

FOUR GENERATIONS

*Population, Land, and Family
in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts*



Philip J. Greven, Jr.

Cornell Paperbacks
Cornell University Press
ITHACA AND LONDON

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*Life and Death in a
Wilderness Settlement*

By the time Andover was founded in 1646, all of the early settlers had successfully withstood the arduous process of transplantation from the old country to the new. Few had yet actually encountered the difficult circumstances inherent in an entirely new settlement, however, since most had been late-comers to the communities in which they first settled.¹ The environment which was to shape most of the remainder of their lives was still a wilderness when they first arrived during the 1640's and 1650's; Andover was rather remote from Boston, twenty miles or so to the south, and from Newbury, fifteen miles away on the coast. As an inland plantation, Andover was less marshy than a town like Ipswich or Newbury, but it was not clear at the outset whether it would prove to be a healthful place in which to live and raise children. The records which have survived, however, do provide a means of assessing some aspects of the quality of the environment and of the circumstances shaping the lives of the settlers. By examining the demographic experiences of the first two

¹For a detailed discussion of the process of settlement in Andover, see Philip J. Greven, Jr., "Four Generations: A Study of Family Structure, Inheritance, and Mobility in Andover, Massachusetts, 1630-1750" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964), ch. 1, pp. 1-53.

generations, it is possible to establish the fact, which few historians have been willing to consider likely, that this new community proved to be a remarkably healthful place, conducive to the preservation of life and to the fecundity of the inhabitants.²

Unlike the settlers themselves, all of whom had been born in England, the majority of the children of first-generation families were born in the New World, either in the towns in which their parents first settled or in Andover itself. Fewer than one-third of the children were born prior to 1650, when the Andover records began to be kept. Of these, at least 20 were born prior to 1640, and at least 42 were born during the 1640's, with a probable maximum of about 82 children being born prior to 1650. The births of 201 children occurred after 1650, with nearly half (47.3 per cent) taking place during the 1650's and 1660's. Thereafter the number of second-generation births declined, with 47 births in the 1670's, 19 in the 1680's, and only one in the 1690's. In effect, the generational profile of births demonstrates that the critical decades of the 1650's and 1660's, when decisions were made regarding the distribution of town land, also happened to be years in which large numbers of the next generation were being born.

The distribution of births of the second generation must be distinguished from the total births recorded in the town records for the period, which include births of later-comers during the 1660's and 1670's as well as some births for the next generation. From 1650 to 1654, the town recorded the births of 28 infants; from 1655 to 1659, 32; from 1660 to 1664, 43; from 1665 to 1669, 44; between 1670 and 1674 the figure rose

² For a discussion of sources and methods used in this study of the demographic history of Andover, see Chapter 1. For a complete series of data from 1650 to 1799 for births, marriages, and deaths, see the Appendix.

to 78, and to 90 between 1675 and 1679. This persistent increase in the numbers of births recorded suggests a growing population, but, unfortunately, the birth rate (the number of births per thousand of the population) cannot be estimated for this early period since neither a census nor tax lists survive to indicate the approximate total population.

It is possible, however, to determine the proportion of births to marriages during this period; this provides a useful index to fertility and thus indirectly indicates whether the birth rate itself was high or low. If the number of births for a decade are divided by the number of marriages for the decade which began five years earlier, the marriages during the dec-

Table 1. Births per marriage, 1650-1684

Marriages		Births		B/M
Years	Number	Years	Number	
1650-1659	13	1655-1664	75	5.8
1660-1669	23	1665-1674	122	5.3
1670-1679	38	1675-1684	215	5.7

ade 1650-1659 produced 5.8 births per marriage, and for 1660-1669 produced 5.3 births per marriage (see Table 1).³ Since the proportion of births to marriages in Dedham, Massa-

³ Several different methods have been used by historical demographers, this being the one suggested by J. D. Chambers, in his essay "The Course of Population Change," in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds., *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography* (Chicago, 1965), p. 333. For a different method, see D. E. C. Eversley, "A Survey of Population in an Area of Worcestershire from 1660 to 1850 on the Basis of Parish Registers," in Glass and Eversley, eds., *Population in History*, p. 403 (originally published in *Population Studies*, X [1957], pp. 253-279). One can also divide births and marriages recorded during exactly the same periods, but this method does not seem to be as useful as Chambers'.

chusetts, during the period 1636-1668 was 4.8, the relative height of the figures for Andover during the 1650's and 1660's would indicate that the birth rate itself was higher than normal during the early period following the settlement of the town.⁴

The growth of the population depended not only upon the birth rate, of course, but upon the death rate as well, since the proportion of infants surviving to adulthood was of critical importance in determining the growth of the town's population. During various periods of their history many communities in England and Europe had suffered from an excess of deaths over births, and throughout the seventeenth century the surplus of births over deaths was rarely sufficient to permit a significant increase in the total population.⁵ By contrast, the

⁴ Kenneth Lockridge, "The Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736," *EHR*, XIX (1966), 330. The relative height of the fertility index in Andover is also indicated by comparisons with the index of 5.8 births per marriage in Clayworth, Nottinghamshire, during the period 1676-1688, when the birth rate was "very high indeed"; see Peter Laslett and John Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," in H. E. Bell and R. L. Ollard, eds., *Historical Essays, 1600-1750, Presented to David Ogg* (London, 1963), p. 173, and the Addendum, Table 2, which contains the data I used to determine the ratio of births to marriages. During the seventeenth century, the number of births per marriage in French villages around Beauvais ranged from 4.44 to 5.75, with the mean being 5.04 (Pierre Goubert, *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730: Contribution à l'histoire sociale de la France du XVIIe siècle* [Paris, 1960], p. 37, table).

⁵ For discussions of mortality in seventeenth-century England, see W. G. Hoskins, "The Population of an English Village, 1086-1801: A Study of Wigston Magna," in Hoskins, *Provincial England: Essays in Social and Economic History* (London, 1963), ch. 10, pp. 196-197. In Clayworth, deaths exceeded births during the period 1676-1688, with 190 baptisms and 197 burials (Laslett and Harrison, "Clayworth," Table 2, p. 182). In Colyton, the period from the 1640's to the 1730's was one "with burials normally more numerous than baptisms and population apparently falling" (E. A. Wrigley, "Mor-

experience of Andover during the early period of settlement and, indeed, throughout the entire seventeenth century fostered the rapid expansion of the population because of the remarkably low death rate during this period.

Few deaths were recorded in Andover during the early decades following its settlement. During the 1650's, seven deaths were recorded, five of them being children; during the 1660's, eighteen deaths were recorded, twelve of them children. Using data drawn from the family reconstitution forms, a total of nineteen deaths can be determined to have occurred between birth and nineteen years of age during these decades. This gives a mortality rate for children born to the settler families during the period 1640-1669 of 123 per thousand dying before nineteen years of age out of a group of 155 children whose ages at death can be determined with relative certainty, and a rate of 93 per thousand dying before nineteen years of age out of a total group of 204 children. This means that between 877 and 907 children out of every thousand born between 1640 and 1669 survived to the age of twenty, and between 890 and 917 children out of every thousand survived at least to the age of ten; these rates are astonishingly high. Even assuming that the mortality rates were double those found for these Andover families, about 754 out of every thousand children—three-quarters of those born in Andover during this period—would still have survived to the age of twenty years. Actually, though, the evidence seems to indicate that an even higher proportion of children survived to become adults. Given the fact that the deaths which were recorded during the 1650's were only 11.6 per cent of the births recorded during that decade, and the deaths during the 1660's were only 20.6 per cent of the births, the mortality

tality in Pre-industrial England: The Example of Colyton, Devon, over Three Centuries," *Daedalus*, Spring 1968, p. 556).

rates computed for the settler families appear to correspond rather closely to the proportion of deaths to births recorded in the town records.

The initial period following the settlement of Andover thus seems to have been one of exceptional healthiness. Even with allowances made for gaps in the records and underrecording of deaths, the fact remains that in Andover during the 1650's and 1660's there was an unusually high proportion of survivors among the infants and children born in the wilderness community. The second generation began its life auspiciously. Circumstances evidently combined to encourage a high birth rate and an exceptionally low death rate, a combination which produced a population that grew at a rapid pace. The numbers, of course, were still small, but the growth potential was immense. The chances of raising most of one's children to adulthood were far greater in Andover than in many similar villages in the Old World or some of the older communities in the New.

A study of deaths in Andover also suggests that those who did survive to adulthood could anticipate long and healthy lives. The average age of twenty-nine first-generation men at the time of their deaths was 71.8 years, and the average age at death of twenty first-generation wives was 70.8 years. Twenty-two of the men who settled permanently in Andover died after reaching their sixtieth year, five of them in their seventies, six in their eighties, three in their nineties, and one, according to the town records, at the remarkable age of 106. Similarly, fifteen of their wives also lived to be at least sixty years old, with four dying in their seventies, five in their eighties, one in her nineties, and one at the age of 100 years. The lifespans of their children were also impressively high, the average age at death of 111 second-generation men who had survived at least to the age of twenty-one being 64.2

years, and the average age of 58 second-generation women being 61.6 years.

The age distribution at death for ninety-two men born between 1640 and 1669 and surviving at least to the age of twenty also indicates the longevity of the men born in Andover during its early period (see Table 2): nearly four-

Table 2. Age at death of persons born between 1640 and 1669 and surviving to age 20

Age	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
20-29	13	14.1	2	4.5
30-39	4	4.3	5	11.4
40-49	2	2.2	5	11.4
50-59	10	10.9	9	20.5
60-69	16	17.4	6	13.6
70-79	25	27.2	9	20.5
80-89	19	20.6	4	9.1
90-99	3	3.3	4	9.1
100 and over	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	92	100.0	44	100.1

fifths lived to be at least fifty years old (79.4 per cent) and slightly more than half (51.1 per cent) reached the age of seventy. Although the age at death can be determined for only forty-four women born between 1640 and 1669 and surviving to the age of twenty, the distribution of their ages at death as shown in Table 2 nevertheless suggests that women also tended to reach advanced ages in appreciable proportions during this period: nearly three-quarters of these women lived to be at least fifty years old (72.8 per cent), more than half reached sixty years (52.3 per cent), and more than one-third reached seventy years (38.7 per cent). It is also suggestive that only 15.9 per cent of these women died be-

tween the ages of 20 and 39—years of childbearing and high risk for life; this figure was higher among the men, 18.4 per cent of whom died during their twenties and thirties. If the lifespans of this sample group of women are at all representative of those of the entire group born during this period, then it appears likely that both men and women born in Andover during the early decades following its settlement enjoyed longer lives after surviving the normal hazards of childhood and youth than previous studies of colonial America have indicated.⁶

⁶ Perry Miller and Thomas Johnson, for instance, stated baldly that "the death rate was very high" during the Puritan era in New England (*The Puritans* [New York, 1938], p. 389). Perhaps Arthur W. Calhoun's views in *A Social History of the American Family* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1917), I, 105-106, have shaped most modern assumptions about the colonial family. According to Calhoun: "It was difficult at first to rear children in the new country. In the bareness and cold of Massachusetts, mortality of infants was frightful." More recently, Oscar Handlin has reasserted these assumptions, stating that "a high death rate remained constant and throughout the [seventeenth] century embittered the personal relationships of the colonists" ("The Significance of the Seventeenth Century," in James Morton Smith, ed., *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History* [Chapel Hill, 1959], p. 8).

The few recent demographic studies of Massachusetts towns point toward conclusions similar to those for Andover. John Demos, for example, found that the inhabitants of seventeenth-century Plymouth were healthy and long-lived, and that "the rate of infant mortality in Plymouth seems to have been relatively low" ("Notes on Life in Plymouth Colony," *WMQ*, XXII [1965], 270-272). In Dedham, Lockridge found that the probable death rate was low ("Population of Dedham," pp. 332-333). In Hingham, too, the life expectancy for the inhabitants in the seventeenth century was high, with 105 out of 827 people living to the age of 80, with the "average life of the married women of Hingham" being about 61.4 years, and with the average age at death for 818 of their children being 65.5 years—very similar to the data for Andover during the second generation (Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *The First Americans, 1607-1690*

Further confirmation of the longevity of Andover's women is to be found in the evidence on remarriage. The data for the first generation obviously are unreliable for the period before their settlement in Andover, although genealogists have tried to determine as much as possible about some of them prior to the 1650's. Out of thirty-four first-generation men, twenty-three or 67.6 per cent appear to have had only one wife during their lifetimes, with nine or 26.5 per cent marrying twice, and two marrying three times. None are known to have married more than three times. The proportion of second-generation males marrying only once proved even higher, with sixty-six out of a total of eighty-nine marrying only once (74.2 per cent). If the four whose remarriages are uncertain are excluded, a total of 77.6 per cent of these second-generation men had only one wife during their lifetimes. Of the second-generation men who married more than once, sixteen married twice, two married three times, and one married four times. Marriages broken by premature deaths clearly were the exceptions, not the general rule, since both men and women lived much longer than many of us have realized.⁷

The combination of circumstances which tended to prolong life and those which evidently fostered an unusually high birth rate had very important implications for the families

[New York, 1929], pp. 184-186). Barbados in the 1670's experienced an "appallingly high mortality rate" (Richard S. Dunn, "The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America," *WMQ*, XXVI [1969], 24).

⁷ In view of the Andover evidence, there is reason to doubt Oscar Handlin's generalization: "It was rare in this century that a husband and wife should live into old age together. The frequency of remarriages by widowers and widows showed how familiar a factor in life was death" ("Significance of the Seventeenth Century," p. 8). In England during this period the high rate of mortality evidently did cause a high rate of remarriages (Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* [New York, 1965], pp. 99-100).

which settled in this new frontier community. In particular, families tended to be very large. The average number of children known to have been born to all of the wives of thirty-four first-generation fathers is 8.3, with an average of 7.2 children known to have survived to at least the age of twenty-one years. An analysis of twenty-seven completed families (those in which the wife in a first marriage survived at least to the age of forty-five years) produces exactly the same averages: 8.3 children born and 7.2 children surviving at least to twenty-one years of age. In terms of the children known to have been born to complete first-generation families, one-quarter had families ranging from one to six children in size, and three-quarters had between seven and thirteen children; none had more than thirteen children. The reason for this is that the birth intervals of children produced in this period by families begun between 1647 and 1669 and completed averaged twenty-eight months, thus making the probable maximum number of children born to a woman marrying about the age of eighteen and surviving to at least forty-five, about twelve children.

Although the size of families varied considerably, and some were very large, the common assumptions about extremely large families must be brought into correspondence with the average sizes actually encountered during any particular period. In Andover, the first-generation families were large, even after the winnowing process of death for infants, children, and adolescents. However, not one of twenty-seven completed first-generation families had more than twelve children surviving to the age of twenty-one years: 40.7 per cent of the completed families ranged in size from none to six children, and 59.3 per cent of these families ranged in size from seven to eleven children. That nearly 60 per cent of the completed first-generation families raised seven or more chil-

dren to adulthood is as strong an indication as one can get that families in early Andover were relatively large in size and reflected the favorable conditions of life in this new frontier village.⁸ In the long run, it meant that families would have a considerable number of children to nurture and to settle in callings and livelihoods when they reached maturity.

The ages at which men and women mature and become adults in their own eyes and in the eyes of their elders have varied considerably in the past, reflecting not only legal practices but also—and more importantly—the effects of custom, parental influence, and the varied social and economic circumstances of a given period. The most sensitive register of maturity is the age at marriage, since the responsibilities and

⁸ Calhoun stated that "large families were the rule," with ten or twelve children being "very common," and families with twenty to twenty-five children not being too rare (*American Family*, I, 87). Plymouth families during this period were about the same as those in Andover, ranging from 7.8 to 9.3 children born to the first three generations in that colony, and ranging from 7.2 to 7.9 children living to the age of twenty-one years (Demos, "Life in Plymouth," p. 270). Wertenbaker's analysis of Hingham yielded an average of 7.8 children for each family (*First Americans*, p. 184). In contrast, Laslett and Harrison found that "the average number of children in a household was 2.45 and 2.61" in 1676 and 1688 in Clayworth, with the result that the size of the household was "surprisingly small," a conclusion which must be modified, however, by the fact that it represents a single point in time, rather than completed family size (Laslett and Harrison, "Clayworth," pp. 166, 170). In Bridgetown, Barbados, families were very small, with few couples having more than two children and the largest English family having "only seven children" (Dunn, "Barbados Census of 1680," pp. 22-24). For comparison, see John Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography," *WMQ*, XXV (1968), 51-53. E. A. Wrigley notes that "very large families . . . were rare at any time in Colyton, the largest during the full three centuries being only 13" ("Family Limitation in Pre-industrial England," *EHR*, XIX [1966], esp. pp. 97-98).

duties involved in the establishment of a new family suggest the recognition that the married couple were ready to function as adults. The age at marriage also can provide clues to circumstances affecting family life and to patterns of family relationships which otherwise might be impossible to determine or even to imagine.⁹

Despite the significance of the age at marriage, however, historians rarely have been concerned about it, with the result that very little is known about marriage and marriage ages in the American colonies. More often than not, historians have made the assumption that men and women in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries married very young, thus assuming the roles of adults while still in their teens or very early

⁹ The most sophisticated analyses of marriage ages and their relationship to the social structure, family life, and economic conditions of various communities have been made by English historians and sociologists. Two exceptionally useful studies of contemporary English villages are by W. M. Williams: *The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth* (London, 1956), esp. pp. 45-49, and *A West Country Village, Ashworthy: Family, Kinship, and Land* (London, 1963), esp. pp. 85-91. The study by J. Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in Glass and Eversley, eds., *Population in History*, pp. 101-143, is invaluable for comparative studies of marriage ages in Europe and America. K. H. Connell remarks that "the age at marriage is at the heart of Irish population history before the Famine as well as in the twentieth century" ("Land and Population in Ireland, 1780-1845," *EHR*, II [1950], p. 280, reprinted in Glass and Eversley, eds., *Population in History*, pp. 423-433). Irish studies also include K. H. Connell, "Peasant Marriage in Ireland: Its Structure and Development since the Famine," *EHR*, XIV (1962), 502-523; Michael Drake, "Marriage and Population Growth in Ireland, 1750-1845," *EHR*, XIV (1963), 301-313; and the suggestive general study by Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland* (1940; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1961). For the fullest statistical and historiographical account of marriage ages in the United States, see Thomas P. Monahan, *The Pattern of Age at Marriage in the United States*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1951).

twenties.¹⁰ Like so many unexamined assumptions, this proves either to be false or to require significant qualifications. What becomes most striking about the experiences of many men and women in Andover during the decades following its settlement is the fact that the patterns of relatively high ages at marriage characteristic of seventeenth-century England persisted in this New World village as well. The ages at first marriage of both men and women in the second generation in Andover proved to be much higher than most historians would expect (see Table 3).

The average ages of women at the time of their first marriages in seventeenth-century Andover were somewhat higher than has been assumed, but they were still relatively low, nevertheless. The average age at first marriage for fourteen first-generation wives was only 19.0 years, whereas the average age at first marriage for eighty-one second-generation females was 22.3 years. Three-quarters of the second-generation females married before reaching age 25, and an overwhelming majority (92.7 per cent) married before age 30. The mean age at marriage for women marrying for the first

¹⁰ Curtis P. Nettels, in *The Roots of American Civilization* (New York, 1938), p. 442, assumes the prevalence of "the custom of early marriage," which implies an early adulthood for the colonists. Similarly, Oscar Handlin wrote: "Boys no sooner emerged from adolescence than they insisted on being off to fend for themselves; and the abundance of land permitted them to break away easily" (*The Americans: A New History of the People of the United States* [Boston, 1963], p. 41). Perhaps the common assumption about early marriages and early maturity originated with Arthur W. Calhoun, who stated categorically that "the early Puritans married young" (*American Family*, I, 67). Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson qualified this assumption by stating that "Puritans were married young, though by no means so young as we often suppose" (*The Puritans*, p. 389), but the impression of youthful marriages still remained.

Table 3. Age at marriage of second-generation males and females

Age	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Under 21	5	4.8	29	35.8
21-24	36	34.6	32	39.5
25-29	39	37.5	14	17.3
30-34	17	16.3	3	3.7
35-39	4	3.8	2	2.5
40 and over	3	2.9	1	1.2
Total	104	99.9	81	100.0
24 and under		39.4		75.3
25 and over		60.5		24.7
Total, all ages		99.9		100.0
29 and under		76.9		92.7
30 and over		23.0		7.3
Total, all ages		99.9		100.0

time in successive five-year intervals in Andover from 1650 to 1699 was as follows: 18.0, 21.2, 18.8, 22.7, 20.4, 22.1, 21.6, 22.5, 21.6, 22.0, thus ranging between the averages of 18 and 22.7 years throughout the second half of the century. These mean ages at first marriage for Andover women are comparable to those found for women in both Plymouth Colony and in Dedham, Massachusetts: in Plymouth between 1650 and 1675 the average age was 21.3 years, and from 1675 to 1700 was 22.3 years; in Dedham, the average age for women married between 1640 and 1690 was 22.5 years.¹¹ The contrast between mean ages in these Massachusetts towns and those found in the English parish of Colyton, in Devon, is startling confirmation of the assumption that the marriage ages for seventeenth-century New England women in these specific

¹¹ Demos, "Life in Plymouth," p. 275, Table 4, and Lockridge, "Population of Dedham," p. 330.

places were much lower than in parts of England. In Colyton, the mean age at first marriage for women during the period 1560-1646 was 27.0 years, rising to a high mean of 29.6 years for the period 1647-1719.¹² On the whole, the assumption seems justified that women tended to marry younger in seventeenth-century Andover than was common in England during the same period.

An examination of marriage ages for men reveals that the patterns commonly found in England and throughout much of Europe during this period continued to be found in Andover as well. The age of 19 first-generation male settlers at the time of their first marriages can be estimated with approximate accuracy and averaged about 26.8 years. The average age at first marriage of 104 second-generation males in Andover was 26.7 years; only five married before the age of twenty-one, approximately 40 per cent married before the age of twenty-five, and slightly more than three-quarters married before the age of thirty (see Table 3). The average ages of men marrying in successive five-year intervals between 1660 and 1699 are as follows: 22.9, 26.0, 26.1, 26.9, 26.7, 26.4, 23.5, and 27.0; this suggests that only two short periods, 1660-1664 and 1690-1694, were conducive to early marriages for men during the latter half of the seventeenth century. In general, these averages are slightly higher than the average of 25.5 years found for men in Dedham between 1640 and 1690,

¹² Wrigley, "Family Limitation," pp. 86-88, esp. Table 1. However, the average ages at which European women married varied considerably more than did the ages at marriage of men, and sometimes they were about the same as for Andover; more often, though, they seem to have ranged between twenty-four and twenty-eight years (Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," *passim*). Laslett's *World We Have Lost*, p. 82, provides some data from Canterbury, England, where women married on the average at about twenty-four years.

and for men in Plymouth during the second half of the seventeenth century, where the average age at marriage was 26.1 years for those born between 1625 and 1650, 25.4 years for those born between 1650 and 1675, and 24.6 years for those born between 1675 and 1700.¹³ In England during the seventeenth century the average marriage age for men appears to have ranged between 26 and 28 years. In Colyton, the mean age was 27.2 years between 1560 and 1646, and 27.7 years between 1647 and 1719.¹⁴ In Canterbury, the mean age for men marrying between 1619 and 1660 was about 27.75.¹⁵ In general, second-generation Andover men married at ages comparable to those of countless men in the old country during the seventeenth century, thus maintaining the pattern of late marriage ages characteristic of Europe from at least the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.¹⁶ Whatever the particular reasons behind such characteristic delays in male marriages—whether custom, parental influence, the vagaries of a restrictive economy, or insufficient land—the general phenomenon persisted in seventeenth-century Andover just as it had in many English villages.

¹³ Lockridge, "Population of Dedham," p. 330, and Demos, "Life in Plymouth," p. 275.

¹⁴ Wrigley, "Family Limitation," pp. 86-87.

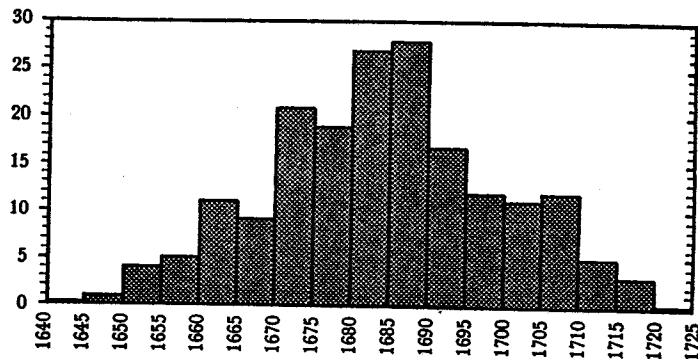
¹⁵ Laslett, *World We Have Lost*, p. 82.

¹⁶ See the data in Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," *passim*. Hajnal states (p. 101): "The distinctive marks of the 'European pattern' are (1) a high age at marriage and (2) a high proportion of people who never marry at all. The 'European' pattern pervaded the whole of Europe except for the eastern and south-eastern portion." High ages at marriage are still to be found in some English rural villages, such as Ashworthy, where "the average age at which farmers' sons married in the period 1880-1960 was 27.5" and "the average age for farmers' daughters in Ashworthy was 23.8" (Williams, *Ashworthy*, p. 89). In this respect, at least, the experiences of farmers' sons in twentieth-century Ashworthy and seventeenth-century Andover are analogous, and this is why Williams' study is so suggestive.

Contrary to common assumptions, Andover men in the seventeenth century did not marry as youths and therefore did not begin to mature as adults establishing their own families until they had reached at least their middle twenties. Until then, they remained for the most part as members of their fathers' families, dependent and dutiful sons. In Andover throughout the seventeenth century, a son's marriage often depended upon the willingness of the settler father to allow the marriage to take place and to provide for the new couple's economic subsistence, most generally in the form of land. Without the means to support a wife, marriage was virtually impossible. Perhaps this might account for the fact that eldest sons married younger than second sons, with the average age for twenty-eight eldest sons being an unusually low 25.2 years, compared with an average of 28.6 years for twenty-one second sons. The average age for twenty-eight youngest sons was 27.3 years, and the average age for twenty-five sons known to have followed trades was 26.4 years. Although the first generation thus appears to have favored eldest sons in their earlier marriages, for the majority of sons in Andover, as in England, effective maturity and marriage very often were long delayed.

The second generation began to appear upon the village scene as mature married men in appreciable numbers after 1670, rising to a peak between 1685 and 1689. An earlier peak between 1660 and 1664, the last period in which second-generation sons might have obtained abundant land from the town itself, was echoed by a later peak between 1705 and 1709, perhaps a reflection of the delayed marriages of so many men in this generation. The result was a generational profile of marriages which was less regular in its pyramidal shape than successive generations were to be, but indicative nevertheless of the emergence of this generation during the years between 1670 and 1694 in particular. In terms of the total

number of marriages recorded in the town during this period, a comparable peak in numbers occurred during the 1680's, with a slight fall in numbers occurring during the next decade and a half (see Graph 1). Whether measured in terms of the marriages of second-generation men alone or in terms of marriages of all of Andover's inhabitants, it was clear that the 1680's was a period in which more people than before were reaching maturity. And with their marriages, a new genera-



Graph 1. Second-generation marriages in consecutive five-year intervals

tional cycle was beginning to shape the characteristics of life in Andover.¹⁷

By 1685, the transition between the first and second generation had become evident in the town records, as an analysis of the town rate list of September 28, 1685, indicates. Of the 120 men who paid taxes in the town, 75 were second-generation sons of settler families, 15 were first-generation settlers, one was a third-generation son, and 29 were men who had settled in Andover after 1662. The average age of 103 of these men

¹⁷ A similar generational pattern is evident in Dedham (Lockridge, "Population of Dedham," p. 328).

was 38.3 years, indicative of the relative youthfulness of the adult male population of the town, with 26 men in their twenties, 33 in their thirties, 22 in their forties, 16 in their fifties, and 6 over sixty. Equally impressive, however, is the fact that so many of the original settlers were still alive and present in Andover, although not all appeared on the tax list. Of the original 34 permanent settlers, 26 were still in Andover in 1685, 10 of them in their fifties, 5 in their sixties, 3 in their seventies, and 3 in their eighties. Nine of the first-generation men died between 1685 and 1689, 7 between 1690 and 1694, 4 between 1695 and 1699, and 6 after 1700. The longevity of so many of the first-generation settlers and the relatively late marriages of so many of their sons assured that the community would be dominated throughout the second half of the seventeenth century by the lives and actions of only two generations: those who settled and those who inherited from the settlers.

Equally significant for the structures of families and the nature of community life in seventeenth-century Andover was the fact that the overwhelming majority of the second generation remained permanently settled in the town which their fathers had established. Nearly four-fifths of the second-generation men (78.3 per cent) spent their entire lives in Andover, with only 28 out of a total of 129 men eventually departing for other communities. Of those who left, 18 had resided in the North Parish (64.3 per cent) and 10 had resided in the South Parish (35.7 per cent). The majority of those who left Andover departed after 1690, since only 5 second-generation men are known to have left Andover prior to 1690.¹⁸ Whether compared with English villages such as Clay-

¹⁸ The five men who departed prior to 1690 settled in Boston, Roxbury, Newbury, and Topsfield, Mass., and in New London, Conn.; those who left after 1690 moved to towns in Massachusetts

*where stay?
mobile
or immobile?*

worth, with American villages in Plymouth Colony, or with later generations in Andover itself, the second generation in Andover appears to have been remarkably rooted.¹⁹ Their immobility, taken in conjunction with the demographic and economic characteristics of Andover during this period, helped to shape the distinctive forms of family life and family structure which emerged during the second half of the seventeenth century.

(including Amesbury, Marblehead, Methuen, Mendon, Salem, and Westford) and Connecticut (including Abington, Ashford, Enfield, Plainfield, and Pomfret, four of these being in the newly opened territory of Windham County).

¹⁹ Dedham's population was almost completely immobile during this period (Lockridge, "Population of Dedham," pp. 322-324), whereas the population of Plymouth Colony appears to have been highly mobile throughout the seventeenth century (Demos, "Life in Plymouth," pp. 264-269). I suspect, however, that Demos has overemphasized the mobility of Plymouth's inhabitants. It seems more likely that many of the emigrants from the original settlement of Plymouth would have resettled permanently in one of the newer towns in the colony, just as people did in Andover and Dedham. Population mobility in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England has been discussed by Laslett and Harrison ("Clayworth," pp. 174-180), E. E. Rich ("The Population of Elizabethan England," *EHR*, II [1950], 247-265), and Lawrence Stone ("Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700," *Past and Present*, April 1966, pp. 16-55).