his letter might miscarry, John Winthrop spread his news to his wife across two letters, sent on different ships.[136] Emmanuel Downing wrote to John Winthrop Jr, but addressed it to the governor John Winthrop because he believed that it would have a better chance of reaching his friend safely, but noted that he had previously sent more lengthy correspondence 'by Mr. Dudley and Mr. Winslowe.'[137] Contact made through correspondence was not always direct, however, and it is equally important to recognise the indirect contact made in letters.[138] In the absence of a response from Henry and Priscilla Paynter to his 'diverse letters', John Winthrop sought information on their welfare from John White.'[139] For Joseph Downing, indirect contact from the Winthrop family prompted him to make direct contact, writing to John Winthrop Jr after being with his 'brother Kirb[y], who shewed me a letter from you, wherein you sent me and my wife kind commendations, and he sayd you did so usually in all your letters to him, which I take, and shall, most thankfully.'[140] These were clearly pragmatic measures to ensure the best chance of making contact, showing undoubtedly that these men and women understood their correspondence networks and how to use them. Network links could be utilised to make both direct and indirect contact with absent friends and kin, leading to durable connections and facilitating the maintenance of social and spiritual bonds.

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[134] Ahnert & Ahnert, pp. 2-3.

[135] Stewart & Wolfe, *Letterwriting*, p. 121; O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 148.

[136] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (23 July, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 302-4.

[137] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (26 March, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 73-5.

[138] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 10.

[139] John Winthrop to John White (4 July, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 87-8.

[140] Joseph Downing to John Winthrop Jr (28 February, 1634), *WP*, III, pp. 153-4. Also see Henry Jacie to John Winthrop Jr (June, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 77-9; John Reading to John Winthrop (26 May, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 36-7; Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (29 April, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 29-30.

Letters and the Mediation of Conflict

The puritans' social and correspondence networks helped sustain their relationships in England, but they also helped to prepare them for the impending challenge of Atlantic migration. With letters working as proxy for physical proximity, the godly could enact their sociability through correspondence when they could not do so together. This was vital preparation for Atlantic migration when families would keenly watch over absent kin in their letters across the Atlantic, fulfilling the duty they felt to look after one another's spiritual and physical welfare. This section will demonstrate that letters also offered a crucial space for the godly to mediate disputes, becoming increasingly important as they dispersed across the Atlantic. The tactical manner by which the godly tapped into their correspondence networks in order to advance their own positions, mediate dispute, or watch over their kin demonstrates clearly that they were aware of their networks and how to use them to achieve gains. This is crucial to our understanding of how the puritans represented in these networks used letters to sustain their sociability in England, but even more vitally they used them to prepare them for the challenge of Atlantic migration.

In 1622, John Winthrop Jr left the family seat at Groton, Suffolk, to attend Trinity College Dublin, a university established by James I as part of English attempts to 'civilise' the Irish country and people.[141] From the eve of his son's departure until the day of his return, John Winthrop's letters to his son were filled with concern for the young man's spiritual welfare. He found comfort in God's providence, in the knowledge that Winthrop Jr was guided by His hand, but he still maintained the patriarchal role of the head of a puritan household, offering his own spiritual guidance even from afar. Winthrop warned his son to 'lett not the fearful profaneness and contempt of ungodly men diminish the reverent and awfull regard of his great majesty in your heart,' and prayed that God would keep him from the 'lustes of youth and the evill of the tymes.'[142] The puritan patriarch had a duty to oversee the spiritual welfare of his family, and Winthrop turned to correspondence as well as to his social

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[141] J. Ohlmeyer, 'Civilising of those Rude Partes': Colonisation within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s,' in N. Canny & R. Louis (eds.), *Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2001), p. 138.
[142] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (6 August, 1622), *WP*, I, pp. 248-9.

network in order to keep watch over his son from afar, for to fail in this duty would lead to condemnation of himself, and the failure and sin of the son he was duty bound to guide.[143] The puritan household was revered as a little commonwealth, a microcosm of the ideal state, an idea that Margo Todd has argued was grounded in both Humanist and Scriptural sources.[144] William Gouge's widely read conduct book also hailed the household as 'a seminary of the Church and common-wealth,' from which could grow the highest form of human society, 'for in families are all sorts of people bred and brought up: and out of families are they sent into the Church and common-wealth.'[145] Winthrop knew that his ability to watch over his son would be limited at their present distance, and wrote that 'the Chiefe meanes' of his son's welfare 'lyeth in your owne endeavour,' cautioning him not to rely on the prayers of friends and family.[146] The extent of Winthrop's concern and effort to watch over his son is demonstrated in his commitment to address Winthrop Jr's spiritual welfare in each letter sent, and hoping that God was doing the same: 'I beseech the Lord to open thine eyes, that thou maiest see the riches of his grace, which will abate the account of all earthly vanityes.'[147] Winthrop Jr's responses indicate little, but a letter from his father expressed gladness that his son was avoiding negative influences of the ungodly, revealing at least some reciprocation from Winthrop Jr.[148] A clearer example of a son's acknowledgements of his father's care can be found in a letter from Forth Winthrop, one of Winthrop Jr's younger brothers, wherein he thanked his father for 'the good instructions and godly admonishions by your loving care,' and told of his own desire to 'walke as I have Christ for an example.'[149] The early separation of Winthrop Jr from his father seems to have prepared the patriarch to let his son travel more widely in later years. Winthrop Jr's commitment to God throughout his time in Dublin led Winthrop to conclude that 'I know not what further advise to give you, than you have already received, and your own observation, upon

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[143] G. F. Moran & M. A. Minovskis, 'The puritan family and religion: a critical reappraisal,' *WMQ*, 39, 1 (Jan., 1982), p. 43; W. Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London, 1622), pp. 17, 20, 21.

[144] M. Todd, 'Humanists, puritans and the spiritualised household,' *Church History*, 49, 1 (Mar., 1989), pp. 19-22.

[145] Gouge, *Domesticall Duties*, pp. 16-17, 18.

[146] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (31 August, 1622), *WP*, I, pp. 249-50.

[147] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (16 October, 1622), *WP*, I, pp. 252-3.

[148] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (Delivered 14 November, 1623), *WP*, I, p. 266.

[149] Forth Winthrop to John Winthrop (1627), *WP*, I, pp. 3145.

occasion, shall directe you.'[150] As long as Winthrop Jr consulted God before any other and stayed on the right path, 'all the cannons or enemyes in the worlde shall not be able to shorten your dayes one minute.'[151]

This same sense of duty permeates many of the letters in the *Winthrop Papers* as a result of John Winthrop's role as governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony for a number of terms between his election in 1629 and his death in 1649.[152] In this position, Winthrop and his family were the recipients of numerous requests to report on kin in the New World, as family in England sought to watch over their distant relatives and former members of their households.[153] Reminding John Winthrop Jr of his duty to kin, Ann Hoskins wrote to her cousin in 1638, eager for news of her son William.[154] She employed the necessary language of obligation to persuade Winthrop Jr to fulfil his promise to send word of her son, writing 'I hope you have don the part of a kinsman for him as you promised mee.'[155] Winthrop Jr acknowledged the kin connection, which Hoskins confirmed again in her signature: 'I rest your ever loving kinswoman,' by endorsing the letter 'Cos: An: Hoskins from Ireland.'[156] Whether he carried out her request we do not know, no response survives and William Hoskins remains absent from the letter collection, but Winthrop Jr's endorsement and retention of the letter reveals an acknowledgement of Hoskins's request, suggesting a recognition of his duty to his cousin at the very least. Brampton Gurdon reached out to John Winthrop to apologise for the burden that his sick and troublesome son had placed on Winthrop in New England, making amends for the man he had placed in

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[150] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (6 June, 1627), *WP*, I, pp. 324-5.
[151] Ibid, pp. 324-5.
[152] John Winthrop's terms in office were 1629-1634, 1637-1640, 1642-1644, and 1646-1649.
[153] Gouge specified that servants came under the duty of heads of household in the same way that did their kin: *Domesticall Duties*, pp. 17-8.
[154] Ann Hoskins to John Winthrop Jr (13 January, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 7-8.
[155] Ibid, pp. 7-8.
[156] Ibid, pp. 7-8. For other examples of kin extending their networks to watch over members of their households, see: Lucy Downing to John Winthrop Jr (6 March, 1636), *WP*, III, p. 369; James Downing to John Winthrop (12 March, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 376-7; Robert Barrington to John Winthrop Jr (4 September, 1635), *WP*, III, p. 208; Mrs. Paulin to Sebastian Paulin (March, 1637), *WP*, III, p. 352; Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (29 April, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 29-30; Dorothy Flute to John Winthrop (5 May, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 236-7; John Sampson to John Winthrop (27 April, 1646), *WP*, IV, p. 79; Joan Winthrop to John Winthrop (5 March, 1638), *WP*, IV, p. 18; Edward Cooke to John Winthrop (15 May, 1640), *WP*, IV, p. 224.

Winthrop's care.[157] Earlier that year, Muriel Sedley Gurdon had written a similar apology to Margaret Winthrop, expressing concern for the health of her son, writing that 'I acknowledge my selfe so much indebted to you for many formar kindneses, and now in a great measur for my sonne.'[158] The Gurdons clearly felt beholden to the Winthrops, and promised to make amends for any burden caused. This is a clear example of the use of correspondence to mediate problems, opening discussion and making amends in letters where they could not do so in person. They had placed their son in the care of a family whose godly standing they knew and trusted and feared that his sickness had been a burden in return. Mediating these issues, the patriarch Brampton Gurdon vowed 'by Godes helpe I am verry welling to macke good any thing for his charge as you shall desyer.'[159] The situation was made more problematic because of the son's inability to write, which Brampton Gurdon attributed to the weakness in his joints. Unable to write himself, correspondence from the son had to come through Winthrop to Brampton and Muriel Sedley Gurdon and vice versa. Their wider network connections were necessarily employed in order to maintain contact between parents and son, to whom they had the same duty of care that Winthrop had felt to his son Winthrop Jr when the later was attending Trinity College Dublin.

Correspondence provided a medium for friends to settle their issues, finding resolutions to challenging situations such as the Gurdon son's illness, but it also provided a space through which to mediate family disputes. In 1629 the Winthrop family was preoccupied with one such challenge from within their own family, one that implicated extended family members in its resolution. Henry Winthrop was not the pious son that John Winthrop Jr was. Having travelled to Barbados on a tobacco farming venture, the second son failed to sell his product and fell heavily in debt.[160] John Winthrop remained committed to helping his son, indeed, it was his Christian duty, but soon he showed concerns for his son's spiritual welfare. In the earliest letter we have from John Winthrop to Henry in Barbados, he wrote that he wished that his son was more Godfearing.[161] He condemned Henry's 'vain overreachinge minde,'

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[157] Brampton Gurdon to John Winthrop (30 August, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 295-6.
[158] Muriel Sedley Gurdon to Margaret Winthrop (5 May, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 258-9.
[159] Brampton Gurdon to John Winthrop (30 August, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 295-6.
[160] John Winthrop to Henry Winthrop (30 January, 1629), *WP,* II, pp. 67-9.
[161] Henry Winthrop to Emmanuel Downing (22 August, 1627), *WP*, I, pp. 327-8; John Winthrop to Henry Winthrop (30 January, 1629), *WP,* II, pp. 67-9.

which he believed would be the young man's downfall, should he 'attaine not more discreation and moderation.'[162] Reflecting the puritan values of modesty and moderation, John Winthrop prayed that God would make his son 'more wise and sober.'[163] Winthrop's open disapproval of his son's immoderate behaviour was balanced with a hope for redemption and rehabilitation, for without this he would have failed in his parental duty to guide his son's spiritual welfare.[164] But at such a distance, John Winthrop could not engage with his son in person and had to rely on his written word. Henry acted with disregard for the conventional conduct of the second son. Conduct books emphasised the need for the child's respect for their parents, and moderation in their behaviour, and disobedience was 'the greatest impeachment of parents authoritie,' comparing such children to headstrong beasts.[165] In response to these challenges, John Winthrop withdrew financial support. It was surely no coincidence that this lack of funds forced Henry Winthrop to return to a space where Winthrop knew he could be surrounded by people with a guaranteed good moral and religious character.

On his return to England, Henry stayed in London with his uncle, Thomas Fones, who wrote to John Winthrop complaining of Henry's extravagance and poor conduct. The letter to his former brother-in-law is a remarkable example of the role of extended kin in a family dispute. By the time of Fones's desperate letter to John Winthrop, he had clearly tried to mediate between father and son, but with limited success. Fones held front and centre the connection between Winthrop and himself by addressing his letter to 'My good Brother,' and referring to Henry Winthrop as 'my nephew your sonne,' and 'him as a member of yow,' evoking a strong sense of kinship despite the fact that their bond was less straightforward.[166] Fones tactically used his correspondence to draw Winthrop into the dispute, realising that his own attempts to mediate the difficulties between father and son had failed. The list of Henry's

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[162] Ibid, pp. 67-9.
[163] Ibid, pp. 67-69; Stemming from the conversion experience, the puritan interest in redemption reflected God's redemptive love: J. C. Brauer, 'Reflections on the nature of English puritanism', *American Society of Church History*, 23 (Jun., 1954), pp. 101-2, 106.
[164] Gouge, *Domesticall Duties*, p. 21.
[165] Ibid, p. 441.
[166] Fones had been married to Anne Winthrop, John Winthrop's sister, until her death in 1618. Thomas Fones to John Winthrop (2 April, 1629), *WP,* II*,* pp. 78-9.

contraventions continued with his keeping with 'riotous company' and a papist.[167] That Henry brought a Catholic man into Fones's house was a significant betrayal for the puritan head of household. Fones expressed his anger at having 'lodged and dieted a man he entertayned,' whom Fones eventually removed from his home on learning that the man had 'accese to a priest in newgate.'[168] It stood in direct opposition to Fones's position as a puritan patriarch, carrying the responsibility of instructing the family in terms of religion, and it is hardly surprising that Fones used this example to elicit a response from the pious John Winthrop.[169] Fones's letter portrays a man who had endeavoured to keep his nephew 'from much expence and rioutous company,' and had reached a point where he could not keep trying.[170] This said, Fones was not completely giving up on his nephew, turning to correspondence to raise his concerns with the young man's father instead.

Fones firmly asserted his disapproval of his nephew in his relation of the news that Henry had 'wooed and wonne' Fones's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, Henry's first cousin. He was careful in his disapproval of the match not to 'multiply argumentes agaynst' Henry Winthrop, cautious of how John Winthrop would receive such an affront, and demonstrating a tact and pragmatism in explaining the situation to John Winthrop.[171] Fones had shown a concern for Henry's soul, but he had a duty to protect the spiritual safety of his daughter, and his priority lay with her.[172] The crux of his disapproval of the match is framed in terms of Henry's financial extravagance, focusing on Henry's excessive dress. Henry was far from a financially stable match, and Fones's fears were compounded by Henry's threat that 'yf he cannot have my good will to have my daughter he will have her without.'[173] Fones asked for Winthrop's opinion on his match, but the letter implies that he wanted more than this. He wanted his former brother-in-law to feel the same way, and to put a stop to

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[167] Ibid, pp. 78-9.
[168] Ibid, pp. 78-9; C. Gribben, 'Introduction,' in C. Gribben & R. Scott Spurlock (eds.), *Puritans and Catholics in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 2,4.
[169] E. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (New York, 1966), pp. 136-7.
[170] Ibid, pp. 78-9.
[171] Thomas Fones to John Winthrop (2 April, 1629), *WP,* II*,* pp. 78-9.
[172] Ibid*,* pp. 78-9.
[173] Husbands were expected to provide for their wives as long as they lived: Gouge, *Domestical Duties*, pp. 402, 406; Thomas Fones to John Winthrop (2 April, 1629), *WP,* II*,* pp. 78-9.

the marriage.[174] Fones once more reminded Winthrop of their kin connection, seeking the obligation that might encourage Winthrop to help him, by remembering his 'harty love' to Winthrop, and adding that 'If he were not so neare allied to me and the sonne of him whom I so respect I could hardly beare such braving oppositions in mine owne howse.'[175] This was a tactical effort to call on bonds of kin and friendship, seeking a favourable response to his complaint. Kin obligation and duty was in this instance a key tool to solicit the aid of John Winthrop, and one that was ultimately successful.

Unfortunately for Thomas Fones, Henry and Elizabeth were married on Saturday 25 April, 1629.[176] Instead of being left to their own devices, however, the newlyweds were brought back into the Winthrop family home at Groton, and would stay there until the end of the Easter term, away from negative influences.[177] Willen has demonstrated the importance of household religion in puritan families, showing that it was a place in which the patriarch could edify and guide his household's faith.[178] It is no surprise, therefore, that Winthrop chose to bring his son back into the household, but that John Winthrop would be absent in London for much of this time shows that he extended his trust to his wife to maintain the same standards as he himself. The prodigal son, though returned, did not immediately change his ways, and John Winthrop confessed to his wife in a letter that his son's lack of direction and poor life choices had led him to 'estrange my selfe towardes him.'[179] Such a statement did not come without fear, and Winthrop hoped that God would 'give him the grace to ammend his life.'[180] He repeated this sense of estrangement later in the month, writing that although they were both in London, he had seen Henry only twice and 'I know not what he doth nor what he intendeth.'[181] Henry's ongoing disappointments had deeply shaken his father, who would have feared for his own spiritual welfare as well as that of his son. No longer fearing what might happen if Henry continued on

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[174] Ibid, pp. 78-9.
[175] Ibid, pp. 78-9.
[176] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (28 April, 1629), *WP, II,* pp. 84-5.
[177] Ibid, pp. 84-5.
[178] Willen, 'Communion,' pp. 19, 24.
[179] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (5 June, 1629), *WP, II,* pp. 94-5.
[180] Ibid, pp. 94-5.
[181] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (22 June, 1629), *WP, II,* pp. 100-1.

the same path, John Winthrop here mourned 'for his sinnes and the miserye that he will soone bringe upon himselfe and his wife.'[182]

While the future looked bleak for the relationship between father and son, there was hope on the horizon. Following some discussion in their letters, John Winthrop and John Winthrop Jr agreed that Henry should not return to Barbados as he wished, the elder Winthrop's interest in the New England venture offered Henry an alternative option.[183] Where Barbados was perceived as a place full of sinners, New England could be a new start, a godly outpost across the Atlantic.[184] Henry began to make amends by asserting his status as an 'obedyent sonne' and duly passing his love and respects to his extended family just a few months after John Winthrop's rather hopeless letter to his wife.[185] After a tumultuous two years, perhaps 'the lord I hope hath rowght some good worke in him.'[186] Sadly, there was little time for a full reconciliation as Henry drowned while swimming across a river shortly after his arrival in Salem, Massachusetts.[187] Despite the brevity of the entry in his diary, the death of his son had a profound impact on John Winthrop, so early in his new venture. He wrote to his wife that God's hand had been heavy on him, and 'in some very neere to me.'[188] In this moment of mourning 'my sonne Henry, my sonne Henrye, ah poore childe,' John Winthrop seems to have forgiven his son his wrongs, instead feeling the more intense pain of grief. This personal struggle to redeem his son reflects wider puritan motivations to restore and repair ties at moments of perceived fracture, but the role that Fones played in proceedings shows that such disputes had the potential to impact the wider kin network. Fones might not have been successful in bringing Henry Winthrop to heel, but he certainly used his correspondence to negotiate with John Winthrop, forcing him to step in and address the situation. Indeed, we might not see much evidence of Winthrop mediating with Henry directly in their correspondence, but the communication he had with Fones, his wife Margaret

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[182] Ibid, p. 100-1.
[183] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (9 October, 1629), *WP,* II*,* p. 156; Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop (13 October, 1629), *WP,* II*,* p. 158.
[184] Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop (13 October, 1629), *WP,* II*,* p. 158.
[185] Henry Winthrop to John Winthrop (18 January, 1630), *WP,* II, pp. 194-5.
[186] Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop (13 October, 1629), *WP,* II*,* p. 158.
[187] R. S. Dunn, J. Savage & L. Yeandle (ed.), *The Journal of John Winthrop 1630-1649*, (Cambridge, MA, 1996), p. 38.
[188] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (16 July, 1630), *WP,* II, pp. 301-2.

Winthrop, and his son John Winthrop Jr regarding Henry Winthrop's transgressions clearly demonstrates the key role that correspondence played in dispute mediation.

Following transatlantic migration, others would have to play more prominent roles in mediating family disputes, when families were separated and relied heavily on others to pass letters and messages between them. Sir William Spring, who felt such a powerful bond with John Winthrop, wrote to make amends with him following the news that his nephew John Spring had been troublesome in the new Watertown colony. He acknowledged his familial obligation to his nephew and the 'important and large requests' of the same man, but due to illness and financial constraints he was unable to do more for him at that time. Echoing the familiar sense of parental duty, he wrote 'my owne necessary course and children require mee instantly to my utmost.'[189] Having 'made bould with you' to enclose a letter to his nephew, Spring hoped that Winthrop would 'make him sensible of the Equitie' that was currently lacking, and 'the reason of itt if you conceive itt soe.'[190] Spring promised to reimburse Winthrop for any costs incurred as soon as he found the money, and reiterated the strength of their friendship, writing 'think of me still the thoughts of a loving Frend,' and remaining 'confident [in] the benefit of your prayers,' asking to be 'remembered amongst you as I dayly in my poore way remember you all.'[191] Spring was reliant in this instance on John Winthrop mediating the situation between he and his nephew, asking him to relay the reasons that he could no longer financially support him from England. This is both an example of the use of personal networks for a clear purpose, reminding us that even lapsed or passive connections could be activated in times of need, and it also shows the way in which Spring drew on the friendship between he and Winthrop to elicit the response that he needed.[192]

Spring's letter also reminds us of the difficulties that relatives faced in finding bearers for their letters. Spring had been forced to enclose a letter to John Spring in his letter

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[189] Sir William Spring to John Winthrop (1 March, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 363-5.
[190] Ibid, pp. 363-5.
[191] Ibid, pp. 363-5.
[192] A further example can be found in Emmanuel Downing to John Winthrop Jr (18 June, 1633), *WP*, III, p. 129.

to John Winthrop because he could not find a ship travelling close enough to send it directly to him.[193] The very nature of transatlantic correspondence meant that merchants played a crucial role in connecting people to one another. Their ships facilitated social networks, and so those same networks could feasibly reach wherever merchants travelled. In contrast with the 'social and cultural gulf' that separated emigrants from seamen, some ships captains played a central role in facilitating the expansion and maintenance of social networks across oceans, some even joining the networks as active members.[194] John Winthrop made a point of sending salutations to Captain Best while John Winthrop Jr travelled on his ship, wanting to know how both his son and the captain fared.[195] Best was not just a passive figure in his son's life, but important to his physical and spiritual welfare. Judah Throckmorton asked to be remembered to the captain of the *London* in Constantinople, indicating more than a passing acquaintance, and John Winthrop Jr demonstrated the trust placed in some merchants when asking his family to direct their letters to Captain Maplesden in 1628.[196] Winthrop Jr, writing to his father, noted that his brevity was due to his decision to send letters in a merchant's packet, hoping that it would be delivered faster than his usual correspondence, and demonstrating that merchant carriers might have been favourable rather than just convenient bearers.[197] Once the New England settlement was well-established, Lucy Downing regretted that she had failed to let the Winthrops' old neighbours in Groton know of the trusted Captain Peirce's going to New England.[198] She blamed herself for the fact that only few letters from the area might reach New England, again highlighting the necessity of merchant ships in the passage of letters, and the facilitation of the correspondence network. Mercantile networks overlapped and integrated with personal and business networks, and in this fashion, certain merchants actively enabled the extension of correspondence networks to encompass the Atlantic Ocean.[199] Where merchant ships sustained connection and correspondence, the

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[193] Sir William Spring to John Winthrop (1 March, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 363-5.
[194] Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 163.
[195] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (6 June, 1627), *WP*, I, pp. 324-5.
[196] Judah Throckmorton to John Winthrop Jr (16 September, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 377; John Winthrop Jr to John Winthrop (18 October, 1628), *WP*, I, pp. 379-80.
[197] John Winthrop Jr to John Winthrop (14 July, 1628), *WP*, I, pp. 373-4.
[198] Lucy Downing to Margaret Winthrop (March, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 352-4.
[199] R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 278-80.

expanse of network connections directly enabled emotional and spiritual connection across the Atlantic. The godly were adept at tapping into their networks to watch over kin, mediate moments of discord, and achieve gains. It was the dense and complex correspondence network that enabled the communities represented in the correspondence to sustain and expand their networks through correspondence, preparing them for the challenge of Atlantic migration, and supporting them through it.

English puritans relied on their communities for spiritual edification and support, meaning that their sociability is of crucial importance to historians seeking to understand puritanism. By looking at correspondence as a core aspect of puritan sociability, we can see that the godly used their letters to engage in spiritual communion with one another when they could not do so in person. This practice was common in England, where friendships between saints cut across parish boundaries as they searched for spiritual union, but letters became all the more important as the godly began to leave for New England in the 1630s. Correspondence was not only vital to emotional and spiritual sustenance, and to the maintenance of long-distance relationships and the mediation of disputes, but it also facilitated the extension and refashioning of networks as puritans prepared to uproot. This process clearly demonstrates that the godly were aware of their networks and how to use them, actively engaging in letterwriting to achieve their goals. Whether seeking assurance of their acceptance in the new colony or making new connections to secure fellowship for the voyage and later settlement, puritans reached out along the sinews of their networks in order to actively prepare for the challenge of Atlantic migration. This sociability, characterised by the godly fellowship that puritans craved, was able to continue through correspondence, with letters acting as a proxy for human connection. In this fashion, these puritans were able to prepare themselves to uproot both by facilitating new connections, but also sustaining pre-existing ones across the Atlantic. But crucially, it is not just the content of the letters that remains important, but the passage of them and the selection of the people that carried them. Credibility and trust were thus crucial to the maintenance of puritan social networks, and establishing social credit was not only important to the functioning of

correspondence networks, but also to the process of building fragile new communities from those thrown together from different places in the Old World.

Chapter Two

Letters, Credibility and Trust

As the puritans in New England sought to consolidate their new settlements in the midst of a host of unfamiliar material and emotional challenges, they needed ways in which to assess social and spiritual credit and to ensure trust within, and mutual commitment to, their new communities.[1] Because many passengers embarked on their transatlantic voyages in self-selected groups that were gathered together from different parishes, the journey was one of the first, formative places where the English puritans were brought into contact with their spiritual brethren from other parts of Britain.[2] This chapter reveals the ways in which letters aided the process of gathering together in advance of emigration. The potential to feel difference amongst a people with whom they expected to feel brotherhood encouraged the settlers to bond themselves formally together in new communities on their arrival in New England. This contributed to the development of the 'New England Way,' a form of congregationalism carried to New England from England and continental Europe and cultivated in the unfamiliar, 'bewildering' and insecure environment found there.[3] The distinctive aspect of the New England Way was the requirement for individuals to be formally accepted as members to a church in order to receive the sacrament. This was part of the process of creating purer congregations and was intended to nurture communities of harmony and peace.[4] It was considered vital for the establishment of 'a glorious church . . . holy and without blemish.'[5] Susan Hardman Moore has highlighted feelings of insecurity as a key motivator for establishing the codes for religious and civic life, arguing that a crucial question for authorities was 'how to keep

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[1] John Winthrop to Sir Nathaniel Rich (22 May, 1634), *The Winthrop Papers, Vol. III: 1630-1637* (Boston, MA, 1943), pp. 166-168; J. Canup, *Out of the Wilderness: The Emergence of an American Identity in Colonial New England* (Middletown, CT, 1990), pp. 15, 17; S. Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America: Life-Stories from Early New England* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 3; J. Donoghue, *Fire Under the Ashes: An Atlantic History of the English Revolution* (Chicago, 2013), p. 57, M. Gaskill, *Between Two Worlds: How the English Became Americans* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 111, 113; S. Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims: New World Settlers & the Call of Home* (London, 2007), p. 36; John Pond to William Pond (15 March, 1631), *WP,* III, pp. 17-9.

[2] T. H. Breen, 'English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions', *WMQ,* Third Series, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 1975), p. 17; D. Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 144, 145, 149; D. Cressy, 'The vast and furious ocean: the passage to puritan New England,' *NEQ*, 57, 4 (Dec., 1984), p. 512.

[3] S. Hardman Moore, 'Popery, Purity and Providence: Deciphering the New England Experiment,' in A. Fletcher & P. Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 276.

[4] E. Brooks Holifield, 'Peace, conflict, and ritual in puritan congregations,' *Interdisciplinary History*, 23, 3, Religion and History (Winter, 1993), p. 551.

[5] Eph. 5:27, the text chosen by Thomas Shepard for his sermon on the day his new church at Newtown (Cambridge) was organised.

settlers settled, and give structure to fragile communities.'[6] Francis Bremer has emphasised the importance invested in this effort, asserting that the real task of the godly in New England was to forge a distinct community from disparate 'ingredients' brought with them from England, resulting from their different individual and regional experiences there.[7] This chapter will explore how congregational puritans in New England sought to consolidate their fragile new communities, combining qualitative and quantitative analysis in order to bring to light the role of lesser known members of the community in building and sustaining social credit in the New World. This initially takes place through an evaluation of covenant theology and the creation of trust in the new communities in New England.

Using Stephen Bachiler's petition to John Winthrop for the ministry at Lynn as an example, the first part of this chapter uses qualitative methods to consider the ideal of covenanted communities, which called for the active participation and consent of their members. Bachiler's attempt to assert his own credibility, seeking to redeem himself from his former ministries that led to dissention in the congregations, was rooted in a claim that his proposed new congregation had communally called for his election. Then, focusing on the experience of covenanted communities, the chapter builds on work by David Hall to explore the lay experience, and the role of the laity in watching over their communities. With particular focus on a letter detailing a town's concerns about their neighbour, Walter Allen, the active and communal participation of a lay community that took responsibility for weeding out a troublesome member of their town is revealed. The chapter also encompasses, through a combination of network and qualitative analysis, an examination of the function of testimonials. This includes an important consideration of the extra-textual aspects of testimony, where letters extended the trust of the writer to the letter bearer through endorsements in the text, which served to increase the chances of a successful introduction. Looking more closely at the efforts of Francis Kirby to recommend his acquaintances, and the more frenetic attempts of Samuel Borrowes to maintain his own fragile social credit when the friend he recommended to Governor Winthrop let him down. The role of

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[6] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 38.

[7] F. J. Bremer, 'The Puritan Experiment in New England: 1630-1660', in Coffey and Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 128; Cressy, 'Passage,' p. 512.

testimony to undermine is also explored through the case of James and Barbara Davis who, with others of their town, became entangled in a conflict over James Davis's false testimony against his wife. This demonstrates also the informal processes of resolution that lay women and men participated in, which Craig Muldrew has argued were just as important as formal, legal ones.[8] It will also show how members of the correspondence network were actively aware of the reach of their personal networks, and that they used them to establish credibility in New England. Settlement changed the perspectives of the colonists. They developed church and civic covenants as a way in which to create stability in 'settlements that were starting from nothing,' which makes these covenants an excellent lens through which to understand how these puritans measured the credibility of their peers as well as employing friends to testify to their own credibility.[9]

Congregational communities in New England were exclusive. Thomas Shepard urged his congregation to keep a watchful eye on who was admitted to their churches, not wanting to open the 'doors to all comers,' preferring to celebrate the Lord's Supper with the saints alone.[10] Kai Erikson used deviance and social exclusion as processes through with to examine how members of communities sought to consolidate their sense of belonging.[11] This methodology remains intrinsically relevant to the understanding of sociability and mediation in the puritan communities of early New England, largely because of the innovations in church practice that led to membership requirements. Only those deemed to be of sufficiently good religious standing would be admitted in order to preserve the purity of the church, and a pure church was a credible church. Cohen writes that a congregation was made up of ordinary people and of a covenanted community of 'truly professing believers' bound together in worship and mutual edification. The visible church was supposed to be as congruous as possible with the Invisible Church, 'the all-inclusive body of God's elect,' so monitoring who joined was essential. It was important to minimise the presence of

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[8] C. Muldrew, The culture of reconciliation: community and the settlement of economic disputes in early modern England,' *Historical Journal*, 39, 4 (Dec., 1996), p. 918.
[9] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, pp. 38-9.
[10] Quoted in D. D. Hall, *A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011), p. 163.
[11] K. T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, NY, 1966);

those not of the elect.[12] At the very core of moderate puritanism was the belief that the godly could recognise one another in the midst of a corrupt and unregenerate world. As Peter Lake has coherently demonstrated, the capacity for this recognition rested on a common view of the implications of right doctrine, both for the private spiritual experience of the individual and for the collective experience and activity of the godly community.[13] Church membership, in essence, formalised this recognition of the fellow spirit, and was grounded in Calvin's insistence that church leaders scrutinise the fitness of all those requesting to partake in the Lord's Supper, excluding those deemed unworthy.'[14] But in New England the judgement of one's brethren was not the sole responsibility for the church leaders. Instead the assessment of applications for membership was often collective. As such, this process more widely informs our understanding of puritan sociability, through the tensions between those perceived godly and those unregenerate, crucially adding to Bremer and Webster's work on clerical relationships by increasing our awareness of the role of the laity in moderating the early communities of New England.[15]

This thesis gains access to the largely unheard voices of the laity through their testimonies and endorsements of their kin and brethren, which remained crucial for weighing the credibility of individuals seeking church membership or good favour in New England, but also of correspondence and news. Some testified of their own conversion and good life, but more frequently letters survive containing endorsements of family, friends, and even in more tenuous connections. Endorsements were extensions of trust, forging connections in the network between endorsee and the persons with whom they curried favour. Social network analysis, then, is a vital tool for enhancing our understanding of these patterns of negotiation. The final part of this chapter goes on to examine in detail, using network analysis and

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[12] C. L. Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 140-1.

[13] P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 282.

[14] D. D. Hall, 'Transatlantic passages, the Reformed tradition and the politics of writing,' in S. Kirk & S. Rivett, *Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas* (Philadelphia, PN, 2014), p. 116.

[15] F. J. Bremer, *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692* (Boston, MA, 1994); *Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism* (New York, 2015); T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-43* (Cambridge, 1997).

visualisation, the process by which John Sandbrooke managed to secure inclusion into John Winthrop's personal network. Sandbrooke may be little known to historians but his efforts to strengthen his network position are a clear example of how network significance could be achieved through the manipulation of personal networks. By using mathematical and visual analysis we are better placed to identify trends and patterns in the myriad interlocking communities that constituted the early modern transatlantic. These processes also reveal the position in the network of William Peirce, a shipmaster who was a correspondent in the network on only one occasion. However, using statistical analysis the integral nature of his role in the network becomes clear. This is a significant development in identifying patterns of testimony and social credit, raising the role of those that quietly sustained the network alongside the familiar voices of those who dominate the correspondence and the historiography. Social historians are beginning to use social network analysis, but it has not yet been used on a correspondence network to explore social credit.[16] Using statistical analysis provides a new way of thinking about credit. By focusing on the structural facilitators that enabled the network to function, we can explore credit by thinking about credibility in terms of an individual's benefit, and how others valued and utilised them in order to develop and maintain their own networks.

Covenant Theology and the Creation of Trust

While covenants and covenant theology are integral to histories of early New England, they were not exclusive to the colonies.[17] Instead, covenanting was rooted in the 'rich seams of covenant theology' that ran through the Reformed tradition in England and on the continent.[18] They were a central part of the congregational organisation of churches in the Netherlands, where an emphasis on the communion

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[16] L. O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia, PN, 2015) p. 5.

[17] The crucial work here is D. A. Weir, *Early New England: A Covenanted Society* (Cambridge, 2005).

[18] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 39; E. H. Emerson, 'Calvin and covenant theology,' *Church History*, 25, 2 (Jun., 1956), p. 137; A. Milton, 'The Church of England and the Palatinate,' in P. Ha & P. Collinson (eds.) *The Reception of the Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 141-2; M. C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 61; Weir, *Early New England*, p. 4.

of saints had increased efforts to differentiate between the elect and unregenerate, the sacraments only being delivered to those who would subscribe to the church covenant.[19] Moreover, the work of Patrick Collinson, Stephen Brachlow, Polly Ha, and Victoria Gregory has demonstrated that there was a culture of congregational practice in England as early as the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including Henry Jacob's outwardly congregational church but also extending beyond it.[20] Congregationalists believed strongly that the true church was neither building nor a group of people brought together by their physical proximity alone, as in a parish. Instead, it was the voluntary association of visible saints.[21] Henry Jacob, and William Bradshaw, and William Ames, the latter of whom, according to Michael Winship, would have been one of the clerical leading lights of Massachusetts if he had lived long enough to cross the Atlantic, were leading congregationalists in England who believed powerfully that the church should rest on a covenant.[22] Edmund Morgan recognised that the New England congregational church policy that emerged in the seventeenth century was firmly rooted in English covenant theology, albeit a policy that could only be realised in the relative freedom of New England.[23] For Ames, Bradshaw, and Jacob, the covenant should be voluntarily subscribed to by believers, and excluding known evildoers.[24] This was English advice, heeded by some but not the majority, which gathered force amongst the emigrating puritans who had the opportunity to put covenant ideas more readily and widely into practice.[25] As such, English covenant theology was the foundation for the exclusion of undesirables and

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[19] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 95; R. A. Rees, 'Seeds of the enlightenment: public testimony in the New England congregational churches, 1630-1750', *Early American Literature Newsletter*, 3 (Spring, 1968), pp. 22-23; Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, p. 106.

[20] P. Collinson, 'The English Conventicle' in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds.), *Voluntary Religion: Papers Read at the 1985 Summer Meeting and the 1986 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Worcester, 1986), pp. 223-59; S. Brachlow, *The Communion of Saints: Radical Puritan and Separatist Ecclesiology, 1570-1625* (Oxford, 1988); P. Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590-1640* (Stanford, CA, 2011); V. J. Gregory, "Congregational puritanism and the radical puritan community in England, c.1585- 1625", PhD thesis (Cambridge, 2003).

[21] J. Halcomb, 'A Social History of Congregational Religious Practice during the Puritan Revolution,' PhD thesis, (Cambridge, 2009), p. 116.

[22] M. P. Winship, *Godly Republicanism: Puritans, Pilgrims, and a City on a Hill* (Cambridge, MA, 2012), p. 93; R. F. Young, 'Breathing the "free aire of the New World": the influence of the New England Way on the gathering of congregational churches in Old England, 1640-1660,' *NEQ*, 83, 1 (Mar., 2019), pp. 5-6; Ha, *English Presbyterianism*, pp. 48, 51.

[23] E. S. Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of the Puritan Idea*, (New York, 1963), in particular p. 31; Young, 'Breathing the "free aire of the New World,"' p. 6; Weir, *Early New England*, p. 221.

[24] Ha, *English Presbyterianism*, pp. 78-9.

[25] Young, 'Breathing the "free aire of the New World,"' pp. 5-6.

the creation of a pure church in New England. As Ralph Young has noted, in New England 'the faithful modelled the visible church on the invisible body of saints as they sought to limit church membership solely to those who were truly 'saved.'[26] Covenant theology was not, however, transplanted to the colonies without some modification. The New England covenants emerged quickly as a way of binding people together, fixing local communities, rather than marking a breakaway from the Church of England as was typical in England.[27] The powers given to lay members to admit or get rid of members, to choose their own ministers, was a new development. In order to gain membership to a church, to enter into a covenant, required an admission test, a demonstration of spiritual and moral acceptability. Hardman Moore believes it highly likely that this innovation came not from separatist impulses but from the 'stabilising role of personal and communal vows in mainstream piety.'[28]

Entering into a covenant was the final step in achieving church membership, preceded by a public confession of sins, a relation to the congregation of the time and circumstances of the individual's spiritual regeneration, and a confession of faith, demonstrating a knowledge of the basic tenets of the gospel.[29] The conversion narrative marked an evolution in practice, and was distinct from the English covenant tradition. Morgan argued that the inclusion of the public relation of conversion may have originated in Massachusetts, rather than England, spreading from there to Connecticut and Plymouth, and back to England.[30] However, admission tests have recently been shown by Francis Bremer to have been less prescriptive than we might have thought.[31] While the matter is subject to some debate, Bremer's work demonstrates that there was some variation in the admission tests required by the New England churches.[32] This variety is reflected in David Weir's important work on

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[26] Ibid, p. 6.

[27] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 150.

[28] Ibid, p. 150.

[29] Rees, 'Seeds of the enlightenment', p. 22; J. H. Trumbull (ed.), Thomas Lechford, *Plaine Dealing, or, News from New England* (Boston, 1968), p. 19.

[30] Morgan, *Visible Saints*, pp. 65-6.

[31] F. J. Bremer, '"To tell what God hath done for thy soul": puritan spiritual testimonies as admission tests and means of edification,' *NEQ*, 87, 4 (Dec., 2014), pp. 625-65.

[32] M. P. Winship, 'Did John Davenport's church require conversion narratives for church admission?: A challenge,' *NEQ*, 87, 1 (March, 2014), pp. 132-9; F. J. Bremer, 'Did John Davenport's church require conversion narratives for church admission?: A response,' *NEQ*, 87, 1 (March, 2014), pp. 140-6.

covenants in New England, which fully acknowledges that church covenants, while generally reflecting a 'unity of thought,' were not all exactly alike, and that they evolved over time.[33] Recognising this variety is important for understanding puritanism in New England, showing that congregational puritanism was dynamic, but we do not yet know how these puritans *experienced* their covenanted communities. Susan Hardman Moore has argued that 'covenants gave settlers an obligation to watch over each other' and David Hall has noted that 'obligation and obedience' were unique to the saints and central to godly rule in New England, yet we do not fully understand how this manifested.[34] Hall's focus on the clergy, theological, doctrinal matters, and civic organisation in this volume is incredibly useful but it can be developed further with an examination of how obligation affected the everyday layman. This chapter draws on the knowledge that entering into a covenant was intended to be a mutual and active promise with God and with the other members and was thought to spiritually purify the congregation by acknowledging that 'his God is your God by the Covenant of Grace'.[35] In this context, it will reveal how congregational puritans engaged with their communal obligation to watch over one another. This builds on Hardman Moore's discussion of how self scrutiny in England was a form of piety that was reworked into a communal, ecclesiological principal in New England.[36] This communal aspect was vital. For John Winthrop, swearing into a covenant was to state that 'I doe renounce all former corruptions and polutions I doe promise to walke togither with this Church in all the ordinances of Religion according to the rule of the Gospell, and with all the members heerof in brotherly love.'[37] In this practice, the godly were not only able to identify one another in a strange land, but they purified and protected their new churches and their wider colony through carefully considered evidence of conversion.

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[33] Weir, *Early New England*, pp. 137-46, 150, 223.

[34] S. Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 40; Hall, *A Reforming People*, pp. 100, 133.

[35] E. Vallance, "An holy and sacramentall paction': federal theology and the Solemn League and Covenant in England,' *EHR*, 116, 465 (Feb., 2001), p. 51; Bremer, *Lay Empowerment*, p. 61; Weir, *Early New England*, p. 151; John Davenport to Lady Mary Vere (15/25 December, 1635) in Calder (ed.)*, The Letters of John Davenport*, p. 63; S. Sarson, *British America 1500-1800: Creating Colonies, Imagining an Empire* (London, 2005), p. 124.

[36] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 151.

[37] John Winthrop to Henry Paynter (1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 169-71.

New England covenants might have been built on long-standing foundations, but practices of church membership and the exclusive nature of the Lord's Supper remained alien and unsettling to some English observers, who felt that 'there is neither precept not patterne of any suche' in the scripture.[38] This should come as no surprise to historians of transatlantic puritanism, because similar debates had wracked the godly in England prior to the Great Migration. In New England, membership to a church was required for an individual to receive the full benefits of church worship.[39] This most commonly meant access to the Lord's Supper. But New England was not the first place where men and women were denied access to the sacrament.[40] Arnold Hunt has identified numerous attempts to exclude English men and women from receiving the Lord's Supper.[41] Hunt's examples show ministers trying to 'impose minimum standards of religious knowledge' or enforce neighbourly peace, allowing none to receive communion without first setting aside any differences with their neighbours.[42] However, these were rare occurrences, and Hunt acknowledges that many puritan ministers were 'aware of the gravity of excluding anyone from communion' and would do so only in the gravest of circumstances.[43] Efforts to regulate access to the Lord's Supper, if not to utterly deny it, were met with suspicion even by puritan men and women who desired purity in church services because it looked too much like separatism. In England, the only churches formally requiring membership at this stage were those separated from the Church of England, so it was a fine balance to strike. The vigour with which ministers should employ such exclusionary methods was clearly up for debate, not clearly defined, and subject to individual interpretation.[44] Michael Winship has argued that it was exactly this lack of clarity that later led to confusion and disagreement over church government in New

[38] Ibid, pp. 169-71.

[39] F. J. Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem: John Davenport, a Puritan in Three Worlds,* (New Haven, CT, 2012), p. 145.

[40] P. Collinson, 'The Cohabitation of the Faithful with the Unfaithful' in O. P. Grell, J. I. Israel & N. Tyacke (eds.) *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 72-3.

[41] A. Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in early modern England,' Past & Present, 161 (Nov., 1998), pp. 39-83.

[42] Ibid, pp. 62-6.

[43] Ibid, p. 66.

[44] Ha, *English Presbyterianism*, pp. 73-5, 77.

England.[45] Even beyond England, such were the variations between the presbyterian and congregationalist churches in Europe that no set pattern existed.[46]

The lack of a clear path undoubtedly inspired debate over church membership requirements following migration. In preparation for the task of establishing a church in the wilderness, John Winthrop asked William Ames for advice on church reform before setting sail for New England. Ames was a known theorist on the matter, but felt unable to give specific guidance for a new, unknown, land.[47] He wrote that the colonists should have 'care of safety, liberty, unity, with purity, to be in all your minds and desires,' but otherwise that he had 'nothing to write . . . being ignorant of special difficulties.'[48] Ames here was highlighting the notion that morality and belief were necessary for keeping society together.[49] Winthrop, without the guidance he desired but full of fervour for the venture, told his flock aboard the *Arbella* that their task was not to replicate English lives, but to go further: 'whatsoever we did or ought to have done when we lived in England, the same must we do and more also where we go.'[50] The God-given opportunity to be grasped in New England was to turn theory into reality: 'what most in their churches maintain as a truth in profession only, we must bring into familiar and constant practice.'[51] However, there was no detail worked out in advance, only the larger intentions.[52] Challenging the validity of the Boston church covenant, William Coddington, a former parishioner in John Cotton's church in Boston, Lincolnshire, repeatedly demanded justification from John Winthrop, writing in 1640 'that it doth remayne to be proved by the rules of the gosple, that any Church ever clamed power over their brethren removed, more then over those that wos never in fellowshipe with them.'[53] John Winthrop did acknowledge to his tangential kinsman Henry Paynter that the Bible gave only 'warrant sufficient for gatheringe of Churches,' rather than clear direction, arguing that 'therefore all things necessaryly

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[45] Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, pp. 136, 139, 148.

[46] Ibid, p. 140.

[47] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 38; Isaac Johnson to John Winthrop (17 December, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 177-9.

[48] William Ames to John Winthrop (29 December 1629), *WP*, II, p. 180.

[49] Muldrew, The culture of reconciliation,' p. 921.

[50] J. Winthrop, *A Modell of Christian Charity* (1630)

[51] Winthrop, *Christian Charity*; Hardman More, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 147.

[52] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 152.

[53] William Coddington to John Winthrop (25 August, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 278-9.

incident therto are warrantably implied.'[54] The reality was that without clear direction from scripture, difference and debate would prevail. A lack of cohesive 'orthodoxy' or scriptural direction regarding church practices in New England undoubtedly contributed to the extensive debates over covenants, church membership, and the visible church in England and New England, as well as across the Atlantic.

Crucial to any understanding of New England covenanted communities is the process through which members bonded themselves together, and what those bonds meant to them. Massachusetts puritans put into practice the theoretical tenet of free consent in their covenants, which was central to congregationalism, but we don't yet know in detail how members measured the credibility of their peers in the development of these covenanted communities.[55] Covenants called for active participation, rather than passive membership, and this chapter uses them to explore our understanding of credibility in these fragile new communities. When called to the ministry at Exeter, New Hampshire, Stephen Bachiler required the active consent 'with one vote and voyce' of the congregation before he accepted the position.[56] Hearing that all were committed to his appointment, he reported to John Winthrop that he 'founde them and tooke them in a state of peace, and earnes desire to enjoye each other, so we should forever be carefull to live in Love and peace.'[57] Bachiler's new congregation modelled exactly what the ideal covenanted congregation should look like, creating a space in which 'the God of peace (and hater of contention) might dwell amonge us.'[58] Bachiler seemed excited by this new congregation, finding active participants dedicated to the work of Christ. Knowing that the whole congregation supported his appointment was confirmation of their credibility as a community, but also an endorsement of his own credibility as a godly minister. For Bachiler this was all the more important because of the trials he had experienced since his arrival in New England. Following a brief suspension of his ministry in Lynn he was restored by the General Court in 1635. Unfortunately for Bachiler, his return was marred by

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[54] John Winthrop to Henry Paynter (1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 169-71.
[55] J. Cotton, *The Doctrine of the Church, to which is committed the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven* (London, 1642), p. 4; Cooper, *Tenacious of their Liberties*, pp. 15-6.
[56] Stephen Bachiler to John Winthrop (18/19 May, 1644), *WP*, IV, pp. 457-9.
[57] Ibid, pp. 457-9.
[58] Ibid, pp. 4579.

dissension, and some members of his congregation so disagreed with his ministry that they separated from the congregation, as they did so raising questions about whether the church was properly organised at all.[59] Bachiler moved on from Lynn to Ipswich, then to Newbury and later Hampton (now in New Hampshire), where he settled as pastor of a newly constituted church in 1639. Differences between Bachiler and Timothy Dalton, teacher of the church, surfaced quickly, resulting in severe factions in the town. Throughout these trials, Bachiler was also experiencing some personal troubles, defending himself against a charge of adultery before later confessing, and losing his house and possessions in 1641.[60] When the congregation at Exeter sought his services in 1644, it is no wonder that he emphasised their unity and peace above all else. The post never materialised. Rather ironically, it was because of Bachiler's history of congregations 'through his means . . . [falling] to such divisions, as no peace could be till he was removed,' that the magistrates forbade him from taking up the position.[61] Despite these troubles, his enthusiasm at the ideals the congregation shows the value that he placed in being able to find these qualities in a community, though his assessment of the community contrasts sharply with Winthrop's identification of the same congregation as 'divided, and at great difference also.'[62] His efforts to find this ideal reminds us that, for the godly population, it was the addition this 'sweet society of saincts' that gave 'essential being' to a church in New England, not adherence to Scripture rules alone.[63] For John Cotton, it was 'their mutual covenant with one another, that gives first being to a church.'[64] He believed that God had granted a portion of 'the power of binding and loosing' to a united congregation, relying on their 'consent and concourse' for the exercise of that power.[65] In Bachiler's letter, we can see that the peaceful and harmonious community that he described to John Winthrop was the embodiment of the ideal. It may not have been the reality, but Bachiler's emphasis on the communal voice of the congregation reveals two

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[59] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p., 44; S. Bush Jr., *The Correspondence of John Cotton* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001), p. 356.

[60] Bush Jr., *Correspondence*, p. 357.

[61] R. S. Dunn, J. Savage & L. Yeandle (ed.), *The Journal of John Winthrop 1630-1649*, (Cambridge, MA, 1996), p. 520.

[62] Ibid, II, p. 179.

[63] Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop (21 August, 1646), *WP*, V, pp. 96-7.

[64] Quoted in J. F. Cooper, *Tenacious of their Liberties: The Congregationalists in Colonial Massachusetts* (Oxford, 1999), p. 16.

[65] J. Cotton, *The Keys to the Kingdom of Heaven* (London, 1644), pp. 4, 5.

things. First, that Bachiler wanted to highlight the congregation's credibility to John Winthrop through their 'state of peace, and earnes desire to enjoye each other' reinforces the value of these characteristics.[66] Secondly, it is highly possible that Bachiler highlighted these qualities in order to redeem some of his own credibility, for if a peaceful and harmonious congregation was to have mutually selected him as their minister, then that was a testament to his own credibility and might enable him to rebuild some of the social credit he lost through the trials he had so far faced in New England. In this example, Bachiler carefully balanced the congregation's positive qualities, however exaggerated they might have been, against his own position in order to bolster his own position. He may ultimately have been unsuccessful, but it is clear that Bachiler was aware of the qualities that might enable him to offset his own poor credit, and the opportunity to redeem himself by aligning himself with them.

In Bachiler's congregation, it was not only free consent and active participation that he highlighted, but peaceful living in a godly community. In the freer environment of the Massachusetts Bay colony, implicit puritanism was unnecessary. Cotton remarked on the need for 'professed believers' who would actively be 'tending to maintain brotherly love, and soundness of doctrine.'[67] Visible piety was key for the establishment of spiritual credibility and was vital when trying to recognise brethren in the midst of an unfamiliar land. It was a way in which spirits could identify one another, just as it was a core aspect of puritan piety to experience their religion with their communities as well as privately. As articulated by Thomas Goodwin in a letter to John Goodwin, 'We find Confession with the Mouth of the Work of Faith in the Heart, a Means among others sanctified by God to make ones Grace evident and visible to others.'[68] Entering into debate with Roger Williams about what this should look like, Cotton stated that 'it is likewise necessary to Church-fellowship, we should see and discerne all such pollutions as doe so farre enthrall us to Anti-christ, to separate us from Christ.'[69] For the leading minister, visibility and purity were essential for the proper order of society, all working together to create harmony: 'purity, preserved in the church, will preserve well ordered liberty in the people, and both of

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[66] Stephen Bachiler to John Winthrop (18/19 May, 1644), *WP*, IV, pp. 457-9.
[67] Cotton, *Keys to the Kingdom*, pp. 5, 55.
[68] Quoted in Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 171.
[69] John Cotton to Roger Williams (1636), *Correspondence*, pp. 213-22.

them will establish well-balanced authority in the magistrates.'[70] This was repeated in his *Keys to the Kingdom*, which highlighted the obligation that congregations should feel, 'whereby every member of the Church walketh orderly himself, according to his place in the Church, and helpeth his brethren to walk orderly also.'[71] He echoed Winthrop's earlier sentiment that 'being assured of eache others sincerity in our intentions in this worke, and duely considering in what new relations we stand, we might be knit togither in a most firm bond of love and frindshippe.'[72] Michael Winship has argued that this visibility was about much more than appearing 'godly.' It was about being a true Christian, identifiable by other puritans.[73] Purity and visibility were vital measures for ascertaining credibility in New England, 'opposing to the utmost of o[u]r power, whatsoever is contrary thereunto.'[74] However, on a more quotidian level, visibility and purity in the church took a more personal form. John Reyner, when minister at Plymouth, wrote to John Cotton in Boston to make enquiries after the spiritual qualities of a woman he was attracted to.[75] His enquiry was an important first step in establishing the woman's suitability for marriage. Cotton's quick response reassured Reyner that the woman was not yet a member, but only 'by reason of the store of others who presented themselves.'[76] Reyner was later reassured of the woman's spiritual worth, when one Francis Clarke was admitted to the church in March 1640, and later dismissed from the Boston church with recommendation to Reyner's church as his wife in 1642.[77] Membership was, therefore, a stamp of approval that followed a collective assessment by the congregation. It bestowed each church member with a measure of spiritual credibility and left those without membership lacking in an important endorsement of their character. Church membership reinforced social and spiritual bonds, imparting a sense of belonging to puritans joining fragile new communities, but it also acted as a marker of credibility in the congregational organisation of the early New England colonies.[78]

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[70] John Cotton to William Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele (after March 1636), *Correspondence*, pp. 243-7.

[71] Cotton, *Keys to the Kingdom*, p. 7.

[72] *WP*, II, p. 176.

[73] Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, p. 100.

[74] Quoted in Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 153.

[75] John Reyner to John Cotton (15 October, 1639), *Correspondence*, pp. 294-6.

[76] John Cotton to John Reyner (18 October, 1639), *Correspondence*, pp. 298-9.

[77] Bush, Jr., *Correspondence*, p. 294.

[78] Bremer, *Lay Empowerment*, p. 51; Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, pp. 48-9.

Church membership also functioned as a precautionary measure. It was designed to protect the community from incoming radicals and unregenerate opportunists and excluding the corrupt had the additional effect of reinforcing the spiritual purity of qualified members. Methods of regulating the community could be preventative or reactionary and the former was rooted in measuring the credibility of new members. The following chapter of this thesis will explore a breakdown of trust and its consequences, but more pertinent here are the preventative methods by which the godly in New England hoped to ensure that their new churches were constituted only of visible or credible saints.[79] Determining sanctity was paramount, for, as Thomas Hooker noted, 'Visible Saints only are fit matter appointed by God to make up a visible church of Christ.'[80] Nathaniel Ward saw the security and survival of his isolated Ipswich settlement as absolutely reliant on purity and visibility, writing to John Winthrop Jr that 'we consider our Towne as a sey or port towne of the land remote from neighbours and had neede to be strong and of a homogeneous spirit and people, as free from dangerous persons as we may.'[81] He used this as justification for not granting land to one Mr. Hall in 1635, on account of the 'company that he brought to towne and his manner of cominge.' Although Ward remembered his Christian duty in giving all men a chance to redeem themselves or prove themselves worthy, claiming that he 'dare not beleeve empty rumours aganst any man,' and that he was 'tender of young and hopefull men, and ready to incourage them,' he had been wounded by previous encounters with men in whom he had placed his trust. Seeking to protect his town and congregation, Ward informed Winthrop Jr that 'our Towne of late but somewhat too late have bene carefull on whome they bestowe lotts, being awakned therto by the confluence of many ill and doubtfull persons, and by their behaviour since they came in drinking and pilferinge.'[82] These were civic as well as moral infractions, damaging to the harmony of the community and the spiritual safety of its members. Just as the Bible highlighted binaries of good and evil, puritans imposed a binary framework on the world around them: regenerate and

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[79] Bremer, 'John Davenport's church,' pp. 140-6.

[80] Thomas Hooker, quoted in J. Miller, 'Direct democracy and the puritan theory of membership,' *The Journal of Politics*, 53, 1 (Feb., 1991), p. 66.

[81] Nathaniel Ward to John Winthrop Jr (24 December, 1635), *WP*, III, pp. 215-7.

[82] Ibid, pp. 215-7.

unregenerate.[83] Ward's caution over the admittance of new church members was designed to ensure 'the more of Gods presence and blessinge' and the 'lesse of Satans kingdome,' but it was also to secure 'the creditt of our Church and Towne.'[84] He believed that the credit of his settlement would most securely stem from credibility obtained in spiritual and moral purity and order.

The task of invigilating against the unregenerate did not fall only to civil or religious authorities in New England. In contrast with the way in which the Church of England was organised, the church covenants in early New England called for members of the churches to watch over one another.[85] David Weir has drawn particular attention to this fact, identifying the call for the 'holy watch' in a community as a part of the 'formulary' for church covenants in the Massachusetts Bay Colony for a number of decades.[86] So, while lay people 'enjoyed little genuine influence' in the administration of church government, the emphasis on popular participation in covenanted congregations meant that the whole community became involved in the regulation of their covenanted body.[87] John Winthrop had even called for this in his 'Modell of Christian Charity,' portraying the New England venture as a very public enterprise, indicating that settlers would be held accountable for their actions.[88] Historians have long focussed on the ministers and magistrates involved in regulating the fledgling communities of New England, prioritising the religious tracts and sermons that set out the ideals of the covenant and of church membership, but we must acknowledge the role of the layman in negotiating, assessing, and establishing credibility in the early New England colonies if we are to fully understand the way the puritans mediated the tensions between themselves. In this chapter I have already noted that the act of

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[83] P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), pp. 146-8; 'The Cohabitation of the Faithful with the Unfaithful' in O. P. Grell, J. I. Israel & N. Tyacke (eds.) *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991), p. 55; P. Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice,' in R. Cust & A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, pp. 72-106; Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, pp. 162-3; S. Clark, *Thinking With Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997), p. 63.
[84] Nathaniel Ward to John Winthrop Jr (24 December, 1635), *WP*, III, pp. 215-7.
[85] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 39; Hall, *A Reforming People*, p. 107; Halcomb, 'Congregational Religious Practice,' p. 131.
[86] Weir, *Early New England*, pp. 154, 163.
[87] Cooper, *Tenacious of their Liberties*, p. 4.
[88] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 145.

joining a church was an active and formal swearing into a local community, a firm commitment of neighbours to one another in the eyes of God and each other.[89] Even this initial act involved the wider community in the acceptance of the individual. Where churches required testimony as a means of admission, the existing body of church members would witness the testimony of an applicant.[90] This marks a clear point of difference between the English puritan communities, which often engaged in mutual edification regarding the conversion experience or a testimony of faith, but crucially they did this on a voluntary basis.[91] As shown in chapter one, this voluntary sociability was intrinsic to English puritanism. Susan Hardman Moore has acknowledged that such processes were formalised and made compulsory in New England.[92] The intense process of self-scrutiny that would prepare the heart for God was formalised and made public in New England, which makes our inclusion of the laity in the history of puritan sociability all the more important. Unfortunately, their voices remain difficult to access.

Even in the extensive collection of letters that are collated in the *Winthrop Papers*, hearing the clear voices of the laity can be challenging. However, these letters provide a window to these lesser known colonists through their petitions to John Winthrop and his family. Craig Muldrew has suggested that 'horizontal relations of friendship and acquaintance seem to have been of more importance than vertical social relations,' which highlights the importance of community ties and of accessing lay relationships.[93] It is these ties that come under examination in this chapter. To learn how the laity understood their obligation to invigilate and hold other members of their communities accountable for their moral and spiritual standing, this chapter consults their reports of unacceptable behaviour in their communities. In 1639, Edward Rawson reported to John Winthrop that a recent arrival in his town of Newbury was the subject of some 'scandalous reports,' a man that had already been granted jurisdiction by the Governor to live in that area.[94] Rawson had arrived in New

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[89] Miller, 'Direct democracy,' p. 64

[90] Hall, *A Reforming People*, pp. 107, 111.

[91] Ibid, p. 110.

[92] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 41.

[93] Muldrew, 'Culture of reconciliation,' p. 932.

[94] Edward Rawson to John Winthrop (7 February, 1639), *WP*, IV, pp. 97-8.

England only two years before with his family.[95] He reported that 'the men deputed by our freemen' were the ones who initially brought the reports of Walter Allen's 'two bastards the one by a mayd the other by another woman' to the attention of the authorities.[96] Seeking confirmation, the authorities 'sent for him to know, whether those reports were true or no,' and received further information from Allen's brother in law, Goodman Warde. Warde confirmed 'to a brother of our Church that so he [Allen] had [committed adultery] and that he Came over hether becawse he Could no longer abide in berrye [Bury St Edmunds, England].' Allen attempted to alleviate the damage of these accusations, admitting to one bastard but denying the other, and 'afirming that he hoped he had made his peace with god therefore and doughted not but he could give sufficient of testimony of his Conversacon since that time.' The involvement of the wider community is even more clearly demonstrated following Rawson's report of Allen's admission. 'The towne' remembered a law made in May 1637, 'and considering the godly intents thereof which was as well to keepe out such whose Lives were publickely prophane and scandalous as those whose judgements were Corrupt,' feared that Allen would be permitted still to live among them, meaning that 'the Comfortable societye of godes people might be disturbed and by the other the judgements of god procured.'[97] The people of this town clearly felt obligation to cleanse any blemishes from their midst, but Rawson's letter suggests that they also felt a wider responsibility for the law itself. He wrote to Winthrop that the townspeople 'desired me to signifye unto your worshipp what they knew . . . thereby manifesting their faithfullnes in discovering of any thing which as the Conceave might tend to the nullifying of such a wholesome Lawe.'[98] Though seemingly a civic matter, rather than solely a church one, the active and voluntary involvement of the town in trying to rid their community of corruption is clear, as is the obligation that pressed them to do so. That they referred to the law shows an engagement with their moral and legal responsibility, strongly suggesting that the autonomy and authority bestowed on members of the covenanted society at least in part incentivised them to raise their concerns regarding the rumours of Allen's previous scandalous behaviour. Far from passive or passing interest, this is conscious

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[95] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 262.
[96] Edward Rawson to John Winthrop (7 February, 1639), *WP*, IV, pp. 97-8.
[97] Ibid, pp. 97-8.
[98] Ibid, pp. 97-8.

participation, inspired by a desire to maintain the 'comfortable societye of godes people.'[99]

Rawson's account of his town's vigilance against corruption in their midst is not unique in the *Winthrop Papers*, and provides a clear example of the active engagement of lay people in the act of holding others accountable for their actions. This was a distinctly communal way in which a formally bound community of confirmed saints evaluated the spiritual and moral credibility of those bound to them. It is also apparent from Rawson's letter that he was willing to act on the rumours reported by members of his town, further developing our understanding of the role that laymen played. Not only were they expected to watch over one another, to hold their brethren accountable, but the authorities would heed their reports and take action. A letter from one Francis Williams to John Winthrop in 1643 gives further evidence of this. Williams seems to have been responding to a letter from John Winthrop, though that letter has not survived, questioning Williams about a number of accusations from his neighbours.[100] Williams seemed to accept the course of events, believing that 'A man ought to respect whiles he lives here: his Inward Integrity: and his outward righteousnesse his piety towards God and his Reputation towards men,' though he also commented rather philosophically on the matter of reputation, writing that 'to have every man speacke well of me is impossible.'[101] While never fully accepting the allegations against him, Williams did concede that 'Perhaps the reporters are honest,' adding 'and then I feare I have deserved it: If it be so, I will labour to shacke off that corruption: and be glad I have so by your meanes discovered it, and indeavor to win them by humanity, and gentilnes.'[102] The letter reveals little by way of detail, but it does further shed light on the process through which accusations from neighbours were handled. That Williams seemed to accept the fact of the accusation, if not the accusation itself, indicates that this was a familiar pattern. Indeed, his own belief that 'our blessed Saviour hath taught me to love my enimyes: and to overcome evil with good, and by love to serve one another' would

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[99] Ibid, pp. 97-8.
[100] Francis Williams to John Winthrop (9 May, 1643), *WP*, IV, pp. 375-7.
[101] Ibid, pp. 375-7.
[102] Ibid, pp. 375-7.

suggest that he both understood and even supported the process.[103] It is clear that the covenanted community directly contributed to the obligation of members to watch over one another, but also to the need for authorities to heed the reports of the laity.

But neighbours did not always manage to raise their concerns before a different action was taken. Thomas Jenner, following the sudden death of one member of his Saco congregation and then the suicide of the late man's wife 'began to consider what it was that might move the Lord so bitterly to afflict us.'[104] He concluded that, 'amongst other evils, I came to understand that ther was amongst us the guilt of breach of promise, and that amongst our magistrates.'[105] Jenner became convinced that Richard Vines was to blame, having broken a personal 'covenant or promise' with John Winthrop. Jenner's conviction that God would so severely punish the town for Vine's breach of a personal covenant clearly shows the value that he placed in the solemn vow. He was fearful of further consequences, writing 'I know not what to do, but mine eyes are to the Lord, on whom I cast my care for he careth for me.'[106] Hugh Peter also reported a matter in which God intervened in the judgement of a layman in his congregation. He described to John Winthrop the event, 'where Mr. Holgrave denying some thing that was cleere to the Congregation (hee being then dealt with) was suddenly struck by Gods hand with the losse of his memory, and such fumbling in his speech.'[107] Holgrave acted against congregation, and his covenant, by lying and denying what he was accused of and was struck down providentially by God. It was a serious enough matter that the congregation grew concerned, and Peter hoped that God would 'helpe us to make use of it to his praise.'[108] Peter further asked Winthrop to notify John Wilson at Boston's First Church, knowing that the tale would impact on other congregations, reminding them of the dangers of acting in contravention to the covenant. These accounts provide strong evidence that the laity responded to covenantal obligation to watch over one another in early New England, collectively

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[103] Ibid, pp. 375-7. See also: John Winthrop and Edward Winslow to the Constables of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (23 February, 1644), *WP*, IV, pp. 445-6.

[104] Thomas Jenner to John Winthrop (28 March, 1645), *WP*, V, pp. 14-6.

[105] Ibid, pp. 445-6.

[106] Thomas Jenner to John Winthrop (28 March, 1645), *WP*, V, pp. 14-6.

[107] Hugh Peter to John Winthrop (4 September, 1639), *WP*, IV, p. 139.

[108] Ibid, p. 139.

seeking to regulate and preserve purity. There was an element of self-preservation in this. Some events, such as the deaths following Vines's betrayal of trust and Holgrave's providential ailment, clearly showed the colonists that Cotton was right in his assertion that 'If God plant his Ordinances among you, fear not, he will maintain them,' but 'as soon as God's Ordinances cease . . . your security ceaseth likewise.'[109] The obligation to watch over one another was rooted in theology and compounded in the lay experience of scripture.

Church and civic covenants were communal and active bonds that imparted a sense of belonging in the fragile and unfamiliar communities of New England. Gaining church membership required a level of social credit, which was assessed as a way of pre-emptively regulating the community against the unregenerate. Once gained, active church membership was a marker of credibility, but it also increased the obligation of members to watch over one another and to participate in the assessment of new members. Cotton referred to the 'safe and holy and faithful office of the vigilancy of the community of Churches.'[110] To achieve this meant being vigilant against corruption within the community as well as without and required the communal action of the laity as well as the clergy and magistrates to evaluate the spiritual and moral credibility of those bound to them. Obligation was, therefore, part of a group dynamic and any thorough understanding of the obligation that congregational puritans in New England experienced this must take the average layman into consideration alongside ministers and magistrates.

Letters and the Function of Testimonials

As shown in chapter one, networks of correspondence enabled the puritans on either side of the Atlantic to remain connected despite the ocean that now stood between them. These networks also enabled the transatlantic recommendation of acquaintances, friends, and relatives who wished to join communities and churches overseas. These testimonials were intended to persuade their readers, forging and consolidating new network connections, even from a distance. Efforts to persuade

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[109] Cooper, *Tenacious of their Liberties*, p. 12.
[110] Cotton, *Keys to the Kingdom*, p. 59.

existed not only in the letter but could be extra-textual. In making the endorsee the bearer of the letter, endorsers forced an introduction to the person that could grant good favour, security, or who could most effectively promote their admission to a church. The first part of this section will explore informal testimonies from individuals testifying on behalf of their friends, kin, and servants. Continuing the efforts of the previous section to bring to light the agency of the laity in these New England puritan communities, it will highlight the role that lesser known members played in establishing social credit for others. This has wider implications for our understanding of puritan sociability, revealing the value of testimony and the extension of personal credit to promote, undermine, or restore credibility.

Social network analysis is a valuable tool for historians seeking to understand the role of testimony in establishing credibility in these fragile new communities in New England. Using network visualisation, we can quickly see the creation of new bonds, and identify social patterns whereby we can map the impact of increasing levels of trust placed in an individual. In the second part of this section, a statistical analysis of two different men, one that gained good favour through the endorsement of others, and another highly trusted facilitator in the network will demonstrate the way in which social network analysis can inform historians about levels of trust and credibility. Network analysis is an excellent methodology for exploring these themes because networks 'enable people to cooperate with one another – and not just with people the know directly – for social advantage.'[111] Trust is a theme strongly emphasised by social scientists Neil Smelser and John Reed as central to successful group dynamics today, facilitating common understanding, reducing uncertainty, and resolving conflict.[112] These were prominent concerns for the unsettled early colonists seeking to consolidate communities, and makes trust a very useful way in which to understand credit and credibility. Combining qualitative and quantitative methods will reveal how contemporaries evaluated social credit and decided who they should place their faith in and will develop our understanding of the way in which trust was bestowed, as well as the impact of investing that trust on the functioning of the network more widely. Moreover, by visualising John Sandbrooke's application and

[111] J. Field, *Social Capital* (London, 2003), p. 17.
[112] N. J. Smelser & J. S. Reed, *Usable Social Science* (Berkeley, CA, 2012), p. 129.

integration into John Winthrop's circle, we can see the impact of a statement of trust by a leading individual on a lesser known member of the network. Sandbrooke and Peirce were identified in the correspondence through firm endorsements of their character. From this point, a broader statistical analysis of their position in the network and an exploration of their ties could take place. Through an original use of social network analysis to explore credit and credibility through two different methods, this section will show how network analysis has the potential to be utilised more widely by social historians, providing new paths in to large quantities of data and revealing fresh perspectives on communities and groups.

In a position of authority for the first time, where before they had been the opposed minority, members of the colonial community had to trust that their brethren were meeting the same high standards of moral and religious behaviour as themselves.[113] As Winthrop had made very clear, this was to be a collective effort.[114] Susan Hardman Moore informs us that in the New England church, great emphasis was placed on the harmony of closely connected believers known to each other. It was 'not a building, or a hierarchy, but a community.'[115] Craig Muldrew has argued that trust was a vital social bond, and a good reputation and reliability were of great social importance in England.[116] Trust was equally essential to the realisation of the ideal of spiritual and social community and harmony in New England and went hand in hand with regulating the colonial community. Groups tend to trust members more than non-members, and so acceptance into the group depended on credibility.[117] Growing out of the desire to enjoy a pure and unpolluted fellowship with saints on Earth and exacerbated by the anxiety of trying to discern God's will and truth, trust was a social currency, an essential part of membership to a New England community.[118] Michael Winship tells us that this call for trust was intensified in New England by the knowledge that the colonists would have to live up to higher standards of holiness

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[113] Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, p. 173.

[114] M. S. Holland, *Bonds of Affection: Civic Charity and the Making of America – Winthrop, Jefferson, and Lincoln* (Washington, DC, 2007), p. 36, 37, 47.

[115] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 40

[116] C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 148.

[117] Smelser & Reed, *Usable Social Science*. 140.

[118] Hall, *A Reforming People*, p. 163.

than they had to little effect in England, showing exemplary holiness in their everyday interactions as well as in their worship.[119] In a similar fashion to how social credit was established in churches by membership tests, trust was rooted in the same idea that the spirit could recognise the spirit. Visibility was key.[120] Muldrew has noted that credit 'referred to the amount of trust in society, and as such consisted of a system of judgements about trustworthiness,' but where Muldrew's work focusses mainly on economic relationships, this section will explore how trustworthiness was judged in the transatlantic communities of puritans in the mid-seventeenth century, with particular reference to the congregational churches of New England.[121] Endorsements were informal testimonies of trust, a demonstration of the endorser's position in the network, and any favourable response was also an acknowledgment of their own personal and spiritual status. As such, it is a very useful lens through which to examine how the puritans in New England negotiated their positions in relation to one another, and to the wider community. This perspective complements our understanding of the more formal statements of trust and credibility seen in church membership. If we accept Muldrew's argument that social credit can be understood as a currency, then testimony functioned as a valuable aspect of that social economy.[122] Using personal testimonies as evidence, therefore, enables us to better understand how puritans perceived and utilised their own social status and reputation in order to help, or hinder, others.

Francis Bremer has argued that historians need to take seriously the puritan belief that regeneration 'implanted in the soul an appreciation of the essential truth of the scriptures and of doctrine that was evident to fellow saints,' and while we recognise this in formal statements such as the granting of church membership, we do not yet have a full understanding of how this was realised on a day-to-day level.[123] Where personal testimony of conversion for church membership admission tests was rather formal and structured, the kinds of testimony that we find in correspondence are

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[119] Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, p. 173.

[120] Bremer, *Lay Empowerment*, pp. 71-2; G. F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Chicago, IL, 1992), p. 142.

[121] Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, p. 148.

[122] Ibid, p. 150.

[123] F. J. Bremer, 'John Davenport's church,' p. 144.

more quotidian and organic, making them the ideal medium through which to develop our understanding of less formal endorsements. As the first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop was the recipient of many letters hoping to persuade him of the good qualities of an individual or family seeking to secure their place in the New World. In 1635 Francis Kirby sent a letter of endorsement to John Winthrop Jr for William Alford, an honest man 'known to me.'[124] Kirby was a London merchant and regular correspondent of the Winthrop family, but he made sure to increase the chances of his request's success by adding an extra endorsement, adding that Alford was also known to John Cotton.[125] Cotton was undoubtedly a familiar and trusted figure, and his name carried considerable weight. That Alford was 'well knowne' to both men imparted a level of trust, owing to the men's own good character and reputation. We have evidence of Kirby recommending two others, both to John Winthrop, in 1637 and 1639.[126] On each of these three occasions, Kirby ensured that the endorsee was the bearer of the letter and made clear his personal connection to them. Francis Kirby also made a point to reiterate his own position as a key point of contact for the Winthrops in England. In his endorsement of his nephew Thomas Hale, Kirby offered, in return for Winthrop's 'courtesy that you shall do him,' to 'endevour to requite it in any service which I can performe for you heer.'[127] Likewise, when entreating his former servant Joseph Carter, 'my love deservinge son and faithfull servant,' he wrote that any courtesy done to Carter would be taken as done to himself, and 'be redy to requite it in any service that I can do for you heer.'[128] Offering his own 'service' in exchange for good favour, in addition to ensuring the men achieved an introduction with the recipient by way of carrying the letter, Kirby utilised his own position to extend his personal credit to the men he endorsed. These testimonies are evidence not only of the form of the endorsement in the text, which is quite formulaic in its inclusion of character reference and offer of services in exchange for favour. Kirby's endorsements show how the passage of the letter itself could be utilised to add weight to the testimony in the letter. In this we are able to see that the extra-textual elements of endorsements can contribute to our

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[124] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop Jr (11 April, 1634), *WP*, III, pp. 162-3.

[125] Ibid, pp. 162-163.

[126] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop (10 May, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 409-10; Francis Kirby to John Winthrop (11 April, 1639, *WP*, IV, p. 104.

[127] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop (10 May, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 409-10.

[128] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop (11 April, 1639, *WP*, IV, p. 104.

understanding of these patterns of social credit. This supports James Daybell's formative argument that correspondence was more than the exchange of letters, as 'corporeal extensions' convey additional meaning.[129] Not solely in correspondence, these endorsements also occupy a space outside of the letter, which forces us to consider something still largely unexplored, particularly in transatlantic correspondence: the material life of a letter as well as what is contained in it.[130] For Francis Kirby, it is clear that he believed that the means of introducing his endorsee as the bearer of his letter carried an extra weight. Not only did he trust these men enough to endorse their good qualities, he trusted them enough to carry his news, details of his business dealings, and, in the case of Joseph Carter, who could 'with more safty relate to you our condicion heer then I can write it,' news too risky to set down on a page.[131]

Francis Kirby clearly treated John Winthrop like a social equal. His endorsements impart a sense of confidence and are not filled with the deference characteristic of letters from social inferiors. By way of contrast, Samuel Borrowes's letter to recommend two of his friends was cautious and effusive in its tone. Borrowes's own place in the colony had already been granted, and his father had written separately in an effort to place his son on the Governor's ship, and it was presumably this prior contact with John Winthrop that prompted Borrowes's friends to ask him to intervene on their behalf. Utilising what was likely only a minor connection to Winthrop, Borrowes wrote of 'a frend of mine whiche is willinge to go this voyadge for newe ingland.'[132] Borrowes's deference is clear, setting the context for his letter before making his request: 'maye yet plese you to understand the Case of my righting to youere worship at this time.'[133] We can be confident that Borrowes did not initiate this endorsement, because he writes that his friend, James Boosey, 'desired me to

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[129] J. Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 13, 16, 140.
[130] O'Neill and Grandjean have produced comprehensive works on transatlantic and early American communication and correspondence, but do not explore in detail the extra-textual context of letters: O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*; K. Grandjean, *American Passage: The Communications Frontier in Early New England* (Boston, MA, 2015).
[131] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop (11 April, 1639, *WP*, IV, p. 104.
[132] Samuel Borrowes to John Winthrop (6 January, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 184.
[133] Ibid, p. 184.

right to you for to entere his name,' which demonstrates clearly that Boosey was aware of his own personal network and the potential reach of his connections. He sought to develop his own social credit with John Winthrop by asking Borrowes to extend his own credit on Boosey's behalf. But Borrowes was ultimately let down by Boosey, and as a result had to work to rebuild his own credit with the Governor, further enhancing our understanding of these exchanges. Later that same month, Boosey pulled out of the voyage, and entreated Borrowes, once again, to notify the Governor. Borrowes began by acknowledging his good favour with John Winthrop, made known to him in a letter to Borrowes's father, 'in wich you exepresed youer love to me.'[134] He wrote of his gratitude, 'I moste hombeley thanke you for it and shall be redeye to imbrase it with much thankes to youer worshipe,' before coming to the point of his writing.[135] The frustration that the man felt is clear from his tone, wherein he wrote 'I am fere soreye that I ded medell in the besenes about sendinge to youer worshep for them.'[136] Borrowes made an interesting effort to withdraw his prior endorsement, and clearly felt betrayed that he had trusted his friend and been let down. He told Winthrop that 'had I tho[ugh]t that he wod a proved so on constante he shod a rit him selfe,' trying to assure Winthrop that he would not usually recommend someone so untrustworthy.[137] This was a simultaneous effort to discredit Boosey and to restore his own social credit.[138] Borrowes's anger and sense of betrayal is palpable, contrasting sharply with Kirby's confidence, and reminding us that testimonies carried with them the credit of the endorser. For those without Kirby's assurance of his own position, the prospect of recommending someone that turned out to be untrustworthy was deeply unsettling. Testimonies, therefore, were far from passive statements of friendship, but were imbued with deeper meaning related to social status and personal credit, carrying the weight of reputation and showing clearly that credit was essential in the patronage culture of New England.

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[134] Samuel Borrowes to John Winthrop (20 January, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 195-196.

[135] Ibid, pp. 195-6.

[136] Ibid, pp. 195-6.

[137] Ibid, pp. 195-6.

[138] Despite Boosey's inconsistency of mind, a footnote in the *Winthrop Papers* informs us that Boosey and his wife did eventually travel to New England, where Boosey because a lieutenant and representative to the General Court in Wethersfield, Connecticut. It seems that Boosey had overcome any damage to his own credit and reputation, to become a leading member of the community. *WP*, II, p. 184.

Borrowes's frustration with his friend and his efforts to rebuild his own social credit shows that testimony could also be used to restore credibility. This is also visible in a letter from Richard Elliott to the Court of Assistants. This letter adopts a more formal tone, which may well be because of his audience. Instead of a personal letter to a single person, Elliot's letter is more likely to have been a response to an accusation levied upon him, which had been brought to the attention of the Court. It is indicative, then, of a more formalised process of restoring credit in the eyes of his town's authorities. Writing on behalf of himself, Elliott's confession that 'I have sinned against the Great God of heaven and Earth' in addition to 'other offencis which I have committed.'[139] Elliott's offence goes unspecified, but his acknowledgement of his wrongdoing was clearly vital to the success of his attempt at redemption. He found comfort in the knowledge that 'the Lord is mercifull and desires not the death of any that truely Repent,' and believed that God knew 'that I speake out of a trobled minde and greved spearett.'[140] Elliott went so far as to claim to welcome his affliction, assuring the authorities that 'I speake it not because I am hear but I hope the worke of god shall appear by mee for I have made a promise god helping mee to keeepe it never to committ the like soe longe as I have to live.'[141] Validating his vow never to repeat his offence with his claim that he made it with God in mind, Elliott used his acknowledgement that previously he had 'dishonnored' God's name through his sinful actions as a platform from which to repent and restore his credit. His confession functions as a testimony of his own redeemed heart, and his new conviction to 'with all my power labore' to honour God from then on.[142] This confession was intended, it seems, to act in a similar fashion to the conversion narrative, in which puritans would repent of their former sins and tell of how 'we have reformed our practise,' and in doing so 'have we endeavoured unfainedly to humble our soules for our former contrary walking.'[143] A clear rejection of a former bad life could be enough to restore an individual's social and spiritual credit, but it was their testimony to this change that was essential for such a return to credibility. John Cotton confirmed this for a former

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[139] Richard Elliott to the Court of Assistants (1637), *WP*, III, p. 333.

[140] Ibid, p. 133.

[141] Ibid, p. 133.

[142] Ibid, p. 133.

[143] John Cotton to Roger Williams (1636), *Correspondence*, pp. 213-22.

member of his congregation, writing that 'if God give you to clear yourself from Guilt of Innocent Blood, the Lord then calleth you with a strong Hand, to Live in the Fellowship of His ordinances, and not to wander still like a Lamb in a large place, or like a sheep without a shepherd.'[144] Restoring credit, in such instances, required a strong commitment to God, who would act as witness where the testimony lacked the endorsement of a fellow spirit.

To testify to one's own redemption, therefore, often meant working alone, without the endorsement of someone able to extend their own credibility to their cause. In addition, such individuals also had to atone for wrong done before they could even hope to restore themselves to better standing, rather than endorsees who began from neutral ground. Margot Todd's work on repentance in the Scottish kirk showed this to be a largely performative, formulaic act. While this same physical performance is not identifiable in letters, the core practice of expressing sincere penitence and demonstrating a willingness to change was certainly something that the New England congregationalists looked for in their wayward church members.[145] We are presented with an example in the case of John Compton, who requested to be dismissed from the church at Roxbury in order to join again the church at Boston, which he had earlier left after being dismissed from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for his role in the Antinomian Controversy. The evidence is in the form of a correspondence between John Wilson of the First Church of Boston and John Eliot, Thomas Weld, John Miller, and Isaac Heath of the Roxbury church. Wilson reported that he and the Governor, John Winthrop, were willing to readmit Compton and thought 'it would be good for the man,' but wanted confirmation from the Roxbury elders had authorised Compton's request.[146] The reply stated simply that 'if in synceryty and uprightnesse he intendeth to listen to, and imbrace the truth of Jesus Christ,' they would grant Compton's request.[147] The condition was clear, Compton needed to demonstrate his sincerity, for 'if he have a secret reservation in his breast' to hold radical opinions, 'we much feare we think otherwise of it.'[148] While we do not know the details what

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[144] John Cotton to [Robert Harding?] (c. 1638-1644), *Correspondence*, pp. 382-3.
[145] M. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London, 2002), chapter 3.
[146] John Wilson to Thomas Weld and John Eliot (ca. September, 1642), *WP*, IV, pp. 353-4.
[147] Ibid, pp. 353-4.
[148] Ibid, pp. 353-4.

Compton said in his relation, we know that the 'open declaring of his condicion and profession of Faith in the Publique Assembly' was a condition of his readmission to the church. He also relied upon the collective decision of the Roxbury elders, the Governor and Deputy Governors of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and the minister of the First Church of Boston before even being authorised to make such a declaration. Far from beginning on neutral ground, both church and secular authorities came together to assess Compton's case before even giving him the opportunity to testify to his redeemed heart. Compton's readmission to the church was dependent on these two stages, but the Roxbury elders' primary fears of 'secret reservation' towards radicalism strongly suggest that it was his self-testimony that would crucially enable him to restore his own credibility.

While the role of individual endorsers features highly in these correspondence collections, the role of the Roxbury elders and Massachusetts Bay authorities, and the prominence of church covenants and church membership agreements, reminds us that we also need to consider the role of the community in providing or witnessing testimony and in the building of credibility. Many testimonies contained information about the spiritual character and quality of the endorsee. Bolstering the weight of his own recommendation, Hugh Peter included the wider endorsement of his congregation, describing one William Goose of Salem as an 'honest and godly man of our church.'[149] Peter's testimony gained additional authority through this collective statement of trust, as he confirmed to Patrick Copeland that Goose had been accepted by the congregation, but also that he lived harmoniously within that community. Goose thus met three key criteria: his 'godly' standing, his willingness to live peacefully among brothers, and the fact that he had been accepted as a member of Peter's church. We may not be able to identify the role of individual testimonies from congregationalists here, but it reveals the weight of collective endorsement from a formally bonded church of those whose sanctity had been validated by that same community. This adds an extra dimension to our understanding of how puritans could, and did, engage in weighing and developing the credit of themselves and their peers. We know that the godly valued the 'sweet society of saincts,' so it is important

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[149] Hugh Peter to Patrick Copeland (10 December, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 84-5.

for us to understand the role of the community as well as the role of individuals within that community.[150]

We are provided with an excellent example of a collective testimony in the intervention of William Hutchinson and others of his town in the case brought to court by James Davis against his wife in 1640. On hearing that James Davis had 'made complaint' of his wife, Barbara Davis, the community 'thought good to testefy' to the husband's 'false accusations' and 'a word or tow of what he did confesse' when examined by them.[151] Hutchinson's following report of James Davis's infractions seem to have been at the request of John Winthrop, but they contain evidence of the wider community holding the man to account for a pattern of lewd and troublesome behaviour. Presenting three statements to challenge James Davis's testimony against his wife, Hutchinson's letter not only demonstrates the collective action of group testimony, but how that testimony could be used to undermine credibility. Providing evidence that James Davis had lied about his wife's denial of 'due benevolence,' to her husband, 'according to the rule of God,' and had falsely reported to the Boston authorities that she was not pregnant, Hutchinson asserted that he 'did cleare her of that which now he condemmes her for.' James Davis's credibility was most convincingly undermined, however, by the testimony of others in the town, who reported the man's 'scandolus and offencive' life in the town, which was 'sinfull before god; and towards his wife.' The marriage, it was reported, was not a partnership, but the husband was 'idle and indeed a very drone sucking up the hony of his wifes labour . . . spending one month after an other without any labour at all.' His testimony was discredited with reports that 'he is given very much to lying, drinking strong waters; and towards his wife shewing nether pitty nor humanetie.' The husband's character here provided the evidence for challenging his testimony. His affinity for lying and his disrespect for his wife were in direct contrast with the good character of his wife, who he had tried to condemn. Hutchinson used the character of the wife to further highlight the husband's untrustworthiness, writing that in the nine months they had known her, her 'life was unblamable befor men for anything we know, being not abel to chardg her in her life and conversation, but

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[150] Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop (21 August, 1646), *WP*, V, pp. 96-7.
[151] William Hutchinson and Others to John Winthrop (29 June, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 259-60.

besids her masters testemony who best knows her in this.' Where the husband lied and drank, the wife 'was a fathfull, carfull, and panfull servant,' and Hutchinson reports that 'of these things theire is more wittnesses then us.' Hutchinson's letter shows how a false testimony could be used to both undermine the testifier, and to consolidate the credibility of the person he testified against. Moreover, this was made possible by the collective observation and testimony of a town, who came together to defend Barbara Davis in hope that 'the innocent wilbe accquitted, and the guilty rewarded according to his works.'[152] This example clearly demonstrates how the godly in this community understood their social responsibility to their neighbours, and to establishing truth, seeking to prove that James Davis was untrustworthy by testifying to his proclivity for lying and drinking, hardly valued characteristics in puritan communities. This communal condemnation of Davis's reputation added weight to the credibility of the evidence because reports were numerous, but it also reveals that neighbours were actively engaging in testifying on behalf of others in their community. Their mediation in this dispute was also a way of restoring harmony in the community, showing that congregational communities reinforced social ideals. In this fashion, their decision to step in and keep the peace was an act of neighbourliness.[153] This shows that they were given the opportunity to intervene on behalf of their neighbours, in this case both positively and negatively, and that their reports were heeded. Hutchinson repeatedly emphasised that he was part of a group, writing 'we' not 'I' and noting that 'more wittnesses' existed. This is both an example of the social obligation to watch over one another explored above, and of the active participation of the puritan community in weighing trust in order to both prove and undermine credibility.

 Testimony relied on the reputation of the testifier, or persons testifying. It was an ingrained social currency in New England and, notably, involved the lay members of the community just as it did the leading figures. This tells us that the laity had some agency in New England and were able to participate in the endorsement or condemnation of members of their communities. It is clear that a false testimony could prove detrimental to one's own social credit, showing that credibility could be

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[152] Ibid, pp. 259-60.
[153] Muldrew, 'Culture of reconciliation,' p. 929.

lost or gained through self-testimony or the testimony of others. Such social transactions were part of the everyday interactions of the godly in the covenanted communities of New England and demonstrate further that members of a community actively participated in the regulation of their communities, feeling some obligation to do so. We can also see that endorsements were transatlantic, a vital extension of credit for those who travelled without a group, or without friends already waiting in New England. In this sense, the puritans on both sides of the Atlantic were involved in the social currency by which the New England godly established credibility in their new communities.

Social Network Analysis and Testimonials

We can further explore trust as a measure of credibility by using social network analysis alongside qualitative analysis. Using the two methods together provides a fuller picture of the integration of new individuals into the fragile new communities in New England. This is particularly important in the context of transatlantic migration, as the communities of early New England were fragile and in flux. Lindsay O'Neill has argued that networks were often made necessary by migration, making network analysis an effective tool through which to explore trust and endorsements.[154] Crucially, though, many new connections in New England still relied on endorsements from across the Atlantic. In this section, network analysis is also shown to provide invaluable insight into the vital, but largely overlooked, role of merchants as network sustainers. While Robert Brenner has conducted extensive research on transatlantic merchants, their structural role has not been explored through the means of social network analysis, nor in terms of their infrastructural role in correspondence networks, not in terms of their social credit.[155] By turning our attention to these people that bridged structural gaps in the network, we gain a new perspective on credit by evaluating the benefit that these vital links provided to the correspondents that traditionally dominate historical narratives.[156] The identification of patterns of

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[154] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 5.
[155] R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge, 1993).
[156] J. Haggerty & S. Haggerty, 'The life cycle of a metropolitan business network: Liverpool 1750-1810', *Explorations in Economic History*, 48 (2011), p. 193; R. Ahnert & S. E. Ahnert,

trust and the development of credibility provides a new perspective for understanding how puritans mediated their positions in relation to one another in the network, highlighting that they were acutely aware of their connections and how to use them in order to increase their position, but also to increase their access to trusted persons that could help them to achieve a goal.

I have already emphasised the fact that endorsements acted as extensions of personal credit. Many of the endorsements involved in introductions or creating new network connections involve one individual, or actor, providing the link between two actors previously unknown to one another. These can be simply visualised as a linear connection between three people (see fig. 2.1), where one actor (B) is the point of connection that could potentially link actor C with actor A.
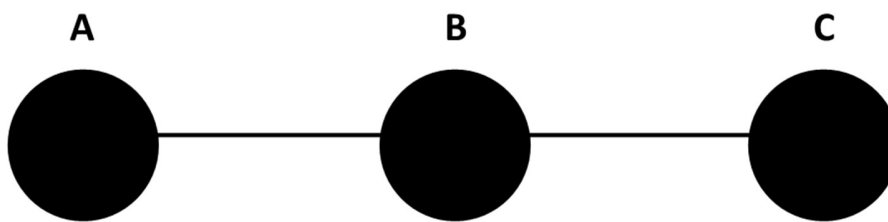
Fig. 2.1: Linear connection visualisation

When the introduction is successful, for example by actor B's endorsement of actor C's character to actor A, the network gains an extra point of connection, and the visualisation becomes triangular (see fig. 2.2).

'Protestant letter networks in the reign of Mary I: a quantitative approach', *ELH,* 82 (Spring, 2015), pp. 3, 14, 17.
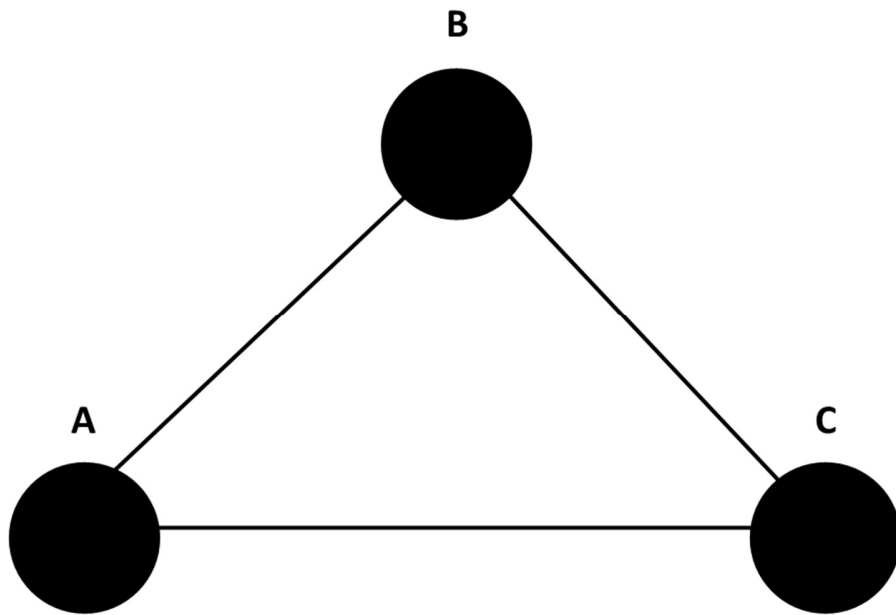
Fig. 2.2: Triangular connection visualisation

This is a very simplified way to visualise network connections, which were generally part of more complex patterns of interaction. Endorsements could be more tangential, requiring more than one step to reach the desired hand. These interactions reveal a conscious awareness of the potential of personal network connections and the manipulation of them to achieve a goal. One such example can be found in the acceptance of John Sandbrooke into John Winthrop's personal network. John Sandbrooke, incidentally, had very little to do with the forging of the connection between himself and John Winthrop. Already indentured to John Winthrop, Sandbrook was further endorsed via a circuitous route by way of the Governor's son, John Winthrop Jr, and Edward Howes. Howes was a regular correspondent of John Winthrop Jr, and an earnest friend. He wrote two separate letters on behalf of Sandbrooke, 'a pretty good clarke,' who Howes's master, Emmanuel Downing, 'thought good to preferre' to Governor Winthrop.[157] Here begins the rather complex web of connections. Sandbrooke had by this stage already been indentured to John Winthrop but had not yet departed for New England. The young man's father 'who hath noe other sonne but he,' asked Winthrop's sister and Howes's mistress, Lucy Downing, to 'write to your father about him.' When Howes offered the

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[157] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (22 June, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 131-3.

information that he was intending to write to Winthrop Jr, the elder Sandbrooke 'intreated me, to procure you to take a little notice of him, and encorage him in goodnes.' So, we have yet to hear from Sandbrooke himself in this exchange, but we know that he was, in June 1633, known to Emmanuel and Lucy Downing, as well as to the Downings' clerk, Edward Howes. But Howes was a frequent correspondent of John Winthrop Jr, and often sent multiple letters on the same subject in a short period of time, presumably for fear of their miscarriage. In a letter sent in August 1633, he notes 'this is the fifth or sixth lettre to you since I received any from you,' and so repeated much of his earlier message. He reported that 'I was requested by Mr. Sandbrooke (whose only sonne he hath sent as servant to my noble frind your worthy father) to write to you to shewe some favour to the ladd,' and to ask that the Governor would take note of the fact that the young man was sent with 'all or most necessaries as alsoe his passage paid for.' The elder Sandbrooke, knowing Howes's connection to the Winthrop family, reached out to him in order to lay foundations for his son's arrival in New England. Howes, in turn, aware of his own closer relationship with Winthrop Jr than with the Governor himself, utilised his own strong connection in order to promote Mr. Sandbrooke's request. Howes also shows an awareness of his own social credit with the Winthrops, writing that he had assured Sandbrooke 'that he need not doubt but it would be taken notice of, and remembred' even after the son had completed his period of service. Howes's confidence stands in stark contrast with Francis Borrowes's attempt to curry favour for his own son, explored above, which serves to emphasise that these puritans were more assured of achieving their aims if they had a personal connection to the individual they hoped to persuade, however tenuous.

It helps to visualise this pattern of connection in order to better understand the relationships called into play in securing some preferential treatment for John Sandbrooke.[158] Looking at fig. 2.3, we can see that this is already a fairly complex web of connections. Notably, however, John Sandbrooke seems reasonably well connected with the Downings and with Edward Howes prior to his emigration. His father, seeking to take this a step further, sought to consolidate the bonds created by

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[158] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (5 August, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 133-5.

Emmanuel Downing's indenture of John Sandbrooke to John Winthrop, by utilising his own connections to Lucy Downing and then to Edward Howes. Howes, instead of writing to John Winthrop, with whom he had a weaker relationship, wrote directly to John Winthrop Jr, his close friend. This shows an awareness of the most effective routes by which to achieve a goal. Firstly, it was not a small effort to send a letter from England to New England, evidenced in Lucy Downing's decision to allow Mr. Sandbrooke to pass his message through Howes's pen, already taken with the task of writing to Winthrop Jr.[159] Secondly, Howes clearly felt that he would have a better chance of ensuring the Governor's favour of John Sandbrooke by requesting it through his friend, whose emotional and physical proximity to the Governor would increase his chances of success, rather than to include a second letter to the Governor in the same packet.[160] Mr. Sandbrooke, then, created a path through Howes and Winthrop Jr to reach the Governor. It might not have been his first choice of path, nor was it the most direct, but it certainly shows an awareness of the connections available to himself, and to those connections in turn. Indeed, the decisions of Lucy Downing and Edward Howes to pass the request through less direct channels reveals an additional consciousness of the *best* path, rather than the fastest. The path chosen carried the social credit of each endorsing party: Mr. Sandbrooke endorsed his son to Edward Howes who, incidentally, could already vouch personally for John Sandbrooke. In turn, Howes employed his own significant social credit with John Winthrop Jr to increase the credibility of the son's position and build the young man's own personal credit with the younger Winthrop, which could in turn be extended to the Governor. The passage through multiple hands in this instance served to increase John Sandbrooke's credibility and perceived trustworthiness, whilst also developing a greater chance of success in light of each endorser's own social credit with their chosen recipient.

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[159] Daybell has shown that English letterwriting was governed by the irregular arrival and departure of bearers, but this reactivity was even more pronounced in transatlantic correspondence: Daybell, *Material Letter*, p. 46.

[160] Peter Bulkeley to John Cotton (26 September, 1642), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, p. 366; Ahnert & Ahnert, 'Protestant letter networks,' p. 3.
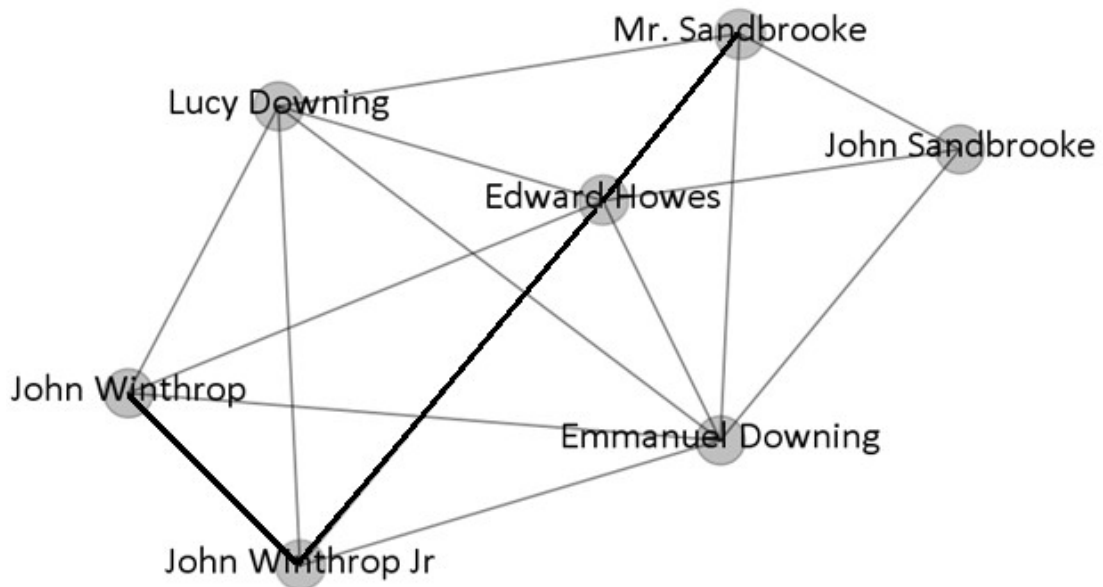
Fig. 2.3: A force-directed network visualisation of the connections surrounding John Sandbrooke's endorsement by his father, with the path of the endorsement highlighted

John Sandbrooke is absent from the correspondence for five years following these letters, but he does reappear in 1638. Examining his network position at this point reveals that the efforts of the Downings and Mr. Sandbrooke had been successful, that John Sandbrooke had achieved an apparently good position with John Winthrop and had also developed a small network of his own. In 1638, Sandbrooke wrote to John Winthrop asking to be released from his indenture on his return from the Isle of Sable. His letter shows an engagement with puritan theology, and a good knowledge of scripture. Moreover, he wrote to report on the activities of the group of men currently on the Isle of Sable, revealing that he had established himself in a position of trust with John Winthrop. He had clearly developed enough social credit with the Governor to provide the news he relayed of the men and the success of their hunting of sea 'horse,' or Walrus, in the area. By this point, Sandbrooke clearly believed that he had been elevated to a comfortable enough position that he felt able to make his own endorsement. Not only does this strongly suggest that his trustworthiness had been consolidated to the point that Winthrop sent him on valuable hunting excursions, trusting his reports on events, but even as a servant Sandbrooke felt confident in adding his own personal credit to the endorsement of Lieutenant Morris as the new commander for the troop. Despite 'haveing not my vote with the rest of the company because I am a servant,' Sandbrooke used his connection with John

Winthrop to step outside of his social position and 'vote' even while acknowledging that he was ineligible to do so.[161] Sandbrooke might never have developed a wide personal network, at least not one visible in this correspondence network (see fig. 2.4), but was part of a group of well-placed individuals in the network, affording him a good position.
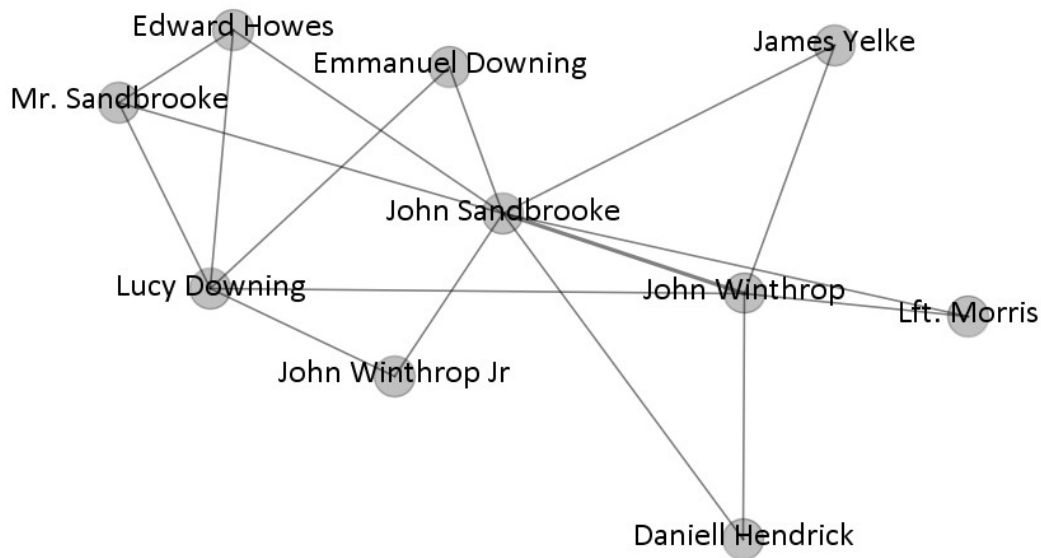
Fig.2.4: A force-directed network visualisation of John Sandbrooke's connections in 1638

In the case of John Sandbrooke, we can see how Edward Howes, Lucy Downing, and to an extent Mr. Sandbrooke were aware of their personal network, the wider network connections that were available through their personal relationships, and, vitally, how to exploit these networks for their own gain. This was crucial in building credit where no immediate connections existed, particularly as the correspondence needed to cross an ocean to achieve its goal. It is also apparent that the shortest path might not always have been the most effective, which strongly suggests that social credit was taken into consideration when making endorsements. Edward Howes knew that his own social credit was stronger with John Winthrop Jr than with John Winthrop, so he chose to include an extra step in the path by which to articulate his support for John Sandbrooke. This pattern is particularly relevant in these early years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Mr. Sandbrooke's concern for his son was

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[161] John Sandbrooke to John Winthrop (30 April, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 27-9.

heightened because of the fragility and unfamiliarity of the new land, but it is also likely that he had few, if any, friends to call on in New England to watch over his son. As such, he had to tap into a more tenuous network connection in order to reach across the Atlantic and persuade the Governor to assume that role.

Sandbrooke's acceptance into John Winthrop's social network was actively and consciously orchestrated, showing an awareness of the value of network connections. To consider credit in slightly different terms, of structural benefit to the network, we can look at the example of William Peirce, a merchant and shipmaster, who gradually increased his position in the correspondence network, yet only once appears as a correspondent in the eleven years that he was active and featuring in letters.[162] In every other instance he is present only as a reported or implied connection, making him an anomaly. However, Peirce over time became firmly established as a vital network connection, a position that we can understand through a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis. Peirce first appears in the correspondence network when briefly mentioned by John Winthrop in a letter regarding his financial accounts.[163] The letter provides no contextual information about him, only suggesting that he was involved in the supply chain for New England. In November of that same year, his one surviving letter in this collection hints at a wider correspondence no longer extant, as he wrote to John Winthrop Jr that he had 'receyved from you two letters,' and reported on tasks completed on Winthrop Jr's behalf.[164] In this letter Peirce's role as merchant becomes apparent, and he instantly indicates himself in this letter as someone that could be trusted through his complaint about the shipmaster of the *Gift*, John Brock, who had broken open private letters from New England. Peirce's belief that 'it were good that some Course were procecuted against him' both implied that he would never commit the same offence and comparatively elevated his credibility above a rival merchant, who does not appear again in this correspondence network. The major endorsement of Peirce's good character and skill came from John Winthrop in 1631. Writing to his son about the prospect of him travelling with the

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[162] Peirce is not unknown to historians of early New England. See C. G. Pestana, Peirce, William (1590?–June or July 1641), ship's captain and almanac author,' *ANB*; Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 372.

[163] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (23 July, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 304-7.

[164] William Peirce to John Winthrop Jr (18 November, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 317-8.

rest of the family to join the Governor in Massachusetts, Winthrop wrote that 'I would rather you stayed, though it were 2 or 3 months, to come with mr. Peirce . . . because of his skill and Care of his passingers.'[165] This is a strong and positive endorsement of Peirce. Knowing, then, that Peirce was a trusted individual, someone important to John Winthrop, we can turn to the wider network in order to understand his structural significance.

Having first identified William Peirce as a point of focus, each letter in which he was mentioned was extracted from the corpus of 1,523 letters. This process drew out thirty-seven separate letters, though in only one of which is Peirce identified as either the sender or recipient. This basic analysis quickly shows that Peirce was known and active in this correspondence network between 1630 and 1641, and a biographic search explains this sudden absence from the correspondence, revealing that Peirce died at the hand of Spanish troops on Providence Island, 13 July 1641.[166] In order to create a fuller picture of Peirce's place in the network, the data from the letters was extracted and turned into meta-data, a process which enables mathematical and visual analysis to be conducted on the correspondence network. Because of Peirce's lack of surviving correspondence in this collection, it was essential to look beyond the correspondence connections, those between sender and recipient of letters, and to manually extract details of relationships from the contents of the letters. Ruth Ahnert has argued convincingly that this multi-layered approach, which identifies a range of relationships in a more dense and detailed network, is essential for fully understanding the role of individuals, and the different communities and clusters functioning within a network.[167] Indeed, without such an approach, Peirce would barely feature as a member of this extensive correspondence network, and would very likely be overlooked as an important figure in favour of more prolific correspondents. Having identified and characterised each relationship in the letters sent and received between 1630 and 1641, when Peirce was active, five main categories emerge: correspondence links (between sender and recipient); reported links (where a conversation or other exchange was relayed); implied links (where the

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[165] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (28 March, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 20-2.
[166] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 372.
[167] R. Ahnert, 'Maps versus Networks,' in J Raymond & N. Moxham, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 140-50.

sender appears to assume the recipient's knowledge of an individual); requested links (where an endorsement or recommendation encourages a new connection); and kin or spousal links. William Peirce appears most frequently as a reported link and as an implied link. We can develop our understanding by conducting a very simple analysis of his degree (the number of unique relationships he holds in the network) and his weighted degree (the number of exchanges that he is involved in). By 1641, Peirce had engaged in a total of 21 unique relationships, his degree measure, but his weighted degree shows that his exchanges were more frequent. His score of 75 means that 54 of these connections were repeated, indicating that some might have been relatively regular interactions. But this only shows Peirce's position in this network at the time of his death, and, as networks were 'active and changeable organisms,' any clear understanding of the way in which Peirce's position developed would rely on analysis conducted over time.[168]

In 1630, there is evidence of only six unique relationships for Peirce in this network, and a weighted degree of 12, placing William Peirce still, remarkably, in the top 12% for his degree score and 11% for his weighted degree score in the network for that year. However, given that only 9% of the 168 network actors in 1630 have a degree score of 10 or above, and only 4% have a score of 20 or above, it is clear that Peirce is still a fairly peripheral actor in the network at this point. By 1635, his degree score of 13 places him in the top 7% of a much larger network of 463 actors, and his weighted degree of 47 ranks him in the top 3% by that measure. This shows a significant increase in the number of Peirce's connections in only a short period. Looking at the content of the letters, it appears that Peirce traversed that Atlantic many times in these years, carrying people, goods and correspondence between England and New England, and the Caribbean. Despite a shipwreck in 1633, a number of correspondents still received letters from that ship, though noted that they were 'soe washed and the writing scoured oute that the greatest part . . . was white and cleane with the salte water.'[169] But this seems not to have deterred those that favoured Peirce for his safe carriage of their letters, significantly contributing to his surprisingly

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[168] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 7.
[169] Henry Paynter to John Winthrop Jr (14 March, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 109-110; Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (18 March, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 110-4.

high degree score of 21, ranking him in the top 3% of a network of 758 by 1641, and in the top 2% of the weighted degree measure. These metrics are surprising because of the distinct lack of correspondence from Peirce's hand. The only other individuals scoring more than 20 on the weighted degree measure between 1630-1641 to have personally engaged in correspondence so infrequently are kin of the Winthrop family (James Downing, Mary Downing, and Jane Gostlin), members of the Company of Husbandmen (Grace Hardwin, John Dye, Thomas Juppe, and John Roach) whose names all feature in the few letters they sent collectively, which gives a skewed picture of the regularity of their exchanges in the correspondence.[170] Their high number of connections is cemented by a significant number of reported connections with one another. Finally, Increase Nowell and Thomas Hewson also feature on this list with only one letter sent each, but they were letters with significant numbers of reported and implied connections, leading to their high ranking.[171] This is a very simple measure, but it shows clearly that Peirce became, over time, a valued member of the network. Even when his ship was wrecked, and the correspondence he was entrusted with damaged, the puritans on either side of the Atlantic continued to trust Peirce with their letters and their supplies. However, these measures also indicate a deeper meaning, that William Peirce held a different role in the network from his high-scoring peers. He was a facilitator, bridging what Ronald Burt has called 'structural holes' in the network, by carrying letters across the Atlantic, and sustaining the network through his work as a bearer.[172]

Understanding Peirce as a facilitator rather than a correspondent adds an extra dimension to this network. In order for the puritans to stay in contact following migration to New England, they needed to rely on others to safely carry their letters across an ocean. This was, in essence, just what they had done by employing messengers and letter bearers in England, but on a larger scale. Transatlantic bearers needed access to a ship, at the very least, to be able to deliver their charges. This

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[170] Company of Husbandmen to Members in New England (8 March, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 67-71; Company of Husbandmen to John Winthrop (1 December, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 101-3.
[171] Daniel Patrick to Increase Nowell (6 July, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 440-441; Thomas Hewson to John Winthrop (7 March, 1636) *WP*, III, pp. 234-5.
[172] R. S. Burt, *Structural Holes: the Social Structure of Competition* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), cited in Ahnert, 'Maps versus Networks,' p. 147.

requirement contributes to our understanding of social credit and credibility in this period because those actors able to bridge structural gaps were, by definition, of value. As Ruth Ahnert describes it, this benefit can be understood 'as a form of social capital,' or credit.[173] It connects with an idea, prevalent in social science, whereby social capital 'refers to social contacts and connections as a way to get things accomplished.'[174] There was an immense strategic advantage in being one of very few actors through which information could flow, and Peirce, a trusted ship master who regularly crossed the Atlantic, was undoubtedly one of them. In theory, if Peirce held a significant amount of social credit as a result of his position as a key facilitator for the network, we should be able to see this reflected in a high betweenness ranking. Any network is in essence a series of paths between nodes. Betweenness tells us how many of these shortest paths go through a particular node. This reveals how central a particular node, or actor, is to the organisation of the network and how important it is in connecting other people to one another. The higher the score, the more of the shortest paths go through a given node.[175] Again, it is helpful to view this analysis at different points in Peirce's career in order to gain a sense of how his position developed over time. After being enthusiastically endorsed by John Winthrop in 1630, Peirce ranked in the top 7% of 168 actors for his betweenness measure. It seems that this ranking comes largely from Peirce's connection to John Brock, who he accused of opening the letters of the New England colonists.[176] Because his description of Brock contained no indication that John Winthrop Jr, the recipient of the letter, had prior knowledge of the man, Peirce is Brock's only known connection in the network at this point (see fig. 2.5).

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[173] Ahnert, 'Maps versus Networks,' p. 147.
[174] Smelser & Reed, *Usable Social Science*, p. 146.
[175] Ahnert, 'Maps versus Networks,' p. 135.
[176] William Peirce to John Winthrop Jr (18 November, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 317-8.

Fig. 2.5: A force-directed network visualisation of the correspondence network created from the Winthrop Papers *for the year 1630. The connections of William Peirce are highlighted in dark grey.*

By 1635, Peirce's betweenness ranking places him in the top 7% in the network of 463. His position remains the same as in 1630, but in a much larger network. The people who rank above Peirce on this list fall broadly into three categories: religious and civic leaders (John Winthrop Jr, John Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John Clotworthy, Rev. John Wilson, Rev. Philip Nye, Isaac Johnson, Henry Jacie, Edward Hopkins,); merchants, broadly conceived (Francis Kirby, Isaac Allerton, John Humfrey, Richard Dummer, Grace Hardwin, Thomas Juppe, John Roch, John Dye, John Robinson, and Samuel Vassall); and friends and kin of the Winthrop family (Edward Howes, Margaret Winthrop, Emmanuel Downing, Martha

Winthrop, Henry Winthrop, Henry Paynter, Thomas Gostlin, John Ponde.[177] The outliers are Thomas Mayhew, an agent in Massachusetts who lay on the shortest path between Richard Dummer and John Winthrop, and Elizabeth Knowles, who wrote to John Winthrop to enquire after her brother's state in Massachusetts.[178] Knowles lies on the shortest path between very peripheral actors, Robert Mills and James Davies, each with a degree score of one, and John Winthrop. These connections form bridges between peripheral actors and central figures, or facilitate a more efficient path between two actors, creating each individual's prominence in the network, despite their low degree scores. There is an obvious trend here. John Winthrop and John Winthrop Jr predictably rank highest in terms of betweenness. The *Winthrop Papers* constitutes a significant proportion of the letters used in this study, and so we would expect to see the most prolific correspondents in the family as hubs in the network. In network analysis the word 'hub' denotes a node with 'an anomalously high number of edges.'[179] They are easy to detect visually and, in the force directed visualisations used in this thesis, will appear closer to the centre of the graph (see fig. 2.6). With so many connections, it is very likely that a shortest path would travel through them. That leading ministers and magistrates have such high betweenness scores in this network is no surprise. It is both a consequence of the source material, they would obviously be important hubs in a network constructed from the correspondence of the Winthrop family and two leading New England ministers, but also of the subject matter. Ministers and magistrates held prominence in New England. Likewise, with the friends and relatives of the Winthrops, these are people that we would expect to see ranking highly because of their close relationships with the key hubs. Emmanuel Downing, Edward Howes and Henry Paynter were regular correspondents, and Margaret and Martha Winthrop are recipients of many commendations at the close of letters.

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[177] See appendix I for detail on these actors.
[178] Elizabeth Knowles to John Winthrop (14 April, 1634), *WP*, III, p. 164.
[179] Ahnert, 'Maps versus Networks,' p. 135.
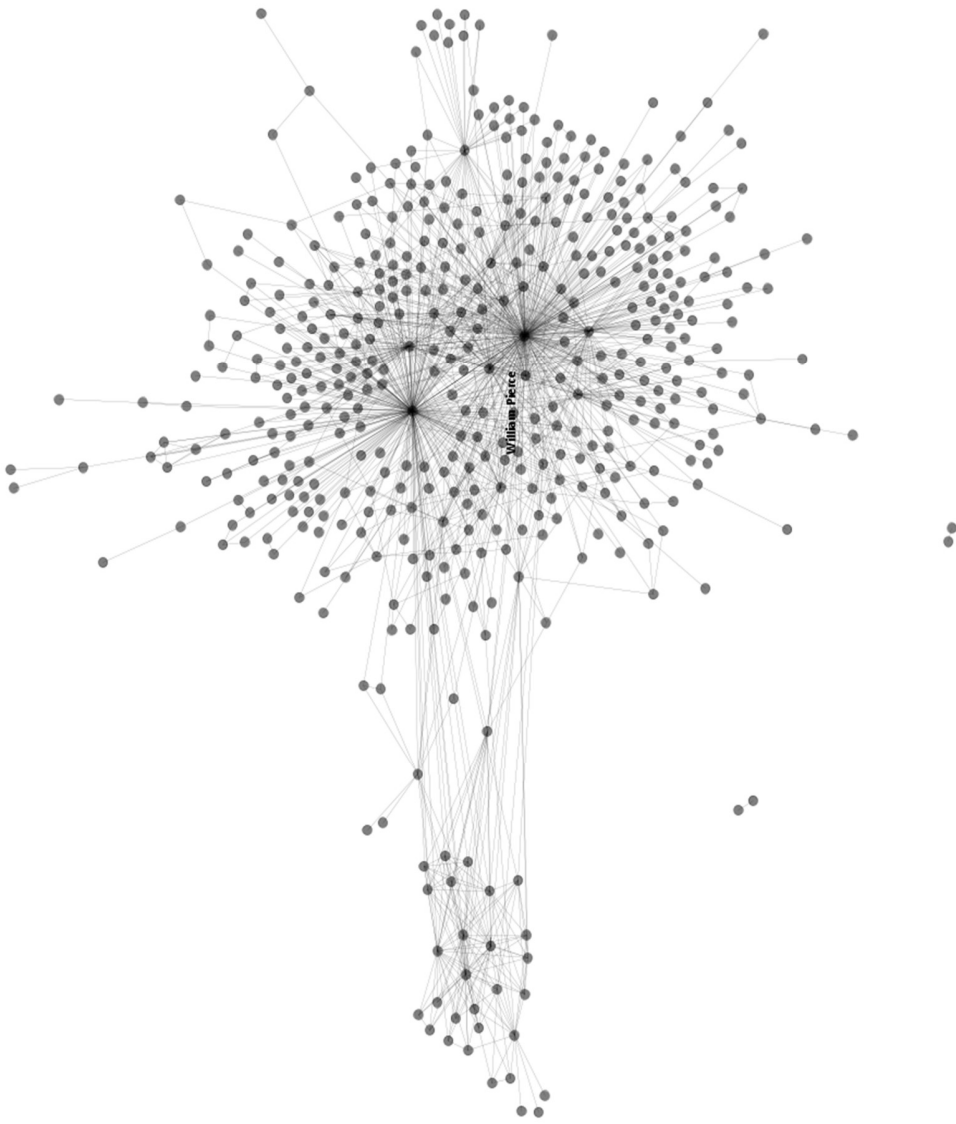
Fig. 2.6: A force-directed network visualisation of the correspondence network created from the Winthrop Papers for the years 1630-1635. William Peirce is highlighted.

152

That so many merchants have high betweenness rankings in the network reinforces the notion that these facilitators bridged structural gaps, building social credit as a result of their indispensability to the functioning of the network. It contrasts with Lindsay O'Neill's findings that merchants in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries tended to occupy network clusters that were separate from the familiar networks of her letter writing subjects.[180] In the correspondence networks examined in this thesis, merchants were vital structural links that carried correspondence, related news, and themselves engaged in colonial business ventures. This adds depth to our understanding of the role of merchants in the network, highlighting Peirce's infrastructural importance as a member of a group, but on its own the betweenness score doesn't tell us much about his individual status. However, when we look at Peirce's prominence as a merchant in terms of his weighted degree score, we can see that only two other merchants, Francis Kirby and John Humfrey, ranked higher than Peirce did between 1630-1635. In contrast with Peirce, these three men were regular correspondents, actively participating in commerce with the Winthrop family throughout these years. This makes Peirce somewhat anomalous in the network, but it can be explained by the nature of his connections. With a degree of 13 and a weighted degree of 47, thirty-four of Peirce's connections were repeated, suggesting a stronger relationship. This is also an indicator of trust, helping us to recognise Peirce as a trusted and regularly utilised facilitator in the network.

By the time of his death in 1641, Peirce still ranked highly in terms of his betweenness, maintaining his position as a key actor in the organisation of the network. Many of those above Peirce in the betweenness ranking between 1630-35 appear again in the 1630-41 analysis, and most of the new additions to this list fall into the same broad categories of leading magistrates and ministers (Roger Williams, Daniel Patrick, John Endecott, Brampton Gurdon, Hugh Peter, Edward Winslow, Increase Nowell, and John Cotton); merchants (Matthew Craddock, Israel Stoughton); and friends and kin of the Winthrops (Robert Ryece, Lucy Downing, Elizabeth Reade Winthrop, William Dixon, and Mary Dudley). The exceptions are Richard Davenport, who reported on the events of the Pequot War, making him a key facilitator for news,

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[180] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, pp. 141-3.

and Thomas James, a Providence minister who features in reports from the Pequot War. The final outlier is William Payne, who has few connections in the network, but acts as a facilitator connecting peripheral nodes to the centre. Having made no new connections in the network in the six years since 1635, all of Peirce's exchanges in these years were repeated, reinforcing the impression that he was trusted in the network and a frequently utilised facilitator. We can learn from this analysis that Peirce established a good level of social credit through his career as a merchant, which consolidated his status as a sustainer in the network. Of course, data can present misleading results, as seen in the anomalous results above. However, we can confirm the conclusions that the data presents by looking again at the content of the letters. The majority of references to Peirce in the correspondence report simply the fact that he was acting as letter bearer. These statements confirm Peirce's position as a facilitator but tell us little about the quality of his relationships or how his social credit was perceived by others. However, one clear statement from Lucy Downing in the months before Peirce's death is convincing in its confidence. Concerned that her son, Joshua Downing, 'is very eager for sea Imployment,' she sought training and guidance for him. She asked her brother, John Winthrop, to ask for William Peirce's help in the matter, writing 'they saye [he] is the moste able to teach him in this country.'[181] This collective endorsement from Isaac Allerton and the more vague, but notably collective 'they,' contributes to our picture of Peirce as a valued merchant, with an elevated level of credibility in the eyes of his contemporaries. We can further confirm his status as trustworthy through the knowledge that he was accepted as a church member in Boston in October 1632 and was made freeman of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634.[182]

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[181] Lucy Downing to John Winthrop (January, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 303-4.
[182] C. G. Pestana, 'Peirce, William (1590?–June or July 1641), ship's captain and almanac author,' *ANB*.
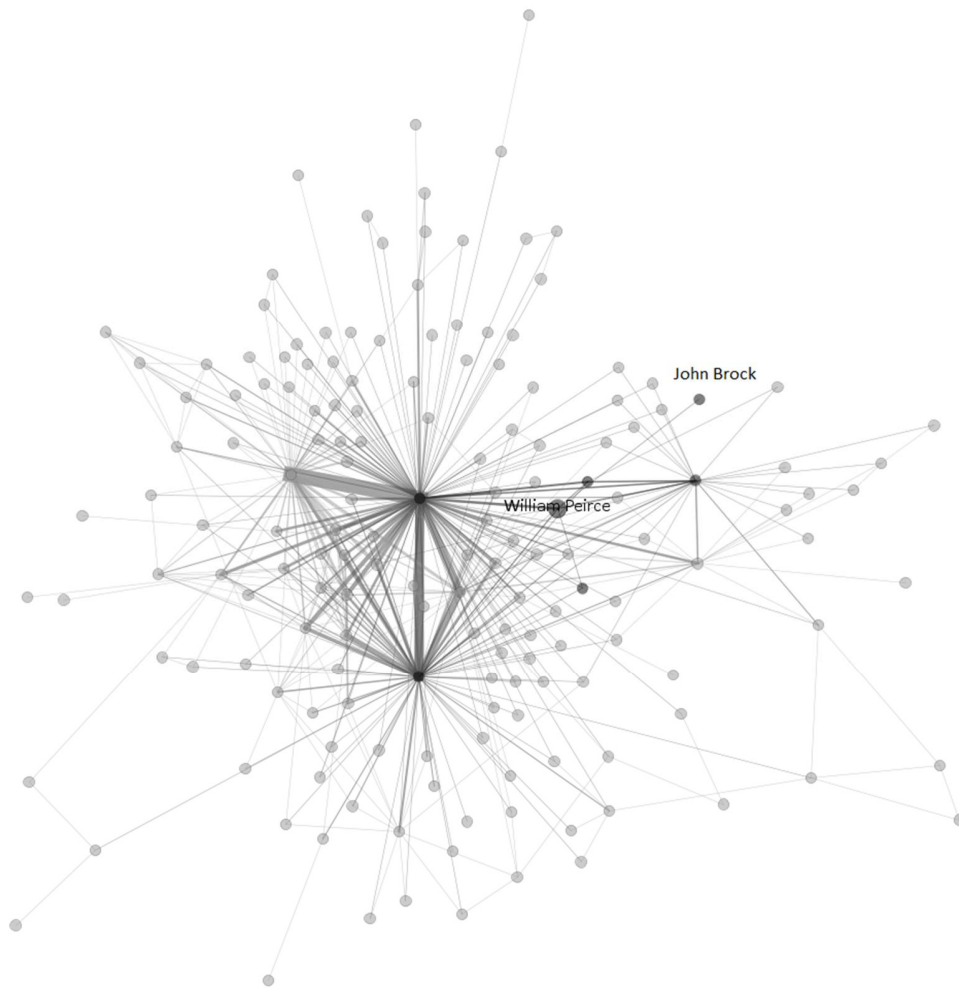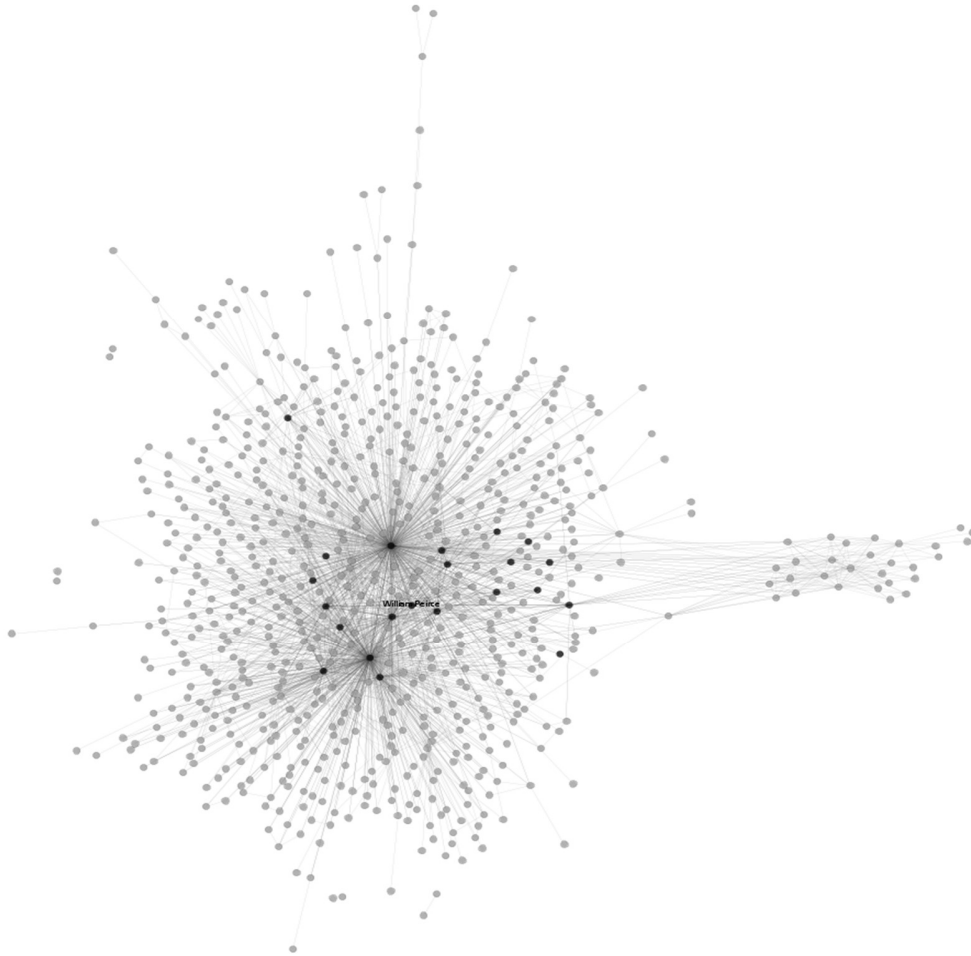
Fig. 2.7: A force-directed network visualisation of the correspondence network created from the Winthrop Papers *for the years 1630-41. The connections of William Peirce are highlighted in dark grey.*

Peirce's example shows that we can use social network analysis to deepen our understanding of social capital through evaluating the positions of those that bridged structural gaps in networks. Rather than seeing these as simply functional roles, social network analysis reveals that merchants carried a level of credit in line with the 'benefit' they provided to the network. Peirce, who Pestana argues crossed the Atlantic more than any other merchant, is a prime example of this.[183] Knowing that he carried an endorsement from John Winthrop, as well as through his church membership and status as a freeman of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, we can confirm the results of the social network analysis, allowing us to place trust in the

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[183] C. G. Pestana, Peirce, William (1590?–June or July 1641), ship's captain and almanac author,' *ANB.*

other results offered up via this method.[184] Sandbrooke's case demonstrates how members of this network evaluated their own social credit and that of those in their personal credit in order to increase the chances of their endorsements being well received. This is important as it shows that not all endorsements travelled by the shortest path, highlighting that effectiveness could be valued over efficiency. Vitally, this shows that these puritans were aware of their networks and how to utilise them to achieve a goal. They sought the strongest connections rather than the shortest paths, highlighting that they were acutely aware of the impact of their own personal status and credibility in their interactions.

The building and evaluation of credit were vital in the early years of the New England colonies, where endorsements and the more formal declaration of trust, acceptance to church membership, were pivotal for puritans seeking the comfort of a community in an unfamiliar land. They may not have thought of themselves as members of networks, but many colonists, their friends and their kin showed a critical awareness of the potential reach of their connections, their friends and kin, and they evaluated the social credit of the members of their networks in order to establish the most effective course for their endorsements.[185] Testimonies were, therefore, imbued with the weight of the social capital of both endorsee and endorser and functioned as extensions of the endorser's personal credit to their endorsee. The role of the lesser known members of congregations becomes clearer through the obligation that they clearly felt to invigilate over members of their communities and to regulate against potentially harmful new arrivals. These interactions show how the emphasis on the creation of a 'society to be knitt togither' in defiance of evil and corruption raised the obligation of members to actively participate in their communities.[186] Peace and harmony, and doctrinal orthodoxy, were clearly considered essential for the consolidation of the fragile new communities of New England, and this relied on the evaluation of social and spiritual credibility of members joining, as well as members already accepted. Network sustainers were also essential to the process of consolidating these communities. Testifying on behalf of new arrivals in New England

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[184] Ahnert & Ahnert, 'Protestant letter networks,' p. 7.
[185] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 3.
[186] John Winthrop to Henry Paynter (1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 169-1.

was often a transatlantic exchange, and we develop a clearer picture of the crucial nature of those carrying this correspondence by using social network analysis. This method allows us to consider the benefit of structural links in the network in terms of the social capital that it afforded them, providing vital new insight into the balance of those in structural roles.

Chapter Three

Letters and the Negotiation of Orthodoxy

So far, we have seen that correspondence was a crucial aspect of the intense voluntary activities that sustained puritan sociability in England, becoming even more important following the beginnings of transatlantic migration in the 1630s. The migrants settling in New England, thrown together from different places of origin, relied on social credit to consolidate their fragile communities in an uncertain new land. Drawing up town and church covenants, they hoped to establish a harmonious community of visible saints in New England, where all members had proven their religious and moral standing and could, therefore, be trusted to uphold the same values as their neighbours. The congregational vision gave authority to each local church as a self-governing entity, placing community negotiation and accountability at the heart of congregations.[1] This motivation was intrinsically connected to the practice of mutual edification that was characteristic of English puritanism. Self-examination was a key aspect of puritan theology, but so was the ability to experience this within a community.[2] Writing about the clergy, Francis Bremer has argued that puritans found reinforcement through their friendships *because* of the hostility they experienced elsewhere, feeling community with their fellow saints above any others.[3] As Sargent Bush, Jr. has demonstrated, puritans in England and New England were thus inclined to negotiate their theological differences, consistently searching for a fuller understanding of God's truth together.[4] However, these accounts do not tell us about the role of the laity and lay relationships in the process of mediation and negotiation that was so characteristic of puritanism in England and New England. Puritans recognised that understanding God's truth was a process. God's ordinances as set out in the Bible were not static, making negotiation so central to clerical relationships, but also to congregational interaction.[5]

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[1] L. Ziff, 'The social bond of church covenant', *AQ*, 10, 4 (1958), p. 456; A. Zakai, 'Orthodoxy in England and New England: puritans and the issue of religious toleration, 1640-1650', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 135, 3 (Sept., 1991), p. 406.

[2] A Cambers, 'Reading, the godly, and self-writing in England, circa 1580-1720,' *Journal of British Studies*, 46, 4 (Oct., 2007), pp. 796-825.

[3] F. J. Bremer, *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692* (York, PA, 1994), p. 42.

[4] S. Bush, Jnr., 'After coming over: John Cotton, Peter Bulkeley, and learned discourse in the wilderness,' *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 27 (1994), p. 8; C. L. Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (Oxford, 1986), p. 5.

[5] N. Goodman, 'Banishment, Jurisdiction, and Identity in Seventeenth-Century New England: The Case of Roger Williams,' *Early American Studies*, 7, 1 (Spring, 2009), p. 110; J. Halcomb, 'A Social History of Congregational Religious Practice during the Puritan Revolution,' PhD thesis, (Cambridge, 2009), p. 118.

The process of negotiating orthodoxy became central during the anxious early years of the New England settlements. The eyes of English observers, whether for or against the colony, increased tensions amongst laymen and clergy alike. But efforts to establish a coherent 'orthodoxy' in New England were not solely about proving to English observers that the venture was a success. This process reflects a simultaneous effort by the New England congregationalists to consolidate their position in the face of challenges from English observers, and to feel comfort, commonality, and security amongst themselves. Religious uniformity was comforting, and the mediation of differences was a process by which the puritans in the new colonies could overcome feelings of estrangement.[6] Responding to reports that ministers in the colony would 'preach one against anothers doctrine,' Edward Howes expressed a hope that the differences in New England were ceremonial matters.[7] His statement implied that some matters were slight and easily ironed out, while others were more divisive.[8] We can understand much about the nuances of mediation in puritan communities by exploring the moments at which boundaries of orthodoxy were tested. These moments could take the form of the identification and removal from the community anyone admitted to church membership who had since grown unacceptably radical in their beliefs.[9] The process of negotiating orthodoxy in such terms builds on the findings of chapter two, which demonstrated that church covenants increased the obligation of members to invigilate and hold each other accountable for their moral and spiritual living. The many shades of puritanism had developed from individual interpretations of the scripture, the teachings of different ministers, and discussions in conventicles and prayer groups in England. Because of this, minor disagreements rumbled between the godly communities in England, but became particularly pronounced in New England where differences of opinion were exacerbated by the backdrop of wilderness and isolation.[10] How to reconcile these differences in order to

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[6] Bush, Jnr., 'After coming over,' 27 (1994), pp. 7-21.

[7] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (18 March, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 110-4.

[8] Ibid, pp. 110-4.

[9] M. P. Winship, "The most glorious church in the world': The unity of the godly in Boston, Massachusetts, in the late 1630s,' *Journal of British Studies,* 39, 1 (Jan., 2000), pp. 80-1.

[10] J. Canup, *Out of the Wilderness: The Emergence of an American Identity in Colonial New England* (Middletown, CT, 1990), pp. 10-1.

maintain the ideal of a united godly outpost was a central concern for the settlers, and one that they had likely not envisioned.

The negotiation of 'orthodoxy' in New England played out in parallel on two fronts: the Antinomian Controversy that wracked the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637-38; and the ongoing transatlantic debate between Old England and New England about colonial innovations in Church practice. Our understanding of the former process of mediation comes both from the correspondence that traversed the Atlantic, and from later reports detailing the moments where Anne Hutchinson and her followers broke from the ideal, inciting the community to react in order to repair, cleanse and consolidate their colony.[11] As David Como found in his examination of English antinomianism, we cannot understand this outbreak of nonconformity in New England as something that happened apart from the wider puritan community.[12] It is important to view the events in their proper colonial context, exploring the interaction of radical with the declared 'orthodoxy' in order to better understand the negotiation of that same, moveable, 'orthodox.' The lay experience of the Antinomian Controversy remains conspicuously absent from the correspondence, so we must rely on reports in order to understand the events as they happened. However, we do gain access to the crucial negotiations following the controversy through the correspondence of John Cotton and John Winthrop, providing excellent evidence for mediation between two fractured communities challenging one another on matters of theology. The first part of this chapter focuses on the Antinomian Controversy primarily through qualitative analysis of the letters in which the key players conducted their negotiations. One such exchange between Thomas Shepherd and John Cotton is of particular interest as we have both sides of the conversation. It is unusual to be able to access a debate conducted in letters so completely, especially in the collections consulted in this thesis, making this an incredibly useful point of focus for understanding the role of letters in negotiation. This section of the chapter concerns a short, convulsive period in the history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, whereby one community expelled those who refused orthodoxy having exerted

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[11] Goodman, 'Banishment,' p. 110.

[12] D. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil War England*, (Stanford, CA, 2004), p. 29.

pressure on deviants to accept their standards and definitions of 'orthodoxy.' In line with a process identified by Francis Bremer, the validation of their beliefs, their new 'orthodoxy' came primarily through the consensus found in the collective expulsion of the Hutchinson faction.[13] It largely focuses on the aftermath of events in order to explore the process of negotiation to repair damaged ties and establish 'orthodoxy' first through the rejection of Anne Hutchinson and her followers' radical leanings, and later through concerted efforts to restore and redeem acceptability. In doing so, the focus is drawn away from Anne Hutchinson as the key actor, and attention is additionally placed on laymen and clergy as they worked to mediate the disputes between themselves.

The negotiations that took place in New England, and between the new colonies and Old England were a much longer process and are the focus of the second part of this chapter. The puritans in New England worked simultaneously to mediate differences between themselves and to present an image of solidarity to their brethren and their challengers in England. The negative image that was reaching England was that those in New England had gone too far, and it was not the image that New Englanders had intended.[14] Negotiation through letters was vital to the preservation of transatlantic sociability and cohesion between puritans on both sides of the Atlantic and Bremer has argued that 'such informal means of achieving unanimity' were particularly important because the congregational churches in New England by definition lacked hierarchical authority.[15] Polly Ha has shown that competing interpretations of the visible church did not always descend into divisions between congregationalists and presbyterians, but the 'startling innovation' in church practice that has been nicknamed the New England Way certainly generated resistance from some English presbyterians.[16] The New England Way made each local church autonomous and restricted membership to 'visible saints.'[17] Susan Hardman Moore tells us that this

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[13] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 13.

[14] S. Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation: 'Wee shall bee as a Citty upon a Hill, the Eies of all People are upon Us,' in Fincham, K. & Lake, P. (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 152-3.

[15] F. J. Bremer, 'Increase Mather's friends: the trans-Atlantic congregational network of the seventeenth century,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 94, 1 (1984), p. 83

[16] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation', p. 144.

[17] Ibid, p. 144.

was largely a 'response to the needs of new communities in harsh conditions,' but it proved immensely controversial back home.[18] Many English observers disagreed with New England congregationalists on the question of the nature of the visible church, and were concerned at the extent of the congregational autonomy in New England churches.[19] This part of the chapter will explore the more informal exchange of letters across the Atlantic, adding an additional perspective to Hunter Powell's detailed exploration of the impact of John Cotton's *Keyes to the Kingdom of Heaven* on theological pamphlet debate in the transatlantic.[20] Using quantitative methods to map the overlapping networks of correspondents who sought to promote solidarity and those who sought to privately or more publicly challenge the New England godly and their methods, this section demonstrates that there was a significant amount of debate within New England in addition to the challenges received from English writers. The spatial visualisations of these networks help with the identification of competing networks of interest and clearly demonstrate that puritans in New England needed to be dually concerned with internal and external challenges to their practices. Highlighting the fragility of early New England solidarity, this deepens our understanding about the spaces in which discussion and negotiation took place and highlights the participation of a wide range of actors in addition to the known leaders in debate: John Winthrop and John Cotton.

The Antinomian Controversy

The context of the controversy is important for understanding the negotiations that surrounded it. It followed two minor infractions in the 1630s: firstly, John Endecott's mutilation of the ensign 1634, which prompted discussion over whether the cross should remain present in the flag; and secondly, Roger Williams's banishment in 1635 after he refused to negotiate his increasingly separatist position to adhere to the non-separating puritanism of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.[21] As Heimert and Delbanco

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[18] Ibid, p. 149.

[19] P. Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590-1640* (Stanford, CA, 2011), pp. 66-7.

[20] H. Powell, *The Crisis of British Protestantism: Church Power in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-44* (Manchester, 2015), chapter 5.

[21] F. J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (Oxford, 2003), p. 238; R. S. Dunn, J. Savage & L. Yeandle (ed.), *The Journal of John Winthrop 1630-1649*, (Cambridge, MA, 1996), pp. 142, 144-145, 153; for letters regarding the mutilation of the ensign and discussion over the decision to use the cross in the flag see: John Winthrop to John Winthrop

have suggested, the unfamiliar environment of New England heightened anxieties and sharpened tensions.[22] This atmosphere increased the potential for small theological differences, ones that might have been easily ironed out in England, to be blown out of proportion in New England. It was exactly this environment, the weight of expectation, increased pressure from observers in England, and the recent actions of Endecott and Williams that Emery Battis believed formed a perfect storm that led to the extreme scale of the Antinomian Controversy, which he argued could easily have been negotiated in calmer times.[23] The controversy has been the subject of much attention from historians of early New England. Following Battis's formative monograph, historians have used the controversy to understand various aspects of colonial American history; Ben Barker-Benfield, Lindal Buchanan, Lyle Kohler, Marian Westerkamp have focused on gender, seeking to explore the role of women and female transgression in the colony; K. T. Erikson, R. D. Cohen and D. L. Schneider have used the Antinomian Controversy and biographies of Hutchinson as frameworks within which to understand the relationships between church and state, covenant theology, and social deviance in New England; and Michael Winship has produced both in-depth theological analysis of the events of the Controversy as well as a monograph focusing primarily on Anne Hutchinson as protagonist or, perhaps,

Jr (26 December, 1634), *WP,* III, pp. 176-8; John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (6 November, 1634), *WP,* III, p. 173; John Endecott to John Winthrop Jr (8 December, 1634), *WP,* III, p. 176; John Winthrop to Sir Simonds D'Ewes (20 July, 1636), *WP,* III, pp. 119-200; John Cotton to Thomas Shepard (1 February-1 June, 1636), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, p. 230-3; John Cotton to William Fiennes (after March, 1636), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 244-7; John Cotton to Samuel Stone (27 March, 1638), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 273-4; P. Miller and S. Scott Roher have argued that a personal rivalry between Thomas Hooker and John Cotton was present in their discussion of this matter: P. Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, MA, 1956), p. 16; S. Scott Rohrer, *Wandering Souls: Protestant Migrations in America, 1630-1865* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010), pp. 37-8. For letters relating to Roger Williams's infractions, see: John Winthrop to John Endecott (3 January, 1634), *WP,* III, pp. 146-9; Roger Williams and Samuel Sharpe to the Boston Elders (22 July-1 September, 1635), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 205-8; John Cotton to Roger Williams (Early 1636), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 213-22; Williams also makes repeated appearances in Winthrop's journal during these years: Dunn, Savage & Yeandle (ed.), *Journal*, pp. 102-3, 107-8, 109, 137, 144, 153.

[22] A. Heimert, & A. Delbanco, *The Puritans in America, A Narrative Anthology (*London, 1985), p. 20.

[23] John White to John Winthrop (c. 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 335-7; Richard Bernard to John Cotton (1 April, 1637), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 257-61; John Dod and others to New England Brethren (c. June, 1637), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 264-6; Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 113; E. Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, (Virginia, 1962), p. 214; R. D. Cohen, 'Church and state in seventeenth-century Massachusetts: another look at the Antinomian Controversy,' *Journal of Church and State*, 12, 3, (1970), p. 483.

antagonist.[24] Anne Hutchinson and John Cotton have received much attention from historians seeking to understand the Antinomian Controversy, and they remain important to any analysis of events.[25] However, to use the controversy as a way in which to understand the negotiation of 'orthodoxy', we need to look at the wider picture. The Antinomian Controversy was not a standalone event, but part of the process whereby the colonists negotiated 'orthodoxy' amid tensions in their communities. The banishment of Hutchinson and her faction allows for a more detailed understanding of the process whereby the members of the wider community could discuss and define an 'orthodoxy' through the exile of an undesirable individual. Approaching this social process from the perspectives of those that experienced it is a departure from other histories of the Antinomian Controversy, providing a more nuanced understanding of the dialogues and processes by which puritans mediated disputes. The expulsion of Hutchinson and her followers demonstrates how the inclusivity of puritan communities could be reinforced by their exclusivity. The negotiations that followed events, which aimed to settle tensions between divergent parties such as John Winthrop and William Coddington, or to redeem recalcitrant individuals like John Wheelwright back into the safe bosom of the Boston church, are vital for understanding efforts to preserve a more stable and familiar sociability following periods of disagreement.

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[24] Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*; B. Barker-Benfield, 'Anne Hutchinson and the puritan attitude toward women,' in F. J. Bremer (ed.), *Anne Hutchinson: Troubler of the Puritan Zion* (New York, NY, 1981), pp. 99-111; L. Buchanan, 'A study of maternal rhetoric: Anne Hutchinson, monsters, and the Antinomian Controversy', *Rhetoric Review*, 25. 3 (2006), pp. 239-59; L. Koehler, 'The case of the American jezebels', in F. J. Bremer (ed.), *Anne Hutchinson: Troubler of the Puritan Zion* (New York, NY, 1981); M. J. Westerkamp, 'Anne Hutchinson, sectarian mysticism and the puritan order', *Church History*, 59. 4 (Dec. 1990), pp. 482-96; K. T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, NY, 1966), p. 71; Cohen, 'Church and state,'; D. L. Schneider, 'Anne Hutchinson and covenant theology,' *The Harvard Theological Review*, 103, 4 (Oct., 2010), pp. 485-500; M. P. Winship, *Making Heretics*: *Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636-1641* (Princeton, NJ, 2002); M. P. Winship, *The Times and Trials of Anne Hutchinson* (Lawrence, KS, 2005). For other works on the Antinomian Controversy, see: K. Valerius, "So manifest a signe from heaven': monstrosity and heresy in the Antinomian Controversy', *NEQ*, 83, 2 (Jun., 2010), pp. 17999; A. S. Lang, *Prophetic Woman: Anne Hutchinson and the Problem of Dissent in New England Literature* (Berkeley, 1987); P. F. Gura, *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620-1660* (Middletown, CT, 1984).
[25] M. P. Winship, *The Times & Trials of Anne Hutchinson: Puritans Divided,* (Kansas, 2005); Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*; Barker-Benfield, 'Anne Hutchinson'; Buchanan, 'A study of maternal rhetoric'; Koehler, 'The Case of the American jezebels'; Westerkamp, 'Anne Hutchinson'; Valerius, "So manifest a signe from Heaven'.

The appropriateness of the term 'antinomian' in regards to this controversy has been questioned, most forcefully by Michael Winship, who prefers the signifier 'free grace.'[26] Winship regards Anne Hutchinson as a radical who held extreme views but not an antinomian, a view that has been embraced by David Como and Francis Bremer.[27] The term 'antinomian' in naming the event is employed in this thesis in recognition of this position, but without comment on the theological minutiae, dealing primarily with the social dimension of events. The controversy was a convulsive episode incited by a difference of opinion regarding God's grace, and the godly community was galvanised in cleansing itself of those with unacceptable beliefs. Hailed as 'the sorest tryall that ever befell us' in New England, the controversy was an obstacle that ultimately provided a stronger sense of security and solidarity by promoting feelings of commonality in the face of opposition, as the godly in Boston could identify themselves in contrast with a defined 'unorthodoxy.'[28] Community is a theme that appears often in histories of the Antinomian Controversy, a moment where a tangible sense of unacceptability ended in banishment and excommunication, but also in voluntary exile.[29] It was a splintering of communities that still cast themselves under the same banner of the 'communion of saints,' but they saw significant difference in one another.

Having initially been denied church membership for holding views that caused the church elders some concern, Hutchinson adjusted her position to acknowledge that good works and inherent grace went hand in hand, despite her pressing belief that grace held primacy. She was granted membership on 1 November 1634, some

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[26] Winship, *Making Heretics*, p. 1.

[27] Ibid, pp. 7, 9, 184; Bremer, *John Winthrop*, pp. 278-84; Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, p. 442. An exception to this position is T. D. Bozeman's *The Precisionist Strain: Disciplinary Religion and Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004).

[28] T. Weld, 'Preface' to J. Winthrop, *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines. . .' (*London, 1644).

[29] P. Caldwell, 'The Antinomian language controversy,' *The Harvard Theological Review,* 69, 3/4 (Jul. – Oct., 1976), pp. 345-367; J. Sievers, 'Refiguring the Song of Songs: John Cotton's 1655 sermon and the Antinomian Controversy,' *NEQ*, 76, 1 (Mar., 2003), pp. 73-107; L. Buchanan, 'maternal rhetoric'; Cohen, 'Church and state'; Winship, "The most glorious church in the world,"; S. Hampton, 'Richard Holdsworth and the Antinomian Controversy', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 62, 1 (Apr., 2011), pp. 218-50; S. Bush, Jr, 'John Wheelwright's forgotten apology: the last word in the Antinomian Controversy', *NEQ*, 64, 1 (Mar., 1991), pp. 22-45.

months after her arrival in the colony.[30] Hutchinson's fervour caused her trouble in her new community before she even came to Winthrop's attention. Preferring her own private schedule of worship to neighbourhood prayer meetings, Hutchinson set herself apart from her neighbours, who still maintained the collective piety characteristic of English puritan sociability.[31] These meetings were as important to the laity as they were to the clergy and were formative in enabling the negotiation of theological differences through discussion and debate, but were also important for the laity to discuss the Bible and recent sermons.[32] Highlighting the value of communal edification, John Cotton visited Hutchinson to express his concerns that she worshipped alone, reinforcing the importance of visible sanctity, but also participation in the wider puritan community.[33] She subsequently began holding her own prayer meetings, reporting on the previous day's lecture to a small group of housewives. Drawn by her intellect and learning, Hutchinson's crowd increased in size, and she began putting forward her own ideas about theology.[34] Increasingly attracting male listeners, Hutchinson's followers included William Coddington, John Cotton's old friend from Boston, and Henry Vane, the son of one of the King's Privy Councillors.[35] Both were prominent residents of the colony, and before long, Vane's popularity and position led to his election as governor, replacing John Haynes in 1637. The size of Hutchinson's following certainly elevated the scale of the risk she posed. Her threat was that she had the potential to influence a group, which serves to reinforce the importance of group or collective consent and action in early New England communities. This aligns with David Como's argument that the threat of England's antinomian 'underground' was so strong because 'in many important ways they were still members of the Godly community.'[36] Hutchinson and her followers shared the same religious heritage as the other members of the Boston congregation, but once Hutchinson started setting out her own ideas about theology, she crossed a dangerous line from being part of a collective process of edification into lay

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[30] Winship, *Anne Hutchinson*, p. 16; Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*, p. 4.

[31] Cohen, 'Church and state,' p. 476.

[32] F. J. Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem: John Davenport, a Puritan in Three Worlds* (New Haven, CT, 2012), p. 145.

[33] Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*, p. 90; Winship, *Anne Hutchinson*, pp. 21, 23.

[34] Bremer, *Anne Hutchinson*, p. 4; Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*, p. 90; Westerkamp, 'Anne Hutchinson,' p. 485.

[35] Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*, p. 102; Bremer, *Anne Hutchinson*, p. 4; Cohen, 'Church and state,' p. 486.

[36] Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, p. 8.

preaching. In contrast with the English antinomianism that is the focus of Como's study, Hutchinson's infraction was practiced out in the open, very much in the public sphere.[37] Crucially, her close-held belief in the primacy of grace over good works meant that Hutchinson's lay preaching began to contravene the Massachusetts authorities' position on the relationship between justification and sanctification.

Justification and sanctification were connected to the assurance of puritanism. Part of the characteristic anxiety of puritanism came from the fact that to be sure of the presence of God's grace and an individual's status as one of the elect, they almost had to be unsure.[38] Where unfeigned grief at the want of faith could be a strong sign of true belief, confidence in grace was considered more likely to be false. The relationship between justification and sanctification was up for debate, a fine-grained theological issue that plagued no small number of puritans.[39] Thomas Hooker, one of Connecticut's early ministers, John Davenport, and John Wilson believed that grace was found in a balance of justification, God's inherent grace, and sanctification, which was the outward display of inward grace. Davenport had notably preached against the antinomian John Pordage in England, highlighting his particular stance.[40] John Cotton, with his emphasis on the primacy of grace, was in 1636 called upon to answer sixteen questions from the Massachusetts Bay ministers, in order to clarify his position.[41] He was not immediately censured for his ideas, and the questions reflect the desire to understand, negotiate, but ultimately to eradicate any dangerous doctrines. Cotton's reply was defensive, he clearly felt a need to protect himself, 'as our Saviour did . . . when his doctrin was questioned,' and stated that he said nothing in private that he did not say in public.[42] Cotton was willing to engage in discussion, as would have been expected, but his defensiveness does indicate a reluctance to renege on his position. In more informal discussion with his peers, Cotton was usually more articulate, more tactful in his negotiation than he was in this exchange with the

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[37] Ibid, p. 73.

[38] E. Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of the Puritan Idea* (New York, 1963), p. 70.

[39] Thomas Shepard to John Winthrop (c. 15 December, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 326-32; John Winthrop (12 January, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 338-44.

[40] Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, p. 71.

[41] Massachusetts Ministers to John Cotton (December, 1636), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, p. 250.

[42] John Cotton to Massachusetts Ministers (December, 1636), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, p. 251.

Massachusetts ministers. Perhaps feeling that his liberty and status in New England was under threat, Cotton's defensiveness reveals that, while mediation and discussion were common, and indeed expected, they were not always easy processes. Cotton's remark about secrecy also reflects concerns about visibility of sanctity in congregations. It serves as a reminder that trust was absolutely essential for the fledgling settlements, especially as they came under increasing pressure to demonstrate solidarity. That same impulse is apparent in Thomas Hooker's warning to John Winthrop to 'keep close to the truth' as the Controversy played out.[43]

Puritan ministers expected to negotiate on certain issues and they were well-versed in the vocabulary of discussion and mediation. This is particularly apparent in the correspondence between Thomas Shepard and John Cotton in early 1636. John Cotton's downplaying of the role of works in man's relationship with God prompted Thomas Shepard to contact his old acquaintance. Shepard was careful to address that he wrote not to 'begin or breed a quarrel,' remaining deferential to the eminent divine, not speaking out of turn by 'go[ing] about to instruct you,' instead 'I speak from the enforcement of my conscience . . . to still & quiet those which are secretly begun & I feare will flame out unles they be quenched in time.'[44] Shepard's effusive deference, writing of his gratitude to be 'so neare unto you' in New England, was appropriate to Cotton's rank and primacy in New England, but also served to eradicate the potential for Cotton to take offence at his questions.[45] This method achieved some success, because despite Shepard's caution that Cotton's emphasis on the transforming nature of grace over works might align him with Familists rather than 'true beleevers,' Cotton implied religious commonality by reinforcing spiritual brotherhood in his reply, addressing Shepard as 'Brother,' when he could with very little offence have opted for 'Sir.'[46] The connection between the two men seems undamaged in spite of this questioning, showing that such doctrinal negotiation could

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[43] Thomas Hooker to John Winthrop (May, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 407-8.
[44] Thomas Shepard to John Cotton (1 February – 1 June, 1636), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 227-9.
[45] Ibid, pp. 227-9.
[46] Thomas Shepard to John Cotton (1 February – 1 June, 1636), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 227-9; John Cotton to Thomas Shepard (1 February – 1 June, 1636), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 230-3; D. D. Hall, *A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011), p. 135.

take place relatively harmlessly, and that good divines were able to disagree on minor points, while agreeing on the larger process of grace.[47] Apparently unthreatened by Shepard's cautions, Cotton thanked him 'unfeignedly for this labor of love, to acquaint me with such passages in my ministery, as through eyther misexpression on my Part, or misconstruction, or misreport of others, might hinder the worke of Christ amongst us.'[48] Cotton did not necessarily accept any responsibility for his ministry, but his own concern that such misinterpretations might prevent effective ministry 'amongst *us*' shows continuing brotherhood, reiterating his connection to Shepard through their common mission.[49] This chimes with Craig Muldrew's work on negotiation, which highlighted that religious commonality could be stressed in order to bolster the 'language of ethics' that formed responses to conflict.[50] Cotton sought to avoid 'differences, & Jarres' with his brethren, enabling them to 'prevent any hindrance of the worke of Christ in my hand, & may advance his kingdome who is god over all blessed for ever,' a sentiment mirrored in Shepard's own reminders of their brotherhood.[51] The spiritual connection between the two men provided the grounds, where correspondence created a space, for healing, redemption, and reunification, somewhere that they could meet spiritually, and be brought joyously back together.[52]

It is certainly important to remember the transatlantic context of the controversy, highlighted by John Beecher Field, and that the impact of events was felt strongly in England.[53] However, while Field understood the unifying power of excising a problematic individual from a community, his focus on the transatlantic print exchange and the sensationalism of events omits an important social dimension of the controversy, and the less formal discussion that took place in correspondence.[54]

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[47] John Cotton to John Elmeston (26 August, 1640), in Bush, Jnr, *Correspondence,* pp. 324-7.
[48] John Cotton to Thomas Shepard (1 February – 1 June, 1636), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 230-3.
[49] Ibid, pp. 230-3, italics my own.
[50] C. Muldrew, The culture of reconciliation: community and the settlement of economic disputes in early modern England,' *Historical Journal*, 39, 4 (Dec., 1996), p. 920.
[51] Ibid, pp. 230-3; Thomas Shepard to John Cotton (1 February – 1 June, 1636), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 227-9.
[52] K. Jones, 'Thomas Goodwin and the Supreme Happiness of Man,' in A. Ryrie & T. Schwanda (eds.), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke, 2016), pp. 68-9.
[53] J. B. Field, 'The Antinomian Controversy did not take place,' *Early American Studies*, 6, 2 (2008), pp. 448-63.
[54] Ibid, p. 450

Returning to the letters of John Winthrop, John Cotton and their correspondents following the events of the Controversy provides access to the experience of a wider pool of laymen as well as the more familiar magistrates and ministers, revealing the way in which correspondence networks were employed to reinforce New England solidarity in reaction to a direct challenge to New England authorities. However, while the 'protracted, complicated arguments' that Marilyn Westerkamp argues characterised Hutchinson's trial undoubtedly demonstrate an intense process of negotiation, they are not included in detail in this thesis due to their absence from the correspondence.[55] Instead, this section will focus on patterns of negotiation such as those identified in the correspondence between Cotton and Hooker, above. These patterns can be found in other aspects of the Antinomian Controversy, particularly after events came to a head. John Wheelwright was called to account for his role in events in November 1637 and Hutchinson had to answer for her own beliefs and actions the following month. Wheelwright was convicted of sedition and banished from the colony, but Hutchinson remained in custody for the winter before being formally tried in March 1638, where she was convicted of heresy and excommunicated. Hutchinson's exile was not the result of a snap judgement. Repeated attempts had been made to rehabilitate her to a more acceptable position, in line with the emerging Massachusetts 'orthodoxy.' 'Divers of the elders' visited Hutchinson while she remained under house arrest, but all found her to 'persist in maintaining those gross errors . . . and many others.'[56] Hutchinson's refusal to negotiate her 'orthodoxy' to bring it into line with that required by the Massachusetts Bay authorities ensured her removal from the colony. Hutchinson's focus on John Cotton as one of the two acceptable ministers in the colony, combined with his problematic emphasis on the primacy of justification as evidence of salvation, meant that he too had to answer to the Massachusetts authorities. But where Hutchinson refused to recant, Cotton successfully rehabilitated himself back into the community by clarifying his position and making peace with the Massachusetts 'orthodoxy'.[57] This 'orthodoxy' was increasingly recognisable as something more moderate than Hutchinson clearly desired, acknowledging a balance between the processes of

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[55] M. J. Westerkamp, 'Engendering puritan religious culture in Old and New England', *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid—Atlantic Studies*, 64 (Summer, 1997).
[56] Dunn, Savage & Yeandle (ed.), *Journal*, p. 247.
[57] Bremer, *Anne Hutchinson*, p. 6; Winship, *Making Heretics*, p. 149.

justification and sanctification. Crucially, this position allowed the Massachusetts authorities to maintain that their ministers were capable of recognising the spirit in their parishioners and one another, validating the colonial enterprise in New England and creating a sense of solidarity amongst those holding or adhering to that 'orthodoxy'. The negotiations that took place between Wheelwright, Hutchinson, Cotton and the Massachusetts authorities are notably absent from the surviving correspondence of those involved, leaving it to the historian to speculate on whether this is the result of a conscious effort or a consequence of the 'vicissitudes of time' that all historic letter collections fall subject to, leaving them incomplete.[58] Regardless of the conclusions drawn, what matters is that we are left with a partial picture of these negotiations, much of which Emery Battis has written was played out in court away from Hutchinson, between Winthrop, Wheelwright and Cotton, dealing with theological intricacies, reflecting the puritan habit of debate and discussion.[59]

While this process of negotiation remains unclear, what is important is the role it played in establishing a firmer 'orthodoxy' in the fledgling colony. Westerkamp has argued that, while dissent was far from eradicated following the Controversy, mechanisms for identifying and silencing dissent were refined.[60] After three weeks under trial, Hutchinson was dismissed as holding 'disorderly' meetings, 'without rule.'[61] Erikson felt that she was representative of a string of puritanism that could no longer be tolerated, one that made the most of the relative liberty of the New World.[62] Erikson argued that Anne Hutchinson represented a 'lively' old puritanism, characterised by unrestricted enthusiastic fervour, in contrast to Winthrop's new form, moulded by the moderation and strictness that the new puritan position of power in New England required.[63] This position, however, seems to overlook Winthrop's Old World experience. John Winthrop's brand of puritanism was not much changed in 1638 from what it had been before his emigration, his condemnation of Anne Hutchinson was part of a long tradition of establishing moderate puritanism as

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[58] R. Ahnert & S. E. Ahnert, 'Protestant letter networks in the reign of Mary I: a quantitative approach', *ELH,* 82 (Spring, 2015), p. 5.
[59] Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*, pp. 126-7, 140-5, 147.
[60] Westerkamp, 'Engendering puritan religious culture', p. 105.
[61] Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*, p. 173.
[62] Erikson, *Wayward Puritans,* p. 92.
[63] Ibid*,* p. 93.

'orthodoxy,' as demonstrated in his admonitions to his sons in the 1620s.[64] Anne Hutchinson's views might not have been 'antinomian' by technical standards, but they were a form of a more radical puritanism that was feared in England long before the ships began to set sail for the New World.[65] John Davenport's fears of factionalism in 1625 demonstrate a characteristic fear of difference and deviance in the puritan ranks, and cries for solidarity in the face of enemies were not new to Massachusetts.[66] What had changed was the way in which the Massachusetts community could deal with the matter, something specific to the colonies. Now a ruling authority, they could legally react to Hutchinson's actions, formally excising her from the community where before they had had to distance themselves from their more radical counterparts, asserting moderation as orthodox.[67] For the puritans in New England, the true church was marked by the purity of its membership, as well as the purity of its ordinances, and if they were to set a sound example to England, it was essential to cast out the unclean.[68] The legal action carried out against Wheelwright and Hutchinson, as well as the negotiation with Cotton that led to his rehabilitation as a leading minister in Massachusetts, demonstrates the vital role that the Antinomian Controversy played in forcing Massachusetts authorities to negotiate 'orthodoxy' and establish a firm stance against radicalism.

After the events of the Antinomian controversy, Cotton realised that he could reach accommodation with the other elders and the colonial magistrates through careful fine tuning of his doctrinal position, and he had clearly satisfied the elders by early 1639, when Thomas Dudley requested that Cotton counsel the expelled layman

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[64] L. Ziff, 'Church covenant,' p. 454; John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (6 August, 1622), *WP*, I, pp. 248-9; John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (31 August, 1622), *WP*, I, pp. 249-50; John Winthrop to Henry Winthrop (30 January, 1629), *WP,* II, pp. 67-9.
[65] Como, *Blown by the Spirit*.
[66] John Davenport to Alexander Leighton (c. 1625), in I. M. Calder, *Letters of John Davenport (*Oxford, 1937), pp. 23-6; Nathaniel Ward to John Cotton (13 December, 1631), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 162-4
[67] D. Como, 'Radical Puritanism, c. 1558-1660' in Coffey & Lim (eds.), *Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, p. 245; P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), pp. 60, 79; E. Carlson, 'The Origins, Function, and Status of Churchwardens', in Margaret Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725 (*Cambridge, 1995), p. 175; M. Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London, 1616-1649 (*Cambridge, 1977), p. 2; John Davenport to Alexander Leighton (c. 1625), in Calder, *Letters*, pp. 23-6.
[68] Sievers, 'Song of Songs,' p. 97; Morgan, *Visible Saints*, pp. 2-3, 64-112, 74.

William Denison on the relationship between evidence of justification and justification itself.[69] Whether Cotton was truly repentant, or only presenting an outward display of conformity is open to interpretation, but his instruction to his son to burn all of Cotton's papers pertaining to the Antinomian Controversy on his death perhaps suggest the latter.[70] However, having been restored to a position of trust, Cotton was active in bridging the rifts between members of the Boston church and the Massachusetts authorities that had been directly caused by the events of the Antinomian Controversy. Brotherhood provided the foundation for Cotton to reach out to John Wheelwright in an attempt to redeem him back to the Boston church following Wheelwright's banishment. Using his own redemption as both example and incentive, Cotton played on his Christian connection to Wheelwright, inciting a sense of obligation in Wheelwright to engage and negotiate rather than to dismiss him outright.[71] Their correspondence shows a desire to strengthen damaged bonds of godly community and negotiate their positions to a point of acceptable 'orthodoxy' for redemption to the Boston church. Crucially, their letters provided the space in which to engage in this negotiation across the physical, emotional and spiritual boundaries enforced by Wheelwright's banishment. Writing that Wheelwright's fault had been with the indiscretion of his Fast Day Sermon, and not the doctrine, he suggested that it was possible to present a careful image to appease the Massachusetts General Court, without having to substantially change his theological position.[72] Cotton used the outward acceptance of his own errors in order to encourage the same in his old colleague, hoping that 'we may yet further discover & discerne our owne failings (for wherein you have failed, I have in some sort failed also).'[73] The collective effort emphasised here was reinforced in the framework of common belief, 'that both of us revising what we have done amisse, may give Glory to God.'[74] That Wheelwright had been convicted of sedition and not of heresy, as Anne Hutchinson had been, was critical in his redemption. He had not yet

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[69] Thomas Dudley to John Cotton (21 March, 1639), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 288-9.
[70] Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, pp. 90-91; Sievers, 'Song of Songs', pp. 96-7; Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, p. 287.
[71] For an excellent discussion of this correspondence, see S. Bush, Jnr., "Revising what we have done amisse': John Cotton and John Wheelwright, 1640,' *WMQ*, 45 (1988), pp. 733-50.
[72] Sievers, 'Song of Songs,' p. 87; S. Bush, Jnr., '"Revising what we have done amisse", pp. 745, 744.
[73] John Cotton to John Wheelwright (18 April, 1640) in Bush, *Correspondence*, pp. 302-11.
[74] Ibid, pp. 302-11.

transgressed that crucial barrier of doctrinal unacceptability, at least not irrevocably. Cotton highlighted this by offering Henry Vane, Anne Hutchinson and John Coggeshall, as well as their followers, as the central offenders, creating 'all the heate of the great opposition.'[75] Comparing their 'course of haerisie . . . before your sermon' to Wheelwright's more tolerable sedition, Cotton demonstrated the severity of religious boundaries, in contrast with the more porous parameters relating to Wheelwright's impulsivity and indiscretion.[76] Cotton's letter reveals that negotiation was actively carried out in correspondence. It was a vital tool in creating a space for discussion between absent parties. It perhaps also provided a more neutral ground in which to broach more volatile conversations. In this instance the negotiation was grounded in brotherhood and played out in the technicalities of theological and social distinctions between discord and division, sedition and heresy. Indeed, while his suggestion that an outward display of orthodoxy might be sufficient to return to the Massachusetts community implies that a community consolidated in a shared 'orthodoxy' was a sought after ideal, it also betrays that it was not always the reality.

Anne Hutchinson was not alone in leaving the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1638 and was joined by a number of her followers. However, many of those that left with her did so voluntarily, only three were actually banished.[77] The others were not formally removed from the colony as they retained their membership to the First Church of Boston. Their continuing membership gave the Boston ministers hope for their spiritual redemption. John Cotton played a key role in the negotiations with these absent members of the Boston church. His second surviving letter following the Antinomian Controversy was penned in response to someone from Aquidneck Island, where Hutchinson and her followers had settled after leaving Boston.[78] The importance of orthodoxy and consistency in religious belief is evident in his insinuation that a church could not be established without a solid foundation, having heard of the 'Rents & Breaches' among the settlers.[79] Solidarity and consolidation came from uniformity, and he continued to keep pathways open for settlers to return

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[75] Ibid, pp. 302-11.
[76] Ibid, pp. 302-11.
[77] Cohen, 'Church and state,' p. 489.
[78] Bremer, *Anne Hutchinson*, p. 7.
[79] John Cotton to unknown (4 June, 1638), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence,* pp. 277-9.

to Massachusetts, passing on his respects to John and Elizabeth Clarke, former members of his congregation.[80] Cotton's fears over the damage that one Jane Hawkins could do as a corrupter of young women reveals an ongoing concern for the spread of nonconformity, which '(like a Gangrene) would have corrupted & destroyed Faith & Religion had they not bene timely discovered.'[81] Cotton drew Wheelwright into his negotiations with the residents of Aquidneck Island, encouraging him to act as an incentive and role model for their return to Boston. A confession and revocation of Wheelwright's more problematic viewpoints would not only make a path for his own repatriation, but it would encourage others to identify their own sin after self-examination.[82] Only three of Hutchinson's followers were banished, eight were disenfranchised, and many disarmed, making the punishment of her adherents far less severe than those given the protagonists.[83] Many later recanted, perhaps following the lead of influential men like Cotton and Wheelwright, and were welcomed back into the community and the Bay colony. The government were ready and willing to forgive, demonstrating a desire to protect the viability of the colony, as well as the characteristic passion for redemption.[84] Reflecting the emerging patterns of negotiation in puritan communities, religious and social boundaries were in place, but they were not necessarily finite.

Engaging in the familiar language of brotherhood and relying on the fact that he had himself committed no serious theological transgressions, Samuel Wilbur sought repatriation to the Boston puritan community after singing the remonstrance in favour of Wheelwright. He made a formal apology to the Massachusetts authorities, confessing his 'rashnes and ofence,' and craving prayers and pardon.[85] He made an appeal to godly brotherhood, but with a clear recognition that the security of the colony itself was a pressing concern, writing 'I have bene noe enemy to this state.'[86] Wilbur's apology focussed on impulsivity rather than religion, indicating an awareness that it was easier to redeem someone that had lost their way than someone who

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[80] Ibid, pp. 277-9.
[81] Ibid, pp. 277-9.
[82] Ibid, pp. 302-11.
[83] Cohen, 'Church and state,' p. 489.
[84] Ibid, p. 493.
[85] Samuel Wilbur (16 May, 1639), *WP*, IV, pp. 121-2.
[86] Ibid, pp. 121-2.

flagrantly flouted the religious orthodoxy of the colony. Brotherhood remained an important leveller during the unsteady years following the Controversy, used by laity and clergy alike, especially while those in the colony fought to alleviate the fears of their English counterparts.[87] Cotton sought to restore his friendship with Samuel Stone, with whom he had travelled to Massachusetts on the *Griffin*, with a reassertion of their brotherhood. Hoping that God would settle the differences between them, Cotton used his return to acceptability as a platform on which to rebuild feelings of common belief.[88] The significance of the impact of the Controversy on the community is poignantly expressed by William Coddington, who wrote to John Winthrop that during the course of events, 'we had forgoten we were brethren . . . I could wish that we, that have lived 7 yeares in place of magistracey to geather might not multeplye grevances one aganest an other, but I shall not ade further therin.'[89] Knowing how powerful a bond brotherhood could convey, Coddington's remark is a comment both on friendship, and on religious affinity. This was not an apology, however. Coddington clearly acknowledged the damage done to their community ties and acknowledged that the differences in belief between he and Winthrop had passed the point of reconciliation. Neither man willing to renege on their doctrine, the barrier between them could not be overcome.

The Massachusetts puritans did not easily accept rents in their community, as has been shown, but they also created a legal precedent for this, employing restrictions on absent members of the Boston church following the Antinomian Controversy. The Massachusetts General Court had in 1636 dictated that 'noe person living under an Orthodox ministery shal joyne in Church society in another Plantation unles they remove their habitation thither where they joyne in relation or procure the approbation of the Gen[e]r[a]l Court.'[90] Guided by what they believed was God's true will, the Massachusetts authorities sought to demonstrate their authority over Hutchinson's followers in 1638, leaving the door open for them to return from their

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[87] William Fiennes to John Cotton (June, 1638), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 283-5; John Winthrop to William Coddington, John Coggeshall, and William Colbron (15 January, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 8-9; Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (13 March, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 20-1.
[88] John Cotton to Samuel Stone (27 March, 1638), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 273-4.
[89] William Coddington to John Winthrop (25 August, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 278-9.
[90] Proposed Order of the General Court (March, 1636), *WP*, III, p. 231.

voluntary exile only with permission from the General Court.[91] But those that left also needed permission to withdraw their membership from the Boston church. Francis Hutchinson, the sixth of Anne Hutchinson's children, was seventeen when his mother was excommunicated, and had refused to join the rest of the church in the excommunication vote. He remained a member of the Boston church while in exile, but wrote to the church elders on 9 July 1640, requesting dismissal.[92] His request was refused, and Cotton's reply consciously reminded Hutchinson of his continuing membership.[93] Cotton addressed his response to 'our beloved brother,' and opened the letter with a second iteration, 'Beloved brother in our Lord Jesus.'[94] These might have been perfectly common greetings between spiritual brethren, but Cotton's use of the term 'brother' here is a conscious and pointed statement about Hutchinson's continuing church membership, actively engaging in a dialogue also found in other negotiations. An encouragement for some of the Aquidneck settlers, Cotton's reminder that the covenant Hutchinson had sworn was 'perpetuall & everlasting' feels more like a warning than an opportunity.[95]

Hutchinson's request for removal from the church was not taken lightly, and Cotton's response contains both a suggestion of their desire to redeem him, but perhaps more prominently a display of the religious authority of the Boston church. It aligns with Bremer's argument that the Antinomian Controversy exposed tensions between lay empowerment and clerical authority, which is likely to have influenced Cotton's decision to adopt a more assertive tone in his letter.[96] In this example, the authority of the church is employed to persuade Hutchinson to return, highlighting the socio-religious infractions he committed in his absence from the church. A communal body, whose members felt autonomy and obligation to play an active role in their brotherhood, the church had a responsibility to try to redeem Hutchinson, just as Hutchinson had an obligation to act as a faithful member of the congregation. Ultimately, the hope would have been that the younger Hutchinson could achieve

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[91] Thomas Dudley to John Winthrop (20 February, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 14-5.

[92] Bush, Jnr., p. 319.

[93] John Cotton to Francis Hutchinson (12 August, 1640), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 320-2.

[94] Ibid, pp. 320-2.

[95] Ibid, pp. 320-2.

[96] F. J. Bremer, *Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism* (Basingstoke, 2015), p. 95.

redemption by turning his back on his sins and transforming himself back into an acceptable member of the Boston Church.[97] That Francis Hutchinson was Anne Hutchinson's child clearly influenced Cotton's firmer tone, and he made no secret about challenging the role of the parents in Hutchinson's request. Noting that Hutchinson's absence from church already put him in breach of his covenant, Cotton attributed a significant portion of that blame on to his parents, who 'deale sinfully, & bring upon themselves the guilt of your Breach of Covenant,' since his initial membership came at their request.[98] Adding that it was unlawful for church members to join with excommunicated parties, Hutchinson's proximity to his sinful parents certainly factored into Cotton's firmness in response to his request, but it seems to have been more directed at the parents, 'you being forced to Attend upon' them.[99] But it was not only Hutchinson's parentage, but the actions of the settlers more widely that gave Cotton cause to refuse Hutchinson's request for dismissal from the Boston church. The congregation's responsibility for the soul of one of their members prevented them from consenting to Hutchinson's request to leave the church, without an acceptable alternative in line.[100] Using evidence from the scripture to support his point, Cotton wrote that 'wee dare not Recommend you from a Church to noe Church,' for to do so would be in contravention to God's will, only he had the power to dismiss members.[101] The practice of moving between churches and transferring membership was not uncommon. John Cotton wrote of the 'brotherly communion . . . between the churches' and of the letters of recommendation that would accompany members moving from one church to another.[102] However, to separate wholly from a Massachusetts Church without joining another signalled a separation from Christ, one that would await them at the Last Judgement.[103] Not only this, but granting Hutchinson's request would have released him into what Cotton and others in Boston considered a dangerous and heretical community, in direct contrast to the spiritual brotherhood that was consolidated in the New England

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[97] Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 5.

[98] John Cotton to Francis Hutchinson (12 August, 1640), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 320-2.

[99] Ibid, pp. 320-2.

[100] Ziff, 'Church covenant', p. 456.

[101] Ibid, pp. 320-2; Ziff, 'Church covenant', p. 456.

[102] J. Cotton, *The Keys to the Kingdom of Heaven* (London, 1644), pp. 17, 24.

[103] M. P. Winship, 'Straining the Bonds of Puritanism', in C. Gribben & R. Scott Spurlock, *Puritans and Catholics in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Basingstoke, 2015), p. 103.

congregations. Cotton reiterated that Hutchinson could not be dismissed 'by your Parents Authority,' again highlighting the wrongdoing of the parents. In Cotton's letter, there was a glimmer of hope that the son of one of the most serious offenders the colony had yet witnessed could be redeemed, but Hutchinson was approached with a firm hand. The church elders clearly feared the consequences of allowing a church member to end their membership without moving to an acceptable alternative, not recognising the Aquidneck settlement as being sufficiently godly. This negotiation was carried out with a different power dynamic to Cotton's negotiations with the Massachusetts ministers, Thomas Hooker, or John Wheelwright. Cotton was the authority, and used his position in the church, as well as the added authority of doctrine that had been reinforced as 'orthodox' during the upheaval of the Antinomian Controversy to refuse Hutchinson's request for dismissal from the Church. Not only this, but he used scriptural evidence to reinforce his decision, making it clear that, while he relied on 'brotherhood' as he so often did in negotiations, this was not a mediation between equals. Indeed, the tone of his letter demonstrates that not all negotiation and mediation went 'back and forth' between the parties involved, but it could be a rather one-sided persuasion. Reminiscent of the ways in which correspondence was used to persuade on the eve of migration, as discussed in chapter one, here Cotton used his position and authority to negotiate and persuade an errant member (albeit unsuccessfully) back to Boston.

Highlighting moderation and piety, increasingly a more consolidated 'orthodoxy' in Massachusetts, John Winthrop believed that 'purity, preserved in the church, will preserve well ordered liberty in the people, and both of them establish well-ballanced authority in the magistrates.'[104] Hutchinson inspired a point of intense opposition that Michael Winship has argued defined English puritanism in contrast to the relatively unchallenged New England puritanism, the absence of which the settlers felt keenly in their new environment.[105] Drawing on the ideas of Emile Durkheim, Kai Erikson suggested that social deviance performed an important role in society by drawing people together in a common stance of anger and resentment. A deviant contravenes

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[104] John Cotton to William Fiennes (after March, 1636), in S. Bush, Jnr., *The Correspondence of John Cotton* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001), pp. 244-7.
[105] M. P. Winship, 'Were there any puritans in New England?', *NEQ,* 74 (2001), pp. 123-5.

the rules of conduct or practices that the rest of the community respects, and when the community come together to express outrage and to condemn the offender, a tighter bond of solidarity than existed earlier is forged.[106] In the case of Anne Hutchinson, her refusal to act as a modest woman, and her direct challenge to the church covenant and the sanctity of the Massachusetts ministers, confirms her deviant status. The drama of the event quickens the tempo of interaction and creates a climate in which the private sentiments of separate persons are fused together into a common sense of morality, or a more solid sense of 'orthodoxy.'[107] The Antinomian Controversy forced the redefinition of religious acceptability, chiming with Como's argument that attacking antinomians or, in this case perhaps just more radical believers, was an opportunity to prove commitment to theological conformity and to ascertain what that conformity should look like.[108] Hutchinson's deviance created a sense of mutuality, demonstrated by Cotton's decision to conform, as well as in the coming together of ministers from across the Massachusetts Bay colony to decide what should be done.[109] Her refusal to be rehabilitated, to engage in the expected process of discussion and compromise of puritanism set her fate. He cast her as a leper, in doing so reinforcing her status as a contagion and a pariah.[110] But the effects of Hutchinson's indiscretion ran deeper, changing the way in which the Massachusetts government could operate. The resulting Cambridge Synod that met to discuss the Controversy provided an outline of 'orthodoxy.' It had been exhaustively debated and gave the godly the ability to attack their enemies with renewed vigour and clearer guidelines, established by leading members of the community.[111] In this manner, it is clear that the point of opposition that Hutchinson and her followers provided was used to encourage consensus on the Massachusetts 'orthodoxy' in the late 1630s through the collective expulsion of the radical, or 'unorthodox' opposition.

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[106] Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, p. 4.
[107] Ibid, p. 4.
[108] Como*, Blown by the Spirit*, p. 79.
[109] Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*, pp. 163-4.
[110] Ibid, p. 105.
[111] Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, pp. 90-1.

Letters and Transatlantic Theological Debate

Regulation and negotiation in New England were unable to prevent the Antinomian Controversy from building to its dramatic conclusion. The decision to try and redeem Anne Hutchinson and John Wheelwright, restoring them to acceptability and to religious 'orthodoxy' in Massachusetts, might have been representative of puritan efforts to reform and rehabilitate instead of casting out troublesome members, but it was not well received by all those puritans living in England. While Hutchinson and her followers were ultimately cast out in order to preserve orthodoxy and unity in Massachusetts, Emmanuel Downing was likely not alone in his surprise that they had not immediately been banished.[112] Puritans in England followed events in the New World closely and were eager to have blights purged from the colony. For English supporters of the New England venture, the appearance of factionalism in their godly outpost appeared to threaten its viability. Yet this was not the only instance in which the English puritans disagreed with their congregational brethren in New England, and the negotiation of 'orthodoxy' was not solely practised in the New World. The colonists living in New England had to work equally hard to establish an 'orthodoxy' that both met their intentions to take further the innovations that had been started in England, and that appeased English brethren and observers. Events like the Antinomian Controversy might have sparked discussions across the Atlantic, but it formed part of a wider dialogue in which the colonists and their English brethren negotiated their positions on theological and doctrinal issues. The new claim in New England that Christ's visible Church on earth only existed in the form of local congregations was unsettling to those who had remained behind in England. These innovations additionally bestowed power on the lay congregation to admit or get rid of members, as shown in chapter two, as also to select or throw out ministers.[113] For even some congregationally-minded English observers, this appeared to be more in line with independency: it simply gave too much power to the congregation at the expense of the elders.[114] David Cressy has shown how reports drifted back from the colonies with disgruntled returning migrants. This chapter also recognises the dissemination of negative opinion travelling to England in letters from settlers to their

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[112] Emmanuel Downing to John Winthrop (21 November, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 512-3.
[113] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 150.
[114] Powell, *British Protestantism*, p. 134.

friends and kin, and in manuscripts to be printed and circulated in England.[115] Such reports contributed to an increase in demands from the English puritans that their brethren across the Atlantic explain colonial innovations in church practices.[116] Most New England churches were gathered by covenants, common vows that bound the congregation as a community. Membership to churches was restricted to those that could testify their faith, as demonstrated in chapter two, and this set colonial churches undeniably apart from their English counterparts. In English parish churches, godly clergy tried to ensure that only sincere Christians took part in communion, though this was largely assessed by knowledge of Christian teaching and by readiness to receive communion, not by personal testimony of conversion.[117] The notion of denying communion provoked debate in England in the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Arnold Hunt has shown that excluding individuals from the Lord's Supper was an extreme decision, and many clergy were reluctant to do so.[118] Hunt's work reveals debate on the matter, but the picture is broadened in this chapter by including transatlantic debate on the subject. This will reveal not only the process by which puritans mediated disputes, but how they did so in the context of differing experiences, and with correspondence as their medium. Appearing to lean too closely toward separatism, church membership and the denial of communion to all non-members prompted an extended process of negotiation, one that was exacerbated by the different experiences of those in England and New England. Carried out largely in correspondence, puritans on both sides of the Atlantic worked to establish an acceptable 'orthodoxy' through transatlantic discussion and debate. While the godly in New England fought off some attacks from England, they also received letters that could be used to challenge them and their doctrine from within colonial borders. Needing to achieve and to demonstrate not only solidarity within New England but also to present an acceptable doctrine to the English, the New England puritans were engaged in extensive negotiation with their brethren on both sides of the Atlantic. This develops our picture of transatlantic mediation because it reminds us that challenges were diverse and came from multiple directions, not solely

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[115] D. Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 195, 197-8.

[116] S. Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims: New World Settlers and the Call of Home* (New Haven, CT, 2007), pp. 7, 51.

[117] *Ibid*, pp. 6, 38; A. Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in early modern England', *Past & Present*, 161 (Nov., 1998), pp. 61-3.

[118] Hunt, 'Lord's Supper,' pp. 66-7.

depicting difference between England and New England, but highlighting myriad beliefs and perceived truths. Much evidence has survived in letters because the godly continued practices of negotiation and mediation in their correspondence that had been learned in Old England. This makes correspondence the ideal medium through which to understand fully the processes by which puritans negotiated their 'orthodoxies' in the Atlantic world.

Emmanuel Downing's report that there was more support in England for victory over the Hutchinsonians than over the Pequot Indians, with whom the New English puritans were engaged in a bitter conflict between 1636-38, shows how crucial the negotiation and establishment of a coherent 'orthodoxy' seemed to the godly. Reflective of their desire for conference and discussion, puritans might have understood that God's 'truth' was not fixed, but it did not prevent them from seeking solidarity. With solidarity came comfort, security, and a stronger conviction that the congregational vision in New England followed the right path. News of theological squabbles in Massachusetts concerned the English puritans, who feared that discord would discourage others from emigrating, in spite of the precarious position they held in England.[119] Anne Hutchinson's excommunication and a hard line on her heresies enabled the presentation of an illusion of harmony, protecting the Massachusetts community from accusations of heresy and dissent from their fellow members, and from their enemies. John Winthrop's *Rise, Reign and Ruine*, circulated in England, was expressly designed to limit the damage to the colony and to others' perceptions of them, 'sent into England to be published there, to the end that all our godly friends might not be discouraged from coming to us.'[120] Concerns about factionalism and debate in New England were not easily alleviated. In England, John Dod and others felt that since emigration a number of minister had 'embraced certaine new opinions, such as yow disliked formerly,' in contrast to their English union, where 'wee professed the same faith, joined in the same ordenances, laboured in the word of god to gaine soules unto his kingdome, and maintained the purity of gods worship

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[119] Robert Stansby to John Wilson (17 April, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 389-90; Robert Stansby to John Winthrop (17 April, 1637), *WP*, III, p. 391.
[120] J. Winthrop, *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines, that Infected the Churches of New England*, (London, 1644); Dunn, Savage & Yeandle (ed.), *Journal*, p. 242.

againstt corruptions.'[121] While the authors conceded that they believed not all of the rumours circulating in England, their perception of perfect harmony in England contrasting with discord in the transatlantic is evidence of their fears that New World liberty was unbounded. But their idealistic notions of English union were inaccurate, an outbreak of antinomianism had raged in London only a decade before, and fears of factionalism had long plagued English puritans.[122] However, English concerns about a 'kingdom divided' demonstrate that reports of discord in Massachusetts disturbed the English contingent of the puritan community, prompting them to remind their brethren what was at stake if 'God's Kingdom' in England did not succeed and call for a return to an ideal feeling of orthodoxy and unity.[123]

Prominent historians of puritanism have long identified a drive amongst moderate puritans to distance themselves from their more radical, separatist brethren.[124] John Davenport highlighted the importance of distancing himself from radical congregations in England, and John Cotton expressed concern about separatism in the Netherlands.[125] In the New World, the need for moderate puritans to assert difference from their radical counterparts was even greater, as the different experiences of life in England and New England let to increasingly divergent perspectives on theological and doctrinal issues. Actions that made perfect sense to the colonists, often shaped by their relative physical isolation overseas, were not always understood by their English contemporaries. For those that had left for the Massachusetts Bay colony, they claimed their intention was to present an example to England, not to break apart from them. There was progress to be made in establishing a strong settlement, and the colonists, for the most part, wanted to work

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[121] John Dod and others to the New England Brethren (c. June, 1637), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 264-6.
[122] Como, *Blown by the Spirit*; see also: P. Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'Heterodoxy', and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001); Bremer, *John Winthrop,* p. 277.
[123] Robert Stansby to John Wilson (17 April, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 389-90; Robert Stansby to John Winthrop (17 April, 1637), *WP*, III, p. 391.
[124] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 60, 79; Como, 'Radical Puritanism, p. 245; M. Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London, 1616-1649* (Cambridge, 1977); Carlson, 'Churchwardens,' p. 175;
[125] John Davenport to Sir William Boswell (8/18 March, 1634), in Calder, *The Letters of John Davenport*, pp. 41-3; John Cotton to Hugh Goodyear (12 April, 1630), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 139-40; Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 115.

with their English counterparts. In 1630, John Cotton implored the departing fleet to 'have a tender care that you look well to the plants that spring from you,' recognising the potential for future generations to digress from their parents' cause.[126] However, facing intense examination by the English, the colonists soon appeared to be diverging from their brethren. In 1632, Edward Howes cautioned his friend John Winthrop Jr that 'here there are a thousand eyes watchinge over you to pick a hole in your coats.'[127] His warning was not unfounded. The Massachusetts colonists were under scrutiny, despite Howes's assurance that 'there are more with you than against you.'[128] It was not only the eyes of those that had remained in England that watched, but those of returned colonists, unhappy with their experiences overseas, and joining their voices with letters of complaint from English observers.[129] Howes was a regular correspondent of John Winthrop Jr, often including news of the sentiment expressed towards the colonists. He and others marvelled in 1632 at the 'discoragements the divell putts in most mens mouths against your plantations,' writing that many expected the settlers to either return as failures, or move south to Virginia.[130] News, rumours, and gossip about the colonies was rife, and reports were mixed. But whatever the tone of the word creeping back from England, the puritans in New England learned quickly how closely they were being observed. In 1634, John Cotton explained to a minister in England that he felt that God had opened a door for him and Thomas Hooker to minister more effectively than they could in England, away from the immediate threat of suffering and imprisonment in their homeland.[131] God had promised a land in which the settlers could 'dwell there like freeholders in a place of their own,' encouraging puritans to leave comfortable homes in England for a much harder life, but where they would experience 'freedom of spirit.'[132] Even these

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[126] J. Cotton, *God's Promise to His Plantation* (1630), in A. Heimert, & A. Delbanco, *The Puritans in America, A Narrative Anthology (*London, 1985), p. 80.
[127] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (3 April, 1632), *The Winthrop Papers, Vol. III*, pp. 75-6.
[128] Ibid, pp. 75-6.
[129] S. Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America: Life Stories from Early New England* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 7; Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 21; A. Heimert & A. Delbanco (eds.), *The Puritans in America: A Narrative Anthology* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), p. 48.
[130] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (23 November, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 93-6; Thomas Ashley to John Winthrop (6 March, 1633), *WP*, III, p. 108; James Hopkins to John Winthrop (25 February, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 105-7.
[131] John Cotton to a minister in England (3 December, 1634), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 182-4.
[132] J. Cotton, *God's Promise to His Plantations* (1630), in Heimert & Delbanco, *The Puritans in America*, p. 76; Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 112; J. Chaplin, *The Life of Henry*

simple justifications for emigration stand as evidence of negotiation, as emigrating ministers were called upon to qualify their choices for English puritans who felt abandoned by the leading English puritan ministers. They are demonstrations of a need to engage in a socio-religious parley in order to assert and feel solidarity in the face of even minor questions or challenges.

But these minor challenges gave rise to a more significant debate over the New England 'orthodoxy' and innovations in colonial church practices. New England congregations chose and ordained their own ministers, they rejected the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer, and restricted membership to only those who could give evidence of regeneration.[133] But there were concerns tied to this liberty. It was not designed to be all freeing, a place where colonists could explore the radical limits of their religion, but instead a place for the full and proper expression of congregational puritanism, moderated through measures of trust, working towards a firmly consolidated settlement.[134] Hardman Moore has explained the delicate balancing act that New England puritans had to achieve, arguing that 'to witness against popery, they had to establish purity. To show themselves no separatist, they had to keep order and unity.'[135] The Massachusetts Bay puritans might have felt like they were firmly distancing themselves from the separatism of the Plymouth colony, it was clear that not all English men and women believed the same. The decision of the Massachusetts puritans to run their churches as they hoped would later be mirrored in England on the completion of the reformation, meant that the colonists did not closely follow the practices of the Church of England. John Winthrop rejected Sir Simonds D'Ewes's advice that the Massachusetts churches conform closely to the Church of England, believing that to do so was not in concordance with God's will. He acknowledged that D'Ewes recommendation likely came 'out of your care of our

Dunster: First President of Harvard College (Boston, MA, 1872), p. 205; William Coddington to John Cotton (4 June, 1632), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, p. 175.

[133] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 117.

[134] F. J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (London, 1995), p. 92.

[135] S. Hardman Moore, 'Popery, Purity and Providence: Deciphering the New England Experiment,' in A. Fletcher & P. Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 276.

welfare,' but firmly stated his disagreement.[136] Winthrop assured his friend that he did not dispute the way things were done in England but that he felt like a clean slate in America gave room to adhere more closely to God's present will.[137] While Winthrop was distancing himself from the formal structures of the Church of England, he remained clear in his correspondence that he was not moving apart from his English brethren, and thanked D'Ewes for his advice, and continuing good will towards the colony.[138] Winthrop's mediation with D'Ewes was grounded firmly in the assertion that the Massachusetts churches remained loyal and connected to their English brethren. In doing so, he reminded D'Ewes of their own brotherhood and was careful not to show any outright disregard for the English churches, despite acknowledging the different structure of the New England churches. The differing experiences of the church in England and America, the freer air of New England in contrast with the restrictive and regulated Church of England, meant that it was difficult for those in England to truly understand the reasons for different practices in the colonial churches. Underlying this was a simmering anxiety, one inherent in puritanism. It was a point of contention between England and America and it shows how those that stayed behind in England struggled to comprehend all of their colonial brethren's actions. This lack of understanding directly exacerbated the dispute over the New England decision to impose church membership restrictions. Letters provided a space in which to mediate these disputes at a distance and were the medium through which puritans could engage in discourse over ecclesiological matters. Any such debate was significant and had the potential to challenge the cohesion of the sociability that brethren worked hard to preserve across the Atlantic. These letters, whether formal or informal, reveal processes of negotiation that involved members of the laity as well as the clergy.

As shown in chapter two, membership of a church was required for an individual to receive the full benefits of church worship.[139] This troubled some European observers, feeling that it marked such a departure from traditional Christian practice that the

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[136] John Winthrop to Sir Simonds D'Ewes (21 July, 1634), *WP,* III, pp. 171-2
[137] Ibid, pp. 171-2.
[138] Ibid, pp. 171-2.
[139] Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem*, p. 145; Winship, 'Straining the Bonds,' p. 94.

New England churches aligned themselves with separatists.[140] Edward Howes wrote in 1631 that 'heare is a mutteringe of a too palpable seperation of your people from our church government,' and later relayed derogatory marks by a returned migrant regarding Massachusetts church practices.[141] Michael Winship has suggested that this confusion and disagreement came from the fact that the emigrating puritans, especially those that left for Salem in 1628, had no clear sense of what their church government would be before their departure.[142] As Hardman Moore has noted, New England settlement was an 'experiment in reform,' there was not a firm plan in place before emigration.[143] Such were the variations between the Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches in Europe that no set pattern existed.[144] It is no surprise, then, that when in 1630, John Cotton had heard of the deaths of many early colonists in Plymouth and Salem, he wrote to Skelton at the Salem church that 'so hath it not a little trouble mee that you should deny the Lords Supper to such godly & faithful Servants of Christ.'[145] Cotton' s friend, and former parishioner, William Coddington and family had not immediately been made members of the Salem church, but that they had to prove their conversion.[146] This was not English practice, and reeked of Plymouth-influenced separatism; unlawful and schismatic. Cotton wrote that 'I am afraid your change hath spring from new-Plimouth men' and he felt that 'their grounds which they received . . . do not satisfy me.'[147] John Cotton was surprised that his friend's reputation for having an 'upright heart & unblameable life' was insufficient to grant him membership, as it would have been sufficient to receive communion in an English parish church.[148] Membership to the church in Salem required a level of testimony that needed to probe deeper than reputation alone, Rev. Samuel Skelton would not readily admit members of the Church of England, only

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[140] B. Tipson, 'Invisible saints: the 'judgement of charity' in the early New England churches', *American Society of Church History*, 44 (Dec., 1975), p. 460; Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, p. 57.
[141] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (9 November, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 54-5; Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (28 November, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 100-1.
[142] Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, pp. 136, 139, 148.
[143] Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 145.
[144] Ibid, p. 140.
[145] John Cotton to Samuel Skelton (2 October, 1630), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 143-147. A detailed analysis of this letter can be found in: D. D. Hall, 'John Cotton's letter to Samuel Skelton,' *WMQ*, 22, 3 (Jul., 1965), pp. 478-85.
[146] Ibid, pp. 143-7.
[147] Ibid, pp. 143-7.
[148] Ibid, pp. 143-7.

those that had come from reformed churches. Still in England, Cotton disagreed fiercely with the minister's actions, believing the essence of a church to be 'a flocke of saints called by god into the fellowship of Christ, meeting together in one place to call upon the name of the Lord & to edify themselves in communicating spirituall gifts & partaking in the ordinances of the Lord.'[149] For Cotton, the essence of a covenant was inherent in a group of people with shared beliefs, coming together to worship. In his English congregation, he sought a three-fold Christian conscience, 'between God and their conscience; between true hearted loyaltie and christian liberty; between the fear of God and the lovve of one another.'[150] In this matter, he felt that the English churches were not lacking in their integrity, as Skelton believed. The difference was that Cotton's covenant was informal, created by attending church rather than through formal membership. The message might have been the same, but the method was quite different. For John Cotton, William Coddington's known good character and personal endorsements regarding his religious leanings were enough.[151] He strongly disagreed with the 'erroneous' formal methods utilised at the Salem church, proclaiming that Skelton's separatist tendency 'requires a booke rather then a letter to answer it.'[152] Cotton firmly believed that Coddington was a member of the spiritual community, as a 'man of upright heart & unblameable life,' but Samuel Skelton would not formally acknowledge the same until Coddington was able to provide sufficient evidence of his conversion. [153] These contrasting perspectives of doctrine and church practice demonstrate difference in ecclesiology, which is hardly surprising. What is interesting is Cotton's effort to question Skelton, rather than just attacking him outright. This might well have been influenced by Cotton's intention to publish the letter, which David Hall has argued would have served to reassure English puritans that the Massachusetts Bay Company remained faithful to the Church of England.[154] Cotton's diplomacy in this matter is characteristic, he was known for his tact in debate. His engagement with Skelton, rather than direct opposition shows how differences did not always lead to overt and irreconcilable discord. When John Cotton wrote to Samuel Skelton, he showed his disagreement, but he also questioned,

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[149] Ibid, pp. 143-7.
[150] John Cotton to John Williams (7 May, 1633), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 179-80; Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 6; Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper', pp. 61-3.
[151] John Cotton to Samuel Skelton (2 October, 1630), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 143-7.
[152] Ibid, pp. 143-7.
[153] Ibid, pp. 143-7.
[154] D. D. Hall, 'John Cotton's letter to Samuel Skelton,' *WMQ*, 22, 3 (Jul., 1965), p. 478.

opening up a line of discussion that was a method by which the godly negotiated their differences.

Despite his initial concern, John Cotton went on to be a major advocate for 'that noble & Common place of the Covenants' after moving to Massachusetts.[155] Now convinced of the benefits, and having developed stronger congregational ideas, apparently through reading the work of William Ames amongst others, Cotton believed that the covenant was a way in which to more fully understand God's truth, and an essential way by which to establish trust in fellow colonists.[156] John Cotton was not necessarily a more radically minded puritan in 1641 than he had been in 1630, but he had the experience of six years in the Bay colony, as well as of the Antinomian Controversy in 1637 and 1638, to inform his beliefs. Church membership created an early, but ongoing, divide between the congregational puritans in New England and their English brethren, particularly presbyterians, who did not support the practice of church governance by the local congregation alone.[157] Preferring a clear hierarchy, and reluctant to give so much power to the laity as found in the New England churches, presbyterianism was not characterised by covenanted gatherings.[158] For some, this was a continuing problem, getting stronger as the public requirements for membership became even stricter as the years went on.[159] In the colony, church membership made sense, it bonded people together and served to safeguard the colony against internal threats. Establishing a unified and safe congregation was now of the utmost importance, the colony could not be so tarnished again. But it was more than this, it was an expression of community, of brotherhood, a way in which to reinforce, but also ensure, the sense of shared belief. Indeed, church membership was one way of ensuring 'orthodoxy' in New England, but it created animosity between colonists and their English brethren, emphasising the need for ongoing discussion. This debate is not always easy to pinpoint amongst the

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[155] John Cotton to Peter Bulkeley (16 January, 1641), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence of John Cotton*, pp. 340-1.

[156] Ibid, pp. 340-1; Tipson, 'Invisible saints', p. 465; Hall, 'John Cotton's letter,' p. 480.

[157] Ha, *English Presbyterianism*, pp. 77-8.

[158] Bremer, *Lay Empowerment*, pp. 78-9; Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, p. 144.

[159] R. A. Rees, 'Seeds of the enlightenment: public testimony in the New England congregational churches, 1630-1750', *Early American Literature Newsletter*, 3, (Spring, 1968), p. 23; Morgan, *Visible Saints*, pp. 88-9; Tipson, 'Invisible saints', p. 460.

thousands of letters that crossed the Atlantic, many of which dealt with more mundane, quotidian issues, but we can identify patterns of negotiation in the transatlantic by utilising spatial analysis and quantification.

Historians have long been aware of the extensive discussion that traversed the Atlantic in correspondence, but there is more that we can learn about patterns of negotiation in the transatlantic world. These patterns are revealed through quantification. I have distinguished between all letters surviving in the *Winthrop Papers*, *The Correspondence of John Cotton* and the *Letters of John Davenport* between 1630 and 1649 that were used, or could be used, to reinforce solidarity in New England (and across the Atlantic) and those that could be used privately or publicly to challenge the New England godly. Quantifying how common theological and doctrinal negotiation was in these transatlantic letter collections advances our understanding of the patterns of negotiation present in England and New England puritan communities. To develop this picture further, we can map the networks that were either challenging or reinforcing New England solidarity. Putting these networks side by side, we are left with a new, stronger understanding of the way in which puritans in the transatlantic world used their correspondence to negotiate and mediate disputes.

Year	Letters promoting solidarity			Letters with the intention to challenge		
	No. of letters	Percentage of all letters	Percentage of relevant letters	No. of letters	Percentage of all letters	Percentage of relevant letters
1630	1	1.02%	7.14%	1	1.02%	7.14%
1631	5	10.87%	50%	-	-	-
1632	4	11.43%	18.18%	-	-	-
1633	6	19.35%	40%	-	-	-
1634	4	14.81%	50%	2	7.41%	25%
1635	3	8.11%	60%	2	5.41%	40%
1636	10	10.75%	30%	1	1.08%	3%
1637*	9	7.96%	13%	2	1.77%	3%
	10*	8.85%	22%			
1638	10	12.66%	17%	4	5.06%	9%
1639	6	7.23%	19%	1	1.2%	3%
1640	8	6.02%	23%	7	5.26%	16%
1641	3	7.32%	75%	3	7.32%	23%
1642	3	12.5%	7%	-	-	-
1643	1	2.63%	7%	-	-	-
1644	4	7.41%	13%	-	-	-
1645	-	-	-	1	2.22%	7%
1646	5	9.62%	16%	1	1.92%	3%
1647	2	2.99%	5%	-	-	-
1648	1	0.98%	3%	-	-	-
1649	2	1.98%	6%	-	-	-

Figure 3.1: Table of letters promoting solidarity vs letters with the intention to challenge the New England godly.

* One undated letter appears to be from 1637 so has been included on a separate line in the interest of full clarity.

It is immediately clear that far more letters survive that promoted solidarity than that posed a challenge (fig. 3.1). This table displays the number of letters each year that promoted solidarity or presented a challenge, as well as the percentage of the correspondence that these letters constituted for each year. The percentage has been calculated for the complete correspondence network, and for the relevant network, which includes only letters concerned with theological, ecclesiological, and political themes. While this might seem to suggest that the transatlantic puritan community was subject to few internal challenges, it would be misleading to draw such a conclusion. Some letters do contain significant praise for the New England venture and the colonists: Margaret Winthrop responded to Rev. John Wilson speaking 'very well of things thear,' his praise making her 'fully persuaded that it is the place

wherein god will have us to settle in.'[160] John Humfrey also felt strongly that God was present in New England, writing 'Now the good lord reveall himself everie way unto you, shine upon you with a loving countenance,' and asked for help and prayers from those in New England: 'If in anie thing my people neede of your love, and you can steede them and mee by your direction and helpe I doe not so much desire as [will] upon you.'[161] After emigrating from New England to Bermuda and encountering difficulties there, Patrick Copeland and Nathaniel White sought backing from New England ministers, lamenting that 'wee now live scatteredly and enjoy not that sweet society of saints which wee long after.'[162] However, many more of the letters that promoted New England solidarity were concerned not with hailing the majesty and success of the new colonies, but instead with mediating and negotiating theological and doctrinal issues in order to create or encourage solidarity where it was unsteady. Edward Howes's report that 'heare is a muttering of a too palpable separation of your people from our church government' was a warning to John Winthrop Jr to qualify the New England position to the English rather than posing a direct attack.[163] In 1635, John Winthrop assured Sir Simons D'Ewes that the reported dispute between eminent divines Thomas Hooker and John Cotton was not the reason for Hooker's decision to leave for Connecticut, writing that the men 'doe hould a most sweet and brotherly Communion together (though their judgments doe somewhat differ about the lawfullnesse of the Crosse in the Ensigne).'[164] Winthrop suggested that it was a positive move, reinforcing the notion that such large numbers of new arrivals into New England meant that new settlements were essential. His argument not only mediated any appearance of theological disagreement between the New England ministers, but it advertised and promoted continuing migration. Following the Antinomian Controversy, John Underhill urged John Winthrop to lift the censure on John Wheelwright, desperately trying to persuade the magistrate that 'the God of peace now begininge to appeare amongst us' should encourage them to 'cause peace to abounde amongst us booth in Church and Comunewealth,' namely by letting 'his censure faull, and manifest the forbearance of god in that particular.'[165] Between the

[160] Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (early May, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 32-4.
[161] John Humfrey to John Winthrop Jr (4 November, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 51-4.
[162] Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop (21 August, 1646), *WP*, V, pp. 96-7.
[163] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (9 November, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 54-5.
[164] John Winthrop to Sir Simonds D'Ewes (20 July, 1635), *WP*, III, pp. 199-200.
[165] John Underhill to John Winthrop (August, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 460-3.

years 1630-1649, eighty-nine letters reinforcing New England solidarity were sent and received in contrast with twenty-six that had the clear potential to challenge the New England godly. An early request from Henry Jacie for clarity about the procedure for choosing and ordaining ministers posed only a minor challenge, but Thomas Jenner's later concern that Richard Bonython and Richard Vines were against the covenant or 'Church-way' speaks to difficulties establishing doctrinal cohesion in New England.[166] Such challenges to New England practices of church membership appear with increasing frequency in the later 1630s and early 1640s. Thomas Gostlin, answering John Winthrop's reproaches that he never emigrated to New England, directly criticised the apparent exclusivity of New English church practices, writing 'I will assuer you rather would I live with breade and water wheare I am...then to live elsewheare delissiousely not being admitted in to the Congregation and communion of saynts.'[167] He wrote not with an attempt to seek understanding, but to declare his disagreement with John Winthrop and the church system that he supported in New England. It was in the context of these challenges that the godly sought to mediate their differences and encourage solidarity in their new environment, and with puritans in England, seeking a coherent and agreeable 'orthodoxy' in light of increasing challenges.

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[166] Henry Jacie to John Winthrop (February, 1635), *WP*, III, pp. 188-9; Thomas Jenner to John Winthrop (4 February, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 319-20.
[167] Thomas Gostlin to John Winthrop (2 March, 1640), *WP*, VI, pp. 211-3.

Figure 3.2: Map of the origins and destinations of letters intended to challenge the New England godly

Having extracted the data from this quantification, it can be used to visualise the networks that were either seeking solidarity or challenging the New England godly. These visualisations are an important new way in which to view and understand patterns of negotiation between puritans in England and New England. Starting with the networks used to challenge the New England puritans, it is interesting to see how much of the correspondence was transatlantic. Many more letters were sent across the ocean than to other locations in the country of origin (see fig. 3.2). This supports the notion that different experiences of life in the Old and New Worlds led to different interpretations of necessary or appropriate doctrine, with particular reference to colonial innovations in church practice. Taking a closer look at the correspondence sent to locations within New England (fig. 3.3), we can identify the two letters travelling between Boston and Aquidneck Island, where the Hutchinson faction settled after Hutchinson's excommunication, and one letter sent from Providence, where Roger Williams lived out his exile, to Boston. These feature theological and doctrinal argument over New England church practices and involve members of the godly community expelled from Boston for their nonconformity.[168] Their presence on this map come largely as a result of the passionate disagreements following the Antinomian Controversy regarding theological matters and arguments about being released from the Boston church. The letters spanning the area north of Boston, travelling to Dover, York and Saco in Maine, feature challenges over the validity of the church covenants in New England from Richard Vines and reports of Hanserd Knollys's attacks on the same.[169] These visualisations reveal the challenges New England puritans faced from their English brethren, but they also demonstrate that the colonists experienced a not insignificant number of challenges from within New England. This is striking because it highlights that the dispersal of the colonists around New England could be both cause and effect of disagreements over doctrinal issues. Many of these challenges concerned innovations in church practices in New

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[168] Roger Williams and Samuel Sharpe to the Boston Elders (22 July-1 September, 1635), *Correspondence*, pp. 205-8; John Cotton [recipient unknown] (4 June, 1638), *Correspondence*, pp. 277-9; William Coddington to John Cotton (March-April, 1641), *Correspondence*, pp. 347-8; William Coddington to John Winthrop (25 August, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 278-9.
[169] John Underhill to John Winthrop (22 January, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 176-8; Richard Vines to John Winthrop (25 January, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 307-9; Thomas Jenner to John Winthrop (4 February, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 319-20.

England, in particular the imposing of restrictions over church membership, highlighting how fundamental a divide these questions posed.

Figure 3.3: Map of the origins and destinations of letters intended to challenge the New England godly, focussed on New England

Mapping the letters designed to foster or display solidarity results in quite a different picture (fig. 3.4). In the full map, the majority of the nodes are clustered close together in New England, and a far lower proportion of letters seems to have crossed the Atlantic in solidarity than did in challenge. It is important, then, to examine more closely the nodes collected in the New England colonies (fig. 3.5). The dispersal of letters to the north, south, and west of Boston indicates not only a strong network of letter bearers carrying correspondence between the colonies, but it strongly suggests

198

that a great deal of negotiation regarding theological and doctrinal issues took place in New England, between the New England godly. What this tells us is that puritans in the New World were actively engaging in mediation in order to preserve and protect unity and solidarity for the 'Church and Comunwealth,' and 'for the good of N[ew] E[ngland].'[170] Continuing practices of mutual mediation learned in Old England, puritans in New England evidently worked just as hard to negotiation and consolidate 'orthodoxy' in New England as they tried to demonstrate solidarity with their puritan brethren in Old England. Moreover, the survival of these letters in collections that are inevitably incomplete suggests that they held some importance for the recipients, who took the care to file and store the correspondence. It is, therefore, undeniable that negotiation and mediation were both well-practiced and utterly central to the settlement of myriad doctrinal disputes in New England and England in the period 1630-1649. Here we can see that, while some disputes might have been exacerbated by the barrier of the Atlantic Ocean, or the pressures and isolation of the wilderness as Battis, Heimert & Delbanco have suggested, the same practices of debate and discussion learned in English congregations and practiced between clergy and laity alike, were activated in order to mediate dispute.[171] The utilisation of these correspondence networks to engage in discussion and debate were practiced on the eve of migration, as demonstrated in chapter one, and the network connections remained in place to be re-energised when the godly sought to engage in these familiar discourses. The aftermath of the Antinomian Controversy makes it very clear that these disputes could not always be resolved, and radical individuals could not always be redeemed, but the scale of the infraction did not preclude attempts to mediate.

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[170] John Underhill to John Winthrop (August, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 460-3; Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (23 November, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 93-6.
[171] A. Heimert, & A. Delbanco, *The Puritans in America, A Narrative Anthology (*London, 1985), p. 20; Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*, p. 214.

Figure 3.4: Map of the origins and destinations of letters reinforcing solidarity

Figure 3.5: Map of the origins and destinations of letters reinforcing solidarity, focussed on New England

The development of the church government in Massachusetts was keenly observed by those in England, by supporters seeking positive news, and by opponents searching for evidence of deviation from the Church of England. On both sides of the fence were people that felt the New England churches were too exclusive, and as such cast aspersions on the quality and legitimacy of conforming churches in England.[172] It was a potential point of difference even within the puritan community, with the power to drive a wedge between those in America, and those who had stayed behind. The issue sharpened emerging feelings of difference that would eventually constitute a formidable rift between the English and Americans in future generations. Moments of perceived difference contributed to the shifting dynamism of these transatlantic communities, forcing members to reconcile, and possibly adjust

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[172] Bush Jnr., *The Correspondence of John Cotton*, p. 143; P. Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, MA, 1962), p. 68

their beliefs, or their expectations of their brethren. The role of English observers should not be underestimated when considering the pressures that let to internal fracture in New England. Far fewer promotions of solidarity emerged in England than did in New England in these collections, but the networks seeking to undermine or challenge New England solidarity were widespread. Simultaneous efforts to establish a stable position in New England and to justify this to those in England required negotiation at home and overseas. This took different forms, from the efforts of moderate puritans in New England to distance themselves from their more radical counterparts, such as Hutchinson and her followers, Roger Williams, and the separatists in the Plymouth Colony, to prolonged debate and justifications in letters regarding decisions made.

Many negotiations concerning 'orthodoxy' were conducted in letters. Assertions of common brotherhood in these letters regularly provided the foundation for debate, potentially easing perceived differences between the corresponding parties and also reminding the recipient to engage in discourse that was expected of two spirits seeking a fuller understanding of God's truth. The primary letters or conversations explored in this chapter, where at least one party was a member of the clergy, typically adhere to social conventions of deference and feel practiced in their discourses of discussion. In this sense the letters do seem to be providing at a distance the space for mediation that would in England have often taken place in conference. Likewise, the letter that William Coddington penned to John Winthrop has the social convention of a letter between equals, or brothers, as Coddington reminded Winthrop that they were, or had been. By contrast, the letter from John Cotton to Francis Hutchinson regarding his proposed removal from the Boston church displays a very different power dynamic. Cotton clearly hoped to utilise his position to restore the young man's good position in Boston, removing him from dangerous influences, much as John Winthrop had with his son Henry Winthrop as shown in chapter one. It highlights that localism was inherent to New England churches. This also makes clear that there was an element of social distinction involved in negotiation and that this could alter the dynamics of mediation in prose. These factors were an intrinsic part of the correspondence networks explored in this thesis and informed many interactions. Social status and the relationship between

correspondents were likewise vital in the exchange of news in correspondence, informing recipients of the quality and truth of news received, just as status and friendships could be improved by the sending of valuable news.

Chapter Four

Letters and News

By exploring sociability, social credit and credibility, and efforts to promote solidarity in New England and with Old English brethren, this thesis has highlighted the inherent transatlanticism of the godly communities of the early and mid-seventeenth century. The correspondence crossing the Atlantic allowed distant friends to continue conversations and became a vital part of puritan sociability as the seventeenth century progressed. Letters varied in tone and content but, of the 1,523 letters considered in this thesis, 441 of them explicitly supplied the recipient with news. This constitutes some 29% of the letters consulted, a significant proportion of the correspondence that survives in these collections. The number serves to corroborate Lindsay O'Neill's assertion that news 'was more than words on a page,' but something vital to the promotion of sociability, particularly between correspondents separated by large distances.[1] Joad Raymond's argument that it is impossible to separate the language of news from social conventions adds further weight, reminding us that in the early modern period news and sociability went hand in hand. O'Neill's description of the hunger for news in the British Atlantic world lays the foundation for further investigation. Her focus on the period between the establishment of a permanent national postal system in 1660 and the flourishing of the newspaper press in the mid-eighteenth century is certainly valuable, but the question of how news was exchanged, shared, and disseminated in the early years of New England colonial settlement remains unanswered. This chapter will explore the clusters and structures of news networks between 1625-1649, revealing patterns of communication and the channels through which news was passed. This highlights the vital role of port towns in the collation and dissemination of news and reveals the ways in which settlers that returned to England contributed to news networks. Moreover, in utilising social network analysis, this chapter will bring to light the vital structural roles of actors often overlooked in the historiographies of early New England, particularly reinforcing the structural role of merchants that was established in chapter two.

The study of news has long occupied the attention of historians, though for many years the significant focus was on print news and the emergence of the newspaper as

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[1] L. O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia, PN, 2015), pp. 169-70.

a medium, and the subject still garners much attention.[2] This is particularly true of the English Civil War period when news has been considered largely in conjunction with print and propaganda.[3] However, Elizabeth Eisenstein's suggestion that printed news changed the way in which members of local communities in Europe engaged with one another, going so far as to weaken local ties, shows that the association between news and sociability is not restricted to scholarship on less formal news distribution.[4] Joad Raymond's assertion that printed works 'were one particularly noisy strand in a network of communications,' and his recognition of the relationship between print and manuscript communication, reminds historians to look beyond print and published works alone. Raymond and Noah Moxham revisited this point in a recent edited collection on news, arguing that 'news was sometimes more efficiently and speedily transmitted in person than in manuscript or in print, and many forms of written news sought not so much to be the first source of information as to confirm, correct, contextualise or reconfigure news which was already circulating orally.'[5] This shows that we need to think about those connections, the less formal published news networks, in order to flesh out our understanding of the complex flows of information in the early modern world. However, this edited collection contains only limited explorations of the role of correspondence in news distribution. News was clearly valuable in transatlantic godly communities, but we are lacking a fuller understanding of how members sent and received news, and how that news was distributed around the British Atlantic. Developing a clearer picture of the structures of news exchange will shed light on what impact news had on the transatlantic networks that these puritans tapped into, but also how the networks were activated in order to promote

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[2] E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), A. Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven, CT, 2014); J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649* (Oxford, 2005); S. G. Brandtzæg, P. Goring & C. Watson (eds.), *Travelling Chronicles: News and Newspapers from the Early Modern Period to the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 2018), though, despite a focus on print, it is important to note that this collection addresses news in any medium.

[3] R. Cust, 'News and politics in seventeenth-century England,' *Past and Present*, 112 (1986); J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004); *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013).

[4] Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution*, pp. 94-5.

[5] J. Raymond & N. Moxham, 'News Networks in Early Modern Europe,' in Raymond & Moxham, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), p. 2.

the effective flow of news along the many ties that connected the godly to one another.

This chapter thus contributes to the evolving scholarship on news, which has increased significantly in recent years with the development of new tools for analysis. It chimes with Daybell and Gordon's work on correspondence, which highlights the myriad benefits of understanding the 'networks of transmission' through which a letter would pass.[6] By combining the exploration of the 'routes, bearers, and forms of transport that make up … social networks of correspondence' with the study of news dissemination and exchange in the mid-seventeenth century British Atlantic, this chapter utilises quantitative methodologies to add to the work achieved by projects that respond to the call for 'more evidence of production, reproduction and dissemination strategies, news focus, relations and networks used by news mongers.'[7] Diaz Noci may have called for a more systematic approach to the analysis of formal, published news networks, but this chapter makes an important contribution by considering the role of networks in quotidian, and perhaps more immediate, news exchange.[8]

Calls for systematic, quantitative analysis of news networks demonstrate clearly that network analysis is perfectly suited as a methodology for understanding news dissemination and transmission, but some scholars continue to use the term 'network' without a clear indication of what they mean by the term, and without exploiting the benefits of quantitative network analysis. When exploring the function of epistolary news, Nicholas Brownlees frequently used the term without specificity, though did acknowledge that digital methodologies allow 'researchers to identify quickly and efficiently general traits and features of historical news discourse, and

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[6] J. Daybell & A. Gordon, 'The Early Modern Letter Opener,' in Daybell & Gordon (eds.) *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia, 2016), p. 3.
[7] J. Diaz Noci, 'The Iberian Position in European News Networks: A Methodological Approach,' in Raymond and Moxham, *News Networks*, p. 215.
[8] Raymond & Moxham, 'News Networks,' p. 2.

how such discourse changed over time.'[9] André Belo, while touching on formal structures and systems of news sharing, stopped short of engaging with network analysis.[10] These examples show that there is both a call for, and an absence of network analysis in the study of news networks, particularly for the time period, geographical location, and subject matter of focus in this chapter. Raymond sees the way forward as creating a combined map of news discourse, recording geography, society, politics and language. Only then, he has argued, will we have the tools to understand the interface between printed, oral and manuscript news, and between local and national communities. This thesis contributes to that map. However, Raymond suggests that focussing on one particular historical moment might limit us. I contend that by exploring a period starting before the Great Migration and extending into the years of the English Civil War, we can gain a wider picture of how moments of intense change impacted the sharing of news amongst the godly communities in the British Atlantic.

While Raymond and Moxham's notable contribution to the field provides a much-needed examination of European news networks, surprisingly little work has been done to explore Atlantic news networks, in spite of Francis Bremer's pertinent argument that the exchange of news was one of the most important functions of transatlantic puritan networks.[11] David Cressy's seminal publication made important strides in the right direction, and we can now build upon that foundation with the use of digital methodologies.[12] Lindsay O'Neill's monograph has provided a significant addition to the field, but omits the early years of colonial settlement.[13] While Katherine Grandjean's recent monograph has done much to uncover the landscape of communication in and between early New England and New York, these efforts can be developed with the addition of quantitative analysis to explore the functions and

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[9] N. Brownlees, "Newes also came by Letters': Functions and Features of Epistolary News in English News Publications of the Seventeenth Century,' in Raymond & Moxham, *News Networks*, pp. 395, 396, 406, 407. Quote taken from p. 399.

[10] A. Belo, 'News Exchange and Social Distinction,' in Raymond & Moxham, *News Networks*, pp. 376-8.

[11] F. J. Bremer, 'Increase Mather's friends: the trans-Atlantic congregational network of the seventeenth century,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 94, 1 (1984), p. 74.

[12] D. Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987)

[13] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*.

structures of communication networks.[14] Grandjean's focus on colonial America rather than the wider British Atlantic also obscures the vast correspondence, 'ravenous appetite' for news, and 'sustained community of interest' between provincial England and New England.[15] This chapter will build on the important foundations laid by these works, concentrating on news found in correspondence and demonstrating the ways in which network conceptualisation can reveal structures and patterns of news flow, the way in which news was distributed, the centrality of particular actors in the dissemination of news, and how reverse migration changed news flows, opening up new lines of communication in spite of the emotional challenges to relationships that reverse migration posed.

Through social network and spatial analysis this chapter will explain the clusters and structures of news networks in mid-seventeenth century transatlantic puritan communities. News did not circulate evenly and was dependent on key (trusted) individuals for its dissemination. Patterns of news exchange also developed over time, and while reverse migration might have threatened the solidarity of NE godly communities, it also created new, strong channels of information between former colonists and their brethren still in New England. understanding the role of the intermediaries that facilitated news exchange brings to light those lesser known actors that we do not so often hear from. In doing so, we can better understand their position and relative importance in the network, providing new perspectives and building a wider picture of New English and transatlantic godly sociability, which relied on an extensive network of actors for its success.

The Importance of Ports

Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham make the important point that, despite its 'transhistorical pertinence' or, indeed, perhaps because of it, there currently is no consensus on a working historical definition of news.[16] While this does not always present a problem, it does highlight that historians should aim to specify the type of

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[14] K. Grandjean, *American Passage: The Communications Frontier in Early New England* (Boston, MA, 2015).
[15] Cressy, *Coming Over*, pp. xiii-ix.
[16] Raymond & Moxham, 'News Networks,' p. 1.

news that they are engaging with. For the purposes of this chapter, I have categorised the types, or themes, of news shared and exchanged in the correspondence. Six main categories emerged: business, ecclesiastical, family, local (be it local to the sender, or foreign news relevant to a particular locality), personal and political news. Each item of news may have fit more than one category, for example, much political news was also local. The result was six overlapping and interlocking news networks. While Brownlees writes about a single news 'network,' conceptualising news flow as taking place across a more complex pattern of numerous intertwining networks allows us to better understand them.[17] There are potential challenges with this methodology. Raymond and Moxham claimed that to write a history about one type of news would be 'to make a decision about exclusion that probably runs counter to our own working definition of news, one that emphasises flows, continuities, networks, social improvisation.'[18] For the authors, the 'fundamental inseparability' of different types of news makes categorisation difficult and potentially exclusive, so for this chapter I have remained cognisant of the relationship between the smaller networks and the wider web of news exchange. Identifying and compartmentalising these networks was an important step in understanding the flow of news networks, as not all prominent news sharers sent the same types of news, and some news was disseminated more widely than others. In the wider context of the thesis, my ultimate focus is the way in which correspondents negotiated and mediated their differences and distance through their letters. With this in mind, I have as far as possible allowed the correspondents to construct and define the news shared in their letters. Where I have had to make judgements, I have tended towards explicit news sharing rather than reporting on the health and wellbeing of local family and friends, though such information does often accompany more consciously constructed news reports. This 'resists the compartmentalism' of news, as Raymond and Moxham put it, and my network methodologies are effective in highlighting the two major characteristics of news that the authors have noted, that 'news is essentially connective and dynamic.'[19]

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[17] Brownlees, 'Functions and Features,' p. 406.
[18] Raymond & Moxham, 'News Networks, p. 3.
[19] Ibid, p. 3.

The connective potential of news was rooted in metropolitan centres.[20] Brownlees recognised ports as pivotal for sending correspondence, but particularly for news, and O'Neill identified London as an unequivocal centre for news in the networks that she explored.[21] Of the 441 letters with news explored in this chapter, London was the source from which news was sent on 105 occasions (fig. 4.1). Boston, New England's major centre, was the target for news on 233 occasions (fig. 4.2). This is in part due to the centrality of Boston in the *Winthrop Papers*, as John Winthrop's area of longest residence, but there is no doubt that Boston was a clear hub for receiving news from England, and that London was key in providing it. As one of the main ports in New England Boston was also at the centre of news distribution around the colonies. Information did not solely cross the Atlantic in a simple exchange, but it was disseminated between the colonies, both English and Dutch. Thirty-six of the forty-six letters containing news that were sent from Boston in this period were destined for other locations in the colonies, while six went to London and three to other English locations. Boston was also the target destination for numerous letters containing news from Providence, Plymouth, Saybrook, and Salem, defining it as a news hub in the colonies. William Kieft, then Director of the New Netherland colony, thanked John Winthrop Jr for sending him European news and promised to reciprocate, though such connections were fragile and often unreliable due to the long distances between the colonies, and the colonists' unfamiliarity with the land.[22] Travel by water, though risky, was the preferred method, as the combination of unknown terrain and Indian attacks made travel by land more challenging.[23] In spite of this, there was so shortage of news travelling between the colonies. John Harrison Jr sent news from Europe that he heard in Newfoundland while travelling back to England.[24] John Endecott sent to Boston local and personal news of mutual friends in Salem in 1639 but was a more regular correspondent on political and local matters in his town.[25] The exchange of news also followed more complex paths. After arriving into Piscataqua, Maine, one

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[20] Ibid, p. 12.
[21] Brownlees, 'Functions and Features,' p. 404; O'Neill, *Opened Letter*, p. 183.
[22] William Kieft to John Winthrop Jr (16 April, 1647), *WP*, V, p. 148; Grandjean, *American Passage*, pp. 17, 47.
[23] Grandjean, *American Passage,* pp. 28-30.
[24] John Harrison Jr to John Winthrop (11 August, 1639), *WP*, IV, p. 138.
[25] John Endecott to John Winthrop (5 April, 1639), *WP*, IV, pp. 109-10; (12 April, 1631), *WP*, II pp. 24-6; (8 December, 1634), *WP*, III, p. 176; (13 May 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 29-30; (28 January, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 311-2; (1 December, 1643), *WP*, IV, p. 417; (23 June, 1644), *WP*, IV, p. 464; (9 July, 1646), *WP*, V, pp. 92-3.

Richard Foxwell passed news from England 'that there were tow shipes making ready at Barstaple whoe are to bring passingers and catell for to plant in the bay' to William Hilton. Foxwell also carried with him letters for 'mr. wearom and divers others at Dorchester,' near Boston, 'which he intends to bring in to the bay so soone as possible he can.' Hilton then wrote to John Winthrop Jr in Ipswich, Massachusetts, to pass on the news and ask him to 'convey thes leters in to the bay with what convenency you can.'[26] The lack of more substantial news from England was clearly of note because Hilton took the time to tell Winthrop Jr that 'other nuse he bringeth not.' Relying on Winthrop Jr's closer physical proximity to Massachusetts Bay and his strong connections with the Governor, John Winthrop, Hilton made use of his personal network to both pass news and more efficiently deliver letters. He seems to have relied upon this network connection to link him to Massachusetts Bay, bolstering his relationship with Winthrop Jr by offering news before asking his favour. As for the news itself, it arrived into whatever port the ship was destined for, rather than necessarily its intended final destination. On arriving in the rather more remote Piscataqua settlement, Foxwell was forced to tap into the news network in order to pass his letters and information to Massachusetts Bay. News, therefore, did not necessarily follow the most direct paths and as a result was disseminated unevenly in New England.

	Source	Target
Boston, MA	46	233
Charlestown, MA	6	6
Groton, England	26	42
Hartford, CT	8	3
Ipswich, MA	4	16
London, England	105	28
Mystic River, CT	5	22
New London, CT	3	35
Plymouth, MA	16	1
Providence, RI	26	0
Salem, MA	28	2
Saybrook, CT	7	8

Fig. 4.1: Number of letters sent to and from key geographic hubs in news networks, 1625-1649

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[26] William Hilton to John Winthrop Jr (18 April, 1633), *WP*, III, p. 119.

Fig. 4.2: Topographic mapping of letters containing news, 1625-1649. Nodes sized by number of letters.

Though the news networks explored in this chapter represent only a partial picture of the news flows around the New England colonies, it is clear that news flooded the larger settlements and travelled less frequently to the smaller towns and villages (fig. 4.4). It is possible to understand these clusters in more detail by looking at the smaller networks of particular news types. Looking at the political news network, Roger Williams is the highest-ranking individual in terms of his closeness centrality, aside from the predictably high-ranking John Winthrop and John Winthrop Jr, the most frequent correspondents in the giant component network by a significant margin (fig. 4.3).[27] Closeness centrality is a measure that sheds light on the potential dynamics of information sharing. A low closeness centrality ranking shows that an actor was likely to be reliant on others for information, and a high score denotes an actor that could quickly interact with other members. Through this analysis we can identify potential gate holders of information, who had the potential to significantly influence the flow of news around the network. Most often, these were the hubs, trusted centres with the greatest access to the wider network.[28] Roger Williams's prominence in this network largely comes as a result of his correspondence during the Pequot War of 1637-38. Seventeen of the thirty-three letters containing political news that Williams penned were sent during this period and each contains specific news on the progress of the war or intelligence on the native population. Moreover, all were directed to John Winthrop in Boston.[29] The tone of these letters is formal. This was not a friendship sustained in part by news, it was a relationship firmly rooted in perceived benefit. Williams, despite the stark differences in religious outlook that distanced him from John Winthrop in spiritual terms, held a particular role that sustained his importance in the network. Williams only ranks highly in one other of the smaller

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[27] In network theory a giant component is the majority of the complete network, omitting connections between smaller 'islands' of nodes otherwise not connected to the main network. In this instance, the giant component omits connections between John and William Pond, who are only connected to one another, and John Davenport and Lady Mary Vere, who again are only sharing news with one another in this network. Their closeness centrality is anomalously high due to the fact that they are unconnected to the main network and are thus omitted from this analysis.

[28] A. Degenne & M. Forsé, *Introducing Social Networks*, trans. A. Borges (London, 1999), pp. 132, 157, 166.

[29] Roger Williams to John Winthrop (2 June, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 426-8; (21 June, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 433-4; (30 June, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 436-7; (3 July, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 438-9; (10 July, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 444-5; (11 July, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 448-9; (15 July, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 450-2; (20 August, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 488-90; (9 September, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 494-6.

networks, the local news network. This position is in large part due to the fact that much of the political news that Williams sent was also local by nature.

Name	Degree	Weighted Degree	Closeness Ranking
John Davenport[30]	1	1	1
Lady Mary Vere	1	1	1
John Winthrop	75	144	0.719
John Winthrop Jr	38	92	0.563
Roger Williams	13	44	0.490
Emmanuel Downing	8	21	0.478
Henry Jacie	5	7	0.469

Figure 4.3: Degree, weighted degree and closeness centrality for the political news network, 1625-1649

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[30] John Davenport and Lady Mary Vere are not included in this analysis as they are only connected to one another in this news network. As such, they lie outside the giant component (or main body) network and their high scores are misleading.
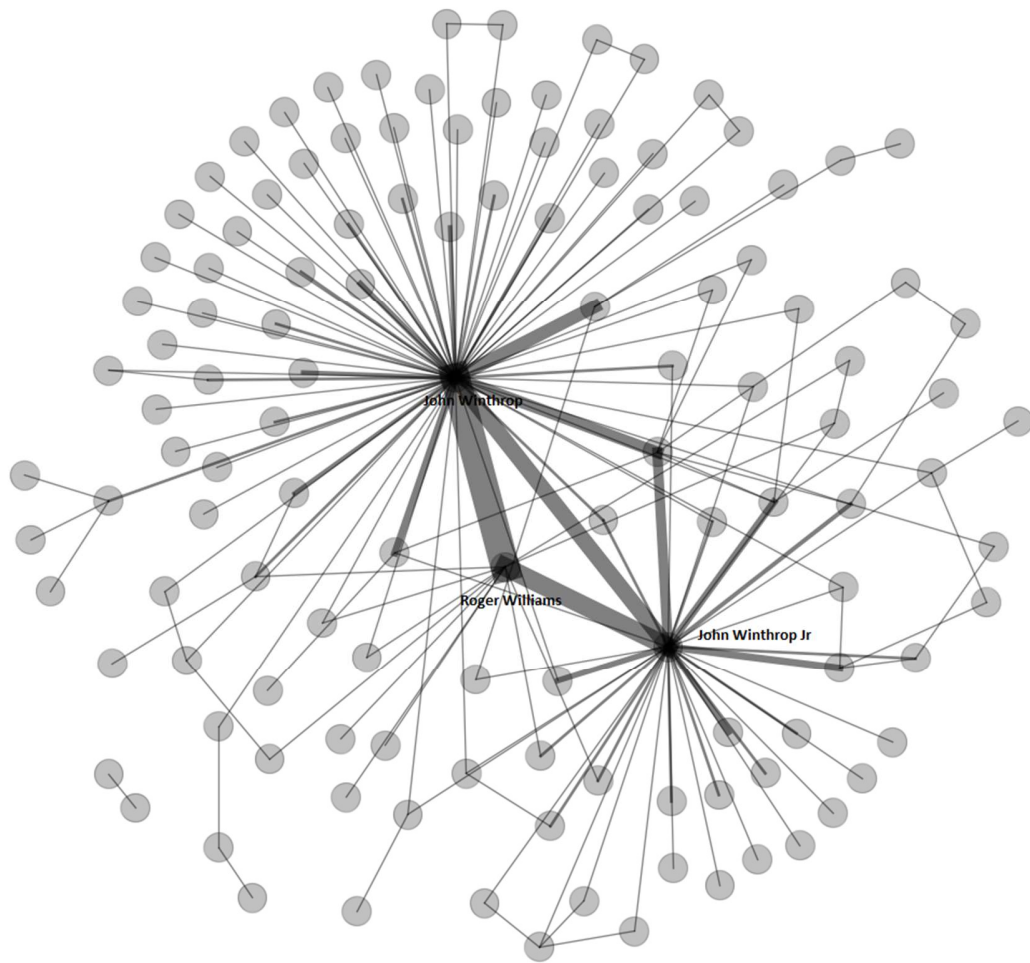
Figure 4.4: Political News Network, 1625-1649

No small proportion of the political news circulating in this network travelled around the colonies. Looking at the spatial distribution of the network there are clear distribution hubs (fig. 4.5). Each node is sized by the number of letters originating from or sent to that point. Boston and Providence are clearly significant, but Plymouth, Saybrook, New London and Salem are also prominent on the graph. Plymouth and New London had their own governing bodies, explaining their presence, but New London had the further significance of being home to John Winthrop Jr from 1646. From 1648, a strong link was forged between John Winthrop Jr and Roger Williams in terms of political news exchange.[31] As with John Winthrop,

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[31] Roger Williams to John Winthrop Jr (11 September, 1648), *WP*, V, p. 251; (23 September, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 258-9; 10 October, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 267-9; (c. 15 December, 1648), *WP*, V,

much of the news that Winthrop Jr received contained intelligence on the local native tribes, but Williams also forwarded news received in Providence from England.[32] For the correspondence collections consulted in this chapter, family, business and, perhaps more surprisingly, ecclesiastical news were shared far less frequently than political news, and had a much more limited geographical reach (figs. 4.6, 4.7, 4.8). These news networks, at least in New England, are centred on the places of residence of the Winthrop family and their close acquaintances. Local news (fig. 4.9) followed many similar network lines to political news because political news was often also local, and similar centres are identifiable in the local news network. Political news was seemingly of wider relevance and interest to the godly members of the correspondence news networks in New England. However, in line with Brownlees's argument that ports were spaces for international news, even though this news did reach a number of smaller settlements, the density of all news in the port towns shows how important ships were in the delivery and dissemination of news.[33] Port towns were crucial hubs that allowed for the further distribution of news around the New England settlements, but they also collected news from those same settlements to be sent back to England or to mainland Europe. This news exchange suggests that, while news did not circulate evenly in New England, members of news networks were active in trying to share news efficiently with their friends and acquaintances in other colonial settlements.

pp. 288-9; (January, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 297-8; (April, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 326-8; (13 May, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 343-4; (26 May, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 347-8; (13 June, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 352-3; (26 August, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 359-60; (24 September, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 369-70; (25 October, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 274-5; (10 November, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 376-7.

[32] Roger Williams to John Winthrop Jr (26 May, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 347-348; (13 June, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 352-3; (26 May, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 347-348; (25 October, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 374-5. See also: Adam Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (3 June, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 349-50.

[33] Brownlees, 'Features and Functions,' p. 404.
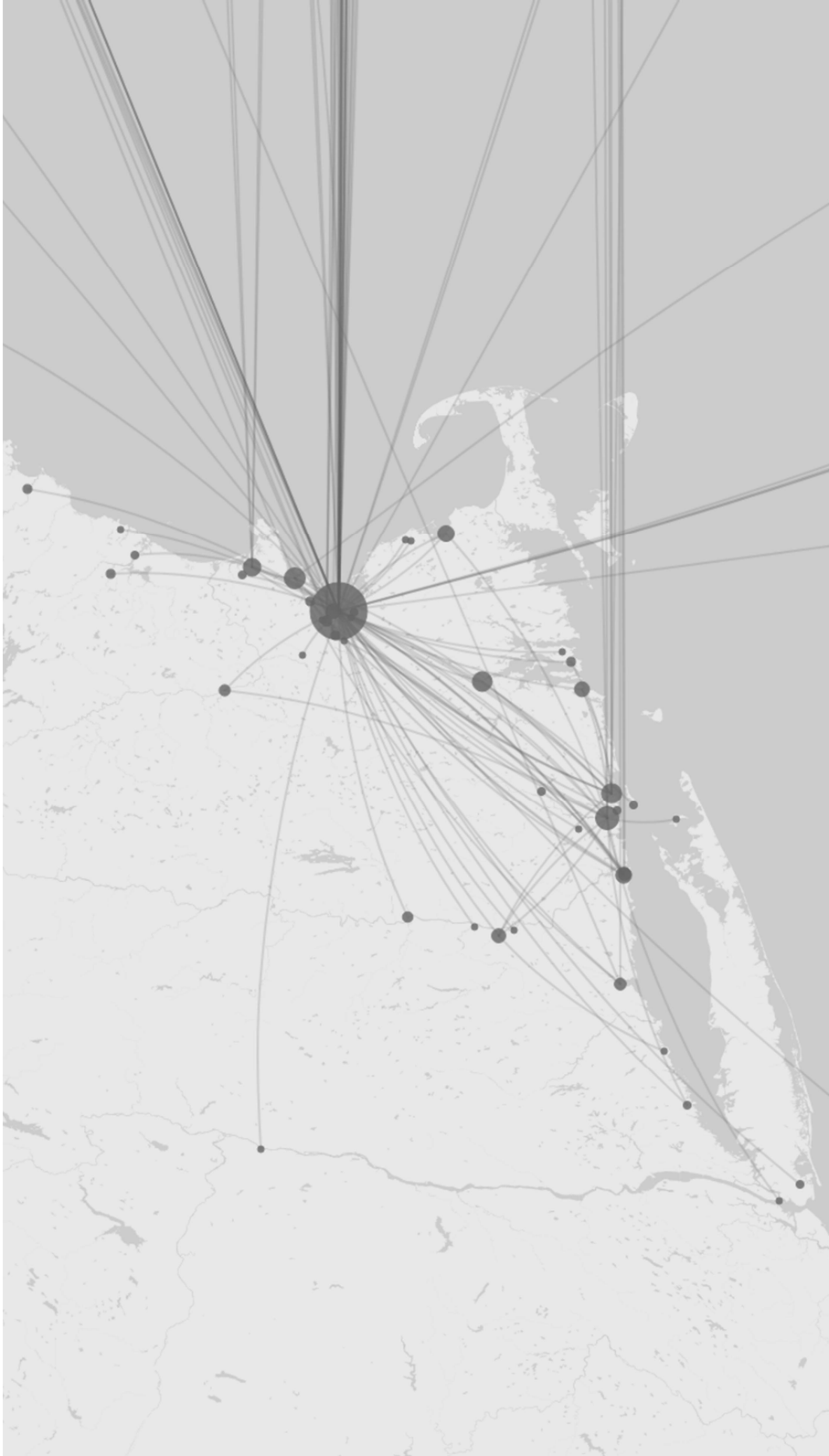
Fig. 4.5: Close up of political news sent around New England, 1625-1649

Fig. 4.6: Close up of business news sent around New England, 1625-1649
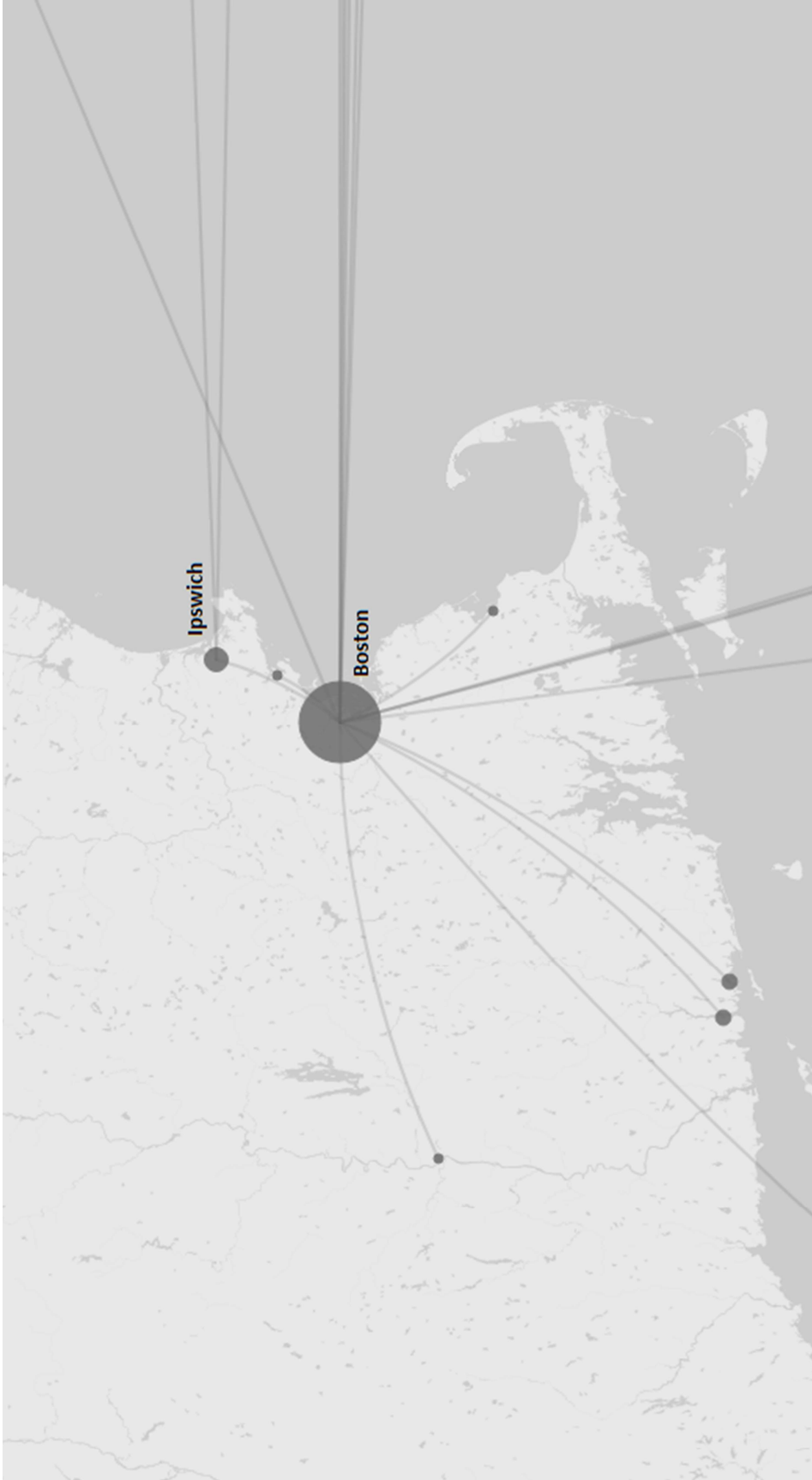
Fig. 4.7: Close up of ecclesiastical news sent around New England, 1625-1649
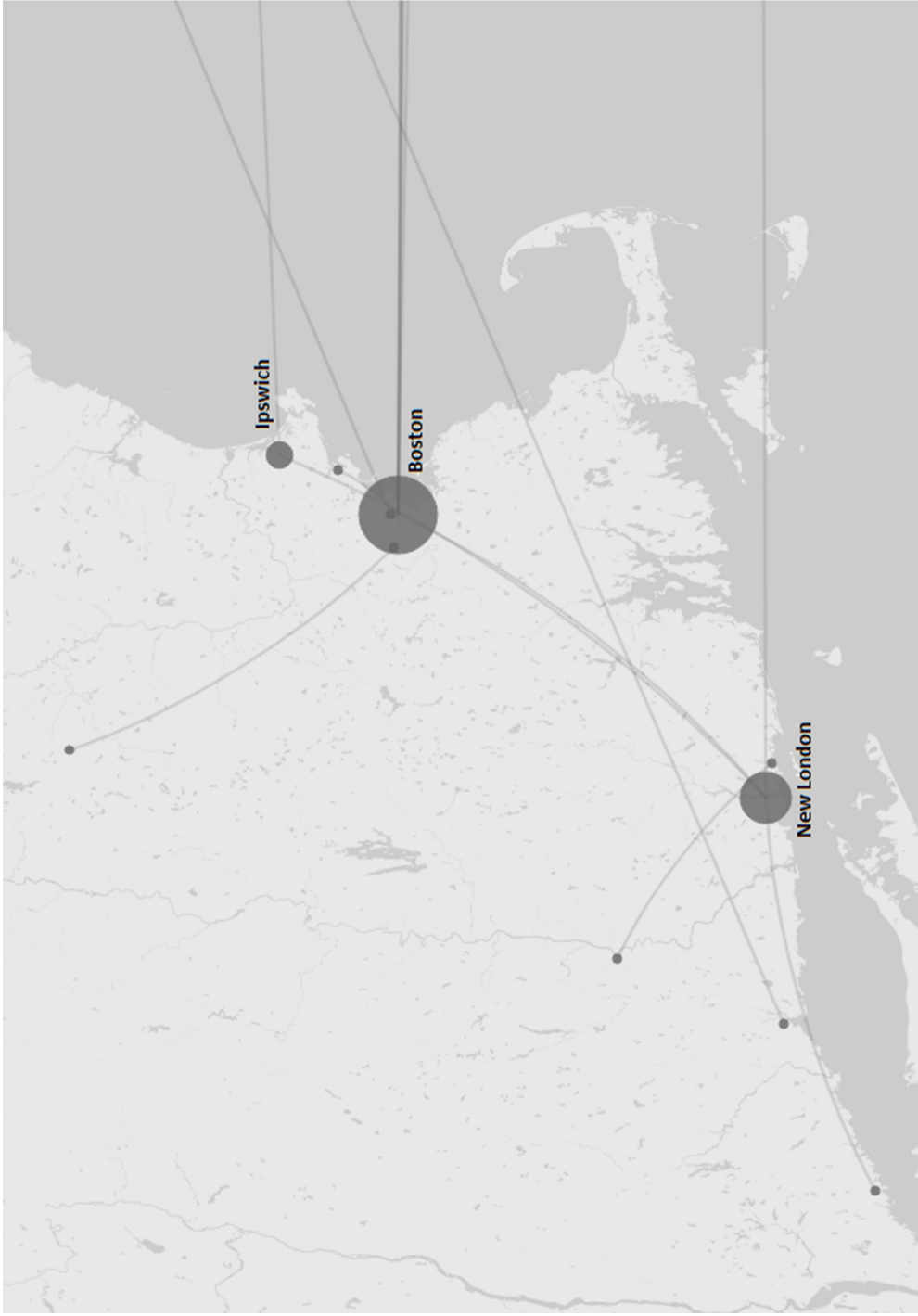
Fig. 4.8: Close up of family news circulating around New England, 1625-1649
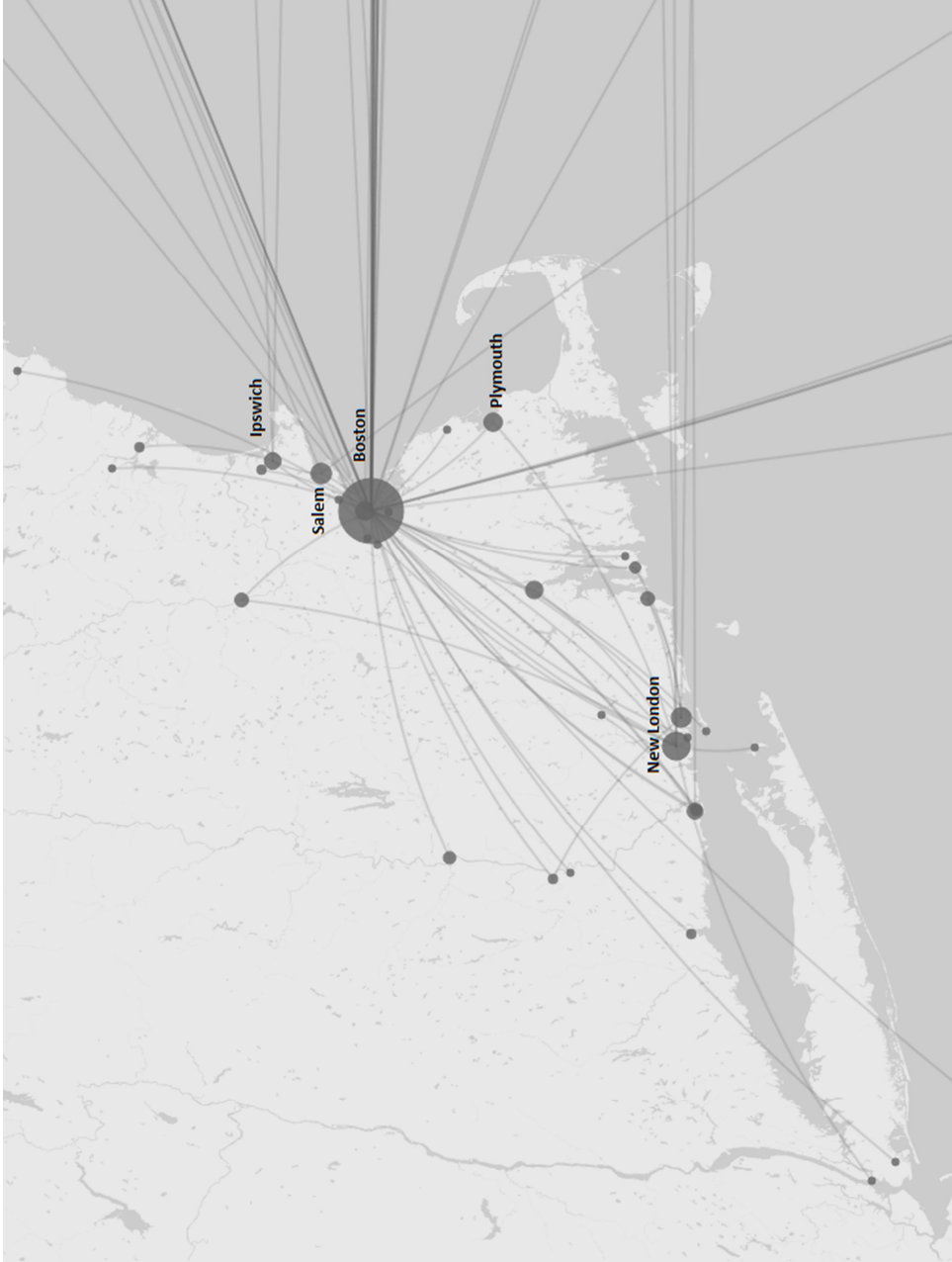
Fig. 4.9: Close up of local news circulating around New England, 1625-1649

News also left New England to provide comfort to absent friends and kin, and to satisfy the craving for news from the colonies. As news circulated unevenly in New England, so it did in England. News centred around London. John Winthrop informed his wife soon after his arrival in Charlestown, near Boston, that 'I am so overpressed with businesse, as I have no tyme for these or other mine owne private occasions.' He wrote only 'that thou mayest knowe that yet I live and am mindfull of thee, in all my affaires.' But Winthrop did not want to neglect sending the news he knew his wife would wish to hear, so prompted her to tap into her personal network and hear it from Emmanuel Downing, writing 'the larger discourse of all things thou shalt receive from [him].'[34] Downing, then living in London with his wife Lucy Downing, John Winthrop's sister, would receive the news 'by some of the last shippes,' and Winthrop prepared his wife for the fact that 'we have mett with many sadd and discomfortable things, as thou shalt heare after: and the Lordes hande hath been heavy upon my selfe.' Rather than write the news twice, he sent it to his brother-in-law in London, expecting him to share the news more widely. The event Winthrop alluded to, the death of Stephen Winthrop in New England, was also anticipated to reach his eldest son before the Governor had time to write to him directly.[35] Downing was a regular recipient and source of news, providing a key point of contact between the colony and metropole for the puritan community. He hinted at his position as a hub for others seeking information on the colony when writing that John Winthrop's news had 'refreshed my hart and the myndes of manie others.'[36] It is no surprise, then, that Emmanuel Downing features so prominently in the correspondence news network. Taking the giant component network, or the main body of connections, Downing ranks fourth in the entire network for his closeness centrality score (fig. 4.5). Downing's high status in the large network is clear, but this position comes primarily as a result of the fact that he was a significant contributor in each of the smaller networks. Ranking no lower than 7th in the giant component of each individual network, it is clear Downing did not exchange only one kind of news, but he was an active participant in the flows of all types of news in this period in the correspondence collections consulted in this thesis. Downing's degree of 12 and weighted degree of 49 reveals that 37 of Downing's connections in this large news

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[34] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (16 July, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 301-2.
[35] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (23 July, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 304-7.
[36] Emmanuel Downing to John Winthrop (30 April, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 30-1.

network were repeated, indicating further that he was a trusted, regular participant in news exchange and dissemination.

Name	Closeness Centrality Rank	Degree	Weighted Degree
John Ponde[37]	1	1	1
William Ponde	1	1	1
John Winthrop	0.702	130	352
John Winthrop Jr	0.611	97	256
Margaret Winthrop	0.486	17	57
Emmanuel Downing	0.484	12	49

Fig. 4.10: Closeness Centrality, Degree and Weighted Degree for the full network of all news shared, 1625-1649

It is not easy to track the passage of news around the British Isles from the correspondence consulted in this thesis (fig 4.11). Much of the news is sent from England to the colonies, meaning that to construct a picture of the dissemination of news from New England around England must come from the content of the letters. This is likely a result of the collections themselves: the majority of preserved letters are those kept and stored by the Winthrops and their descendants, not the recipients of the Winthrops' letters. John Cotton and John Davenport's letter collections feature news much less frequently than can be found in the *Winthrop Papers*, and those that survive are equally focussed on New England. Being able to establish the vital role of actors like Downing, then, is crucial to our understanding of news dissemination. Downing was a particularly valuable link prior to his own emigration to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1638. He was the recipient of John Winthrop's journal, sent to England in July 1630 'with my lettres to your uncle D[owning],' to which Winthrop directed his eldest son for a report on his journey to New England.[38] But Winthrop did not rely solely on Emmanuel Downing as a link in this news chain and sent word via a range of paths. News was valuable, and he felt an obligation to write it. He asked his son to pass the relation of his journey on 'to Sir Nath[aniel] Barnardiston, and my excuse of not writing to him and Sir W[illia]m Springe, with my salutations to them

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[37] John and William Ponde are not included in this analysis as they are only connected to one another in this news network. As such, they lie outside the giant component network and their high scores are misleading.
[38] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (23 July, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 304-7.

both.'[39] Some news followed more complex paths. Writing from Exeter to his elder brother at Groton manor in 1630, Forth Winthrop passed on word of 'certain newes of my fathers safe arrival in N[ew] E[ngland] the 13 of June: by a shippe that came to Bristoll from the plantation in new Plinmouth.'[40] This news may already have reached Winthrop Jr before Forth's letter, but it was thought to be worth sending anyway. Forth also noted that he had not yet heard from his brother since he arrived in Exeter, and perhaps he hoped that this news sent would prompt some response. As O'Neill found in a number of letters, news was a gesture of good will and gave writers something to discuss.[41] On this occasion, Forth's news seems to have done its job, and he received a response from John Winthrop Jr, who reported that his company 'rejoyce to heare of you and the rest of our freindes welfare' in Exeter. He engaged with Forth's news, and proposed that they share word, writing 'we have not yet heard any particular newes from New England but dayly expect, if you heare before vs let vs partake.'[42] News, therefore, could not only provide a link between New England and England, but it could connect common recipients of news to one another in their endeavours to hear it promptly. Margaret Winthrop hoped that her stepson would bring 'good tydings from a far country' when he travelled from London to visit her in Groton. She also reported that he brother Tyndal 'sent to know what newes from N[ew] E[ngland],' the two siblings clearly relied on links with London, and the ports there, to complete the network chain that brought them news from the New World.[43]

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[39] Ibid, pp. 304-7.
[40] Forth Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (August, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 311.
[41] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 176.
[42] John Winthrop Jr to Forth Winthrop (25 August, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 311-2.
[43] Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (20 April, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 29-30.

Fig. 4.11: Close up of news sent around Britain, 1625-1649.

The prominence of port towns as centres for news flow is significant and is a consequence of colonial settlement and development. News travelled on ships and was then from the ports shared around local and more distant networks. This is distinctive to the colonial context and certainly explains why clusters of correspondence carrying news originated and landed in prominent ports: London, Bristol, Boston, New London, and New Plymouth. This connects with the significance of merchants in the functioning of correspondence networks as demonstrated in chapter two. Though Robert Brenner found that opportunities for London city merchants to participate in the economic development of Massachusetts were limited, merchants were crucial to the operation of social networks and the sustenance of transatlantic godly sociability.[44] Many carried letters in their ships from port to port, but even those without ships were well-placed in mercantile centres to hear and share news that came in on ships from elsewhere, or travelled to the ports before being shipped overseas. As a result, many merchants feature prominently in the godly news networks of the early and mid-seventeenth century British Atlantic. Brenner's extensive research on merchant involvement with godly ventures overseas has made it clear that merchants were deeply integrated into puritan political and social networks, but we do not yet know much about their involvement with news networks in the British Atlantic.[45] Brownlees found that merchants experienced increased importance in news exchange after 1653-1654, but their prominence in transatlantic news networks does emerge much earlier than this, as early as the Winthrop fleet's departure for New England in 1630.[46] Indeed, prior to the creation of a formal 'arterial' postal network, the spine of later news communication, merchants were absolutely essential to the transmission of news.[47] Having established the merchant William Peirce's significance in the correspondence news networks in chapter two, his prominence in the news networks of this period confirms what we already know, but still develops our understanding of his position by highlighting him as a key actor in facilitating news networks. He was valued by godly correspondents,

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[44] R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 150, 279.
[45] Ibid, in particular chapters V, VI.
[46] Brownlees, 'Functions and Features,' p. 406.
[47] Raymond & Moxham, 'News Networks,' pp. 11-2.

and his frequent passage across the Atlantic meant that he was crucial in the exchange of news. Francis Kirby, eagerly awaiting word from John Winthrop Jr, wrote that 'we have no hope to hear from you until the returne of mr. Peirce from Virginia,' emphasising the role of merchants as facilitators.[48] Correspondence news networks were restricted by the passage of ships across the Atlantic and around the colonial ports. Peirce is particularly prominent in the local news network, which was intensely transatlantic by nature (fig. 4.12). However, Peirce was not the only high-ranking merchant in these networks. The density of the edges linking the Old and New Worlds demonstrates a sustained interest in local news in the years following the first wave of transatlantic migration. Of the thirty-five actors ranking in the top 25% of the local news network in terms of their closeness centrality, nine were merchants for some, if not all, of their working lives. Six of these merchants are known to have lived in, or travelled between, the colonies and England during the course of their lives (John Humfrey, William Peirce, Stephen Winthrop, Edward Gibbons, John Oldham, and Richard Malbon). Two merchants were in contact with the Winthrop family prior to 1630 and are known to have been merchants in Europe, but I have not been able to confirm whether they had a transatlantic career (John Freeman and Captain Maplesden). John Freeman only appears in the news network as a news sharer, owing to his friendship with John Winthrop Jr, a relationship noted in chapter one. The final merchant, Francis Kirby, never set foot in the New England colonies, but between them engaged in the exchange of news on six occasions. To complicate matters a little, John Humfrey might have emigrated to New England in 1634, but all four of his letters in this news network were sent prior to his relocation.[49]

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[48] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop Jr (26 December, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 55-7.
[49] John Humfrey to Isaac Johnson (9 December, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 327-30; John Humfrey to Isaac Allerton (17 December, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 334-5; John Humfrey to John Winthrop (18 December, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 335-6; John Humfrey to Isaac Johnson (23 December, 1630, *WP*, II, pp. 338-40.

Fig. 4.12: Entire local news network, 1625-1649.

These merchants fit into a wider picture where thirty of the thirty-five high ranking actors by this measure at some point lived in New England, and only eleven of these actors did not engage in the correspondence network from a colonial location at any point. In a network where the majority of the high-ranking actors interacted directly with the network from the colonies, the prominence of those that did not do so is significant. The merchants, in particular, are interesting because they were so often granted network significance because of their infrastructural benefit as letter bearers, a prime example of which is William Peirce. Humfrey and Kirby, though active between 1630 and 1648, were not facilitators in this respect. Their benefit seems to have stemmed from their proximity to news, their access to information and the value that their recipients placed on the news that they sent. John Humfrey was well placed to pass on news from Europe in 1630, which he expected 'other letters will acqua[int] you withall,' but included it anyway. Passing on word received from his own connections in the news network, Humfrey took the opportunity to share what he considered to be fresher news, having only the night before read it in a letter from Hugh Peter.[50] Humfrey, writing from London, was also able to share news of the persecution of 'divers godly lecturers and ministers' in England.[51] Kirby summarised published news, local to Europe but received in London, adding extra detail 'noted in the margin by the Geneva translators.' Kirby might have passed on no news local to London, or even to England, but he commented on the local news he had received from correspondents in Greenland and from a ship bound for Genoa from Newfoundland.[52] Kirby's letter contains little other than news, only a line signing off 'I rest your everlo[ving] frend.' News was not always just additional content in epistles, but Kirby's 'desire to acquaint you with such occurrents as may be newes to you whether foreine or domesticall' was his entire purpose for writing to his friend.[53] In a letter written the following year, he even noted that 'I have no newes to write you,' preferring the dissemination of sensitive news concerning 'the occurrents in Court and Contry' to be 'related by those that come to you then to be committed to paper.'[54] Humfrey and Kirby, both in London, were clearly well situated to gather and disseminate local news that was both domestic and foreign. Their significance in the

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[50] John Humfrey to John Winthrop (18 December, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 335-6.
[51] Ibid, pp. 335-6.
[52] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop Jr (26 December, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 55-7.
[53] Ibid, pp. 55-7.
[54] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop Jr (26 March, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 116-7.

network seems to stem largely from this position. It is difficult to know how the news sent was treated by the recipients, or whether they engaged in the news exchange that Humfrey requested, writing that the situation in England was so troubling that 'the least good newes from you, is like to bring enough unto you.'[55] No letters sent to either Kirby or Humfrey survive in these collections, but it can be reasonably assumed that both men engaged in an ongoing transatlantic exchange as they indicate a wider correspondence in their letters, and also both remained active in these correspondence collections until 1640 (Kirby) and 1646 (Humfrey). This continuing communication would certainly suggest that the word they sent was considered of at least some value.

Merchants are not the only group to have been recognised by historians as holding a particular network significance. Acknowledging that we do know quite a lot about how news travelled in the early modern period, Brendan Dooley has highlighted 'diplomats, postal services, scholars, diasporic ethnic and religious communities [and] merchants' as key facilitators.[56] However, while Raymond and Moxham have also highlighted the role of resident ambassadors, who 'formed important nexuses in webs of communication,' Dooley argues that we know less about the overall patterns of news transmission.[57] Dooley identified that work could be done to develop this by using new approaches, which this chapter is directly engaging with. Roger Williams's prominence in the political news network was largely because of the intelligence afforded him by his local position and connections during the Pequot War, but Williams also maintained this network position through his role as a colonial agent in England. The significance of these agents to colonial development and consolidation has been clearly shown by Graeme Milne, but not their contribution to news flow.[58] There is scope to investigate this as much of Milne's PhD thesis explores the work of the agents in England and the instructions given them by various colonial administrators rather than the reports or word that they sent back to England. To

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[55] John Humfrey to Isaac Johnson (23 December, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 337-41.
[56] B. Dooley, 'International News Flows in the Seventeenth Century: Problems and Prospects,' in Raymond & Moxham, *News Networks*, p. 158; Belo, 'News Exchange,' p. 375.
[57] Raymond & Moxham, 'News Networks,' p. 9; Dooley, 'International News Flows,' p. 158.
[58] G. J. Milne, 'New England Agents and the English Atlantic, 1641-1666,' PhD thesis, (University of Edinburgh, 1993).

understand the role of ambassadors or agents in wider network patterns, I have combined the political and local news networks as these were typically the types of news passed by colonial agents. While Roger Williams and Hugh Peter do rank highly in terms of their closeness centrality and eigenvector centrality in this political and local news network, there are some notable absences (fig. 4.13). Thomas Weld and William Hibbins were appointed to serve as agents in 1641, at the same time as Hugh Peter, but neither appear in this news network. While both wrote from England or are mentioned in letters sent from England during their time there, the letters and references do not contain news that is explicitly local or political in its tone, nor seemingly directly relevant to their role as agents. Edward Winslow, though present in the network and in a fairly prominent position in terms of his closeness centrality, ranks in a much lower position than Peter and Williams. This finding does not challenge the fact that agents had the potential to play significant roles in news networks, indeed, Williams and Peter's positions seem to confirm it. However, what can be understood from the mixed results, where some agents are highly ranking, and others are not, is that in using correspondence collections there are other factors to consider. Williams's dual role as intelligencer reporting on the local native tribes for the benefit of the Massachusetts General Court, John Winthrop in particular, and later John Winthrop Jr in Connecticut, increased his position. Hugh Peter was a close friend of the Winthrop family, if sometimes a problematic one, and engaged regularly in the network. His increased correspondence after his return to England in 1641 contained as much family and personal news as it did local and political. In order to fully understand the role of colonial agents in England it is clearly important to explore a wider range of sources. But, in terms of understanding the wider patterns that these individuals engaged in, these findings do indicate that the agent's role alone was not enough to sustain their significance in these correspondence news networks.

Name[59]	Closeness Centrality (table position)	Eigenvector Centrality (table position)
John Winthrop	0.704 (1)	1 (1)
John Winthrop Jr	0.595 (2)	0.678 (2)
Emmanuel Downing	0.484 (3)	0.245 (3)
Roger Williams	0.484 (4)	0.204 (5)
Margaret Winthrop	0.478 (5)	0.236 (4)
John Humfrey	0.474 (6)	0.185 (6)
Hugh Peter	0.473 (7)	0.185 (8)
Henry Jacie	0.472 (8)	0.181 (7)
John Wilson	0.472 (9)	0.179 (9)
William Peirce	0.468 (10)	0.177 (11)
Edward Winslow	0.423 (33)	0.101 (39)

Fig. 4.13: Closeness and Eigenvector Centrality rankings for local and political news networks including the colonial agents in England: Hugh Peter, Roger Williams and Edward Winslow.

News spread unevenly on both sides of the Atlantic, but its dissemination was particularly challenged by the unfamiliar and difficult terrain in New England. It was often more efficient to send letters by water than across land, especially over the longer distances stretching between colonies. Merchants thus played a vital role in spreading news around New England in the same way that they were vital to transatlantic news flows. However, the godly would also tap into their correspondence networks on land to send news over the shorter distances between settlements in the same colonial region. This suggests an awareness of the most effective methods via which news could be efficiently shared. Additionally, certain types of news were shared more widely than others. The voracity of interest in political news is clear from its wide dissemination not only across the port towns but crossing land to reach the smaller settlements around the colonial centres. However, colonial agents were not necessarily the most significant actors involved in the sharing of local and political news, as might be expected. While certainly important, agents gained additional network significance through their relationships with other

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[59] I have omitted John and William Pond from this table as both lie outside of the giant component network.

key actors, such as the Winthrops. Correspondence news networks were complex and varied, reliant on merchants for transportation but also for their proximity to important news centres. But the network significance of particular actors was rarely established through one role alone: either colonial agent, merchant news sender or merchant bearer. Instead, more nuanced social relations governed correspondence news exchange. These were social ties as much as they were spiritual. Williams's network significance in particular came in spite of his religious differences from the Winthrops, while Peirce's trust as a facilitator was born out of confidence in his ability as well as through a shared spiritual bond. News exchange was a vital aspect of godly sociability and carried the potential to strengthen ties. As such, it was a medium through which the godly mediated the distances between them in the British Atlantic world.

The Functions of News

For many puritans in the transatlantic world, sharing news was part of their culture, tied up with their sociability. Hearing of the wellbeing of distant friends provided comfort, like for Thomas Ashley who reported that 'happy occurrences have acquainted mee with your well-being,' but sought confirmation, adding 'I should rejoyce to bee certayne of your safe-being.'[60] But English puritans also sought news of colonial developments, and likewise their New England brethren craved word from English shores. Letters with news were powerful tools, bonding senders, recipients, and their neighbours to brethren an ocean away. While published news was valuable, Belo has argued that handwritten news carried 'added value' and further 'social importance.'[61] Content could be personalised for the recipient, senders could control the circulation of their news, and letters could generally be sent more quickly than in print.[62] Lindsay O'Neill, focussing on the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, found that news exchanged in letters was generally considered to be old news, intended for evaluation and discussion rather than as fresh information.[63] But as noted by Andrew Petegree, the same cannot be said for the rapidly changing and

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[60] Thomas Ashley to John Winthrop (6 March, 1633), *WP*, III, p. 108.
[61] Belo, 'News Exchange,' p. 378.
[62] Ibid, pp. 378, 387; Raymond & Moxham, 'News Networks,' p. 2.
[63] L. O'Neill, 'Dealing with newsmongers: news, trust, and letters in the British world, ca. 1670-1730', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76, 2 (2013), p. 220.

uncertain years of the 1640s, where the colonists grasped at any information that crossed the Atlantic.[64] But even if handwritten news was considered to be old, it was not necessarily lacking in value, especially for transatlantic correspondents. Raymond and Moxham note that accounts of early modern people exchanging news 'show them passing on, and valuing as news, something that is weeks, months, years old . . . or, significantly, confirming one of two or more earlier, already received reports.'[65] News was not necessarily recent, and conceptions of 'recent' were also largely dependent on distance. Bridging the distance imposed by the Atlantic Ocean, letters with news linked the godly in the Old and New Worlds.

Recipients of news felt the same distress as those that sent it, despite the distances between them.[66] They did not share these experiences at the same time, however, particularly during the tumult of the English Civil War when the situation in England was so fluid that ships could not move fast enough to be timely.[67] Recent news in the colonies was therefore the most valuable, and was often repeated as multiple parties sought to pass on the most up-to-date information.[68] Some would document the names of the ships on which news travelled in order to detail the source, and to provide a point of reference for further updates.[69] News was increasingly important after the onset of transatlantic migration because of distance that separated kith and kin, but distance also raised issues of trustworthiness. News was laced with social benefit, so much so that correspondents would share news even when they expected the recipient already knew it. Nehemiah Bourne participated in a common practice when he wrote what he knew to John Winthrop even though he expected that Mr. Graves had already told Winthrop 'most that was when I came away.'[70] For senders, it was a way of ensuring their continued prominence in the news network,

[64] Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, pp. 209, 210, 221-2.

[65] Raymond & Moxham, 'News Networks,' pp. 1-2.

[66] Pettegree, *Invention of News*, p. 241.

[67] Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 241; Stephen Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (16 July, 1649), *WP*, V, p. 356; J. Spurr, *English Puritanism: 1603-1689*, (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 103.

[68] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (26 October, 1646), *WP*, V, pp. 113-4; Adam Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (29 October, 1646), *WP*, V, pp. 115-6;

[69] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (6 October, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 265-7; Roger Williams to John Winthrop Jr (c. 3 December, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 288-9; John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (12 February, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 311-2.

[70] Nehemiah Bourne to John Winthrop (12 August, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 243-5; Thomas Harrison to John Winthrop (14 January, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 197-9.

demonstrating their willingness and ability to keep their correspondents informed. For the recipients, it was a useful form of corroboration, news received from multiple pens and mouths could more readily be trusted. The dissemination of news was an exchange. Engaging in it demonstrated a commitment to reciprocity, as when Henry Jacie sent news to Winthrop though he was short of time, making the point that Winthrop had written more to him on the subject of paedobaptism than anyone else in New England. [71] Jacie asserted that he could not miss an opportunity to write to Winthrop, adding that he had sent a book to Cotton or Wilson, leaders of the Boston church, with further information.[72] The exchange of news had an important social role in the community, uniting people in their experience, and allowing trusted sources to rise to positions of prominence in the correspondence network.

Evaluating news was important to the transatlantic community in the seventeenth century, and Raymond has noted that it was particularly important after opinion 'invaded England' in the mid-seventeenth century, most visibly in the guise of books and pamphlets.'[73] People learned from numerous news sources, but Brownlees also suggests that if a 'single epistolary source carried particular weight or prestige' it might be equally valuable. Taking a wider view of the correspondence in these collections will bring to light the dynamics of informal godly news networks, those sustained in letters rather than in print, highlighting the prominence of particular trusted actors through close social network analysis as well as identifying patterns with a wider view. It is important to recognise in this analysis the interaction of published news with news sent in correspondence. Letters were only one part of larger news flows around Britain, Europe, and across the Atlantic, encompassing printed corantos, newsbooks, and news sheets, which Belo has argued need to be understood 'in relation to manuscript news of different kinds,' and relied on news sent in correspondence.[74] Brownlees, moreover, found that printed news was often informed by letters, meaning that there was some reciprocity in the exchange of

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[71] Henry Jacie to John Winthrop (6 March, 1648), *WP,* V, pp. 204-5.
[72] Ibid, pp. 204-5.
[73] J. Raymond, 'Introduction: Networks, Communication, Practice,' in J. Raymond (ed.), *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe* (Abingdon, 2006), p. 4.
[74] Belo, 'News Exchange,' pp. 375-6.

news.[75] Brownlees's chapter explores in detail the impact that news in correspondence had on published news, but did less to investigate the way in which published news was included and evaluated in correspondence.

Books of news were a new format for disseminating news in the mid-seventeenth century and were not deemed as trustworthy as traditional face-to-face exchange.[76] As a result, they were often accompanied by written updates from the sender, adding a more personal touch to the exchange. In this fashion, different news media were bound up with the mediation of trust over long distances that the godly worked to alleviate through their correspondence.[77] As O'Neill has noted, when relationships were constructed primarily through letters it was easier for damage to be done to those links.[78] As such, trusting the news that came into their hands from distant connections was grounded in the trust the recipient felt they could bestow on the bearer's credibility. As demonstrated in chapter two, a large part of the processes by which the godly negotiated the increasing distances between them was through asserting and evaluating trust and trustworthiness. Shown through the analysis of William Peirce's role in chapter two, closeness centrality can be utilised to identify trusted individuals. We can understand the way in which news was collated and evaluated prior to being sent by looking more closely at some of the correspondence of actors that rank highly by this measure. I have already noted John Humfrey and Francis Kirby's prominence in local and political news networks, but the minister Henry Jacie also ranks highly in this measure (fig. 4.14). All three men clearly recognised that news was a form of social currency and had the potential to consolidate or jeopardise the sender's reputation. Its validity and trustworthiness were of the utmost importance. Corroborating Brownlees's argument that citing more than one source added credibility to both the news writer and the item of news, when sending on second-hand news of the Thirty Years War, John Humfrey made sure to add a word of the provenance of that news, telling John Winthrop that he

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[75] Brownlees, 'Functions and Features,' p. 413.
[76] Pettegree, *News*, p. 96; O'Neill, 'Newsmongers,' p. 220.
[77] Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 4.
[78] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, p. 151.

learned it from Hugh Peter.[79] Francis Kirby wrote of a 'great battle fought between the king of Sweden and the imperialists,' but noted that some believed the king dead while others thought he was only badly wounded. Careful not to share any inaccurate information, Kirby signed off with the promise to write more when he knew more.[80] More explicitly setting out his assessment of published news, Henry Jacie, nonconformist minister, regular correspondent and friend to John Winthrop Jr, went a step further. Sending news from Old England and from Europe, he wrote:

> 'How affayrs go here, may better be related then written. Neither have I time to write the late passages of that worthy Swedish King: And besides I have not the late Corantoes to send you any of them, as I would: (for they ar of late as true as ordinary letters) yet seing like as cold waters to a weary soul, so ar good News from a far Countrie. I have therfore sent you the best Corantoes we have in the house, that have things of most importance, though some of them long since, yet may be News to you, of another world. After you have perused them, I pray you send them according to their superscriptions.'[81]

Not only was Jacie appraising the quality of the news for John Winthrop Jr, his assessment of its value shows that he had already evaluated it personally before deciding what to send. Deciding that his time was more important than writing out a lengthy letter, he assured Winthrop Jr that the corantoes that he said, or news books, were as trustworthy as letters. Even though they might have been out of date, even though Winthrop Jr might have already heard it, he deemed it valuable because of Winthrop Jr's distance. As Jacie wrote, the news was of 'another world.' Moreover, he directed that the news should be passed onto a defined list of further recipients for its wider and more efficient dissemination. However, he clearly decided that this was not enough for his old friend and did ultimately go on to write out a fair amount about events in Sweden, all of which was qualified as not being his own knowledge, but that acquired from others. He starts: 'The last news we heard was,' and ends,

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[79] Brownlees, 'Functions and Features,' pp. 394,400; John Humfrey to John Winthrop (18 December, 1630), *WP*, III, pp. 335-6.
[80] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop Jr (27 November, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 99-100.
[81] Henry Jacie to John Winthrop Jr (June, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 77-9.

'Thus we hear.'[82] Careful not to pass on anything inaccurate without first protecting his own reputation, Jacie was clearly concerned about the social capital that news could carry and wanted to ensure that Winthrop Jr received news that was up to date, but so that he could recognise the uncertain provenance of it. It is significant that the evidence of news evaluation and assessment is clear in the letters of actors with high closeness centrality rankings. Their efforts to appraise news prior to sharing it, and to record the origins of the news where relevant, show a level of caution that would certainly have been appreciated by the recipients. As Belo acknowledged, 'early modern readers did not read printed news without comparing it with a number of heterogeneous sources of information.'[83] However, in the early years of colonisation news was not always received in ample quantities for such a comparison to take place. As such, recipients most likely had to trust the senders to have done the work for them. This further demonstrates that closeness centrality, as a measure of social credit or benefit, can tell us about the extension of trust in the correspondence networks of the godly in the British Atlantic, adding depth to our understanding of puritan sociability in the wake of transatlantic migration.

Name[84]	Closeness Centrality Ranking
John Winthrop	0.704
John Winthrop Jr	0.595
Emmanuel Downing	0.484
Roger Williams	0.484
Margaret Winthrop	0.478
John Humfrey	0.474
Hugh Peter	0.473
Henry Jacie	0.472
John Wilson	0.472
William Peirce	0.468
Francis Kirby	0.468

Fig. 4.14: Closeness centrality ranking in the Local and Political News Network, 1625-1649

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[82] Ibid, pp. 779.
[83] Belo, 'News Exchange,' p. 377.
[84] I have omitted John and William Pond from this table as both lie outside of the giant component network.

Where possible, the godly learned their news from different sources, corroborating accounts from different letter writers and published sources. With trust came a necessary familiarity with the networks in which news travelled and, at times, active direction of the passage of news along network links. As Belo has noted, intermediaries were vital for passing 'particular' news, and emphasised that news networks could be controlled by gatekeepers who could restrict news flow and maintain its added value.[85] This also involved asking bearers to relay news in person that was not otherwise included in the letter, protecting what was often more sensitive news from falling into the wrong hands. Accompanying printed news sent to Thomas Dudley, then deputy governor of Massachusetts, Herbert Pelham wrote that Edward Winslow, a man well known to John Winthrop through his regular appointment as the elected assistant governor of the Plymouth colony, would provide more detailed information.[86] Major Bourne, carrying a letter in his ship from Thomas Peter to John Winthrop, was tasked with elaborating on news if Winthrop needed a fuller account.[87] This reflects similar patterns in trust that Lindsay O'Neill has identified in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, whereby news readers turned to their own epistolary networks to find news they felt was more accurate than that purveyed by newsmongers.[88] Personal connections were of high importance when it came to corroborating news seen in print, such as that sent by Herbert Pelham.[89] Pelham's expectation that John Winthrop was fully informed of Edward Winslow's progress in England from Winslow's own hand did not prevent him from reporting on Winslow's colonial mission in England.[90] These moments where correspondents detailed the paths that their news took, the origins and destinations, and acknowledged that it was also travelling along other pathways shows a wider awareness of correspondence news networks. We can better understand this awareness by looking more closely at moments where news senders detailed the paths along which they wanted their news to take. By sending news to John Winthrop, Patrick Copeland secondarily hoped to activate long-distance community ties for support he could not find locally. In this correspondence it is also revealed

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[85] Belo, 'News Exchange,' p. 378.
[86] Herbert Pelham to John Winthrop (5 May, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 156-17.
[87] Thomas Peters to John Winthrop (27 April, 1647), *WP*, V, p. 150.
[88] O'Neill, 'Newsmongers', p. 223.
[89] Herbert Pelham to John Winthrop (5 May, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 1567.
[90] S. Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America: Life Stories from Early New England* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 325; Herbert Pelham to John Winthrop (14 July, 1648), *WP*, V, p. 237.

how news could be shared in order to achieve a goal, in this instance to inspire stronger community links, rather than simply to share information.

On 21 August 1646, Patrick Copeland sent news to John Winthrop about the troubles experienced by the independent congregation in Bermuda and told him of their desire to start a new settlement elsewhere. Copeland reached out through John Winthrop to 'other of our Christian friends with you,' noting that Rev. John Wilson would also pass on news to the Boston congregation from a longer letter Copeland had sent him. He asked that Wilson and Winthrop 'spread it before the Lord,' seeking support from their brethren, 'helping us at the throne of grace with tears and prayers private and public' in their time of weakness. He named those that he wanted to target with the news of his unhappy settlement, both authorising distribution and targeting recipients, intentions that Belo associates with gatekeepers in news flows.[91] Copeland clearly identified with a body of saints that was not bound by location. This was not just a passive membership, but active and powerful. Experiencing weakened local bonds in Bermuda, Copeland reached out to his community of saints for support and sustenance not found in his immediate area. Copeland's lamentation for 'that sweet society of saincts which wee long after' recalls the importance of sociability in godly communities, and his letter containing news of the settlement became a way in which to connect with a larger body of saints in Massachusetts.[92] In Copeland's next letter, he revealed a more detailed picture of the network he was activating to this end. Continuing to speak of the difficulties of the independent congregation, Copeland told John Winthrop that another of his company, Nathaniel White, had written more largely to both John Cotton and John Wilson of Boston's First Church, who, he expected 'imparte what hee had written to your self,' and he also hoped that Winthrop would 'be pleased to imparte to them and the rest of our reverend fathers and brethren with you, what here I have sent to your selfe.' Copeland was, then, acutely aware of the members of his community. Instead of writing the same letter multiple times, he expected his epistolary network to share intelligence with one another, more efficiently passing information from Bermuda to Boston, but also reinforcing the experience of a collaborative spiritual community. He hoped that this

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[91] Belo, 'News Exchange,' p. 378.
[92] Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop (21 August, 1646), *WP*, V, pp. 967.

communication would encourage the wider community to 'sympathize with us in our distracted condition.'[93] Copeland pushed these connections even further, asking Winthrop to pass on the 'things I send with this' to numerous other ministers in Winthrop's proximity, 'and other of our brethren with them, that are remote from Boston and Cambridge.'[94]

Social network analysis enables the visualisation of this network, and also offers the ability to explore its functionality. To do this, Copeland's two letters have been selected from the wider body of news correspondence and the network connections he detailed in his letters mapped onto a force directed graph. Logging each of these connections reveals a network of 69 relationships between 28 actors (fig. 4.15). Copeland and Winthrop are the primary hubs in this network, which is not surprising for the sender and recipient of both letters. To highlight the particular epistolary network in question, the paths that were used to send information from Bermuda to Massachusetts have been marked with a number '1'. Copeland wrote to John Wilson and John Winthrop, was closely connected to Nathaniel White, who wrote to John Cotton and John Wilson. From there, John Cotton and John Wilson were expected to exchange information with John Winthrop, numbered '2'. Winthrop then became the recipient of intelligence from Copeland and White, via Copeland, Cotton, and Wilson. Copeland encouraged Winthrop to then pass information on again, numbered '3'. He wrote: 'after you have perused' these letters,' you may imparte them to Mr. Dunster, Mr. Shepheard (that hee may acquainte his father in law Mr Hooker, Mr. Davenport and other of our brethren with them.' Hooker and Davenport resided in Connecticut, hence the need for Shepard, of Cambridge, to act as a link between Massachusetts and the ministers further afield. Shepard, Winthrop, and Wilson, along with Winthrop and Copeland, can be thought of, then, as gatekeepers for information. Their status as such is confirmed by conducting a simple statistical analysis on this network. Copeland, Winthrop, and White all rank highly using a betweenness centrality measure which highlights network significance by counting the number of shortest paths that go through each node (fig. 4.16). This demonstrates their vital structural role to the passage of information in Copeland's epistolary network. Shepard and

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[93] Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop (30 September, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 182-5.
[94] Ibid, pp. 183-5.

Wilson do not exist on the shortest path between any two nodes and so do not have a betweenness centrality ranking. However, the visualisation demonstrates their importance in this exchange as a result of their locations and connections to others further afield. While they have few connections in this network, indicated by their degree, they are vital to the network because they provided benefit by giving Copeland the means of reaching out along the distant branches of his spiritual community. This highlights the potential connection between news sharing and the activation of spiritual community bonds. These ties were more than passive links but were powerful connections for Copeland, and he leant heavily on them in order to support his 'distracted' local community through a period of hardship. It was through sending news that Copeland reached out to members of his community, and news was the medium that he hoped would activate his spiritual ties. It is clear, therefore, that passing news was not always the reason for the letter, but the means through which correspondents could engage with their spiritual community.
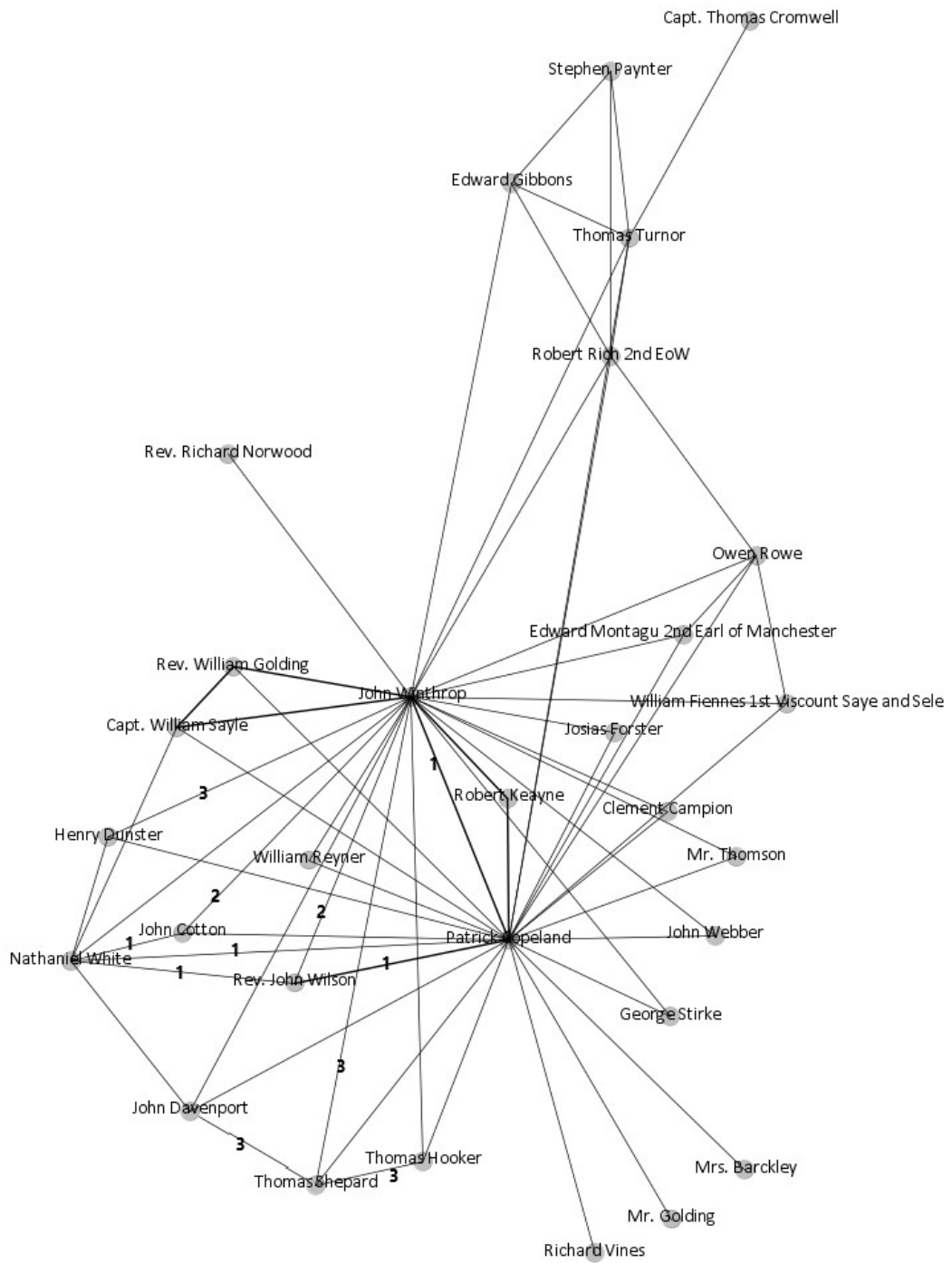
Fig. 4.15: Network connections of Patrick Copeland in two letters sent from Bermuda, 1646, 1647.

Name	Degree	Betweeness Centrality Ranking
Patrick Copeland	25	0.3919
John Winthrop	24	0.3322
Thomas Turnor	6	0.0274
Robert Rich (Earl of Warwick)	6	0.0085
Edward Gibbons	4	0.0067
Nathaniel White	7	0.0027
John Wilson	3	0
Thomas Hooker	3	0

Fig. 4.16: Degree and Betweenness Centrality rank for Copeland's network in two letters, 1646, 1647.

The same news could pass through many hands. But regardless of the route that news took, personal knowledge of the individual sending it inspired stronger feelings of trust between correspondents. Engaging in correspondence demonstrated a desire to connect, and such a connection would be damaged by misleading or false information. In this sense, participation in correspondence was in itself a reciprocal statement of trust, a bond that strengthened any former ties of shared belief or locality, friendship or kinship.[95] News could also carry word of distressed brethren, who carefully selected the recipients of the word that they sent in order to increase the chances that they would receive help. News was, therefore, a vital connective tool that had wider relevance than exchanging information and could also be used to activate latent ties or request aid. Senders had to trust recipients to share news onwards when requested to do so, just as recipients had to trust the news that reached their hands. Credibility and the mediation of this trust were therefore essential in all aspects of news networks, and it took place at numerous points as news travelled. This supports the argument that credit building and credibility were intrinsically connected with puritan sociability. Jacie collected, assessed, collated, and qualified for John Winthrop Jr the news that he sent, adding value to the published information but also careful to remind his friend that he was sharing what he had heard, not necessarily what he knew. This difference is of vital importance to our understanding of news exchange because it is one of the crucial reasons that trust was as important to news dissemination as it was to the assessment of prospective members of the New England churches as they bonded themselves together. Notions

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[95] O'Neill, 'Newsmongers', p. 223.

of trust and the evaluation of trustworthiness appear so frequently in this godly correspondence that it is impossible to ignore the intense importance that was placed on trust in this transatlantic godly world. Communities depended on it at all levels, from the parish and congregational communities on either side of the Atlantic to the wider spiritual community of saints that was experiencing fierce challenges as a result of its fluctuating and increasing geographic spread.

Letters and Reverse Migration

News undoubtedly connected the godly in the Old and New Worlds to one another and to their brethren around the British Atlantic and across Europe. However, as discussed in chapter three, the news from the New World that filtered back to England did not always promote transatlantic solidarity. In 1647, Lawrence Wright had become so disheartened by reports out of New England that 'I have lost of my good opinion I once had' of the place.[96] He had received fairly frequent news from the colonies, 'both by letter and word of mouth,' but these had only served to convince him that 'the place [is] not likely to supplie to the generations to come without many more difficulties and wants both for soule and body, then your own native soyle is like in the worst tymes to afford.'[97] So firm was he in his conclusions that he added his judgement 'hath not nor I hope shall not change with the change of tymes.' Wright confessed happily that 'I have hartilie endeavoured and desired the return of many of you' and his efforts aligned with a significant wave of reverse migration during the 1640s.

Tom Webster wrote that the 1640s saw the godly 'scattered across the face of the world, speaking different languages.'[98] John Winthrop's vision for New England was being challenged. He associated brotherhood and community with the success of the New England venture, which meant that it appeared to be under threat from the dispersal of the godly across the colonies, and increasingly back to England. He was

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[96] Lawrence Wright to John Winthrop (10 March, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 137-8.
[97] Ibid, pp. 137-8.
[98] T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-1643* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 286.

fearful about the venture going wrong, about it 'becoming a by-word for error.'[99]
News of the progress of the English Civil War, which poured inconsistently but
enthusiastically out of England inspired many settlers to leave their difficult lives in
New England for the comfort of their old lives in England, hoping to see out the
culmination of their efforts for further reformation on more familiar soil. John
Winthrop acknowledged the connection between the change in the pace of migration
and the changing state of English affairs, writing that 'the parliament in England
setting upon a general reformation both of church and state, . . . and the archbishop
(our great enemy) . . . imprisoned and called to account, this caused all men to stay in
England in expectation of a new world.'[100] For some, the decision to migrate to New
England in the first place had been predicated on the belief that the English
reformation had stalled, and could be continued in New England.[101] The scent of
change then presented an exciting opportunity for those that had gone to New
England to wait out the storm of Caroline England.[102] Nevertheless, where the
prospect of further reformation guided some back to England, it encouraged others
to stay in New England, making it difficult to identify the changing prospects in
England as the sole reason for reverse-migration. However, it was increasingly evident
that efforts to set a shining example of a religious commonwealth in New England had
led to problems, with the intense regulation of church and state leading to reports in
England of 'your tyranny and persecutions,' and intolerance, 'that you fine, whip and
imprison men for their consciences.'[103] Andrew Delbanco and Susan Hardman Moore
have both found that the conscious effort to cleanse from within and prevent further
corruption meant that the New England ministry was more in a mode of attack than it
was beckoning in the 1640s.[104] Following years of rapid population growth, the
resulting political instability and pressure on resources pushed people to move on

[99] S. Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation: 'Wee shall bee as a Citty upon a Hill, the Eies of all People are upon Us,' in K. Fincham & P. Lake (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 145.
[100] R. S. Dunn, J. Savage, & L. Yeandle (eds.), *The Journal of John Winthrop 1630-1649*, (Cambridge, MA, 1996), p. 353.
[101] S. Scott Rohrer, *Wandering Souls: Protestant Migrations in America, 1630-1865* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010), p. 21; V. DeJohn Anderson, 'Migrants and motives: religion and the settlement of New England, 1630-1640', *New England Quarterly*, 58 (1985), p. 343.
[102] Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 193; A. Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers*, (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000), p. 54.
[103] A. Delbanco, 'Looking homeward, going home: the lure of England for the founders of New England', *NEQ*, 59, 3 (Sep., 1986), p. 369.
[104] Ibid, p. 377; Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 22.

from Massachusetts. Fear of declension in the colonies were compounded when migration to the New England colonies slowed in the years following the Antinomian Controversy.[105] Some had even returned to England in disgust with the resolution of the Controversy, showing that those theological negotiations explored in chapter three had not been sufficient to please everybody.[106] The exchange of news across the Atlantic might have made the oceanic barrier feel smaller, but it also inspired a surge in reverse migration.

John Winthrop was alarmed by the increase in the numbers of colonists leaving for England. Instability and restlessness in New England were far from the ideal, peaceful, and homogenous community society that he had envisioned.[107] God had directed John Winthrop to New England to carry out a mission, and the aging governor believed that a close and united community was essential, 'always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, as members of the same body. So shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.'[108] Only with a strong sense of brotherly affection in the New World would God 'delight to dwell among us.'[109] This meant accepting the challenges of the environment in New England, because if colonists came together to 'delight in each other, make others' conditions our own; rejoice together, mourn together, labour and suffer together,' then God would make them as a city on a hill, an inspiration to other Christians everywhere.[110] Winthrop strongly felt the need for community and brotherhood in New England, and the dispersal of that community directly threatened the venture to which he had dedicated so much. He felt betrayed by those that left, bitter and abandoned, and he was not alone. John Endecott also saw migration to England as a threat to colonial

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[105] Robert Stansby to John Wilson (17 April, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 389-90; Robert Stansby to John Winthrop (17 April, 1637), *WP*, III, p. 391; John Tinker to John Winthrop (26 February, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 205-6; Benjamin Gostlin to John Winthrop (6 March, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 216-217.
[106] W. Hooke, 'New England's Tears for Old England's Fears' (1640), in A. Heimert, & A. Delbanco, *The Puritans in America, A Narrative Anthology* (London, 1985), p. 102; M. Gaskill, *Between Two Worlds: How the English Became Americans* (Oxford, 2014), p. 155.
[107] W. L. Sachse, 'The migration of New Englanders to England, 1640-1660', *AHR*, 53, 2 (Jan., 1948), p. 251.
[108] J. Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity* (1630); J. Canup, *Out of the Wilderness: The Emergence of an American Identity in Colonial New England* (Middletown, CT, 1990), p. 46.
[109] *A Model of Christian Charity* (1630)
[110] Quoted in F. J. Bremer, 'John Winthrop and the shaping of New England history,' *Massachusetts Historical Review*, 18, Massachusetts and the Origins of American Historical Thought (2016), p. 11.

viability and opposed sending colonial agents to England, feeling that it would admit weakness.[111]

In the same way that many who remained in England in the 1630s struggled to understand the call to go to New England, the New England population found it hard to understand reverse migration.[112] Indeed, they had bound themselves to one another and to their churches with covenants that relied on consent. Members of covenanted congregations were, therefore, not supposed to leave without that same consent of their fellow members.[113] There were reports of 'harsh thoughts on almost all men [tha]t goe for England,' and some were seen as traitors by those that chose to remain in New England.[114] John Winthrop felt that those leaving were 'weak-hearted,' and John Norton mourned that 'our desirable men . . . remove from us.'[115] Corroborating David Cressy's findings that the more dangerous return journey and resulting shipwrecks were taken as signs of providence, and Susan Hardman Moore's argument that 'it mattered . . . that the hand of providence in the New England venture was clear to both the godly who left and to the godly who stayed behind,' Winthrop was self-righteous in his diary entry on the hardships of those men and women that, to his mind, had abandoned the godly mission in New England.[116] He noted the poverty, madness, and death that befell one party that left for England.[117] His interpretation of providential justice reflects not only his sense of betrayal, that these men and women turned their backs on the colonial brotherhood that he held central to the survival of the New England venture, but also demonstrates a desire to assure himself that God wanted his elect in New England. Winthrop's accusations of weakness and cowardice replicated those flung at the emigrating colonists on their decision to leave England in the 1630s. Indeed, as late as the 1640s, John Cotton was

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[111] S. Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims: New World Settlers & the Call of Home* (London, 2007), p. 93.
[112] T. Shepard, 'The Sound Believer', in A. Heimert, & A. Delbanco, *The Puritans in America, A Narrative Anthology* (London, 1985), p. 33; Deane Tyndal to John Winthrop (23 October, 1629), *WP,* II, pp. 162-3; Robert Ryece to John Winthrop (12 August, 1629), *WP,* II, pp. 105-106; Robert Ryece to John Winthrop (1629), *WP*, II, pp. 127-32.
[113] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 34.
[114] Quoted in Delbanco, 'Looking homeward,' p. 362; Delbanco, 'Looking homeward', p. 361.
[115] John Norton, *Abel Being Dead Yet Speaketh*, quoted in Delbanco, 'Looking homeward,' p. 386; Ibid, p. 386.
[116] Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 196; Hardman Moore, 'New England's Reformation,' p. 147.
[117] Cressy, *Coming Over*, p. 196; Dunn, Savage & Yeandle (eds.), *Journal*, pp. 414-416; Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America,* p. 152.

still fending off accusations that 'our brethren . . . exiled in New England, fled from England like mice from a crumbling house,' looking only after their own safety.[118] It was not new to suggest that those who fled were the weaker brethren, or that they were vain or selfish in their decision to leave.[119] However, for John Winthrop, who had so intrinsically bound the colony of Massachusetts with his religious identity, and felt it absolutely vital that a mutual brotherhood be maintained there, this was an elevated paranoia. Winthrop clearly felt abandoned, just as some of his brethren had done, but this was not always reflected in the correspondence connections that he maintained. He continued to receive news from those that left New England, indicating a more complex emotional relationship with friends who returned to England than might have been previously acknowledged. Additionally, the benefit that these individuals provided in the news they shared may have earned them enough social credit to maintain their positions in the network.

The feelings of betrayal and abandonment felt by those left behind to continue their work in New England had the potential to damage relationship ties, challenging notions of transatlantic community. Reverse migration had even more destructive potential as it threatened to damage bonds forged and formalised in covenants, where emigrating settlers had not convinced their neighbours that God was directing them back to England.[120] Edward Hopkins took the decision very seriously. Although he hoped to return to England he waited to commit to the decision until 'more of the mind of the Lord appear that way.'[121] Not being able to fully justify emigration, he chose not to risk the relationships with 'all I have consulted with' and leave without deeper conviction. However, transatlantic bonds connecting settlers to those who had *never* left England could remain relatively constant through the period if both corresponding parties remained consistent in their feelings on the distance that stretched between them and the changing political and ecclesiastical landscape in

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[118] J. Cotton, *The Foreword Written in New England An Apologetical Preface for the Reader of Mr. Norton's Book*, in Heimert & Delbanco (eds.) *Puritans in America*, pp. 109-11.
[119] T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-1643* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 279; D. Rogers, *Naaman the Syrian, his Disease and Cure* (1642), p. 885.
[120] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, pp. 94, 96.
[121] Edward Hopkins to John Winthrop (21 June, 1648), *WP*, V, p. 231; Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 95.

England. This ties in with Francis Bremer's identification of 'a web of informal relationships' that connected puritan leaders on both sides of the Atlantic.[122] This period of reverse migration saw increased efforts amongst the godly on both sides of the Atlantic to negotiate their positions and convictions in relation to their brethren overseas. News from Nathaniel Barnardiston, Lawrence Wright and John Venn in 1640 carried with it their tangible fears that England was in distress and sought to draw New England settlers back to their homeland. As Lindsay O'Neill has also found, this news was a living thing.[123] It vibrated with their anticipation of the impending Parliament and, while Venn asked only for 'your stronge Cryes unto the Lord' on behalf of the godly in England, Barnardiston more forcefully expressed his concerns at the lack of spiritual brethren in England.[124] None of these men had left England for New England, and Barnardiston's letter reveals a comparable sense of abandonment by the settlers that left England for New England, telling John Winthrop 'now we see and feele how much we are weakned by the loss of those that are gonn from us, who should have stood in the gap, and have wrought and wrasled mightely in this great busines.'[125] Barnardiston had always valued reciprocal spiritual support across the Atlantic, but his tone had changed with the scent of unrest in England.[126] But even this change in tone does not seem to have harmed Barnardiston's relationship with his old friend, John Winthrop, as the two were still in correspondence seven years later. Barnardiston's call for the return of settlers did not hurt Winthrop enough to prevent him from sending three letters to Barnardiston 'scence you had any from me,' causing the recipient to praise Winthrop for being 'mindfull of so unworthy a friend.'[127] Though he remained fearful of the present situation in England, Banardiston no longer mourned the loss of those that had left for New England, and asserted his continuing conviction in his connection with John Winthrop, despite any differences in their specific religious affiliation.[128] Wright's correspondence with John

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[122] Bremer, 'Increase Mather's friends,' p. 60.

[123] O'Neill, *Opened Letter*, p. 169; Lawrence Wright to John Winthrop (26 March, 1640), *WP*, IV, p. 220.

[124] John Venn to John Winthrop (April, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 220-1; Nathaniel Barnardiston to John Winthrop (15 March, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 217-8.

[125] Nathaniel Barnardiston to John Winthrop (15 March, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 217-8.

[126] Nathaniel Barnardiston to John Winthrop Jr (5 April, 1636), *WP*, III, p. 245; (4 April, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 384-5.

[127] Nathaniel Barnardiston to John Winthrop (19 March, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 144-5.

[128] Ibid, pp. 144-5, Barnardiston announced in his letter that he now 'acknowledg myself a presbiterion,' though one that 'can and doe hartely love an humble and pious independent such I meane as are with you.'

Winthrop likewise continued into 1648, in spite of his 1647 confession that he had urged New England friends to return to England.[129] Despite periods of tension in these relationships, where Barnardiston and Wright's immediate concerns with their English environment with the potential to disrupt the success of the New England settlements, the differences in their main area of interest did not prevent an ongoing friendship with John Winthrop.

Forty-nine letters containing news were sent from England in the 1640s, forty-eight were sent to New England. The senders of these letters fit into four main categories; former New England settlers who, by the time of writing were permanently settled in England, New England settlers visiting England temporarily, individuals who frequently crossed the Atlantic, and individuals who had never lived in New England (fig. 4. 17). The table shows that more letters in these collections were sent between 1640-49 by former New England settlers than any other category. When viewed over the 1640s, a marked increase in the number of letters with news sent from England to New England by former New England settlers is visible between 1645-1648 (fig. 4.18). This suggests firstly that the settlers that left New England were still valuable as news senders in the tumultuous years of the 1640s, but it also shows that the increasing migration back to England after the English Civil War opened up new paths for news flow from the Old World. This is especially apparent when comparing the increase in news from those that left New England with the decrease of news sent by those who had never lived in New England. More news was being sent from England by visiting settlers, returned migrants, and regular travellers than was being sent by those that had never lived in New England. However, those visiting England were highly likely to share news of their actions there. Each individual in this category went to England on business and was reporting back on their progress as well as sending occasional English news. They were expected to share news, which makes their motivation in sharing information different from the other categories. What is significant is that almost as many letters were sent in these years by those who had never left New England as by those who had permanently re-settled in England. Moreover, the New

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[129] Lawrence Wright to John Winthrop (12 March, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 137-8; (25 February, 1648), *WP*, V, p. 200. John Venn does not appear again in this network after 1640, so it is impossible to ascertain his ongoing relationship with Winthrop from this point with any certainty using these correspondence connections.

Englanders were drawing on less frequent news from a wider pool of those that had never left England and receiving multiple letters from those that had returned there (fig. 4.19). This more frequent and repeated sharing of news might suggest a stronger incentive for those that returned permanently to England to share news of events there. News of the ongoing Reformation in England might have served as justification for leaving New England, but it also held the potential to improve the social credit of those that had 'abandoned' the New England cause because of the benefit that it carried.

	Name(s)	Number of Letters Sent
Former New England settlers by this time permanently settled in England	Stephen Winthrop	6
	Herbert Pelham	3
	Hugh Peter	3
	Sir George Downing	2
	John Harrison, Jr	2
	Robert Child (1647)	1
	Giles Firmin	1
	Thomas Peters	1
	Total	**19**
Settlers visiting England	Emmanuel Downing	4
	John Tinker	3
	Robert Child (1641, 1645)	2
	Benjamin Hubbard	1
	John Winthrop Jr	1
	Samuel Winthrop	1
	Total	**12**
Regular transatlantic traveler	Nehemiah Bourne	2
	Matthew Craddock	1
	Edward Payne	1
	Total	**4**
Had never lived in New England	Brampton Gurdon	2
	Lawrence Wright	2
	Francis Bacon	1
	Nathaniel Barnardiston	1
	Edward Cooke	1
	Benjamin Gostlin	1
	Richard Hill[130]	1
	Henry Jacie	1
	Francis Kirby	1
	John Sampson	1
	John Venn	1
	Total	**13**

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[130] Richard Hill remains unidentified in the *Winthrop Papers* and I have been unable to confirm his status. However, he is listed here as his letter implies English residence and English interests, with no reference to a period in New England.

Graph showing number of letters sent by sender category over time
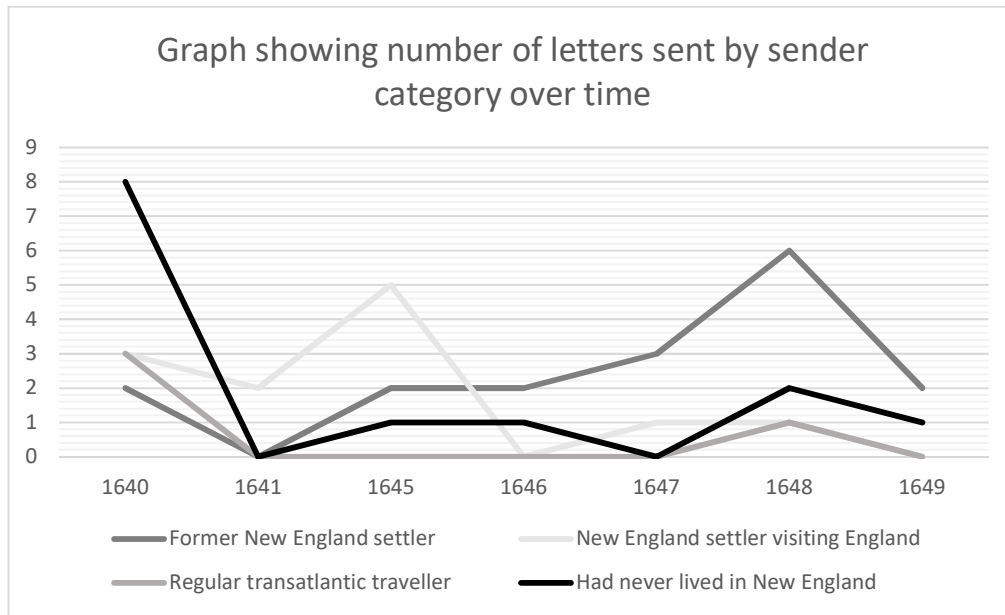
Fig. 4.18: Graph showing number of letters sent from England, organised by sender category over time, 1640-49.

Some of the leaving population avoided immediate scorn in that they planned to return to New England, before deciding to stay in England once they had arrived there. These men and women were key to the maintenance of good relations across the ocean, reassuring the colonists of their continuing brotherhood and dedication to New England. William Pynchon, in the years before his own return to England in 1652, worried about the going away of John Haynes and Herbert Pelham in a letter to John Winthrop in 1646, feeling that they would spark the removal of many others, 'which the land can ill spaire without a shaking ague.'[131] While John Haynes, the governor or deputy governor of Connecticut for most of the 1640s, would soon return to England, Pynchon was right to fear Pelham's removal, for the influential landowner would never return to New England, despite stating his intention to the contrary.[132] Wishing Hugh Peter well on his departure on colonial business in 1641, Emmanuel Downing almost managed to hide his bitterness at the minister's going away so suddenly, but 'wishing you a prosperous Jorney and safe retorne,' he seemed convinced by Peter's plan to do so.[133] Peter would never return to New England, though regularly wrote

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[131] William Pynchon to John Winthrop (27 October, 1646), *WP*, V, pp. 114-5.
[132] Herbert Pelham to John Winthrop (5 May, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 156-7.
[133] Emmanuel Downing to Hugh Peter (9 July, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 340-1.

with promises and plans to do so.[134] Nehemiah Bourne was beneficial to John Winthrop as he was able to provide news from England while he was there in 1640. Writing that he missed 'those pretious liberties once injoyed' in New England, Bourne sustained his relationship with Winthrop by sending valuable news from England about political developments there.[135] Eight years later, Bourne was docked in Newfoundland, once again bound from New England to England and sought to repair any fractures in his relationship with John Winthrop after leaving, writing that he never intended to 'disjoynt myself from yow,' but that the decision was out of his hands.[136] The tone of this letter is deeply apologetic, and suggests that this was expected to be Bourne's final departure from New England. Once again, he traded in news to bolster his apologies, implying that he would be able to send news other than what 'Mr Graves hath filld you.'[137] He noted that he had also sent this news of 'the rebellion of Kent Essex and other parts,' to John Cotton, 'largely, though rudely,' which would have further allowed him to retain a grip on his transatlantic network. Earnestly desiring 'favour to remaine Your Wor[shi]ps to be commanded,' he also added a postscript with some final recent news he had heard 'by the last ship that came from England.'[138] The change in Bourne's tone from the time that he was regularly travelling back and forth across the Atlantic to the letter in which he announced the removal of his family from New England following his decision to settle permanently in London, strongly indicates that leaving for England was not always the issue, it was remaining there.[139] This is reflected in Thomas Hooker's will, wherein he wrote 'I do not forbid my son John from seeking and taking a wife in England, yet I do forbid him from marrying and tarrying there.'[140] For those that remained in their covenanted New England society, there had to be good cause for a person to leave, for underpinning covenant theory was the belief that all members had to sacrifice their individual interests for the collective good, that the health and safety of the commonwealth relied upon the interdependence of its composite

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[134] Hugh Peter to John Winthrop (c. April, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 146-7; Hugh Peter to John Winthrop (5 may, 1647), *WP,* V, pp. 157-9; Hugh Peter to John Winthrop Jr (15 March, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 319-320.

[135] Nehemiah Bourne to John Winthrop (4 March, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 213-4.

[136] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 60; Nehemiah Bourne to John Winthrop (12 August, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 243-5.

[137] Nehemiah Bourne to John Winthrop (12 August, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 243-5.

[138] Ibid, pp. 243-5.

[139] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 60.

[140] Ibid, 141.

parts.[141] There was a duty to help one's neighbour, 'we must be knit together, in this work, as one man.'[142] But underpinning Bourne's letters is the value that news carried. He sought to maintain his strong network connections with his friends and associates in New England by sending them news, the more recent the better.

Establishing a strong sense of the feelings of those left behind in New England in the 1640s is difficult because only two letters with news survive in these collections that made the crossing from New England to England in that decade. The way in which the emigrating settlers crafted their letters does shed some light on how they expected their recipients to feel, however, as well as revealing how they themselves perceived their departure. George Downing and Stephen Winthrop avoided some of the typical resentment as a result of their parentage. However, though Downing was John Winthrop's nephew, he still relied on the value of detailed news of the status quo in England to repair a rift following an argument in 1648.[143] The apologetic tone or impulse to justify his leaving is absent from Downing's letters to Winthrop, suggesting that he felt no guilt about leaving. He certainly understood the social benefit of news, even if he did not necessarily feel remorse over his return to England. Stephen Winthrop's return to England was initially intended to be temporary. He sent regular news of English events and his own business dealings up until the time of his decision to settle permanently in 1647, when he announced that 'it hath pleased God to [thwart] all my purposes and endeavours to come back to N: E: at present.'[144] Debts forced him to take a position in the army, 'seeing noe dore open to me any else of being sevicable in my generation, or of gaining better subsistance' to his family. The news that he sent does carry a tone of justification, but also of excitement. He seemed eager to convince his father that 'God is doeing some great worke' through the army, stating 'I thanck God I am free in my spirit to ingag in what the Army hath propownded.'[145] We can infer that Stephen Winthrop's relationship with his brother John Winthrop Jr was not undamaged by his relocation. He continued to write to his

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[141] Rohrer, *Wandering Souls*, p. 28.
[142] John Winthrop to Richard Saltonstall, Jnr. (c. 21 July, 1643), *WP*, IV, pp. 402-10; *A Modell Of Christian Charity* (1630).
[143] Sir George Downing to John Winthrop (8 March, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 206-8.
[144] Stephen Winthrop to John Winthrop (29 July, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 174-5.
[145] Ibid, pp. 174-5.

elder brother with news in 1648 and 1649, but noted in his final letter of 1649 that 'I have not heard from yow Latly.'[146] This might also be the consequence of fewer ships reaching England, which he suspected had prevented news of his brother's welfare earlier that year.[147] The lack of personal relations in both letters, however, suggest that he was including what he considered to be news valuable to Winthrop Jr, that of the political state of England rather than of his own personal welfare and that of his family.

It is difficult to assert with any real certainty whether New England puritans forged stronger ties with those that had never migrated to New England than they maintained with those like Hugh Peter who they felt had abandoned their cause. Hunter Powell has shown clearly the influence that Cotton had on English divines, particularly the 'Dissenting Brethren' in England, but little survives to show these relationships in this news network.[148] However, it is clear that these relationships were complex and variable on circumstance. The same could also be said for the way that English puritans felt about their New England brethren. Barnardiston, complaining of the fragmented landscape of English puritanism, was 'much amased . . . to behould so litle love which was wont to be the principall badge of sayntes among us, to be disregarded and wholy neglected.' Feeling distanced from some in England that had once been his brethren, he revealed in his letter a complex understanding of religious affiliation in the British Atlantic. Writing 'I acknowledg myself a presbiterion,' he added that he meant 'such a one as can and doe hartely love an humble and pious independent such I meane as are with you for ours differ much generally from them.' Not only did Barnardiston perceive a difference between himself and the independents in England, he drew a secondary boundary between those in England and the independents in New England.[149] He further explained that he identified as presbyterian only 'in that I conceave it consisteth best with the constitution of our goverment,' telling Winthrop that he would 'joyne with you' because he saw no 'certayne and generall set forme of dysipline set downe in the word of God

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[146] Stephen Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (16 July, 1649), *WP*, V, p. 356.
[147] Stephen Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (16 March, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 320-1.
[148] Powell, H., *The Crisis of British Protestantism: Church Power in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-44* (Manchester, 2015), chapters 5, 6.
[149] Nathaniel Barnardiston to John Winthrop (19 March, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 144-5

universally.'[150] Barnardiston's letter highlights that we cannot prescribe particular principles to different godly affiliations as so much depended on perception. Barnardiston, perhaps surprisingly for someone who had never left England, seems to have felt more affinity, or at least identified less difference, with those across the ocean than with his former brethren in England. He was so perturbed by the increasing fragmentation amongst the godly there, that he believed 'our differences even amongst those that would be estemed godly and have beene so accounted formarly is like to prove more dangeros to us then our civile warres.'[151] So, while the lack of Winthrop's response makes it difficult to tell whether this was reciprocated, it is clear that Barnardiston did feel stronger ties with some across the Atlantic than he did in his own country in terms of their spiritual connection and religious outlook. Fragmentation amongst the ranks of the godly was particularly prevalent in the 'teeming liberty' of the Civil War years and certainly challenged existing bonds between English and New English puritans.[152] Barnardiston's letter begins to shed light on the complexity of the relationships that existed between brethren in the British Atlantic. Finding that those who he once considered fellow saints would now 'shelter and countenance' blasphemy and dangerous opinions complicated Barnardiston's understanding of spiritual brotherhood and led him to articulate closer transatlantic affiliation or similarity than he felt with those in his own land, despite never having lived with them in New England.

Network analysis provides a wider perspective. By looking at the transatlantic correspondence network in two sections, between 1630-39 and 1640-49, we can gain some sense of whether reverse migration had a significant negative impact on relationships in terms of their network significance (fig. 4.20). This view also allows for a comparison between those who permanently re-settled in England and those who had never lived in England over two distinct periods, which reveals the changing dynamics of those relationships and sheds light on whether stronger bonds were forged with those who had never left England than with those who returned there. For this analysis I have used the entire correspondence network rather than simply

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[150] Ibid, pp. 144-5.
[151] Ibid, pp. 144-5.
[152] J. Morrill, 'The puritan revolution' in Coffey and Lim (eds.), *Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 67

the news network to give a fuller picture of puritan sociability through this lens. The majority of actors ranking highly in terms of their closeness centrality in both networks are those who lived in New England and never left. Of the forty actors ranking most highly for their closeness centrality, only eight were not permanent residents of New England in 1640-49. Of those eight, not one was an individual who had never left England, in comparison with five in the years 1630-39. By contrast, only one of the top forty ranking actors for their closeness centrality between 1630-39 had previously lived in New England and left, Henry Vane. The increase in the number of individuals who left New England to re-settle in England between 1640-49 is largely a result of the fact that reverse migration had increased in these years, but the complete absence of high-ranking actors who had never left England is significant. It is important also to note how actors' relative positions in this table changed between 1630-39 and 1640-49. Hugh Peter held a slightly weaker position following his reverse migration in the 1640s, but John Humfrey dropped more significantly in terms of his network significance. Sir George Downing, on the other hand, only gained his network significance after his reverse migration. These correspondence networks clearly relied significantly on members resident in New England. Where actors did reside in England, there are no clear patterns to reveal with any certainty that there was a measurable negative impact on the relationship between those in New England and those who had left the colonies. But while there are no cohesive patters, these findings do strongly indicate that, in spite of the betrayal that he may have felt when settlers left England, the relationships that John Winthrop maintained with the returning settlers seem to have survived. This is a statistical analysis and reveals no detail about his personal feelings or the tone of the correspondence, but it does suggest that through correspondence the emigrating actors might have provided scope for those that re-settled in England to mediate any discontent emerging from their decision to leave New England.

Position	1630-39	1640-49
1	John Winthrop	John Winthrop
2	John Winthrop Jr	John Winthrop Jr
3	Margaret Winthrop	Edward Winslow
4	John Cotton	John Cotton
5	Hugh Peter	Emmanuel Downing
6	Emmanuel Downing	Lucy Downing
7	Edward Howes	John Endecott
8	John Wilson	Elizabeth Winthrop (Reade)
9	Thomas Dudley	John Wilson
10	Lucy Downing	Hugh Peter
11	Francis Kirby	Roger Williams
12	John Davenport	Margaret Winthrop
13	John Endecott	Adam Winthrop
14	John Humfrey	Dr Robert Child
15	Roger Williams	Stephen Winthrop
16	Isaac Johnson	Samuel Winthrop
17	Edward Winslow	William Coddington
18	Henry Jacie	Nehemiah Bourne
19	Thomas Hooker	William Pynchon
20	William Coddington	Thomas Jenner
21	Philip Nye	Thomas Dudley
22	Martha Winthrop	John Humfrey
23	Henry Vane	Sir George Downing
24	Brampton Gurdon	Thomas Shepard
25	John Haynes	Thomas Peters

Fig. 4.19: Closeness centrality rankings (from the highest to rank 25) of transatlantic correspondence network in 1630-39 and 1640-49.

John Winthrop's bitterness reflected his desperation to see through the New England venture to a fruitful conclusion, or to at least be able to see a positive and secure future at the time of his death. In his journal, he wrote: 'Ask thy conscience, if thou wouldst have plucked up thy stakes, and brought thy family 3000 miles, if thou hadst

expected that all, or most, would have forsaken thee there.'[153] His lamentations on the abandonment he felt from his fellow colonists echoes the community he sought in New England, an ideal that seemed increasingly unattainable. He feared that his colony would be left 'destitute in the wilderness . . . and all for thy ease and pleasure.'[154] Claiming that 'we have had more positive and more holesome Lawes enacted in our shorte tyme then [England has] had in many hund[re]d yeares,' he drew a direct comparison of New England's success with Old England's perceived failures.[155] However, it is evident that some members of these correspondence networks were not significantly negatively impacted in terms of their network significance as a result of their reverse migration. This raises questions about what continuing benefit such individuals might have provided in order to maintain their strong positions in the network.

Scholars have examined reverse migration in detail, exploring the myriad reasons that drove colonists back across the Atlantic, but the role that returning colonists played in facilitating the spread of news and information has been little studied, indeed, the returning colonists have been rather overlooked, not traditionally fitting into American historical narratives or neatly into discussions of English puritanism.[156] These colonists left New England quietly and incrementally, gradually filtering their experiences of the New World back into England, and it has been easier to analyse the scorn felt by those they left behind, than the returning population itself.[157] However, these returning colonists opened up new channels for news exchange and bolstered existing flows of information, making them a key part of the dynamic news networks of the mid-seventeenth century. Focussing again on the news networks in the years 1640-49, it is clear that reverse migration did have an impact on the pathways available for news exchange. The prominence of former settlers

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[153] Dunn, Savage & Yeandle (ed.), *Journal*, (Cambridge, MA, 1996), p. 416.
[154] Ibid, p. 84.
[155] John Winthrop's discourse on arbitrary government, *WP,* IV, pp. 468-88.
[156] Delbanco, 'Looking homeward, going home', p. 358; D. D. Hall, *The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1972); H. Stout, 'University men in New England, 1620-1660: a demographic analysis', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (1974), pp. 375-400; H. Stout, 'The morphology of re-migration: New England university men and their return to England, 1640-1660,' *Journal of American Studies*, 10, (1975), pp. 151-172.
[157] Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp. 27, 172.

permanently re-settled in England as news senders during the 1640s immediately demonstrates the importance of these individuals in news networks. That Sir George Downing ranks in the top 20% of the local news network for 1625-1649 for his closeness centrality, despite only sending two letters following his reverse migration reminds us that news from former settlers was vital in a time when English news was uncertain, confusing, and often hard to come by.[158] Local news was some of the most shared in the years 1640-49, constituting 37% of all news shared during that period, the highest proportion of all types consulted in this chapter (fig. 4.21). Of those engaged in the local news network in 1640-49, eight actors of the total seventy-five were returned migrants. The significance of this number is revealed when ranking the actors by their closeness centrality scores. Five of the eight returned migrants rank in the top ten individuals of that network, or the highest 12% (fig. 4.22). Indeed, that Stephen Winthrop, Thomas Peters and Hugh Peter rank only just behind John Winthrop and John Winthrop Jr is indicative of how vital they were to this news network, despite only having very few connections in comparison with the elder and younger Winthrops.

Type of news	1640	1641	1642	1643	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1649	Total
Family	-	-	13%	-	-	-	12%	4%	15%	11%	**8%**
Political	35%	50%	38%	40%	62%	22%	27%	24%	27%	36%	**32%**
Ecclesiastical	6%	-	-	-	10%	4%	5%	6%	3%	3%	**4%**
Local	42%	33%	38%	60%	29%	22%	40%	38%	35%	40%	**37%**
Personal	11%	17%	13%	-	-	13%	10%	24%	12%	7%	**11%**
Business	6%	-	-	-	-	39%	3%	4%	5%	1%	**6%**
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%	-	1%	3%	**1%**

Fig. 4.20: Percentages of types of news sent in each year, 1640-49

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[158] Sir George Downing has a closeness centrality score of 0.481 and is 27th in a network of 139 actors.

Name	Degree	Weighted Degree	Closeness Centrality Score
John Winthrop	54	92	0.787
John Winthrop Jr	23	50	0.574
Stephen Winthrop*	3	7	0.497
Thomas Peters*	3	3	0.497
Hugh Peter*	2	2	0.493
John Haynes	2	2	0.493
Sir George Downing*	2	2	0.493
Newcome[159]	2	2	0.493
Herbert Pelham*	3	6	0.451
John Davenport	3	3	0.451

*Fig. 4.21: Table of closeness centrality scores in local news network, 1640-49. *denotes actor permanently resettled in England during the 1640s.*

This prominence is better understood by looking at it in contrast with the closeness centrality scores of local news sharers between 1625-1639. Of the eighty-two actors in this network, only one left New England for England during the years in question, and only six would relocate permanently between 1640-49.[160] Of those, John Humfrey and Hugh Peter are the only two actors who rank highly in both tables (fig. 4.23). Reverse migration, in spite of the emotional impact it might have had on John Winthrop and others who remained in New England, certainly bolstered and strengthened crucial local news network connections in 1640-49, allowing these actors to maintain prominent positions in the correspondence networks after leaving New England. This is reflected in the content of the letters, where it is possible to see how the links in correspondence chains gathered and passed on news. Having heard from his younger sons, Samuel and Stephen Winthrop, the latter in England, John Winthrop wrote to John Winthrop Jr in New London to pass on news of their lives.[161] The emotional sustenance of hearing of friends and family abroad was tied up with national news, as John Winthrop included with his letter 'full and certaine Intelligence from England' by way of thirteen news books that had recently arrived in Captain

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[159] The Winthrop family's native American servant.
[160] Sir Henry Vane left the colonies in 1637 and ranks 72nd by this measure.
[161] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (7 November 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 280-1.

Hawkins's ship.[162] Stephen Winthrop, 'who was in all those northerne warres against the Scots,' could provide valuable additional information about the war effort, but his news carried also the comfort for his kin that 'the Lord was gratiously pleased to preserve him.'[163] Roger Williams likewise wrote to John Winthrop Jr with the news he received in Providence, always careful to detail its origin, and asked for printed news from England in return.[164] In the same manner that John Winthrop was a vital link in the chain that provided news from England to Connecticut, which is confirmed by the number of letters containing news of the English Civil War that Winthrop sent to his son, former settlers now in England occupied those roles across the Atlantic.[165] Visualising the network using a force-directed algorithm, which pulls nodes with more connections to the centre and forces less connected nodes to the periphery, reveals how closely integrated these actors were into the network (fig. 4.25). Stephen Winthrop and Herbert Pelham provided valuable reports on Edward Winslow's progress, writing that he was 'labouring hard for yow' in his efforts to gain support for New England missionary work.[166] The centrality of these actors is certainly bolstered by their ability to comment on the wellbeing or whereabouts of other former settlers. Hugh Peter made a habit of doing so in his letters, enabling the recipients of his letters to collect and collate news on their kin and friends in England when they may not have been able to hear from them directly.[167] With clear connections to the main hubs, John Winthrop and John Winthrop Jr, these actors undoubtedly played a critical role in sustaining an effective news network, rather than just a simple two-way exchange, during the tumultuous years of the English Civil War, when shipping was inconsistent.

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[162] Ibid, pp. 280-1.
[163] Ibid, pp. 280-1.
[164] Roger Williams to John Winthrop Jr (26 May, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 347-8; (13 June, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 352-3; (26 May, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 347-8; (25 October, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 374-5. See also: Adam Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (3 June, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 349-350.
[165] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (30 September, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 261-2; (6 October, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 265-267; (12 February, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 311-2.
[166] Stephen Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (16 July, 1649), *WP*, V, p. 365;
[167] High Peter to John Winthrop Jr (15 March, 1649), *WP*, V, pp. 319-20.

Name	Degree	Weighted Degree	Closeness Centrality Score
John Winthrop	45	96	0.681
John Winthrop Jr	41	89	0.664
Emmanuel Downing	7	21	0.509
Margaret Winthrop	10	30	0.509
John Humfrey	7	8	0.509
Hugh Peter	6	7	0.5
William Peirce	5	7	0.5
Henry Jacie	7	9	0.497
John Freeman	3	4	0.479
Captain Maplesden	2	4	0.476

Fig. 4.22: Table of closeness centrality scores in local news network, 1630-39.

It was exactly these connections that the Winthrops seem to have relied on for their news from England, particularly evident when viewing fig. 4.23 with fig. 4.19 (p. 249). Seven of the eight actors who sent news from England after their permanent resettlement also feature in the local news network in 1640-49. Of these, only four feature on the local news network in 1625-39, and even then, only two exhibit any real prominence in those years. For George Downing, Thomas Peters, Herbert Pelham, and Stephen Winthrop, their network significance in the local news network is directly linked to their reverse migration. Notably, these high-ranking individuals were often including news of other people, common friends and acquaintances in their letters, rather than just impersonal news of the English Civil War. This tallies with what André Belo has written about the value of handwritten news. It could be tailored for a specific audience and could be used as a mark of distinction to set actors apart from their contemporaries in terms of their perceived social value, or repair potential wounds caused, in this instance, by the sender's removal from New England.[168] This was, therefore, a way in which returned migrants could sustain their strong network positions because the news they had access to not only contained intelligence of national significance, but it contributed towards the maintenance of social ties and therefore directly feeds into our understanding of puritan sociability. News from England was not just news of England, it was news of, and a connection to, brethren in a distant land.

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[168] Belo, 'News Exchange,' pp. 378-87.
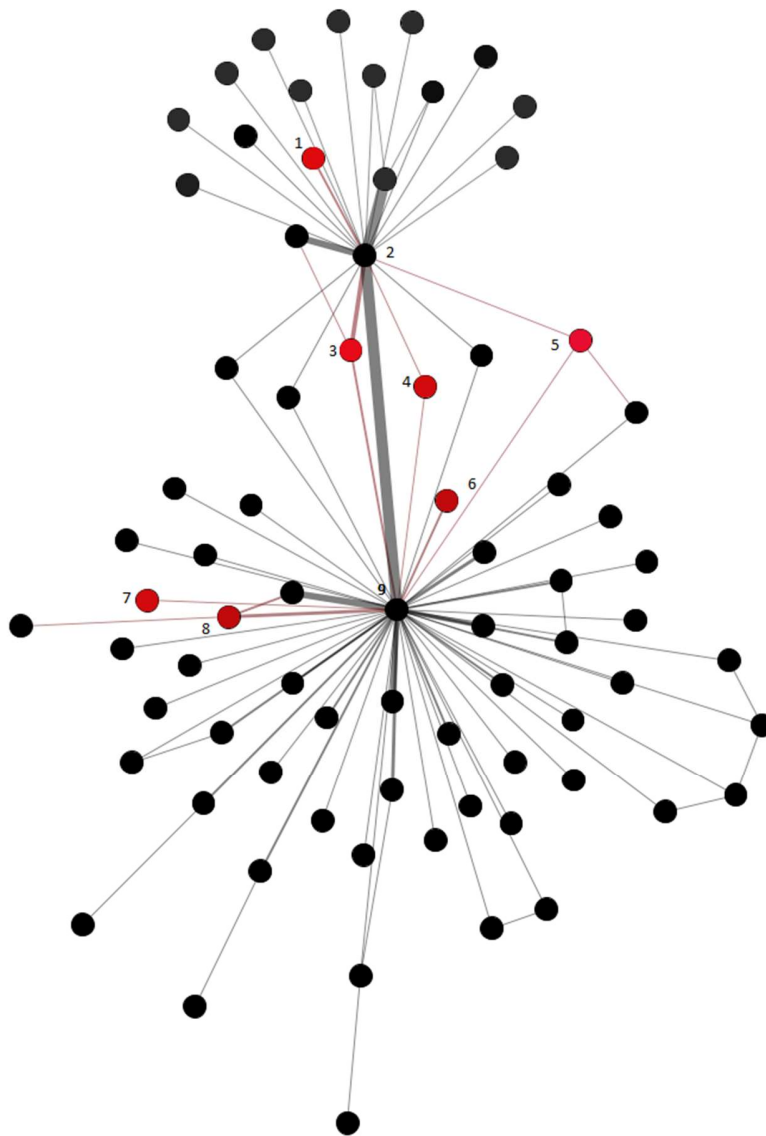
Fig. 4.23: Graph of the transatlantic news network of the Winthrop family.

Key to fig. 4.23	
1 – Robert Child	6 – John Harrison Jr
2 – John Winthrop Jr	7 – Samuel Winthrop
3 – Stephen Winthrop	8 – Herbert Pelham
4 – Hugh Peter	9 – John Winthrop
5 – Thomas Peters	

Reverse migration opened new opportunities for news exchange. The fact that migrants returning to England were able to sustain their favourable positions in the network by sharing news with their brethren who remained overseas reinforces our understanding of the social benefit of news. This sheds new light on the dynamics of news exchange, which relied on transatlantic movement and contributed significantly to the preservation of puritan sociability in the transatlantic. The distribution of news was centred around port towns, a distinctive colonial development, and as a result the pivotal structural role of merchants is revealed. Spatial visualisations of the news networks reveal the uneven distribution of news but when combined with qualitative analysis also show the pathways that news sharers utilised to ensure that their letters reached even those who lived in settlements far from port towns. This not only important in drawing out the valuable roles that sustained transatlantic sociability, emphasising the structural benefit of those who do not often emerge from beneath the shadow of the prominent players in New England's history. Vitally, these functional roles also reinforce our understanding of the social benefit of news. The notion of benefit is consolidated by the efforts that news sharers expended to ensure that the news that they put into letters was trustworthy. Evaluating, assessing, and reporting on the provenance of news was all part of a process by which distance was mediated, as networks were employed to ensure that absent recipients could trust the news that came into their hands. News, therefore, was part of the complex process by which puritans in the transatlantic world could bridge the distances between them, learning of their friends overseas or in different settlements. Those collating and sending news evaluated its credibility just as others weight the credibility of those seeking to join churches or hoping to build credit and redeem themselves from past infractions. As such, it is evident that measuring credit and credibility were intrinsic aspects of puritan sociability.

Conclusion

This thesis has used a combination of network analysis, spatial analysis and qualitative analysis to develop our understanding of puritan sociability in a transatlantic context. Bringing together puritanism, epistolarity and digital methodologies has provided new perspectives on the mechanisms that the godly employed to preserve cohesion and unity in their communities. It brings out of the shadows the role of lay men and women and sheds light on the vital structural roles played by merchants in preserving sociability in spite of the distance and differences, whether ecclesiological, social, or theological, that challenged puritan communities between 1625-1649. Letters provided the space for correspondents to continue the discourses that they had practiced in England, debating and negotiating with one another for mutual edification and a fuller understanding of God's truth. But letters also were spaces for mediation. They alleviated the pain of separation and crucially allowed for the weighing of credit and credibility at a distance. As such, letters allowed correspondents to mediate relationships through endorsing their friends and acquaintances for good favour in New England or for church membership. The mediations made possible by letters extended to tactical efforts demonstrated in chapter three, where John Cotton sought to redeem various dissenting former members of the Boston church back into the perceived spiritual sanctuary of that congregation.

Letters, then, played a vital role in extending the bounds of godly sociability following transatlantic migration. They remain an ideal resource for understanding sociability because they additionally provided the means for lay correspondents to interact with one another and with their ministers, which gives us access to their roles as mediators and negotiators. This thesis has built on the important foundations laid by scholars such as Collinson, Lake, Webster, and Como, who have shed significant light on the competing impulses of unity and fragmentation in English puritanism. It develops the formative scholarship from Bremer, Winship, and Foster on New England puritanism and also to the growing body of work on letters and correspondence in the early modern period. The contribution comes in large part from innovations in methodology, the inclusion of quantitative, digital methods that have allowed for the resituating of lay puritans and lesser known actors into our recognition of those who actively participated in the preservation of their sociability and the continuation of

their communities in spite of geographic diversification and simmering disagreements.

Correspondence was not only vital to the preservation of puritan relationships following the inception of transatlantic migration. It was also an important part of maintaining godly relationships in England. puritanism was intensely social, as shown in chapter one, and the reliance on conference and collective worship, spiritual encouragement and support alongside private devotion and prayer, meant that letters were a natural way in which to perform sociability at a distance. The correspondence networks that linked pockets of puritan community together in England were vital to those who would experience the challenges of separation following transatlantic emigration. Chapter one also revealed the role of letters in stretching and expanding networks in preparation for migration, whether to ensure continuing contact with those across the ocean, or to join emigrating communities in the self-selecting networks that characterised puritan migration. Letters were part of the active preparation for migration, used to attain a sense of community, security, or belonging prior to their emigration. They were also part of the longer-term sustenance of friendship and kinship and relied on the facilitators to promote the successful endurance of ties. Bearers and other mediators were essential infrastructural participants in correspondence networks. Letters were not private, and senders often expected that they would be shared. This complexity is clear throughout the thesis as members of correspondence networks time and again reached out along the sinews of their networks in order to relay messages, gain favour, testify for or against others, or enclose letters to be passed on by the recipient. Personal networks could be used with letters to extend the reach of news or influence, providing clear evidence of complex epistolary communities at work. Some writers even sent similar letters via multiple routes to increase chances of their correspondence reaching its intended destination safely. Correspondence networks were of real significance to those who participated in them. The active exploitation of network ties to achieve goals reveals that members of these networks were acutely aware of their benefits and how to use them. English puritans relied on their communities, so their sociability is of crucial importance to those seeking to understand puritanism more widely. Looking at correspondence as a core aspect of

sociability has shown that the puritans in these networks used their letters to engage in spiritual communion with one another when they could not do so in person. This sociability performed in letters, which became even more important following the onset of transatlantic migration, further enabled for the extension and supplementation of networks that prepared puritans to uproot.

In spite of the efforts exercised in preparing to uproot, practices of sociability were undeniably impacted by emigration. In the fragile new communities of early New England, emigrants sought to consolidate their communities, a process that relied upon the building of social credit and evaluations of the credibility of their peers. This thesis has used network analysis with qualitative analysis to explore the way in which letters contributed to the weighing of credit and credibility in puritan communities in New England. By doing so, it has contributed to our understanding of the role of letter writers in testifying to the credibility of their brethren. The weighing of credibility was most formally exercised in the process of assessing applicants for church membership. Gaining church membership required a level of social credit that chapter two showed could be bolstered by endorsements in letters. Once gained, active church membership became a marker of credibility, and chapter two showed that this active membership involved an increased obligation for church members to watch over each other. This obligation drew church congregations into a communal exercise of observation and continual assessment, which also involved the active participation in assessing other prospective church members. What this group dynamic was grounded in was the belief that the spirit could recognise the spirit, even in the new and unfamiliar environment of the New World. As such, active participation in congregational activities not only demonstrated one's own credit and spiritual status, but mutually confirmed that of those around them. To testify on another's behalf was to extend one's own social credit, potentially drawing a new connection between two acquaintances. Reputation and credit were part of the social currency in New England and, notably, were actively employed by members of the laity in their interactions with their social peers and even sometimes their superiors. What this shows is that the laity certainly exercised some agency in these fledgling New England communities. They were active in communally accepting new members into their congregations, weighing the credibility of their peers continually, not only in

that first moment of acceptance. That the testimony of ordinary lay people was heard and valued by New England clergy and magistrates alike makes clear that community regulation was something that involved more than the godly governing bodies. It clarifies the role of the lesser known members of congregations as regulators and evaluators. While the focus of chapter two was New England, it was also evident through exploring letters and testimony that endorsements were transatlantic. That extensions of social credit could cover such distance reinforces our understanding of puritanism in this period as being inherently transatlantic in its scope. The role of merchants, particularly William Peirce, as network facilitators and sustainers was essential for the consolidation of these fragile new communities, and they were as involved in patterns of credit building as their settled brethren. Even merchants with no puritan leanings had to participate. The building of credit was vital in early New England, where endorsements and testimony, and acceptance to church membership, were so valuable to those that sought the comfort of a community in a new land. Many showed a critical awareness of the potential reach of their connections and used them to promote their own positions or those of their brethren. These processes of establishing and assessing credit and credibility show an emphasis on the establishment of a strong and united community in New England, where peace and harmony were paramount, along with a certain level of doctrinal orthodoxy.

Where the thesis began by exploring positive and productive ties, examining the negotiation of 'orthodoxy' in New England in chapter three turned its attention to more fractious ties. John Winthrop might have sought ordered liberty and purity in the church, but his conviction did not prevent the eruption of internal dissention in New England. While the formal negotiations that took place during the Antinomian Controversy remain absent from the correspondence, these processes have been more than adequately covered by other scholars. Chapter three focused on the mediations that proceeded and followed the main events, looking at the way in which John Cotton, John Winthrop, and William Coddington were engaged in mediating their differences. Cotton also played a part as intermediary between the Boston authorities and those who left the colony when Anne Hutchinson was banished. in these letters, assertions of common brotherhood reveal a rather more practiced interaction than appears in the letters consulted in the other chapters of this thesis. A

certain caution to engage in debate without it turning to argument runs throughout Cotton's letters, and also in Shepard's letters to him. Social roles and distinction therefore clearly factored into the crafting of discussion in letters, but also in Cotton's mediation between the exiled John Wheelwright and the Boston authorities. Cotton's letter reinforces our understanding of the way in which exclusivity could be used to meditate and restore those with damaged credit, as he consciously constructed an argument whereby Wheelwright's infraction was significantly less dangerous than his sister-in-law, Anne Hutchinson's, or that of her more ardent followers. In clearly demarcating these participants as deviants and the primary bastions of unacceptability, Cotton gave room to Wheelwright to reject their views and to restore himself to his former good position.

Chapter three further contributed to our understanding of patterns of negotiating 'orthodoxy' by spatially mapping and quantifying the competing networks that sought either to consolidate or to undermine the New England venture. Challenges not only originated internally but came also from the pressure exerted by those in England who keenly followed colonial developments. Innovations in church practice have been shown to have divided English puritans in their support of the New England colonies, but it was revealed in chapter three that many challenges to the solidarity of the colonial venture originated from within New England. Complicating the picture of discord, this makes clear that discontent and debate simmered in letters throughout England and New England. By contrast, there was a significantly higher proportion of letters promoting solidarity originating in New England or Bermuda. The participation of lay puritans is again reinforced through this analysis, because letters expressing concern over colonial church practices did not solely come from English clergymen. The laity clearly took an active interest in developments and many were willing to question the decisions being taken.

This picture was further complicated in chapter four with the shift in focus to a period beginning with the onset of an increased wave of reverse migration in the 1640s. It was also during this decade that news took on additional importance as the outbreak of the English Civil War prompted colonists to devour the news that came to their

hands with increased urgency. In these tumultuous years, measuring the credibility of news was never more important. Handwritten news, more than news published in news sheets or corantos, carried an additional social benefit, which was made clear in this chapter. This chimes with the findings of chapter two, where social credit was central to processes of credit building. That merchants again play a crucial role in facilitating networks by collecting and carrying news consolidates their position as key players in the cohesion of puritan sociability. This has been little acknowledged by scholars to date, but the use of social network analysis powerfully demonstrates that merchants, particularly those with godly inclinations, whether traversing the Atlantic themselves or coordinating their trades from London, must be considered as active and essential participants in transatlantic puritan networks. That port towns were such thriving centres in news dissemination further reinforces this finding. But the dissemination of news from port towns out to smaller colonial settlements inland reveals additional detail about the extra-textual life of letters. In particular, the voracity of interest in political news ensured that those involved in news exchange would tap into their own personal networks to pass letters from ships to bearers who would brave the terrain and carry letters to their final destination. This involved a more complex network of senders, carriers, and recipients, along with those who would collate news and redistribute a summary to distant friends.

While this thesis recognises the role of colonial agents as important and regular news sharers, in chapter four it was demonstrated that more nuanced social relations governed correspondence new exchange. Social networks analysis revealed that network significance of colonial agents and merchants was rarely established through one role alone. Ties were social and spiritual, highlighting the interaction of those key facets of the daily puritan experience. Trust again plays an important role in news exchange, but news recipients had different reasons for trusting the news that came into their hands. Francis Kirby, already a trusted friend to the Winthrop family, carefully assessed the news that he sent giving John Winthrop Jr all of the information that he needed to make his own evaluation of it. For Roger Williams, it was his proximity to news sources that provided him credibility in spite of the passionately different religious beliefs between he and John Winthrop. Notions of trust and evaluations of trustworthiness make frequent appearances in letters containing news

and therefore clearly show how far communities that were geographically distant depended on trust in order to be able to manage their separation. Trust is thus vital to our understanding of puritan sociability in this period of transatlantic migration, from the congregational and parish communities on either side of the Atlantic to the wider spiritual communion of saints that faced significant challenge as a result of its increasing geographic diversity. But this diversity has also been shown in this thesis to have strengthened some networks. The added social benefit of news sent in letters was utilised by settlers returning to England that sought to bolster or maintain their connections and alleviate perceptions of betrayal in those that they left behind. But returning migrants also provided more links with the Old World, which were particularly valuable during the Civil War years. News was a fundamental part of the mediation of distance, bridging gaps between separated kin and friends.

This thesis has brought to light the ways in which lay men and women participated in their communities and in their networks, adding depth to our understanding of puritan sociability in the transatlantic world. It argues that these people were far from passive observers but were active in shaping the communities in which they lived. Individuals endorsed their friends and former servants, helping them to join emigrating parties. As groups, they weighed and endorsed the credibility of others seeking to join their churches in New England. Under the weight of obligation imparted by their church membership, congregations weighed the testimony of their neighbours, stepping in to object when their brethren breached boundaries of acceptable belief or practice. The dynamics of negotiation and mediation shift when looking more closely at the clergy and their roles in establishing a coherent 'orthodoxy' in early New England. It was a process that required a practiced dialogue and was grounded in statements of brotherhood and commonality. But it is clear that the laity interacted with their clerics and their magistrates. Their inclusion in the assessment of candidates for church membership reminds us that the clergy placed trust in their congregations to be able to recognise fellow spirits. This thesis has drawn attention through network and spatial analysis to the vital role of network facilitators. In networks that did not span oceans, these facilitators may take different roles, but the colonial context of the puritan networks explored in this thesis meant that merchants were of clear importance. By bringing these actors, who usually

dominate in narratives that focus on trade, business, and economic networks, this thesis reveals that they also had a functional social role. The laity certainly played an active part in mediating in their communities, whether it was to overcome the distance that stretched between them or to step in when they identified falsehoods in accusations flung at other members. They interacted with their clerics to negotiate on theological or doctrinal matters and participated in the acceptance of new church members into their midst. In these ways the lay godly in England and New England promoted, extended, and manipulated their practices of sociability in order to adapt to the challenges of transatlantic migration. This was made possible through their letters and, crucially, the correspondence networks that underpinned their communities. Letters provided spaces in which to extend sociable practices from England to New England and vice versa, supporting through news, endorsements, debate and discussion, advice and edification, the ties that linked the godly together in the transatlantic world.

Appendix I: List of actors identified in the thesis

Degree and weighted degree refer to the entire period 1625-1649. Where individuals are noted in the thesis but do not feature in the correspondence network, no degree and weighted degree score have been entered. Dates of birth and death are given where known.

Name	Bibliographical Note	Degree	Weighted Degree	Period of Network Activity
A				
Alford, William	A London Skinner. When carrying a letter from Francis Kirby in London to John Winthrop Jr in Ipswich, Massachusetts, Alford was endorsed by Francis Kirby as 'an honest man well knowne to mee and also to mr. Cotton of Boston.'[1] Alford settled in Salem in 1635 but later lived in New Haven before returning to Boston.[2]	3	3	1634
Allen, Walter	Allen was the subject of a letter questioning his right to live in Newbury in 1639 following reports of immorality.[3]	4	4	1639
Allerton, Isaac (c.1586-1659)	Travelled to Plymouth on the Mayflower with his family in 1621 and was a leading figure in the colony, chosen as William Bradford's assistant that same year. Allerton acted as the colony's agent from 1626 but his role was not without controversy and he ultimately left Plymouth. He later resided in New Haven and may also have had property in New Amsterdam.[4]	26	51	1630-1645
Altham, Joan	Daughter of Sir William Masham.			
Ames, William (1576-1633)	Ames was a theologian and university teacher born in England and later resident in the Netherlands. He was in discussion with John Winthrop about the early ecclesiastical direction of the	10	14	1629-1646[6]

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[1] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop Jr (11 April, 1634), *WP*, III, pp. 162-3.

[2] H. Whittemore, *Genealogical Guide to the Early Settlers of America: With a Brief History of those of the First Generation* (New York, NY, 1898), p. 7.

[3] Edward Rawson to John Winthrop (7 February, 1639), *WP*, IV, pp. 97-98.

[4] R. C. Anderson, *Pilgrim Village Families Sketch: Isaac Allerton*, web2.americanancestors.org (accessed: 28 April, 2019).

[6] Ames is mentioned in a letter of 1646, extending his network activity past his death date.

	New England colonies and was invited to emigrate by Winthrop in 1629.[5]			
Ashley, Thomas	Thomas Ashley appears to have been a friend and former neighbour of John Winthrop in Groton, Suffolk. He reported, in his only letter in this network, that others of Groton wished Winthrop to return.[7]	1	1	1633
Atherton, Humphrey (c.1608-1661)	Early settler of Dorchester, Massachusetts. Made freeman of Dorchester May 2, 1638. Leading military figure in the colony.[8]	4	9	1648
Atkins, Robert	Robert Atkins was a seaman and appears in the network once. Captain Thomas Best reported that Atkins was moved from the *Seahorse* to the *Repulse* in 1627 and discharged on sickness.[9]	2	2	1627
B				
Bachiler, Rev. Steven (1561-1656)	Bachiler was 71 when he arrived in New England in June 1632. He was initially forbidden by the General Court to exercise public ministry (except to those he had brought with him) but the ban was soon lifted. Bachiler's various ministries in New England were not without controversy and he moved frequently as a result. After struggling to establish a consistent and successful ministry, Bachiler returned to England around 1651.[10]	21	23	1633-1647
Bacon, Francis (1600-1663)	An English politician and part of a stanchly Protestant family. Bacon bought a property from John Winthrop around 1640 but had some regrets. Bacon served as MP for Ipswich from 1646-1660.[11]	4	5	1640-1647
Barfoot, _____ (Cousin) (d.1623)	Cousin of John Winthrop, who Winthrop stayed with for a time in 1623	4	4	1623

[5] K. L. Sprunger, 2004 "Ames, William (1576–1633), theologian and university teacher." *ODNB* (accessed: 28 April, 2019).

[7] Thomas Ashley to John Winthrop (6 March, 1633), *WP*, III, p. 108.

[8] J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England*, (Boston, MA, 1860), pp. 72-73.

[9] Thomas Best to Sackville Crow (27 October, 1627), *WP*, I, p. 365.

[10] S. Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America: Life Stories from Early New England* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 44-5.

[11] J. M. Blatchly, 2008 "Bacon, Francis (1600–1663), politician." *ODNB*. (accessed 29 April, 2019).

	while Barfoot was ill and close to death.[12]			
Barfoot, Katherine	Wife of John 'Century' White and a kinswoman of the Winthrops. Daughter of Edward Barfoot of Lambourne Hall in Essex.[13] Not active in the network.	-	-	-
Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel (1588-1653)	Barnardiston was an English politician and ecclesiastical patron, who long held strong puritan views. Though he could not identify a particular ecclesiastical polity in scripture, he considered himself a Presbyterian. He told John Winthrop that he loved pious Independents such as those who supported Winthrop in New England, but not those in England who championed religious toleration.[14]	19	29	1626-1647
Best, Thomas (1570-1639)	Ship Captain for the English East India Company and later the Royal Navy.[15]	7	17	1627-1628
Boosey, James	Boosey was interested in migrating to New England in 1630 and sought the help of Samuel Borrowes to do so. He later decided not to emigrate in 1630, but was in Connecticut in 1635.[16]	3	5	1630
Borrowes, Francis	Father of Samuel Borrowes. Reached out to John Winthrop in 1630 to arrange the payment of his son's passage to New England. Asked Winthrop to show his son good favour.[17]	2	2	1630
Borrowes, Samuel	Son of Samuel Borrowes and friend of James Boosey. Sought passage for Boosey in 1630 but regretted his involvement when Boosey decided to remain in England.[18]	5	10	1630
Bonython, Capt. Richard	Settled in Saco, Maine in 1631. Bonython seems to have achieved a	4	5	1641

[12] Henry Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (4 October, 1623), *WP*, I, pp. 265-6; John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (11 December, 1623), *WP*, I, pp. 268-9.

[13] J. Eales, 2004 "White, John [called Century White] (1590–1645), politician and lawyer." *ODNB* (accessed 26 Jul. 2019).

[14] R. L. Greaves, 2008 "Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel (1588-1653), politician and ecclesiastical patron," *ODNB* (accessed 29 April, 2019).

[15] R. C. D. Baldwin, 2008 "Best, Thomas (1570–1639), sea captain and master of Trinity House." *ODNB* (accessed 29 April, 2019).

[16] Samuel Borrowes to John Winthrop (6 January, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 184; (20 January, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 195; *WP*, II, p. 184n.

[17] Francis Borrowes to John Winthrop (6 January, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 183.

[18] Samuel Borrowes to John Winthrop (6 January, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 184; (20 January, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 195.

	good social position in New England following a military career.			
Bourne, Nehemiah	Leading shipbuilder and transatlantic trader. Resided in New England, first at Charlestown in 1638 but moved to Dorchester in 1639. Bourne regularly travelled to and from New England and he was made freeman of Massachusetts in 1641.[19] Thomas Jenner accused him and Richard Vines of being 'against the church-way' in 1641.[20]	24	39	1639-1649
Bradshaw, William (bap. 1570, d. 1628)	Church of England clergyman and religious controversialist. He is not present in the correspondence network but was a prominent figure in English puritanism.	N/A	N/A	N/A
Brock, John	Master of *The Gift*, who William Peirce accused of breaking open letters from New England.[21]	1	1	1630
C				
Carter, Joseph	Former servant and stepson of Francis Kirby by Kirby's second marriage to Elizabeth Carter. Carter was recommended by Kirby to John Winthrop after being freed from Kirby's service. Arrived in New England in 1639 and settled at Newbury by 1640. Cater ultimately returned to London and took up residence with his stepfather, also working as a Skinner. John Winthrop received a letter to Carter's house in London from Augustinus Petraeus, indicating a continuing connection despite Carter's reverse migration.[22]	4	4	1639-1643
Cermen (Kirman), John	Member of the Company of Husbandmen, mentioned in a letter from Stephen Bachiler about his intended arrival in New England, listing members of his company.	10	11	1632
Child, Dr Robert (1613–1654)	A physician and agriculturalist. Child made two visits to New England, the first between 1638 and 1641, the second between 1645 and 1647. During his second visit, Child became involved in John Winthrop Jr's ironworks at	39	62	1641-1649

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[19] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 58-61.

[20] J. W. Dean (ed.), *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 38 (Boston, MA, 1884), p. 54; Thomas Jenner to John Winthrop (4 February, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 319-320.

[21] William Peirce to John Winthrop Jr (18 November, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 317.

[22] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 74-5.

	Braintree and Lynn , helping to run them after 1645. Child was also a central figure in the Massachusetts remonstrance of 1646. His Presbyterian leanings led him to be critical of the congregational administration of Massachusetts. He was tried for his involvement in an attempt to revoke the original Massachusetts charter and soon after attempted to return to England. After being found in possession of compromising documents, Child was sentenced to a brief period of imprisonment by the general court on 9 June. On his release some time before 27 October 1647, Child returned to England and was lodging near Gravesend, Kent, by May 1648. He continued to correspond with John Winthrop Jr on alchemical matters.[23]			
Clarke, Elizabeth	Former member of Cotton's congregation at Boston's First Church. Clarke elected to join the exiles going to Aquidneck in 1639, following the Antinomian Controversy.[24]	2	2	1638
Clarke, John	Dr Clarke had arrived in the Bay in 1637 and was a former member of Cotton's congregation at Boston's First Church. Clarke elected to join the exiles going to Aquidneck in 1639, following the Antinomian Controversy.[25]	2	2	1638
Clotworthy, Sir John (d. 1665)	Politician and Presbyterian, Clotworthy was a leading patron of hardline Protestant ministers. He discussed emigration with John Winthrop Jr in 1635 following problems with his landed interests in Ireland. Seems to have acted as a conduit between the Scottish covenanters and English puritans by heloing to organise opposition to the personal rule of Charles I.[26]	9	16	1635-1643

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[23] S. Clucas, 2011 "Child, Robert (1613–1654), physician and agriculturist." *ODNB* (accessed 10 May, 2019).

[24] John Cotton to unknown (4 June, 1638), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence,* pp. 277-9, 280.

[25] John Cotton to unknown (4 June, 1638), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence,* pp. 277-9, 280.

[26] S. Kelsey, 2014 "Clotworthy, John, first Viscount Massereene (d. 1665), politician." *ODNB* (accessed 10 May, 2019).

Coddington, William (1601?-1678)	Elected an assistant of the Massachusetts Bay colony while still in England and arrived in Salem in June 1630. Held numerous town and colony offices between his arrival and 1636 but his support of Anne Hutchinson in the Antinomian Controversy in 1637 halted his political career. He moved to Rhode Island and purchased the island of Aquidneck but came into conflict with the fractious Rhode Island settlers. He served as governor in Rhode Island and attempted, unsuccessfully to have the colony included in the New England confederation, created by the other New England colonies for defence against the native population. Coddington spent two years in England from 1649 but returned to live out his years in Rhode Island. [27]	56	120	1630-1649
Coggeshall, John	Given formal leave in 1638 to depart from Massachusetts along with 'Mr. Wildboare . . . Goodman Freeborne and Richard Carder' following their infractions during the Antinomian Controversy.[28] Many of Coggeshall's appearances in this network relate to his part in the Antinomian Controversy, but some letters between he, John Winthrop and John Winthrop Jr in 1647 suggest some attempt to repair any damage done to their relationships.[29] The later of the letters recalls the 'antient loue' between himself and Winthrop, which emboldened him to write again. An endorsement in the letter reveals that Winthrop responded the same day that he received the letter.[30]	20	36	1634-1647
Cole, Mary	A neighbour of John Winthrop's from Groton, Suffolk, who wrote to the governor in 1640 to express concern over her spiritual estate.[31]	4	4	1640

[27] V. D. Anderson, 2004 "Coddington, William (1601?–1678), merchant and official in America." *ODNB* (accessed 10 May, 2019).

[28] Thomas Dudley to John Winthrop (19 February, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 14-5.

[29] John Coggeshall to John Winthrop (13 September, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 181-2; John Coggeshall to John Winthrop Jr (24 May, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 165-6.

[30] John Coggeshall to John Winthrop (13 September, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 181-2.

[31] Mary Cole to John Winthrop (2 May, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 235-6.

Compton, John	A labourer, property owner, church member, and freeman who lived in Roxbury, Massachusetts. He was disarmed on 30 November, 1637, for his connection with the Wheelwright gaction and had subsequently moved with Wheelwright to Exeter. He was later reinstated to the Roxbury church (date not recorded) and transferred his membership to the Boston church in September 1642.[32]	8	9	1640-1642
Cooke, Edward	An apothecary who had trained his son, Robert, and one of the Adventurers who helped finance the Great Migration.[33]	8	12	1638-1640
Copeland, Rev. Patrick	Copeland was one of a group of congregationally inclined ministers in Bermuda. He struggled to maintain a successful Independent ministry in Bermuda after experiencing factionalism in the colony.	31	35	1638-1647
Cotton, John (1585–1652)	John Cotton was a prominent English nonconformist and a leading minister in New England.[34] He receives significant treatment in this thesis.	182	345	1626-1649
Craddock, Matthew	A merchant who played an important role in establishing the Massachusetts Bay Colony and maintained an active involvement with the company even after it moved to the Massachusetts colony. Craddock was active in the fur trade and also operated a trading and shipbuilding business in Massachusetts on Mystic River. Craddock had been the Massachusetts Bay Company's first governor prior to the decision to move the company to New England and was involved in the selection of the company's first ministers, indicating puritan leanings.[35]	28	56	1630-1640
Crane, Sir Robert	Crane lived in the Stour Valley, which may account for his friendship with	5	8	1626-1628

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[32] S. Bush Jr, *The Correspondence of John Cotton* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001), p. 314n.

[33] N. Gevitz, '"Pray Let the Medicines Be Good": The New England Apothecary in the 17th and Early 18th Centuries,' in G. Highby & W. C. Stroud (eds.), *Apothecaries and the Drug Trade: Essays in Celebration of the Work of David L. Cowen*, (Madison, WI, 2001)

[34] F. J. Bremer, 2013 "Cotton, John (1585–1652), minister in America." *ODNB* (accessed 26 Jul. 2019).

[35] R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 151, 152, 276, 277.

(1586-1643)	John Winthrop. He was persuaded to stand with Sir Robert Naunton in the 1626 election by John Winthrop, with whom he maintained a correspondence at least until 1628.[36]			
Crow, Sackville (1595-1671)	Appointed to a special commission in 1626 set up to inquire into the state of the Navy. Crowe remained active in naval administration and became treasurer of the Navy in March 1627. His place in the network comes from his receipt of a letter from Captain Thomas Best about the discharge of seaman Robert Atkins.[37]	2	2	1627
D				
Davenport, Rev. John	English minister and later a leading minister in New England. He left England for the Netherlands in Devember 1633 and was involved in a dispute with John Paget in the English church in Amsterdam. Davenport arrived in Boston in 1637 and soon after left to found the New Haven colony in 1638.	59	92	1625-1647
Davenport, Richard	Militia officer and ensign bearer at Salem. Appears in the network due to his role during the Pequot War in 1637.	14	16	1637
Davis, Barbara	Wife of James Davis. Accused by her husband of not meeting spousal duties but cleared by way of a defence from William Hutchinson and others of Portsmouth in a letter to John Winthrop.[38]	5	5	1640
Davis, James	Husband of Barbara Davis. After making false accusations against his wife, James Davies's character was challenged by members of the local community in which he lived, as they came to the defence of Barbara Davies.[39]			1640
Davies, James	Brother of Elizabeth Knowles. He has only two connections in the network,			

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[36] A. Thrush & J. P. Ferris (eds.), 2010 "CRANE, Sir Robert (1586-1643), of Chilton, nr. Sudbury, Suff. and Buckenham Tofts, Norf.," in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629* (accessed online 10 May, 2019).

[37] A. Thrush & J. P. Ferris (eds.), 2010 "CROWE, Sackville (1595-1671), of Laugharne, Carm.; formerly of Brasted Place, Kent and Mays, Selmeston, Suss.," in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629* (accessed 10 May, 2019); Capt. Thomas Best to Sackville Crow (27 October, 1627), *WP*, II, p. 336.

[38] William Hutchinson to John Winthrop (29 June, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 259-260.

[39] Ibid, pp. 259-260.

	appearing in a letter from Knowles to John Winthrop regarding her husband's estate.[40]			
Denison, William	A layman who had been expelled from the Roxbury church. In March 1639, Thomas Dudley asked John Cotton to counsel Denison on the relationship between justification and evidence of justification.[41]	2	2	1639
D'Ewes, Sir Simonds (1620-1650)?	Baronet of Stow Langtoft, co. Suffolk, famous antiquarian writer and annalist of Parliament, a friend and correspondent of Winthrop. He married in 1626 Anne, daughter of Sir William Clopton of Kentwell and niece of Walter Clopton.[42]	9	17	1633-1636
Dixon, William	Former servant of John Winthrop. Following some unsettled accounts between servant and master, Thomas Gorges intervened to mediate.[43]	3	3	1641
Dod, John (1550-1645)	Church of England clergyman. Well connected in England to puritan clergy and leading laymen, including Viscount Saye and Sele.[44] Exhibited some concerns at the apparent sectarianism of the New England churches and led a gathering of ministers in England to controvert certain points of colonial ecclesiology.[45]	14	20	1634-1640
Downing, Emmanuel (1585-c.1660)	Brother-in-law of John Winthrop and a prominent member of Winthrop and John Winthrop Jr's correspondence and business networks. Downing was a key correspondent on both sides of the Atlantic and provided a point of connection and news dissemination for others less able to correspond directly with friends and kin overseas.	161	394	1625-1649
Downing, Sir George (1623-1684)	Son of Emmanuel and Lucy Downing. He initially emigrated with his parents and settled in Salem in 1638. Downing returned to England via Barbados in 1645 and became a prominent actor in	21	25	1636-1648

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[40] Elizabeth Knowles to John Winthrop (14 April, 1634), *WP*, III, p. 164.

[41] Thomas Dudley to John Cotton (21 March, 1639), *Correspondence*, pp. 288-9.

[42] *WP*, II, p. 33.

[43] Thomas Gorges to John Winthrop (23 February, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 322-3.

[44] J. Fielding, 2008 "Dod, John (1550–1645), Church of England clergyman." *ODNB* (accessed 14 Jun. 2019).

[45] John Dod and Others to New England Brethren (June, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 264-6.

	England and Scotland during the English Civil War, working as a chaplain. His primary role in this network is in news exchange following his return to England.[46]			
Downing, James	Son of Emmanuel and Lucy Downing. The subject of a number of letters concerning marriage arrangements between him and Rebecca Cooper. More often mentioned in letters than appearing as a correspondent in the network.	23	56	1630-1641
Downing, Joseph	Son of Emmanuel and Lucy Downing. Wrote one letter in the network detailing codling trees he was sending to John Winthrop Jr in New England. Connected with Francis Kirby in London.[47]	6	7	1634
Downing, Joshua	Son of Emmanuel and Lucy Downing. Had a strong desire for sea employment in 1641 and was in Scotland with Sir George Downing in 1652/3.[48]	8	17	1636-1649
Downing, Lucy (Winthrop) (1601-1679)	Sister to John Winthrop. Lucy Downing is prominent in the network as a correspondent and a reported or implied connection. Wrote often with news of family or to make arrangements concerning members of her family.	101	257	1625-1649
Downing, Mary	Daughter of Emmanuel and Lucy Downing. Emigrated before her parents, making preparations to leave in March 1633 and setting sail soon after.[49] She largely appears in this network in correspondence with her family requesting support, answering criticisms, or mentioned in remembrances at the close of the letters of others.	12	32	1630-1637
Dudley, Mary (Winthrop)	Daughter of John and Margaret Winthrop. Most regularly appears in the network in correspondence with her mother.	9	15	1636
Dudley, Thomas (1576-1653)	Sometime Governor and Deputy Governor of Massachusetts. He sailed to New England on the Winthrop fleet	63	180	1630-1649

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[46] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 93-4.
[47] Joseph Downing to John Winthrop Jr (28 February, 1634), *WP*, III, pp. 153-4.
[48] Ibid, p. 94; Lucy Downing to John Winthrop (ca. January, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 303-4.
[49] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (25 March, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 114-5.

	in 1630. Dudley was a devout puritan and became one of the key figures in shaping colonial government.[50] He appears regularly in the network in remembrances at the close of letters but was also a correspondent as a prominent political figure in Massachusetts.			
Dummer, Richard (c.1598-1679)	Merchant and miller, Dummer emigrated in 1632 and settled at Roxbury. He served for a time as a magistrate but was disarmed in 1637 for supporting Anne Hutchinson in the Antinomian Controversy.[51]	16	16	1632-1643
Dunster, Henry (bap. 1609, d. 1659)	Dunster arrived in Massachusetts in 1640 and was elected president of Harvard College soon after. He seems to have been fairly well connected with the Winthrop family in this network.[52]	8	13	1641-1648
Dye, John	Member of the Company of Husbandmen. Well connected with others in that group but appears only in conjunction with them in the network.[53]	29	31	1632
E				
Elliott, Richard	Elliott was a resident of Massachusetts and, following an unspecified offence, expressed his desire to reform in a letter to the Court of Assistants.[54]	1	1	1637
Eliot, John (1604-1690)	Minister and missionary in America. Eliot began his colonial life at Roxbury and was involved in the questioning of Anne Hutchinson in 1637. In 1640 he co-authored, with Richard Mather and Thomas Weld, the *Bay-Psalm Book*, the first book printed in New England. He was committed to missionary work with the native population of Massachusetts and was prolific in authoring and translating Christian texts into the Massachusett Algonquian language.[55] Appears in the network in contact with	18	20	1639-1649

[50] F. J. Bremer, 2000 "Dudley, Thomas (1576-1653), civil leader of early New England." *ANB* (accessed 30 Jul. 2019).

[51] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 358-9.

[52] F. J. Bremer, 2004 "Dunster, Henry (bap. 1609, d. 1659), minister and college principal in America." *ODNB* (accessed 26 Jul. 2019).

[53] Company of Husbandmen to John Winthrop (1 December, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 101-3.

[54] Richard Elliot to the Court of Assistants (c.1637), *WP*, III, p. 323.

[55] J. Frederick Fausz, 2011 "Eliot, John [called the Apostle to the Indians] (1604–1690), minister and missionary in America." *ODNB* (accessed 14 Jun. 2019).

	John Cotton and praised by Roger Williams for his work with the local natives.			
Endecott, John (d. 1665)	Governor of Massachusetts from 1628 and controversially supported Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson in their establishment of a congregational church there, defending them against attacks from English puritans concerned about New England separatism, such as John Cotton. He handed over governorship to John Winthrop in 1630. Endecott was again the centre of a storm when he cut the red cross from the English ensign during a muster of the Salem train band in 1634. Consistently a leading figure in New England, Endecott was re-elected governor after Winthrop's death in 1649. [56] He appears regularly as a correspondent on colonial, governmental and political matters in this network.	84	195	1631-1649
F				
Farren, James	A servant who was recommended to John Winthrop by Edward Revell in 1636. Farren carried the letter across the Atlantic when he travelled as part of a company.[57]	2	2	1636
Fenwick, George	Briefly controlled Saybrook Fort before selling it in 1644 and returning to England. Fenwick, along with leading puritans in England, had made John Winthrop Jr agent in 1635 concerning their plans to colonise along the Connecticut River.[58]	34	65	1635-1649
Firmin, Rev. Giles (1614-1697)	Firmin's mother, Martha, was related to John Winthrop by marriage. He initially emigrated to Boston in 1632 and was soon after admitted to the church. On Firmin's return to England in 1633, he continued to encounter antinomian ideas through his relative Henry Firmin of Ipswich. He arrived in New England again in 1637 and in November that year took notes at the trial of Anne	11	17	1639-1646

[56] Francis J. Bremer, 2004 "Endecott, John (d. 1665), colonial governor." *ODNB* (accessed 14 Jun. 2019).

[57] Edward Revell to John Winthrop (20 April, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 251-3.

[58] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp 105-7.

	Hutchinson, to whom he was not sympathetic. He moved to Ipswich in 1639, becoming a church member and freeman there soon after. He considered his emigration to England at length from 1640, in conversation with John Winthrop Jr amongst others. He finally set sail in 1644 and seems to have developed some Presbyterian leanings there.[59]			
Fones, Thomas	Brother-in-law to John Winthrop. Housed Henry Winthrop and objected to his nephew's behaviour, corresponding with John Winthrop about young man's actions.	17	42	1625-1629
Foxwell, Richard	Appears in two letters in the network, both times he is reported as sharing news with the letter writers.[60]			
Freeman, John	Friend of John Winthrop Jr. The two seem to have met when travelling in Europe and maintained a correspondence overseas.	11	21	1628-1630
G				
Gibbons, Edward	A Boston merchant, Gibbons appears in this network as a participant in the news networks explored in chapter four. He is a fairly regular correspondent having seemingly held a fairly prominent social position in New England.	19	36	1636-1648
Goodwin, John	Perhaps the Goodwin mentioned in a letter sent by John Cotton to Herbert Palmer in 1626.[61] He is said to have been influenced by Cotton into Independency.	2	2	1626
Goodwin, Thomas	Had some conversation with Cotton on the subject of desisting from the ceremonies in episcopal worship prior to Cotton's emigration to New England. He later wrote with others in England to urge a more liberal policy on the part of the Massachusetts Bay colony in its treatment of Anabaptists.[62]	17	18	1633-1645

[59] Ibid, pp. 107-9.

[60] Abraham Shurt to John Winthrop (28 June, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 277-8; William Hilton to John Winthrop Jr (18 April, 1633), *WP*, III, p. 119.

[61] John Cotton to Herbert Palmer (8 November, 1626), *Correspondence*, pp. 116-8.

[62] Thomas Goodwin to John Cotton (ca. Spring, 1633), *Correspondence*, pp. 176-7; Thomas Goodwin and Others to the Massachusetts General Court (ca. June, 1645), *WP*, V, pp. 23-5.

Goose, William	A shipmaster of Salem who in 1638 was preparing to sail for Bermuda with Stephen Winthrop on a trading venture.[63] Recommended as 'an honest godly man of our church' to Rev. Patrick Copeland in Bermuda by Hugh Peter.[64] Crossed the Atlantic on his ship the *Sparrow* not infrequently.	8	16	1636-1646
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando (1568-1647)	An army officer and promoter of colonisation, Gorges is mentioned in this network more often than he is correspondent, primarily relating to his efforts to develop the provice of Maine and to establish a royal government for New England.[65]	21	30	1630-1645
Gostlin, Benjamin	Benjamin Gostlin was the son of Thomas and Jane (Winthrop) Gostlin. He worked for many years as a sea captain.[66]	16	20	1636-1640
Gostlin, Jane	Sister of John Winthrop and mentioned with some regularity in remembrances at the close of letters. She has little other prominence in this network and is not a correspondent herself.	10	24	1629-1640
Gostlin, Thomas (d. 1629)	Brother-in-law to John Winthrop and closely connected with the family. He is both correspondent and reported connection in letters. He initially seems to have intended to migrate to New England but later changed his mind, having concerns over the organisation of the churches there.[67]	40	125	1627-1648
Graves, Thomas (d. 1653)	Shipmaster and shipbuilder who settled in Charlestown in 1639 but crossed the Atlantic frequently before and afterwards. Nehemiah Bourne, who reported that Graves would relay the news he had, was an investor with John Winthrop in Graves ship *Trial* in 1642.	11	19	1625-1648
Griffen, Richard	Recommended by Edward Revell to John Winthrop for good favour in New	2	3	1636

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[63] *WP*, IV, p. 85 fn. 2

[64] Hugh Peter to Patrick Copeland (10 December, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 84-5.

[65] C. E. Clark, 2004 "Gorges, Sir Ferdinando (1568–1647), army officer and promoter of colonization in America." *ODNB* (accessed 26 Jul. 2019).

[66] *WP*, I, p. 405n.

[67] Thomas Gostlin to John Winthrop Jr (11 June, 1622), *WP*, III, pp. 124-5; Thomas Gostlin to John Winthrop (2 March, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 211-3.

	England. Griffen appears to have been a former servant of Brampton Gurdon.[68]			
Gurdon, Brampton (d. 1649)	Gurdon was a politician who sat in the House of Commons from 1621-22. He was a friend of John Winthrop before Winthrop's emigration and they continued to write letters to one another afterwards.	67	119	1625-1649
Gurdon, Muriel Sedley	Second wife of Brampton Gurdon. Wrote two letters to Margaret Winthrop following the Winthrops' emigration regarding the care of her son, indicating a strong and enduring friendship between the two families.[69]	7	9	1630-1636
H				
Hale, Thomas	Hale was Francis Kirby's nephew and was recommended by his uncle to John Winthrop in 1637.[70] He makes no other appearance in this network.	2	2	1637
Hales, John	Hales carried a letter from Isaac Lovell to John Winthrop.[71] He makes no other appearance in the network.	2	2	1637
Hall, Samuel	Hall was refused a request for a land grant in 1635 by Nathaniel Ward at Ipswich, Massachusetts. He was reported as bringing bad company into the town and was judged not fit for admission.[72]	2	2	1635
Hardwin, Grace	Member of the Company of Husbandmen. Hardwin's network prominence is primary a result of his membership to this group, as members all signed the same two letters.[73]	29	36	1632
Harrison, John Jr	Harrison has been in New England since at least 1637. He seems to have been well known to John Winthrop Jr. He sent news on his return voyage to England in 1639 and did not return to New England.[74]	11	14	1637-1640

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[68] Edward Revell to John Winthrop (20 April, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 251-3.

[69] Muriel Sedley Gurdon to Margaret Winthrop (4 April, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 243-4; Muriel Sedley Gurdon to Margaret Winthrop (5 May, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 258-9.

[70] Francis Kirby to John Winthrop (10 May, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 409-10.

[71] Isaac Lovell to John Winthrop (2 May, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 408-9.

[72] Nathaniel Ward to John Winthrop Jr (24 December, 1635), *WP*, III, pp. 215-7.

[73] Company of Husbandmen to Members in New England (8 March, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 67-71; Company of Husbandmen to John Winthrop (1 December, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 101-3.

[74] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 340-1; John Harrison Jr to John Winthrop (11 August, 1639), *WP*, IV, p. 138.

Hawkins, Capt. Thomas (d. 1648)	A shipwright who settled in Boston by 1643, after first residing in Charlestown from 1636. Hawkins maintained an active transatlantic trade and is present in the network for his business ties and as a facilitator.	14	27	1637-1648
Hawkins, Jane	Jane Hawkins was a friend and fellow exile of Anne Hutchinson following the Antinomian Controversy. She was a midwife and, following her exile, was reviled by John Winthrop. After Hawkins delivered Mary Dyer's 'monster' at Aquidneck, Cotton wrote that he was concerned about her ability to negatively impact the other women in the colony.[75]	1	1	1638
Haynes, John	Haynes was governor of Massachusetts Bay in 1625 and governor or deputy governor for the majority of the 1640s and 1650s. He left for England some time after making a will that stated his intent in 1646.[76]	30	75	1630-1649
Heath, Isaac	Heath was a member of the Roxbury Church, town officer, deputy and ruling elder, who corresponded along with Thomas Weld, John Miller and John Eliot and John Wilson regarding the possibility of John Compton being readmitted to the Boston Church.[77]	5	5	1642
Hendrick, Daniell	Acquaintance of John Sandbrooke when on the Isle of Sable. He appears only once in the network and is reported as remembering his service to John Winthrop.[78]	2	2	1638
Hewson, Thomas	Hewson was disgruntled with the poor return on his investment in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636. He noted a connection to Brampton Gurdon, which was likely employed to increase his chances of receiving compensation. Hewson seems to have been well connected and adept at employing intermediaries to aid in his negotiations.[79] He appears in the	16	23	1630-1636

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[75] John Cotton to unknown (4 June, 1638), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence,* pp. 277-9.
[76] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 364.
[77] John Wilson to Thomas Weld and John Eliot (ca. September, 1642), *WP*, IV, pp. 353-4; S. E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), p. 167.
[78] John Sandbrooke to John Winthrop (30 April, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 27-9.
[79] Thomas Hewson to John Winthrop (7 March, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 234-5.

	network infrequently but with numerous connections.			
Hibbins, William	Hibbins was an assistant of Massachusetts Bay but does not play a particularly active role in this network. He is signatory on one statement from the governor, deputy, and assistants regarding the power of the magistrate and is therefore seemingly well connected due to his links in that letter with the other signatories.[80]	16	27	1639-1649
Hill, Richard	Richard Hill was connected with Winthrop as well as with Lucy and Emmanuel Downing, but he remains unidentified in the *Winthrop Papers* beyond the fact that he and his wife Constance are elsewhere referred to by Lucy Downing and Francis Kirby as 'brother and sister Hill.'[81]	8	14	1634-1645
Hilton, William	Hilton had originally emigrated to Plymouth in 1621 but moved to Piscataqua sometime before 1627.[82] He seems to have cultivated a good relationship with John Winthrop Jr early in his residence in New England.[83] He passed news from England to Winthrop Jr and advised him on raising swine at Ipswich. He later felt confident to recommend a 'verry loving Indean' to John Winthrop.[84]	11	16	1633-1639
Holgrave, John	Holgrave may only appear once in the network and the only information given about him is his sudden affliction in Hugh Peter's church-meeting.[85] However, a John Holgrave, also of Salem, is mentioned in a letter of 1636 but it is not clear whether this is the same man.[86] There is a third mention in a letter from Lucy Downing which implies that a Mr Holgrave of Salem may have been a shipmaster.[87] John	5	5	1636-1648

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[80] *WP*, IV, p. 467.

[81] *WP*, V, p. 28n.

[82] *WP*, III, p. 119n.

[83] William Hilton to John Winthrop Jr (18 April, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 118-9; (1 May, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 120-1.

[84] William Hilton to John Winthrop (14 July, 1637), *WP*, III, p. 449.

[85] Hugh Peter to John Winthrop (4 September, 1639), *WP*, IV, p. 139.

[86] John Winthrop Jr to John Winthrop (16 May, 1636), *WP*, III, p. 260.

[87] Lucy Downing to John Winthrop Jr (17 December, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 290-2.

	Winthrop notes a Mr. Holgrave of Salem acting as a delegate for the general court on 14 May, 1634. There is also a record of a John Holgrave of Salem being made freeman in 1633 and who relocated to Gloucester in 1640.[88] The lack of contextual detail given means that it is unclear whether they are the same man.			
Hooker, Rev. Thomas (1586?–1647)	Hooker was minister in England before being silenced and leaving for the Netherlands in 1631. He clashed with John Paget of the English church in Amsterdam as Paget found Hooker's views too congregational. In 1633, after two years in Delft, Hooker left for Massachusetts. He settled as pastor of a new church at Newtown, which would later be renamed Cambridge. He left for Hartford in 1636 and lived out his life there. Hooker appears in the network most frequently in correspondence on theological and ecclesiological matters and is seen to have been adept in the art of discussion.[89]	28	48	1629-1643
Hopkins, Edward (c. 1602–1657)	Hopkins was made governor of Connecticut soon after his arrival in Hartford in 1637. He served as either governor or deputy governor alongside John Haynes for much of the rest of his time in New England, before returning to New England in 1652.[90]	46	97	1635-1649
Hoskins, Ann	Hoskins was a cousin of John Winthrop, the daughter of his uncle by the same name. Her only appearance in the network is via her letter to John Winthrop Jr regarding the welfare of her son, William.[91] William is not present in the network other than this reference to him.	2	2	1638
Hoskins, William	The son of Ann Hoskins, William only makes one appearance in the network	2	2	1638

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[88] H. Whittemore, *Genealogical Guide to the Early Settlers of America with a Brief History of those of the First Generation* (Baltimore, MD, 1967), p. 262.

[89] S. Bush, 2008 "Hooker, Thomas (1586?–1647), minister in America." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).

[90] J. P. Walsh, 2004 "Hopkins, Edward (c. 1602–1657), colonial governor." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019.)

[91] Ann Hoskins to John Winthrop Jr (13 January, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 7-8.

	as mentioned in his mother's letter to John Winthrop Jr.[92]			
Howes, Edward	Howes is an interesting individual. He first appears in the network as a servant of some description, perhaps a secretary or tutor, in Emmanuel Downing's household. Quite possibly through this connection he became a close friend of John Winthrop Jr prior to Winthrop Jr's emigration to New England. The two seem to have shared a profound interest in alchemy. The two remained in frequent correspondence for a number of years but the relationship seems to have waned during the 1640s: his last appearance in the network is 1645. Through the course of Howes's letters, it is possible to chart the course whereby Howes moved from the 'conventional, if eccentric godliness of his youth' to the 'manifestly heretical' alchemism, familism and puritanism found in his diary of the 1640s.[93] In this network, he frequently sends English and European news to Winthrop Jr, as well as warning him of the rumours circulating against the colony.	83	203	1628-1649
Hubbard, Benjamin	Benjamin Hubbard was a surveyor who settled in Charlestown in 1633. He and his wife, Alice, became church members soon after and Benjamin was named freeman in 1634. In 1637, he signed the remonstrance in support of John Wheelwright and considered moving to Rhode Island. He stayed in Charlestown, however, and then emigrated to England in 1644. He must have been supported in this as John Winthrop wrote a testimonial for him and John Winthrop Jr wrote for Hubbard a letter of introduction to Samuel Foster, mathematician.[94]			
Humfrey, John (c. 1597–1651)	Humfrey was involved with the Massachusetts Bay Company from its	53	119	1630-1648

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[92] Ibid, pp. 7-8.

[93] D. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil War England* (Stanford, CA, 2004), pp. 7, 417. There is much to be learned of Howes's familism in this monograph.

[94] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 147.

	inception in 1629. He was reluctant to sail to Boston but did so in 1634, though his careers there was not overly successful. He was said to have been the only freeman of Massachusetts not in church membership. He left for England in 1641 and did not return to New England.[95]			
Huntley, Rachel	A member of the Winthrop kin network, Huntley refers to John Winthrop and his wife Margaret as 'brother' and 'sister' in her letter. It is her sole appearance in the network and draws on strong themes of kinship and spiritual union.[96]	2	2	1619
Hutchinson, Anne (bap. 1591, d. 1643)	Anne Hutchinson was originally from Lincolnshire and was sister-in-law to John Wheelwright, who she would later hail as one of only two worthy ministers in New England, the other being John Cotton. She is well known for her role in the Antinomian Controversy in New England. After her banishment in 1638 she left with her family and helped set up Aquidneck colony in an area that later became part of Rhode Island. She relocated to New York in 1642 following the death of her husband. She and many members of her family dies in an Indian attack in late 1643. [97] She is not correspondent in this network and only present as a reported or implied connection.	13	23	1637-1640
Hutchinson, Francis	Francis Hutchinson was the sixth of Anne Hutchinson's fourteen children. He was seventeen when his mother was banished and left with her. His letter seeking to withdraw from the Boston church was seemingly diplomatic but his request was denied and he returned to Boston in 1641. There, he was fined and jailed, before being excommunicated for railing against the church in July of that year.[98]	3	3	1640

[95] S. K. Roberts, 2015 "Humfrey, John (c. 1597–1651), colonist and parliamentary army officer." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).
[96] Rachell Huntley to John Winthrop (10 March, 1620), *WP*, I, pp. 225-7.
[97] M. P. Winship, 2004 "Hutchinson [née Marbury], Anne (bap. 1591, d. 1643), dissident prophet in America." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).
[98] Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 319-20.

Hutchinson, William (d. 1642)	William Hutchinson was the husband of Anne Hutchinson and in 1640 was an assistant at Plymouth, which gave him reason to write to John Winthrop about the case between James and Barbara Davis.[99]	6	7	1638-1640
J				
Jacie, Henry (1601-1663)	Jacie was an English nonconformist minister and a frequent correspondent with the Winthrops in New England. In 1637 Jacie was invited to become pastor of the London congregation founded by Henry Jacob but declined, despite his conviction in favour of the principles of the gathered congregation there. He maintained congregationalist leanings throughout his career, which led to frequent opposition from the English authorities.[100]	53	80	1629-1648
Jacob, Henry (1563-1624)	Henry Jacob was an English Independent minister who argued that the visible church was a particular congregation, distancing him from a number of presbyterians. He makes no appearance in the network, but his congregational views may have informed covenant theology in New England.[101]	-	-	-
James, Rev. Thomas	Thomas James was a minister in Carlestown before moving onto Providence, where he featured in letters from Roger Williams. He later became a freeman of the New Haven colony.[102]	5	14	1637-1639
Jenner, Rev. Thomas (d. 1673)	Jenner settled in Roxbury following his emigration to New England in 1635. He was later minister in Weymouth from 1636-1640 and then at Saco, Maine, in 1640, before moving to Charlestown where he stayed until 1649. His ministry at Saco was somewhat challenging for Richard Vines, who did not approve of Jenner's congregationalism. Jenner	20	31	1637-1646

[99] William Hutchinson and Others to John Winthrop (29 June, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 259-60.

[100] S. Wright, 2010 "Jessey [Jacie], Henry (1601–1663), nonconformist minister." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).

[101] P. Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590-1640* (Stanford, CA, 2011), p. 51; S. Wright, 2008 "Jacob, Henry (1562/3–1624), semi-separatist minister." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).

[102] *WP*, IV, p. 90n.

	returned to England in 1650 and was in Ireland ministering to the Independent-presbyterian congregation at Drogheda. He later spent time in Norfolk before returning to Ireland in 1658.[103]			
Johnson, Isaac (bap. 1601, d. 1630)	Johnson was a leading member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, becoming an assistant in May 1629. Johnson was a key player in the early organisation of the Massachusetts Bay Company and was involved in recruiting colonists for the venture. He invested heavily in the *Arbella* fleet with which he set sail in 1630 but died in September that same year, only one month after his wife, the Lady Arbella Clinton. He appears in the network again in 1640, but only when mentioned by Emmanuel Downing in a letter referring back to the very beginnings of settlement in Massachusetts.[104]	43	62	1625-1630
Juppe, Thomas	Part of the Company of Husbandmen, which as with other members, explains his network primacy as he only appears in two letters as a co-signatory.[105]	27	30	1632
K				
Kieft, Willem (1597-1647)	Kieft was the fifth director of New Netherland, holding the position between 1638-47. He appears in this network in correspondence with John Winthrop and Winthrop Jr, sharing news and discussing matters of government.[106]	4	5	1641-1647
Kirby, Francis	Kirby was a London city merchant involved briefly with his brother-in-law Emmanuel Downing and John Winthrop Jr in a fur trading enterprise, which was not common for London city	61	166	1630-1642

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[103] J. Horden, 2004 "Jenner, Thomas (d. 1673), printseller and writer." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019); Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 160-2.

[104] R. Thompson, 2006 "Johnson, Isaac (bap. 1601, d. 1630), colonist in America." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019); Isaac Johnson to John Winthrop (17 December, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 177-9; Emmanuel Downing to John Winthrop (9 January, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 173-4.

[105] Company of Husbandmen to Members in New England (8 March, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 67-71; Company of Husbandmen to John Winthrop (1 December, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 101-3.

[106] 'Willem Kieft (1597-1647): Director of New Netherland,' accessed online: https://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/history-and-heritage/dutch_americans/willem-kieft/ 27 Jul. 2019.

	merchants.[107] He was linked to John Winthrop through his first marriage to Susan Downing, sister of Emmanuel Downing.[108]			
Knollys, Rev. Hanserd (1598-1691)	Knollys knew John Wheelwright in England and was significantly influenced by him. He emigrated to New England in 1638, arriving just after the Antinomian Controversy. He was minister at York and Dover but came into conflict with the Massachusetts authorities in 1639 for sending slanderous reports about the colony to England. A later quarrel between Knollys and Thomas Larkham on ecclesiological matters led to a riot in 1641. He left with his family that autumn.[109]	7	16	1639-1641
Knowles, Elizabeth	Knowles was the brother of James Davis, mentioned above. She wrote to John Winthrop in 1634 to make enquiries about her brother Robert Mills's estate.[110]	3	3	1634
L				
Levett, Ralph	Levett 'was a little known, minor figure in the puritan movement.'[111] His interaction with Cotton came while he was early in his career, acting as private chaplain to the Wray family at Ashby-cum-Fenby in Lincolnshire. He likely spent time with Cotton as a student after he graduated from Cambridge and sought Cotton's advice on how to deal with dancing and gambling in his household.[112]	4	5	1626
Lovell, Isaac	Lovell was an old acquaintance of John Winthrop's, seemingly through his parents' friendship with Winthrop's own parents-in-law.[113]	6	7	1637-1640
Lovell, Thomas	Father of Isaac Lovell, not present in the network but mentioned in a letter from his son to John Winthrop.	1	1	1637

[107] Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 151.
[108] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 75.
[109] Ibid, pp. 168-70.
[110] Elizabeth Knowles to John Winthrop (14 April, 1634), *WP*, III, p. 164.
[111] Bush Jr., *Correspondence*, p. 103.
[112] Ralph Levett to John Cotton (3 March 1626), in Bush, Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 104-5; John Cotton to Ralph Levett (March, 1626), in Bush Jr, *Correspondence*, pp. 107-9.
[113] Isaac Lovell to John Winthrop (2 May, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 408-409; Isaac Lovell to John Winthrop (11 May, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 239-40.

M				
Malbon, Richard (d. before 1661)	Malbon was a London merchant related to Theophilus Eaton. He attended John Davenport's church in London, St Stephen's Coleman Street. After his emigration, he settled at New Haven in 1638. He was soon made a church member and assistant in the colony. He left for England in 1650.[114]	3	4	1640-1646
Maplesden, Capt. Edward	Maplesden was part owner and master of a ship and was connected with John Winthrop Jr and other of his friends met while he travelled in Europe in the late 1620s.[115]	3	6	1628
Masham, Sir William	Masham was a baronet and served in Parliament. He appears only once in the network in correspondence with John Winthrop.[116]	3	3	1627
Mayhew, Thomas	There were at least three Thomas Mayhews in New England. Two were father and son, both ministers, who settled at Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.[117] The Mayhew referenced on p. 141 of this thesis was the other, an agent of the merchant Matthew Craddock.	20	43	1634-1637
Mildmay, Sir Henry (c. 1594–1664/5?)	Mildmay was a politician and courtier who likely held some congregationalist views. He had some friendship with John Winthrop that encouraged a mutual correspondence between the two.[118]	13	17	1625-1637
Miller, John	Miller was a member of the Roxbury Church and ruling elder, who corresponded along with Thomas Weld, Isaac Heath, John Eliot and John Wilson regarding the possibility of John Compton being readmitted to the Boston Church.[119] He had emigrated to	5	5	1642

[114] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 192-3.

[115] Judah Throckmorton to John Winthrop Jr (16 September, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 377; John Winthrop Jr to John Winthrop (18 October, 1628), *WP*, I, pp. 379-80; John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (30 September, 1630), *WP*, I, p. 407.

[116] Sir William Masham to John Winthrop (14 November, 1627), *WP*, I, p. 343.

[117] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 369-70.

[118] J. T. Peacey, 2004 "Mildmay, Henry (c. 1594–1664/5?), politician and courtier." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).

[119] John Wilson to Thomas Weld and John Eliot (ca. September, 1642), *WP*, IV, pp. 353-4; S. E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), p. 167.

	New England in 1634 and made freeman in 1639.[120]			
Mills, Robert	Brother of Elizabeth Knowles. See 'Knowles, Elizabeth' for more detail.	1	1	1634
Morris, Lieutenant ____	Morris appears only in the letter from John Sandbrooke that endorses his selection as commander.[121]	2	2	1638
Motham, Mrs. ____	Motham appears only once in the network with no biographical information given.[122]	2	2	1628
Motte, Thomas	This was likely the Thomas Motte of Stoke, co. Suffolk, son of John and Alice (Harrington) Motte of Weston, co. Suffolk. He did not move to New England.[123]	4	8	1629-1630
N				
Naunton, Sir Robert (1563-1635)	Naunton was a politician with no wider relevance to the network other than his ownership of a manor house at Nelmes where Emmanuel Downing stayed.[124]	2	2	1627
Norton, Rev. John (1606-1663)	Norton was minister in America, having emigrated from England in 1634. He took a lead in opposing Anne Hutchinson and was a member of the synod of 1637 that defined the religious errors of Hutchinson and her followers. In 1638 he accepted the post of teacher in the church at Ipswich, Massachusetts. He supported the 'dissenting brethren' in the Westminster Assembly but was concerned about potential declension following their alliances with other sects.[125]	16	20	1636-1649
Nowell, Increase (bap. 1593, d. 1655)	An original patentee of the Massachusetts Bay Company, Nowell emigrated in 1630 and was the first ruling elder of the Boston-Charlestown	28	47	1629-1648

[120] John Wilson to Thomas Weld and John Eliot (ca. September, 1642), *WP*, IV, pp. 353-4; W. E. Thwing, *History of the First Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA, 1908), p. 42.

[121] John Sandbrooke to John Winthrop (30 April, 1638), *WP*, IV, pp. 27-9.

[122] Lucy Downing to John Winthrop (March, 1628), *WP*, I, pp. 350-1.

[123] Winthrop papers, II, fn.1

[124] R. E. Schreiber, 2008 "Naunton, Sir Robert (1563–1635), politician." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).

[125] F. J. Bremer, 2013 "Norton, John (1606–1663), minister in America." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).

	church. He was an active administrator in the Company until his death.[126]			
Nye, Rev. Philip (bap. 1595, d. 1672)	Nye was an English Independent minister who co-wrote a preface to John Cotton's *Keyes to the Kingdom of Heaven* (1644) with Thomas Goodwin. He was an advocate of congregationalism with some interest in New England. He was supportive of John Winthrop Jr's governorship of the Saybrook colony but deplored the general court in Boston's treatment of Anabaptists.[127]	29	33	1633-1645
O				
Oldham, John (bap. 1592, d. 1636)	Oldham is a slightly obscure figure in the letters with little contextual or biographical information given about him. He appears to be the John Oldham murdered by Indians around 1637.[128] A fuller account of his life as a trader and colonist reveals that he had made useful contacts with the Narragansetts before his murder.[129]	4	10	1636
P				
Parke, Robert	It is likely that Parke settled permanently in New England in 1639. He removed from Wethersfield to New London in 1649, where he served as selectman and representative.[130]			
Patrick, Daniel (d. 1643)	Daniel Patrick was a military leader in New England, hired along with John Underhill to train the Massachusetts Militia. Patrick was active in the war against the Pequots in 1637-8. He ultimately did not settle in Massachusetts and, with Robert Feake purchased land that would become Greenwich. Patrick was accused of making adulterous advances toward one Elizabeth Stugis in 1641but claimed that this was slander.[131] He was shot	27	42	1637-1643.

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[126] R. Thompson, 2004 "Nowell, Increase (bap. 1593, d. 1655), colonial administrator." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).

[127] B. Donagan, 2008 "Nye, Philip (bap. 1595, d. 1672), Independent minister." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).

[128] Roger Williams to John Winthrop (9 September, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 494-6.

[129] R. C. Anderson, 2004 "Oldham, John (bap. 1592, d. 1636), trader and colonist in America." *ODNB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).

[130] *WP*, II, p. 213n.

[131] *WP*, IV, pp. 300-3.

	and killed by a Dutchman in 1643 following some altercation.[132] He is active in the network until his death and is mentioned in letters dating as late at 1648.[133]			
Payne, Capt. Edward	Captain Edward Payne was a shipmaster engaged in the transportation of passengers to New England.[134]	14	23	1640-1644
Payne, William	Payne is unknown in the network, appearing only as an alleged debtor to Sarah Coppinger. Robert Ryece wrote to John Winthrop on her behalf to request that he seek repayment of the debt from Payne and 'olde Hamonde.' He reported that Payne was formerly of Lavenham before his emigration.[135]	5	5	1637
Paynter, Rev. Henry	Henry Paynter married the widowed Priscilla Fones, who had previously been married to Winthrop's brother-in-law Thomas Fones. He preached for many years in Exeter. Paynter had some concerns about the church government in New England and sought explanation from Winthrop, who defended it fiercely.[136] His marriage to Priscilla Fones also made him step-father to John Winthrop Jr's first wife Martha. Paynter's relationship with the Winthrop family does not seem to have been the most harmonious as even before he aired his concerns to John Winthrop he seems to have irked Winthrop Jr also.[137]	29	69	1640
Paynter, Priscilla (Fones)	Priscilla Fones was the second wife of John Winthrop's brother-in-law Thomas Fones. Following the death of her husband she married Rev. Henry Paynter. One of her daughters, Martha Fones, married John Winthrop Jr. The families were clearly closely connected and John Winthrop was involved in caring for Fones after her husband's	25	92	1625-1640

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[132] John Mason to John Winthrop (1 December, 1643), *WP*, IV, pp. 419-20; Edward Winslow to John Winthrop (7 January, 1644), *WP*, IV, pp. 427-9.

[133] Thomas Lyon to John Winthrop (14 April, 1648), *WP*, V, pp. 213-6.

[134] *WP*, IV, p. 204n.

[135] Robert Ryece to John Winthrop (17 January, 1637), *WP*, III, pp. 346-8.

[136] John Winthrop to Henry Paynter (1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 169-71.

[137] Henry Paynter to John Winthrop Jr (June, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 38-9.

	death and played a part in securing her marriage to Henry Paynter.[138]			
Peirce, William (1590?–June or July 1641)	William Peirce receives significant treatment in this thesis so this entry will serve only as an addition biographical note. Peirce was a ship's captain and almanac author, little it known about his English life. He was involved in transatlantic trade as early as 1623 when his presence in Plymouth is mentioned. His puritan leanings led him to focus his activity on Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Providence Island. He settled in New England by 1632 and was accepted to the church at Charlestown that October. He was named a freeman of the town 18 months later. He was killed by the Spanish who had retaken Providence Island just before his arrival there with a small shipload of settlers.[139]	23	74	1630-1641
Pelham, Herbert (1601-1673)	Pelham was related to the Winthrops through his wife, Jemima, granddaughter of Robert Gurdon of Assington. He arrived in New England in late 1639 or early 1640 and became the first treasurer of Harvard in 1643. He seems to have had a good career in New England and was selected to act as an agent for New England to represent the colony before the Warwick Commission in a dispute with Samuel Gorton. Though he initially refused, he soon left for England. he never returned, in spite of his being elected assistant of the Bay Colony in his absence.[140]	21	33	1630-1648
Peter, Rev. Hugh (1598-1660)	Hugh Peter is a regular correspondent in the network and had a significant career in England prior to his emigration. He was involved with John Davenport with the work of the feoffees for impropriations and, when his preaching licence was suspended in 1627 he fled to the Netherlands. He arrived in New England in 1635 and	103	260	1629-1649

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[138] Henry Paynter to John Winthrop (22 January, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 196-7.
[139] C. G. Pestana, Peirce, William (1590?–June or July 1641), ship's captain and almanac author,' *ANB* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).
[140] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp 235-238.

	played a prominent part in church and civic life, succeeding Roger Williams as pastor at Salem. He was chosen an agent for Massachusetts five years later, even though the matter was the subject of come discussion, and left for New England in 1641 along with Thomas Weld and William Hibbins. In London the men lobbied on behalf of the secular interests of the colony. Peter increasingly became involved in English affairs, becoming famous as an army preacher and Independent. He made repeated promises to return to New England but never did, and over time his relations with the colonies became uneasy. At one point, he even recommended John Winthrop's return to England to help Parliament's cause against Charles I.[141]			
Peters, Thomas (1597-1654)	Peters was the elder brother of Hugh Peter. He sailed for New England in 1643, notably to escape the Civil War that had called so many colonists back to England. in 1646 he was made pastor of the Pequot Plantation but seems to have been called home by his brother later that year. He did not return to New England.[142]	26	44	1645-1648
Phillips, Rev. George	In England, Philips had been curate of Boxted and was made minister of Watertown, Massachusetts on his arrival in New England.[143] He was leading prayers on the *Arbella* at Yarmouth in 1630 so it is likely that he was part of the emigrating party.[144] He was certainly in New England by 1634 when John Winthrop notes that he paid for Phillips and his family's transport to New England 'till he should bee chosen to some particular Congregacion.'[145] Phillips seems to have been a participant in the early organisation of the Massachusetts Bay Company,	10	14	1630-1640

[141] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 242-9; C G. Pestana, 2004 "Peter [Peters], Hugh (bap. 1598, d. 1660), Independent minister." *ODNB.* (accessed 27 Jul. 2019).
[142] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 249-50.
[143] *WP*, II, p. 164n.
[144] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (5 April, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 229-31.
[145] *WP*, III, pp. 172-4.

	Somewhat unusually, Phillips was a co-pastor at Watertown with John Knowles from December 1640. The common practice was to have a pastor and a teacher, so this differed from the practice of other churches. John Winthrop also noted the church's privacy, the ministers not attending any other church gatherings.			
Ponde, John	John Ponde is the most likely candidate for writing the letter to William Ponde and is named such in the thesis.[146] A second son of William Ponde also emigrated with John and could be the author of the letter, but Winthrop's letter to his son would suggest otherwise, as he asked to be commended to William Ponde, writing 'he must needs sende his sonne John some more provisions, for muche of that he brought was spoyled by the waye.'[147] Robert Ponde subsequently settled at Dorchester.	6	8	1630-1631
Ponde, William	Father of John Ponde, above. Ponde lived in Etherston, Suffolk. He appears more than once in Winthrop's accounts in 1630 and it seems as though he had some connection with John Winthrop, who remembers Ponde in his correspondence.[148]	5	10	1630-1631
Pynchon, William (1590-1662)	Pynchon was one of the original patentees of the Massachusetts Bay Company charter in 1629 and travelled to New England with the Winthrop fleet in 1630. He settled at Roxbury, Massachusetts, was a church member and was elected as an assistant of the Bay Company 1630-6, 1642-50. Pynchon later established a settlement at Agawam (Springfield). He kept a close eye on events in England, judging by the content of his letters in the 1640s. Pynchon visited England in 1650 and, while there, published a book that propounded views about the nature of	45	83	1629-1648

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[146] [John?] Ponde to William Ponde (15 March, 1631), *WP*, III, pp. 17-9.
[147] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (23 July, 1630), *WP*, II, 304-7.
[148] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (16 July, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 301-2; John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (23 July, 1630), *WP*, II, 304-7; John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (9 September, 1630), *WP*, II, p. 314.

	salvation that greatly concerned readers on both sides of the Atlantic. The Massachusetts General Court ordered the book to be burnt. He declined to attend court to answer for his actions and left for England for good in 1652.[149]			
R				
Rawson, Edward (bap. 1615, d. 1693)	Edward Rawson arrived in New England in 1637 and settled with his family at Newbury. They moved to Boston in 1650 where Rawson became secretary of the Massachusetts Bay colony.[150]	9	12	1639-1640
Revell, Edward	Edward Revell was at one time clerk to Brampton Gurdon, as indicated by his own claim and John Winthrop's endorsement at the close of Revell's letter to him.[151] He used this connection to secure Winthrop's good favour for two men that he recommended.	6	6	1636
Reyner, Rev. John (d. 1669)	Reyner arrived in New England in 1636 and was teacher at the Plymouth church until 1654. He corresponded with John Cotton on church matters, but also sought his advice regarding a potential marriage match.[152]	8	10	1639
Robinson, John	Two John Robinsons appear in the correspondence network. One, a messenger employed more than once by the Winthrop family, was based in England. The second, a member of the Company of Husbandmen, is the man noted in the thesis (p. 141). As with the other entries concerning members of this company, the inflated number of connections is largely due to the presence of multiple signatories on the same letter.[153]	16	16	1632
Roach, John	Roach was a member of the Company of Husbandmen. As with the other entries concerning members of this company, the inflated number of connections is largely due to the	27	29	1632

[149] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 257-9; R. C. Anderson, 2008 "Pynchon, William (1590–1662), public official and pamphleteer in America." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).

[150] Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, III, pp. 510-1.

[151] Edward Revell to John Winthrop (20 April, 1636), *WP*, III, pp. 251-3.

[152] John Reyner to John Cotton (15 October, 1639), *Correspondence*, pp. 294-6; John Cotton to John Reyner (18 October, 1639), *Correspondence*, pp. 298-9.

[153] Company of Husbandmen to John Winthrop (1 December, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 101-3.

	presence of multiple signatories on the same letter.[154]			
Roote, Henry (1590-1669)	Roote was mentioned by Isaac Johnson as a potential emigrant. He was either curate or preacher at Gorton, co. Lancaster, 1623-34, but Johnson notes that his ministry was desired by a group of potential settlers from Leicestershire.[155]	2	2	1629
Ryece, Robert	Robert Ryece was an English antiquarian of Preston, Suffolk. He strongly objected to Winthrop's emigration, believing that leading puritans would be more effective pushing for further reform in England.[156]	11	19	1627-1637
S				
Saltonstall, Sir Richard (bap. 1586, d. 1661)	Saltonstall joined the Massachusetts Bay Company on 4 March 1629 and was elected assistant in 1629 and 1630. He led the settlement of Watertwon and was granted a significant portion of land there. Saltonstall returned to England in 1632 and, once there, turned his attention to the colonising ventures of Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke, outside the boundaries of Massachusetts. He made heavy losses. In 1639 he handed over his New England interests to his son, Robert. He spent time in the Netherlands, 1643-4.[157]	19	36	1629-1640
Sampson, John	John Sampson was the husband of Bridget Clopton. Clopton was a sister of Thomasine Clopton, John Winthrop's second wife. This family connection seems to have bolstered Sampson's ability to call on Winthrop to give preferential treatment to his son, Samuel. While Samuel never went to New England, his brother Robert did.[158] Sampson was in contact with Winthrop	6	7	1630-1646

[154] Company of Husbandmen to Members in New England (8 March, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 67-71; Company of Husbandmen to John Winthrop (1 December, 1632), *WP*, III, pp. 101-3.
[155] Isaac Johnson to John Winthrop (17 December, 1629), *WP*, II, pp. 177-9.
[156] Robert Ryece to John Winthrop (12 August, 1629), *WP,* II, pp. 105-106; Robert Ryece to John Winthrop (1629), *WP*, II, pp. 127-32.
[157] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 347; R. Thompson, 2004 "Saltonstall, Sir Richard (bap. 1586, d. 1661), colonist in America." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).
[158] *WP*, II, p. 185n.

	again in 1646, despite reporting a long silence between them.[159]			
Sandbrooke, John	Little is known about Sandbrooke's life. He was recommended to Winthrop initially as the brother of Elizabeth Feke's maid, Sarah. He was hailed as a 'pretty good clarke' and had spent time in the household of a common law attorney.[160] Sandbrooke successfully achieved a good position in John Winthrop's network.	10	14	1633-1638
Sands, Rev. Henry (d. 1626)	Henry Sands was preacher at Boxted and seems to have been familiar with the Winthrop family. John Winthrop wrote to John Winthrop Jr about Sands's death in 1626.[161]	4	7	1625-1626
Shepard, Rev. Thomas (1605–1649)	Shepard was an English minister, and seemingly part of a close community with other leading ministers: Thomas Weld, Thomas Hooker, and John Preston amongst them. He was a minister at Earls Colne, Essex, before being silenced by Archbishop William Laud in 1630. He sheltered for some years in the North of England with sympathetic families, but decided to set sail for New England following the example set by Cotton, Weld, Hooker, and Samuel Stone. Shepard had a significant impact on the religious life of Massachusetts. As minister of First Church, Newtown, he helped to establish 'orthodoxy' following the Antinomian Controversy in 1637-8. He corresponded with Cotton on relevant matters of doctrine. He was instrumental in founding Harvard College in 1636, at which time the name of Newtown was changed to Cambridge. Shepard also had a key role in establishing colonial practices of church government.[162]			
Skelton, Rev. Samuel	As pastor of the First Church of Salem, Skelton came quickly into discussion with John Cotton who had heard tell of	13	16	1630-1638

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[159] John Sampson to John Winthrop (27 April, 1646), *WP*, V, p. 79.

[160] Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr (22 June, 1633), *WP*, III, pp. 131-3.

[161] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (13 November, 1626), *WP*, I, pp. 333-4.

[162] M. Jinkins, 2007 "Shepard, Thomas (1605–1649), minister in America." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).

	his congregationalist practices and was concerned. Skelton would initially only admit members of reformed churches to receive the Lord's Supper in Salem.[163] He originally hailed from Lincoln and arrived in Salem in 1629.[164]			
Spring, Sir William (1588-1638)	Spring was a close friend of John Winthrop, having studied together at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He was a Suffolk gentry politician of the Stour Valley and had been raised to hold puritan beliefs. He and Winthrop continued to correspond following Winthrop's emigration, and did so until his death in 1638.[165]	8	19	1628-1637
Stone, Rev. Samuel	Stone had sailed on the *Griffin* with Cotton and Thomas Hooker in 1633. He established the church of Newtown with Hooker but left with him in 1636 to go to Hartford, Connecticut.[166] He and Cotton seem to have been at odds during the Antinomian Controversy.	8	8	1638
Stoughton, Israel (bap. 1603, d. 1644)	Stoughton hailed from Essex and emigrated in 1632, settling at Dorchester, Massachusetts. He was admitted freeman in 1633 and in 1634 was chosen auditor of John Winthrop's accounts. Stoughton was a vocal representative and was attacked by Winthrop as 'a troubler in Israel, a worm, an underminer of the state.' Following three years where he was declared incapable of holding office, Stoughton was readmitted in 1636. He was elected as assistant in 1637 and re-elected until 1643 and continued to resist 'magisterial pretensions.' After a notable military career in the war against the Pequots in 1637, he became sergeant-major-general of Massachusetts in 1641, He returned to England in 1643 and became lieutenant-colonel of Colonel Thomas	30	54	1633-1640

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[163] *WP*, pp. 262-3; John Cotton to Samuel Skelton (2 October, 1630), in Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, pp. 143-147.

[164] Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, IV, pp. 103-4.

[165] J. P. Ferris & R. Sgroi, SPRING, Sir William (1588-1638), of Pakenham, Suff. in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629*, ed. A. Thrush and J. P. Ferris, 2010 (accessed online 28 Jul., 2019).

[166] Bush, Jr., *Correspondence*, p. 272.

	Rainsborough's regiment in the parliamentarian forces, dying in 1644.[167]			
T				
Throckmorton, Judah	A friend of John Winthrop Jr during his travels in Europe, Throckmorton was the son of Clement and Elizabeth Throckmorton of Warwick.[168]	8	12	1628-1629
Tinker, John (d. 1664)	John Tinker was living in John Winthrop's household in 1636. He went to England in 1639-40 on Winthrop's business and by 1643 he had settled at Windsor, Connecticut. He seems to have moved around New England not infrequently.[169]			
Tyndal, Arthur	The Tyndal family were connected to the Winthrops through John Winthrop's third marriage to Margaret Tyndal. Arthur Tyndal was Margaret Tyndal's brother, and therefore John Winthrop's brother-in-law. He emigrated with John Winthrop in 1630 but struggled with the hardship there and returned that same year, carrying a letter from Winthrop to his wife.[170]	6	17	1629-1630
Tyndal, Deane	Deane Tyndal, the elder brother of Arthur Tyndal, remained in England and was unconvinced about Winthrop's decision to emigrate. Nevertheless, he remained in correspondence with the family until at least 1641, sending money and continuing to conduct English business for the Winthrops.[171]	30	66	1627-1641
Tyndal, Mrs _____	I have not been able to identify which member of the Tyndal family was being referred to in the Letter from Lucy Downing referred to in the thesis (p. 60).	2	2	1628
U				
Underhill, John (1608-1672)	Underhill was a soldier in New England, born in the Netherlands. He emigrated to Massachusetts Bay to help train the colony's militia and took an active role in the war against the Pequots in 1637.	29	53	1634-1648

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[167] R. Thompson, Roger. 2004 "Stoughton, Israel (bap. 1603, d. 1644), colonist in America." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019); Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America* pp. 286-287.

[168] *WP*, II, p. 80n.

[169] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 349.

[170] John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop (23 July, 1630), *WP*, II, pp. 303-4.

[171] Deane Tyndal to John Winthrop (23 October, 1629), *WP,* II*,* pp. 162-3; Deane Tyndal to John Winthrop (7 April, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 329-30.

	Returning to Boston, Underhill clashed with Massachusetts authorities over his support for the antinomian faction. He was disenfranchised and removed from office. A year later, he was banished from the colony on suspicion of adultery with a neighbour's wife. He moved to the New Hampshire settlements and became president of the governing board of magistrates at Dover in 1639. Underhill styled himself 'governor' and was formally excommunicated by the Massachusetts colony in 1640 for refusing to reconcile with them. He lost his New Hampshire seat that same year and was only restored following a public repentance. He took up a captaincy under the Dutch governor Willem Kieft in 1643 but was banished in 1653 during England's naval war with the Netherlands. Eventually he moved to the New Haven Settlements on Long Island. In 1659 he married Elizabeth Feake (née Fones, formerly Winthrop).[172]			
V				
Vane, Sir Henry (1613-1662)	Originally hailing from Essex, Vane emigrated to New England in 1635 and wasted no time in intervening in the affairs of the Massachusetts Bay colony. He was elected governor in May 1636. Vane's fall from grace began when he chose to side with Anne Hutchinson and John Wheelwright during the Antinomian Controversy. When John Winthrop was re-elected governor in 1637 Vane left for England. He had a very successful career in parliament in the 1640s and 1650s, criticising Massachusetts for religious intolerance and later provided a parish living for John Wheelwright on his return from New England.[173]	22	37	1635-1649
Vassall, Samuel (bap. 1586, d. 1667)	Samuel Vassall was a merchant and brother of William Vassall. He makes only one appearance in the network receiving £5 in payment from Henry	3	3	1630

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[172] L. Travers, 2004 "Underhill, John (c. 1608–1672), soldier and colonist in America." *ODNB.* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).
[173] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 350-1.

	Winthrop via John Winthrop Jr as reported by William Vassall.[174] He had extensive interests in trade, shipping, and colonial enterprise. With his brother, he was a founder member of the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629. At times his trading interests became entangled with politics and he was imprisoned on at least one occasion. Vassall also promoted the parliamentary cause against Charles I.[175]			
Vassall, William (1592-c. 1655)	Along with his brother, Vassall was a founder member of the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629. He and his family joined the Winthrop fleet in 1630, but went home to England within weeks. He returned with his wife and five children in 1635, joining the Roxbury church first, before moving to Scituate. In both the Plymouth Company and the Massachusetts Bay Company, Vassall held office as a magistrate. During his time in New England Vassall argued for greater liberty of conscience and more leeway in admitting church members. He supported the aims of the Remonstrants in 1646. Vassall sailed for England in December 1646 and was in Barbados in 1648.[176] His appearances in the network are very limited.	2	2	1630
Venn, Capt. John (bap. 1586, d. 1650)	Venn was captain, afterwards colonel, of the London trainbands, and one of the patentees named in the Massachusetts Charter. He did not come to New England and was never actively involved in colonial trade, despite his interest. Venn was very active in radical politics in the early 1640s, was a member of the Long Parliament and one of the judges at the trial of Charles I.[177]	2	3	1629-1640
Vines, Richard (1585-1651)	Vines was not an advocate for congregationalism and came into	41	84	1640-1648

[174] *WP*, II, pp. 295-6.

[175] J. C. Appleby, 2008 "Vassall, Samuel (bap. 1586, d. 1667), merchant and politician." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).

[176] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 299-300.

[177] *WP*, II, p. 179n; K. Lindley, 2008 "Venn, John (bap. 1586, d. 1650), parliamentarian activist and regicide." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).

	conflict with Rev. Thomas Jenner over his ministry at Saco, Maine.[178] He was a regular correspondent with John Winthrop and also spent many years as an agent and deputy governor for Sir Ferdinando Gorges in Maine. He sought information about John Underhill from John Winthrop in 1640 and seems to have respected Winthrop's opinion, particularly on civic matters. He had moved to Barbados by 1647.[179]			
W				
Ward, Nathaniel (1578-1652)	Following his suspension, excomunication and deprivation in England, Ward sialed for New England in 1634, settling at Ipswich, Massachusetts. He was concerned about the apparent poor calibre of colonists that he saw and opposed John Winthrop Jr's decision to leave Ipswich, believing that the settlement would struggle without a good leader. He stepped down from active ministry in 1636 but continued to play a prominent role in Massachusetts's affairs. He provided evidence against Anne Hutchinson in the Antinomian Controversy and was involved with efforts to limit the scope for magistrates to interpret the law. Ward is the author of the satirical *The simple cobbler of Aggawam in America* (1647). He was frustrated with religious factionalism he believed was opening up in New England and left for England in 1647. He came into conflict with Hugh Peter in England after Ward criticised the army in a sermon he then printed. He took up ministry at Shenfield, Essex in 1648.[180]	20	32	1630-1647
Warde, Goodman ____	Brother-in-law to Walter Allen and hailing originally from Layford, England. Warde testified 'to a brother of our church' that Walter Allen had conceived two illegitimate children by two	2	2	1639

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[178] Richard Vines to John Winthrop (25 January, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 307-9; Thomas Jenner to John Winthrop (4 February, 1641), *WP*, IV, pp. 319-20.
[179] Richard Vines to John Winthrop (25 June, 1640), *WP*, IV, p. 256; (21 August, 1640), *WP*, IV, pp. 275-6; (19 July, 1647), *WP*, V, pp. 171-172.
[180] Hardman Moore*, Abandoning America*, pp. 304-7.

	different mothers. Warde further testified that Allen had emigrated as he 'could no longer abide' in England.[181]			
Watkin, Joseph	Brother of Tobias Watkin, below, Joseph Watkin was passed letters from his brother by John Winthrop Jr, to whom Tobias asked Joseph to provide funds. He also asked that his brother pass Winthrop's bills to his correspondents in England.[182]	2	2	1628
Watkin, Tobias	Read in connection with the above entry for Joseph Watkins. Tobias Watkin seems to have been a friend of John Winthrop Jr when travelling in Europe, perhaps following an introduction by Judah Throckmorton.[183]	3	4	1628
Weld, Rev. Thomas (bap. 1595, d. 1661)	Weld originally hailed from Suffolk and, following his graduation from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1613, he quickly immersed himself in the Essex puritan networks. He was vicar of Terling in 1625 and signed a petition to William Laud in support of Thomas Hooker. He had connections with Thomas Shepard through Shepard's time boarding at Weld's house in Terling. He was under the watchful eye of church authorities as early as 1628 for allowing Hugh Peter, the silenced minister, to preach in his church and for lecturing on weekdays. He was finally excommunicated in 1632 and went briefly to the Netherlands before sailing for New England that same year. In July 1632 he became the pastor of the newly founded church at Roxbury, serving along with teacher, John Eliot. Weld was a member of the Synod that met at the end of the summer of 1637 and condemned a variety of the teachings of Boston's teacher, John Cotton, the minister, John Wheelwright, and Anne Hutchinson. He was appointed to serve as an agent for the colony in England in 1641 along with Hugh Peter and William Hibbins. He immediately involved himself in the	33	42	1630-1649

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[181] Edward Rawson to John Winthrop (7 February, 1639), *WP*, IV, pp. 97-8.
[182] Tobias Watkin to Joseph Watkin (11 December, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 414.
[183] Judah Throckmorton to John Winthrop Jr (16 September, 1628), *WP*, I, p. 406.

	religious controversies of England. As Independents and presbyterians began to dispute over church government, Weld wrote tracts defending New England Congregationalism, and, with Peters, edited and published the works of his New England brethren. Weld never returned to New England, instead ministering in multiple English parishes until the Restoration.[184]			
Wheelwright, Rev. John (1592?-1679)	Wheelwright was a Lincolnshire minister who in 1629 married Mary Hutchinson, sister of Anne Hutchinson. Wheelwright, in contrast with most puritan ministers, claimed that signs of his parishioners' holiness was only secondary evidence of their salvation. Instead, he encouraged them to seek a charismatic experience of the Holy Spirit. It was this belief that caused so many problems for Wheelwright, Hutchinson, and their followers in the Antinomian Controversy. He departed for New England in 1636 and settled in Boston, joining the Boston church. He was plunged into controversy in 1637, suspected alongside Cotton of holding heretical beliefs. He was convicted of sedition in March 1637 after preaching an incendiary sermon. Unwilling to renege on the views expressed in his sermon, Wheelwright was banished at the beginning of November, 1637 and moved to what is now Exeter, New Hampshire. He and those that followed him set up a church with the authority of the Boston church. He moved onto Well, New Hampshire, in 1643 and began mending fences with the Massachusetts authorities. He wrote to letters to Winthrop, apologising for his intemperate language and his support for people who he now claimed were more heterodox than he had then realised. In 1644, his banishment was lifted: Wheelwright had redeemed himself. He left for England in 1655,	19	33	1637-1648

[184] M. P. Winship, 2014 "Weld, Thomas (bap. 1595, d. 1661), Independent minister and religious controversialist." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).

	enjoying the friendship of Sir Henry Vane and an audience with Cromwell. He did, however, return to New England in 1662, settling again in New Hampshire.[185]			
White, John 'Century' (1590-1645)	White was descended from a family of wealthy merchants. He married Katherine Barfoot, a kinswoman of the Winthrops, and was associated with puritan colonising ventures, as well as having interests in the Virginia Company. He was credited with drawing up the charter for the Massachusetts Bay Company. White was also one of the founding members of the feoffees for impropriations. He remained in England and helped fund the parliamentarian war effort. He was actively involved in the trial of William Laud.[186]	5	7	1629-1640
White, Rev. Nathaniel (d. 1668)	Nathaniel White was a minister who worked in the Somers Islands and later the Bahamas. His son was one of the early graduates of Harvard College. Having originally started his career in England as an adamant supporter of conformity to the Church of England, when the elder White was called to be pastor of the Independent church in Bermuda, he fully separated from the English church.[187]	11	12	1644-1648
Wilbur, Samuel	Samuel Wilbur was disarmed in November 1637 as a follower of Anne Hutchinson and left with her other supporters to settle Aquidneck Island.[188]	6	6	1638
Williams, Francis	Francis Williams was governor of the Mason and Gorges plantation on the Piscataqua from 1634 until 1641. His three appearances in the network all connect to civic leadership.[189]	6	8	1639-1644

[185] M. P. Winship, 2004 "Wheelwright, John (1592?–1679), minister in America." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019); John Wheelwright to John Winthrop (10 September, 1643), *WP*, IV, pp. 414-5; (1 March, 1644), *WP*, IV, pp. 449-50.

[186] J. Eales, 2004 "White, John [called Century White] (1590–1645), politician and lawyer." *ODNB* (accessed 26 Jul. 2019).

[187] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 316; Bush Jnr., *Correspondence*, p. 434.

[188] Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, IV, p. 550.

[189] John Underhill to John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley (12 October 1639), *WP*, IV, pp. 143-4; Francis Williams to John Winthrop (9 May, 1643), *WP*, IV, pp. 375-7; George Smythe to John Winthrop (2 December, 1643), *WP*, IV, p. 422.

Williams, Rev. Roger (1606-1683)	Roger Williams, minister and founder of Rhode Island, sailed for New England in 1631. His views quickly proved controversial as he advocated for separation from the Church of England. He was formally banished from the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1635 and settled Providence, Rhode Island. Williams went to England twice, serving as an agent in 1643-4 and in 1651-3. He remained in frequent contact with John Winthrop and John Winthrop Jr, usually concerning civic matters, in spite of any religious differences between them.[190]	119	355	1632-1649
Wilson, Rev. John (c. 1591-1667)	John Wilson was a minister of Sudbury, Suffolk, who arrived in Boston in 1630. He was chosen as minister of the Boston church, alongside John Cotton. He made two return journeys in the 1630s, in 1631 to collect his wife, Elizabeth, and in 1634 to recruit more settlers. He returned to New England in 1635 and lived out his life in Boston.[191]	73	152	1628-1649
Winslow, Edward (c. 1594-1655)	Winslow worked as a printer before his emigration, setting up a radical printing press amongst English separatists in Leiden in 1617. He sailed for New England on the *Mayflower* in 1620. He was elected assistant governor of Plymouth colony and occupied that role almost continuously until he left for England in 1646. He had visited a number of times before he left for good, as an agent for both Plymouth and Massachusetts. Winslow was active in promoting New England's interests in England.[192]	88	158	1632-1649
Winthrop, Elizabeth (Reade) (c. 1614-1672)	Elizabeth Reade was the second wife of John Winthrop Jr and would become stepdaughter of Hugh Peter when her mother remarried following Elizabeth's father's death. She was a correspondent of Roger Williams for a period of time.[193] Her many connections	70	197	1635-1649

[190] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 376-7; F. J. Bremer, 2015 "Williams, Roger (c. 1606–1683), religious controversialist and founder of Providence, Rhode Island." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).
[191] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, p. 351.
[192] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 324-326.
[193] Roger Williams to Elizabeth Reade Winthrop (April, 1649), *WP*, V, p. 326.

	are largely due to frequent remembrances to her at the close of letters to her husband, however.			
Winthrop, Forth (1609-1630)	Son of John Winthrop, Forth died young in 1630. Perhaps in working as John Winthrop's scribe, Forth was involved in recruiting for his father's New England venture.[194] He is active in the network until his death in 1630 and mentioned until 1631.	26	110	1625-1630
Winthrop, Henry (1608-1630)	Henry Winthrop was perhaps the most troublesome of John Winthrop's sons, explored in some detail in chapter one. He died in a canoe accident in 1630, soon after his arrival in New England.[195] He is active in the network until his death in 1630 and mentioned until 1631.	32	98	1625-1630
Winthrop, John (1588-1649)	Sometime governor and deputy governor of Massachusetts. John Winthrop receives significant treatment in this thesis, and it seems unnecessary to provide a full biographical account of him here.[196]	1079	3242	1625-1649
Winthrop, John Jr (1606-1676)	John Winthrop Jr was born at Groton manor, spent time studying at Trinity College Dublin, and travelled around mainland Europe before emigrating to New England in 1632. He had interests in business and alchemy, the latter of which he seems to have pursued with Edward Howes. Winthrop Jr moved around in New England, settling at Boston, Ipswich, Saybrook, and New London. He was governor of Connecticut from 1657 and remained in post every year but one until his death in 1676.[197]	755	2215	1625-1649

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[194] John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr (9 October, 1629), *WP*, II, p. 156.

[195] J. K. Hosmer (ed.), *Winthrop's Journal: History of New England, 1630-1649*, Vol. I. (New York, 1908), p. 51.

[196] Bremer, 'John Winthrop,'; *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (Oxford, 2003); Bremer, 2004 "Winthrop, John (1588–1649), colonial governor." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).

[197] W. W. Woodward, *Prospero's America: John Winthrop, Jr., Alchemy, and the Creation of New England Culture, 1606-1676* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010); Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 377-8; W. W. Woodward, 2004 "Winthrop, John (1606–1676), colonial governor and physician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (accessed 22 Jul. 2019).

Winthrop, Margaret (Tyndal) (1591?-1647)	Margaret Tyndal was the third wife of John Winthrop. She was born at Maplestead in Essex. She emigrated with John Winthrop Jr in 1632 to join her husband. Her network significance comes largely as a result of to frequent remembrances to her at the close of letters to her husband.[198]	168	694	1625-1647
Winthrop, Martha (Fones) (d. 1635)	Martha Fones was the first wife of John Winthrop Jr and also his first cousin. Many of the letters between the two were written using a cipher.	35	73	1631-1635
Winthrop, Samuel (1627-1674)	Samuel Winthrop was the youngest son of John Winthrop and half-brother of John Winthrop Jr. He had interests in trade and commerce and, after many years travelling, settled in the Leeward Islands in the West Indies. His commercial interests detached him from his New England family and his faith, yet he found an alternative faith in Quakerism.[199]	33	69	1627-1649
Winthrop, Stephen (1619-1658)	Stephen Winthrop was the first child of John Winthrop and his third wife, Margaret Winthrop. He emigrated with his father in 1630 and became a member of the Boston church in 1634. Stephen Winthrop joined the Artillery Company in 1641 and later became a merchant, selling goods from Massachusetts to the Canaries, shipping produce to London, and bringing goods from London to Massachusetts. His trading activities brought him to London multiple times but his detainment in London in 1646 diverted him into the New Model Army. He had hoped to return to New England but he could not pay his creditors and was prevented from leaving. However, his military career prospered in England until his death in 1658.[200]			
Wright, Dr Laurence	Laurence Wright was a physician and first cousin to John Winthrop. In 1628	10	17	1629-1648

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[198] B. R. Dailey, 2000 "Winthrop, Margaret (1591?–14 June 1647), third wife of Governor John Winthrop (1588-1649) of Massachusetts." *ANB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).

[199] L. D. Gragg, 'A puritan in the West Indies: the career of Samuel Winthrop,' *WMQ*, pp. 7468-786.

[200] Hardman Moore, *Abandoning America*, pp. 327-8; C. G. Pestana, 2004 "Winthrop, Stephen (1619–1658), parliamentarian army officer." *ODNB* (accessed 28 Jul. 2019).

(1590–1657)	he had treated Winthrop and cured him of a dangerous fever, leading to a regular correspondence between the two men. Wright acted for much of the 1630s and 1640s as one of Winthrop's financial advisors in London. Wright made clear his distaste for Presbyterianism and encouraged the return of leading puritans during the 1640s, fearing that England was in distress.[201]			

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