A Shared Revelation: Charismatic Communities and the Puritan Experiment in Early New England

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Abstract

This article examines the ideal type of the *charismatic community* – a synthesis of Weber's theory of charismatic authority and Shils' conception of the charismatic propensity. A charismatic community is one which is united by emotional bonds forged out of "enthusiasm, or of despair and hope," and which is considered extraordinary, with capacities to reach the divine or the exceptional, by members who are drawn in by affect and who are invested out of complete personal devotion to their shared *revelatory experiences* rather than to an individual leader. Devotion to shared revelatory experiences is what first and most clearly separates the concept of the charismatic community from the dimension of authority centered on an individual leader. In the community, the embodiment of charisma is sourced in each person by the dutiful recognition of the shared preternatural mission. Revelatory experiences are defined as personal events that impart or disclose some measure of previously unknown information about the state of the world or of the self, and which rouse feelings of devotion, based on this knowledge, to a divine or extraordinary cause. By examining the early years of the New England Puritan project, this paper reveals more about what factors sustain charismatic communities, and specifically sheds light on the importance of the audience in maintaining and routinizing the legitimate authority of the communal mission.

KEYWORDS: Charismatic community, charismatic authority, Max Weber, Edward Shils, Puritans, Massachusetts Bay, Protestant Reformation, religion.

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Note: When quoting primary source material from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I have chosen to change the spelling so that it is in accordance with modern usage and is easier to read. Also, all citations follow guidelines outlined in *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

For Lawrence – *trust and proceed.*

Acknowledgments

In the preface to his book, *Errand Into the Wilderness*, the preeminent historian Perry Miller wrote, "As for that interminable field which may be called the meaning of America, the acreage is immense, and the threshers few. Too often, as in my case, they are sadly deficient in the several skills required for the gigantic labor." And a gigantic labor it is. When I first set out to complete this honors thesis, it was out of a long-time interest in the story of the American Revolution. Like Miller, I thought it rational to start at the beginning of the American cause. And like him, I got stuck there. Though it seemed early on to be tangential, the Puritan mission captivated me. I have enjoyed exploring the landscape of this social movement – its foundations and its byproducts – and I am indebted to many who helped me navigate the complexity of theology, philosophy, history, and sociology that is encompassed in this project.

Many thanks are due to my parents and my friends who have supported my interests in the social world and history for a very long time, as well as to the teachers of my youth: Pete Rosato, Diana Adams, Jennifer Hevelone-Harper, Graeme Bird, and David Wick – thank you for committing to me as a student, for encouraging free inquiry and respectful dialogue, and for guiding me through the intersections of history, literature, and philosophy. Thank you to my community from Gordon College who are steadfast in their commitment to the mission of "freedom within a framework of faith," and who pursue justice and knowledge with a fervor that is not for the faint of heart – Ryan Groff, Marri Stratton, Chloe Parsons, Paul Miller, and Andrew Carlson-Lier. And to the scholar who inspired my academic journey in sociology – Lawrence Holcomb, I am thankful for your courage, your commitment to humanistic sociology, and for the polemic ferocity with which you read and taught and served.

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The Charismatic Community

Weber's Typology

This is an investigation of a concept that has not yet been well elaborated upon in sociological theory: the charismatic community. It is offered as an extension of social theorist Max Weber's more central idea, found in his book *Economy and Society*, of charismatic authority based on and around an individual leader. Before investigating this concept, let's begin by orienting ourselves to Weber's three-part theory of legitimate domination, or authority: traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic. Of course, these three types are by no means mutually exclusive. There is a natural oscillation between them all; Weber says that there is no "simple evolutionary line" upon which they exist historically.[1] They can also exist in combinations, as the "pure types" by themselves are meant for consideration of theoretical models.

To Weber, traditional domination is based on loyalty. "Authority will be called traditional," he writes, "if legitimacy is claimed for it and believed in by virtue of the sanctity of age-old rules and are obeyed because of their traditional status."[2] Monarchs are the clearest example of this type of legitimate domination. Think of King Henry VIII of England. Weber would argue, based on the concept of traditional authority, that Henry's power was deemed legitimate for many reasons all connected by loyalty to the tradition of the monarchial system. He was deemed king because he was from the reigning Tudor family, and kings are legitimated in England, simply, *because they always have been*. In this type of authority, hierarchy and power are ordered by the autonomous agency of those deemed worthy by tradition. His staff was not salaried and they were not chosen based on their specific training, nor were they given a clear sphere in which to exercise bureaucratic authority. Rather, they were "personal retainers," who were chosen due to the likes of slavery, vassalship, comradery or kinship ties, and they were expected to fulfill any request made of them by the King.

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[1] Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 1133.
[2] Weber, 226.

Though some traditions cannot be torn away or disregarded, as doing so would tear down the entirety of the structure, the ruler has great mobility in his own prerogative.[3] When Henry chose to reform England, for example, he toed a fine line between personal autonomy and respect for tradition. It was a great risk to break ties with the Catholic church; the legitimating claims connected to Rome throughout the history of medieval Europe were strong. However, the King of England, by tradition, was said to be divinely appointed and blessed by God, and the Reformation, ablaze throughout Europe, was teaching that access to the divine was predestined and based solely on faith, among other things. In a way, this was a nice, clean tie to the traditions that legitimated monarchial rule (the king was appointed by God, and so of course the king was a part of the elect), and made it possible, philosophically, that Henry could expect obedience to his authoritative ruling on the Church of England and Protestantism while also breaking ties with Rome (even if they were to divorce his wife); both he and his subjects were able to stay loyal to the traditions that ruled their lives.

The next type of legitimate domination is legal-rational authority. For Weber, legal-rational domination is based on "a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands."[4] This rule-based system is abstract, impersonal, and highly bureaucratic with a strong adherence to technical training and competence (in the legal sense of the word). Laws are made to be consistent with abstract, cogent, and intentional social norms.[5] They are passed by way of a system that is not only consistent with these rules and laws, but by people who are not powerful personally or because of nepotism but who are rather highly qualified and specialized in their roles, whose authority comes from their office, and who themselves must adhere

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[3] Weber, 227.

[4] Weber, 215; Richard Swedberg, *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 147.

[5] For more about Weber's views on the law and custom in society, see *Economy and Society*, pp. 319-325.

to the legitimated law. If there is a sole ruler, as in the president of a state, any respect paid to them is impersonal and because of their role, not their autonomous self.

Weber also writes in detail about bureaucracy in his discussion of legal-rational authority in *Economy and Society*.[6] This is because of the systematic way it is dispersed to the territory or group over which it rules. There are clear spheres of influence and administration. As opposed to traditional authority, where the personal staff of the king is available to answer any call or perform any duty, those working in legal-rational structures have clearly defined offices and roles that they are elected to or chosen for based on technical qualifications.

Historically speaking, our best examples of this type of legitimate domination lay in those highly rationalized and systematized societies that have been touched by the likes of both the Enlightenment and Taylorism. Consider our nation's governmental structure. The rules to which our society adheres are codified and written down, and then are managed by a hierarchical system that is based on both a system of checks and balances as well as experience and technical knowledge of the administration. Roles are filled by elected officials whose authority is sourced in their office and their expertise in their field, rather than personal qualities or traditional loyalty. And these roles are hierarchical in nature so that authority is diffused throughout society systematically. James Madison's *Federalist No. 10* outlines this clearly by introducing the concept of "refine and enlarge" to a society riddled with faction and instability.[7] By centralizing the federal government through the Constitution and a republican structure, the Union of early American states would be much more effective in serving the public good.

Charismatic authority is the third type in Weber's theory of legitimate domination. Instead of power that is traditionally legitimate, like the reign of English monarchs, because it has, simply, always

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[6] Weber, 220-6.

[7] James Madison, "The Federalist No. 10," *The Federalist Papers*, edited by Richard Beeman (New York: Penguin Books, 2012), 23-33.

been legitimate, and instead of power that is based in legal and rational grounds, and is genuine because

of laws that are codified and written down, charismatic authority is based on the personal abilities of

one extraordinary and alluring individual. Iconic examples of charismatic authority are Jesus of

Nazareth or Adolf Hitler. This person is "treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at

least specifically exceptional powers or qualities."[8] These abilities are not accessible to the everyday

person, but are sourced in a special conduit to the divine. As Weber says, "charisma can only be

"awakened" and "tested"; it cannot be "learned" or "taught.""[9] He notes that in early history, this

would have been attributed to those with magical powers or prophetic abilities, as well as war heroes,

like Achilles.[10] And the objective assessment of these qualities is of no importance. What is important

is that people in society are inspired internally to recognize this new charismatic power as their own,

and that they turn to follow.

Without rationality or precedent to lean on, charismatic authority requires recognition to

sustain itself. In fact, it is the distinct *duty* of all followers to acknowledge the extraordinary capabilities

of their leader. This person may be asked to perform miracles or win battles continuously as a way of

proving their ongoing exceptional state of being, but Weber says that this proof is more of a

"guarantee" than it is the true source of charismatic authority.[11] In this way, recognition serves a dual

purpose: continuous acknowledgment supports the leader while also fostering cohesion and guidance

for the followers.[12]

> This recognition derives from the surrender of the faithful to the extraordinary and
> unheard-of, to what is alien to all regulation and tradition and therefore is viewed as
> divine – surrender which arises from distress or enthusiasm.[13]

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[8] Weber, 241.
[9] Weber, 250.
[10] Weber, 241.
[11] "This [basis of the claim to legitimacy] lies in the conception that it is the duty of those subject to charismatic authority to recognize its genuineness and act accordingly" (Weber, 242).
[12] Weber, 244, 1113, 1115.
[13] Weber, 1115.

If the leader is unable to prove, time and again, that they embody these divine qualities and abilities, then charismatic authority will disappear. Implicit in this, as well, is the true human fate: death. Charismatic authority inherently struggles with succession. Since power is sourced from one person, the leader's temporal limits put temporal limits on the group. Some charismatic leaders will upend this with claims to immortality, as in the case of Jesus of Nazareth. This is one reason among many (which we will discuss in the next chapter) that has made Christianity a religion prone to charismatic eruptions.

Also a struggle is that, to Weber, charismatic authority is anti-bureaucratic and anti-economic ("its "objective" law flows from the highly personal experience of divine grace").[14] With leadership found only in one person who is addressing extraordinary circumstances, the group of followers usually lives outside of normative society and, disapproving of everyday activity, must find a way to physically sustain themselves.[15] By this theory, there is no need for a systematic administration based on skill sets or salaries, nor is there a need for financial ventures. The basis of power is found in the charisma of one person, and in their ability to continuously prove their worth by way of heroic deeds or divine miracles. Followers get all orders from the leader, who doesn't participate in the standard market economy, but rather, gets all money from voluntary giving, plunder or tithing.[16] This puts the authority into a difficult position because all people require funds to buy food or clothing or other means of survival. Providing for the group, then, becomes another request for proof of divine access and special abilities; disenchantment arises quickly when bellies are consistently left empty. As Weber writes, "every charisma is on the road from a turbulently emotional life that knows no economic rationality to a slow death by suffocation under the weight of material interests: every hour of its existence brings it nearer to this end."[17]

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[14] Weber, 1115.
[15] Weber, 1115.
[16] Weber writes that "charisma rejects as undiginified all methodical rational acquisition" and "all rational economic conduct" (1113).
[17] Weber, 1120.

An important contrast between charismatic authority and the other two types of legitimate domination is that, to Weber, traditional and legal-rational both have clear paths to reproduce authority, and they fundamentally bring order to society. "They share *continuity* as one of their most important characteristics," he writes.[18] Charismatic authority, however, is naturally unstable, disrupts society, and is a revolutionary force.[19] Weber describes that revolutions based on reason work externally by changing the outward circumstances of life through which people change their feelings or opinions. This is a revolution by way of "technical means" in the sense that society is altered but without much disruption to its stability.[20] However, charisma works from *within*; it "may effect a subjective or internal reorientation born out of suffering, conflicts, or enthusiasm" and may "then result in a radical alteration of the central attitudes and directions of action with a completely new orientation of all attitudes toward the different problems" in society.[21] Most frequently, this was accomplished by way of revelations ("the unprecedented and absolutely unique and therefore Divine"), and claims to a new or renewed enlightenment about how the world should be ordered.[22] This "collective excitement" – founded in affective action, which we will discuss later in the chapter – produces bonds to the charismatic leader, and the group will throw off normative patterns of life in favor of the divinely-inspired, and seek to reorder society into one that allows all people to experience the charisma that they have. In this way, it is a true revolutionary force.[23]

With all of its struggles, the main problem of stability and success that charismatic authority's faces is sourced in its very mission to rewrite society, to revolutionize its ordering, and to "transform

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[18] Weber, 1111. Emphasis original.

[19] Weber, 245, 1114.

[20] Weber, 1116.

[21] Weber, 245.

[22] Weber, 1117; When describing the bases of legitimacy to a social order, Weber notes that, "in times of strict traditionalism a new order – one actually regarded as new – was not possible without revelation unless it was claimed that it had always been valid though not yet rightly known, or that it had been obscured for a time and was now being restored to its rightful place" (37).

[23] Weber, 1121.

charisma and charismatic blessing from a unique, transitory gift of grace of extraordinary times and persons into a permanent possession of everyday life."[24] It is at a constant threat of what Weber calls routinization (or institutionalization), as charisma exists only "in statu nascendi."[25] In searching for a way to reproduce charisma – either by finding a successor or by means, like education – and by trying to continuously meet the material needs of the group, systematization is likely. It is naturally unstable, and in seeking stability, will slip into either of the other two forms of legitimate domination. For instance, a war hero may attract a group of followers who affix themselves to his divine mission. After time passes, with many battles won and much land taken for themselves, the followers make the war hero their king. However, this brings with it a host of routinizing problems that take a way the emotional resonance that accompanied his initial mission. He is now in the business of administering power through a staff, and his once unique and seemingly extraordinary beliefs become popularly held and enforced norms. Charisma has been routinized; he is now a leader defined traditionally.

Since Weber outlined his theory, many scholars have continued the conversation of charismatic authority. Some have argued that Weber extended the concept of charisma too far when he took it out of the religious realm, and that it should only be relegated to leaders who base their authority in divine belief.[26] Others say that Weber was not explicit enough in defining the characteristics that make a leader deserving of the qualification, "charismatic."[27] Philip Smith suggests a cultural lens through which we should view charisma by arguing that it often coincides with salvation narratives and binary codes of good and evil.[28] And Liah Greenfeld's definitional examination, and assertion that 'genuine charisma' is different from 'routinized charisma,' is a helpful aid when engaged

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[24] Weber, 1121.
[25] Weber, 246.
[26] Carl. J Friedrich, "Political Leadership and Charismatic Power," *The Journal of Politics* 23, No. 2 (February 1961):14-16.
[27] Robert Tucker, "The Theory of Charismatic Leadership," *Daedalus*, 97, No. 3 (Summer 1968):731-756.
[28] Philip Smith, "Culture and Charisma: Outline of a Theory," *Acta Sociologica*, 43, No. 2 (2000):101-111

in close analyses of theoretical models of charismatic moments.[29] These are all worthy investigations, and helped in various ways as I began this study, but they all continue to focus on an individual person to whom followers attribute extraordinary capabilities.

Edward Shils: The Charismatic Propensity

For the discussion of a charismatic community, we need theoretical contributions that examine this type of authority in a more social or institutional way. The key theorist of the 20th century who accomplishes this is Edward Shils. In his article, "Charisma, Order, and Status," Shils argues that Weber focused too much on individual personalities, and therefore underestimated charisma's reach in society. [30] Instead of a stark, alienating demarcation between intense charismatic episodes and mundane, mediated institutional moments, Shils suggests that "an attenuated, mediated, institutionalized charismatic propensity is present in the routine functioning of society."[31] This challenges a fundamental aspect of Weber's argument that charisma exists, and is only revolutionary, in isolated historical episodes. In Shils' mind, charisma has the ability, throughout the whole of time and society, to maintain order as well as disrupt it, and in his article, he investigates how and where charisma exists where it isn't ordinarily thought to.[32]

To Shils, charisma can be found in anything that holds centrality, which is "constituted by its formative power in initiating, creating, governing, transforming, maintaining, or destroying what is vital in man's life."[33] And any one, state, or communal body who claims access to this transcendent knowledge can be said to possess charisma, sociologically speaking. This means that we should not only deem people to be charismatic, but should also consider "every legitimation of effective large-

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[29] Liah Greenfeld, "Reflections on Two Charismas,"*The British Journal of Sociology*, 36, No. 1 (March 1985):117-132.

[30] Edward Shils, "Charisma, Order and Status," *American Sociological Review*, 30, No. 2 (April 1965):199-213.

[31] Shils, 200.

[32] Shils, 200.

[33] Shils, 201.

scale power [to] contain a charismatic element" because of its ability to provide order.[34] Weber would not agree, as he does not think that charismatic authority can exist in its pure form in institutionalized life; in his mind, genuine charisma is lost the second that it begins to seek maintenance. Shils attributes this to the restrictive, "historicist" ways in which Weber tried to classify modernity as a result of increasing rationalization and bureaucracy.[35] Instead, he argues, there is a charismatic propensity throughout all of history: it is the "function of the need for order."[36]

In Shils' theory, understanding charisma's place in ordering (or re-ordering, at times) society is critical. Anyone or thing that provides order or a sense of personal location in the cosmos "arouses" charisma in society.[37] This could be anything from a brief murmur about your personal relevance and social position, like that of a birthday celebration, to a deafening encounter that brings a sense of a larger, more universal scope, like a presidential election or a terrorist attack. Shils writes, "Men need an order within which they can locate themselves, an order providing coherence, continuity and justice."[38] To Shils, ever the Durkheimian, this is because a sense of order provides meaning, and it gives people the fodder they need to form referents, and a sense of what is sacred and what is profane. It codes society, and anyone who claims access to understanding and providing this code to others – "to powers, transcendent or earthly, which men perceive as ruling their lives" – are those to whom charisma is attributed.[39]

As charisma is, in Shils' conception, "a response to great ordering power," then every power in existence that is legitimately authoritative over large swaths of society, even when it is seemingly destroying former orders, is inherently charismatic.[40] This means that there are more people, or groups,

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[34] Shils, 204, 205.
[35] Shils, 203.
[36] Shils, 203.
[37] Shils, 203.
[38] Shils, 203.
[39] Shils, 204.
[40] Shils, 204.

capable of holding charismatic authority than just prophets or war heroes. There is such a thing as "institutional charisma," which is not charisma housed in one person, but is rather "inherent in the massive organization of authority."[41]

To Shils, at the center of any society are those who claim the most access to the transcendent or moral order – priests, lawyers, anointed kings, etc. Because of their proximity to the divine, or to this important order-creating, extraordinary sense of power, they receive what Shils calls 'deference.'[42] There are also people whose way of life is respected because it is seen as a "ritualized manifestation" of the central morality. For example, education is (and anyone who works in the field are) esteemed because it provides a way for more people to access the "central value system."[43] And so, those who receive the most deference can be found at the center of society, and then as deference is diffused and weakened, social position becomes more distant. Shils says that, "this dispersion of charisma into the periphery" is what creates "a civil society."[44] What happens when you are too far from the charismatic center of society? Shils says that this distance is painful and can make people feel inferior, which often leads to a denial of the legitimated authority, claims about their own access to the transcendent, and the creation of a new new social order.[45]

In this way, in contrast to Weber, Shils is claiming that it is not that charisma is *not* a revolutionary force, but rather, that it is not so easy to separate it out and claim that it isolated in its disruption. Instead, in his mind, there is a constant engagement between various parties about what is truly transcendent, truly ordering, and truly powerful; society is "enmeshed in a perpetual strain of competing conceptions about the ultimate locus of charisma."[46] It seems to me that, in Shils' theory,

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[41] Shils, 206.
[42] Shils, 208-9.
[43] Shils, 209.
[44] Shils, 211.
[45] Shils, 212.
[46] Shils, 213.

charisma is a characteristic of authority. It is inherent and it oscillates; it is ever-present. For Weber, charisma is a type of authority, and it exists, in its pure type, in isolated episodes historically.

And so we must ask ourselves, considering their differences, what are the important social phenomena that we can no longer explain if we shift from one theorist to the other? Weber is perhaps too strict in his individualistic sense of charismatic authority; we learn about helpful types of authority, but I agree with Shils that Weber does not go far enough. The typology is clearly limiting, as charisma can be infused into many other facets of life than just the relationship to one individual. But there are weaknesses in taking the full Shilsian perspective because we don't learn about how society is ordered, but only that there is a characteristic of ongoing propensity towards charisma in the creation or destruction of order at work in society. Neither of these theories are enough; it is time for a new concept that integrates what is helpful while also challenging what is vague and weak theoretically.

The Charismatic Community: A New Theory

In this paper, I propose a synthesis of Weber and Shils to explore if and how charismatic authority, according to the Weberian typology, can also exist robustly in a community which is not entirely sustained by one person but rather by ties founded through energy, solidarity and authority relations from an affective revelatory project. This is different from a group defined only by followers who gather around one leader. In the classic type, charismatic authority focused on one leader is an example of the locus of meaning and order, or charisma as Shils sees it, founded in one person alone.

Extending Weber's discussion of individual leaders, a true *charismatic community* is that which is united by emotional bonds forged out of "enthusiasm, or of despair and hope," and which is considered extraordinary, with capacities to reach the divine or the exceptional, by members who are drawn in by affect and who are invested out of complete personal devotion to their shared *revelatory*

experiences rather than to an individual.[47] The locus of charisma, in this instance, is founded in these shared revelations that connect with a person's sense of meaning, and in doing so, they engage others in a larger conversation about how society should be ordered. When done on a large scale, this ignites the charismatic propensity that, according to Shils, is inherent in all effective authority structures that provide people with a sense of their cosmic location and which make claims about how to access the transcendent.

Let's begin with the question of how charismatic communities are created, and how people are brought together and bound emotionally. To start, there usually exists in normative society a sense of fragmentation or disunity. This can stem from distress, marginalization, or widespread pain in the populace, like war, political strife, or religious persecution.[48] Most often, the people who feel this way live in the outer strata of society, as Shils describes. When people no longer see the central power in their lives as legitimate or able to provide order and meaning to their lives, they may choose to throw off all claims made to the transcendent, and seek new ones. If these new revelatory experiences are strong enough to reach large swaths of society, meaning that they have a strong charismatic propensity, they can bring people together into a charismatic community.

Revelatory experiences are defined as personal events that impart or disclose some measure of previously unknown information about the state of the world or of the self, and which rouse feelings of devotion, based on this knowledge, to a divine or preternatural cause.[49] Revelatory experiences can be sudden or prolonged, but what is important is that the new information, and the devotion it brings with it, causes a turn in the life trajectory of the individual towards others who share in these

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[47] Weber, 242; Isaac Ariail Reed, "Charismatic performance: A study of Bacon's rebellion," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, 1, No. 2 (2013): 257; Greenfeld, 121.

[48] Tucker discusses this propensity for change in terms of charismatic movements in his article (747).

[49] In this discussion, *revelatory experiences* leads me to consider religious communities. In Weber's terms, this is an analysis of the prophet. But it is important, theoretically, that the concepts of revelatory experiences and charismatic communities be analyzed from the perspective of the war-hero, and how the community of war would experience a shared revelation that binds them, to each other and to a transcendent order.

occurrences – thus building a community. The revelatory experience is what differentiates the individual charismatic leader from the charismatic community. The charisma or miracles that are attached to an individual person in the form of Weber's pure type of legitimate charismatic authority are embodied in each person in the form of revelatory experiences in charismatic communities. These personal revelations serve as primers for ongoing charisma in the community, often – but not necessarily – at punctuated intervals.

In order to maintain the charismatic community, there must continuous recognition of the shared revelation in order to keep the charisma alive. It is the duty of all followers to do so. As long as these revelatory experiences are recognized as being genuine, then the community will survive. If is deemed to be false, or if acts of recognition are not maintained, then the charismatic propensity of this new call to order will fade, and the community will lose its authoritative power.

Extending Robert Tucker's theory that charismatic leaders are not only those who have extraordinary qualities but who are also able to "summon people to join in a movement for change," a charismatic community is able to do the same thing.[50] Many people and groups throughout time have made challenging claims about who can access the transcendent and how. Only those who can enlighten and then go on to *persuade to action*, though, can be typified as charismatic. The social order does not have to change permanently; people only need to be convinced of, and then bound in solidarity to, this revelation of a new order long enough for them to share in community together.

And so, we must ask how one is convinced of and brought to believe in these shared revelations. What is it about this new, transcendent belief that is so compelling? Charisma's ability to generate excitement and summon people to follow is due to the emotional resonance and symbolic connections with sentimentality it creates in each person. In this way, charisma is fundamentally tied

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[50] Tucker, 737.

with affectual action, which is one of four types in Weber's theory of social action, including instrumentally rational action, value-rational action, and traditional action.

Traditional action is simple: it's motivated by tradition and "habituation."[51] It is hardly social. Weber historicizes this to characterize early history. Examples are mundane, like brushing your teeth or making the bed. Instrumentally rational action, however, is rational and calculated, and it is determined by a person's intentional reflection about how the social world works, and what can be done within these boundaries to achieve their end goal. The "means" of achievement is the ultimate consideration in what actions the individual takes.[52] Examples are utilitarian in scope: the butcher cutting meat, the blacksmith forging swords, and the mechanic fixing a car.

In contrast, value-rational action is "determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior, independently of its prospects of success."[53] The end is the most important aspect in value-rational action, rather than the means. There is not much consideration paid to the cost or consequences of the action so long as it fits with the values that run the person's life. For instance, an artist may devote their life to the study of beauty, form, and self-expression, and to cultivating a life of creativity, even if it means never selling a painting and living a life of poverty. The values they hold the dearest run their life.

Finally, action that is affectual is "determined by the actor's specific affects and feeling states."[54] It is not centered on a goal, but is rather motivated by emotion. This can be both controlled and irrational. After the loss of a loved one, for instance, or the birth of a child, you may cry or laugh as you feel, not only the heavy feelings of experiencing the metaphysical, but the love you feel for that person. It has nothing to do with a goal or a value – it is purely affectual and reflective. Emotions and

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[51] Weber, 25.
[52] Swedberg, 126.
[53] Weber, 25.
[54] Ibid.

the actions they inspire can also be uncontrolled and irrational, like punching a wall in a bout of intense anger, or a mother diving in front of a moving vehicle to save her young child.

Similar to Weber's tripartite theory of legitimate domination, this four party typology of action cannot so easily and clearly be divided. Group action can be affectual while also value-rational, for instance. For the charismatic community, they may be focused on the goal of their mission, and they may order their lives and act out this purpose according to that value. This is not debated here. However, what draws them in initially and fastens them to their purpose is primarily affectual. In traditional or legal-rational authority structures, what binds people are traditions or logic. However, in charismatic moments, as both Shils and Weber noted in their own way, distress, enthusiasm, and hope are all present emotional reactions that lead people to bond over new ideals and conceptions of how that which has centrality in life should be forged and played out in society. Affectual action is vital to the health of the charismatic community.

Given that we have discussed what a charismatic community is and how they arise, we must now consider what it is that sustains them. This is what the paper will explore, but first I need to introduce the empirical case.

Why the Puritans?

Puritanism, as a movement, began in the 16th century with the Protestant Reformation, and strengthened in England as many grew to believe that the country and church had not reformed enough. They sought to rid churches of all remnants of Rome's religious influence on Anglican spirituality, which in some cases was a long laundry list of items, including the use of clerical vestments and kneeling to take communion.[55] Many of them, including those who sailed to the New World, hoped that as they modeled the transformation they desired, others would be encouraged to join them. Hence, John Winthrop's invocation to the new settlers of Massachusetts Bay to be a "City on a Hill" – there was an audience in mind.

The case of the Puritan project in Massachusetts is a useful example of charismatic communities, which I will define for you again as a point of reference for this chapter. [56] Using Shils' theory of diffuse social charisma, and as an extension of Weber's typology of charismatic authority, the charismatic community is united by emotional bonds forged out of "enthusiasm, or of despair and hope," and which is considered extraordinary, with capacities to reach the divine or the exceptional, by members who are drawn in by affect and who are invested out of complete personal devotion to their shared *revelatory experiences* rather than to an individual leader. Revelatory experiences are defined as personal events that impart or disclose some measure of previously unknown information about the state of the world or of the self, and which rouse feelings of devotion, based on this knowledge, to a divine or extraordinary cause. And finally, there must be acts of continuous recognition towards this divine, shared revelation for the community to maintain its existence. It is the duty for all members

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[55] Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (Hanover, CT: University Press of New England, 1995), 2-3.

[56] The Puritan experiment is not foreign to students of Weber. From Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905), we see that they make a fine example of Weber's economic theory of value-rationality. By comparing their society to that of Benjamin Franklin, one can observe the vast pendulum swing from hyper-asceticism driven by an ultimate value to something more instrumental and self-interested. In suggesting that the Puritans can serve as an example for Weberian social theory, I am not asserting that this value-rational articulation is wrong. The differentiation is between economics and politics; I contend that, politically speaking, the Puritans are not organized in a value-rational way, but are instead structured by way of an affective type of action based on charismatically legitimated power.

to recognize the genuine nature of this new order and path to the transcendent; if they fail to, or if they deem it to be false, the community's charismatic propensity will falter and weaken, and their authority will no longer be deemed legitimate.

In the New England Puritans, we have a group motivated not by logic or by tradition but by a shared devotion to a millenarian dream, a hope that the Anglican Church would finally be cleansed of its sinful ways. They took the idea of the Reformation, with its charismatic propensity, and extended it on a large scale with a new vision of how the world should be ordered – by merging the visible with the invisible church. Affectually bound by the distress of Anglican England, with its ever present oscillation between reforming Protestantism and the remains of Catholicism, they devoted themselves to their revelatory experience, formed a community, and infused this mission, along with acts of continuous recognition, throughout the whole of their society upon arriving in Massachusetts Bay.

And this shared devotion set them apart from others who settled in British North America. Historian Virginia Anderson notes that the settlers in Massachusetts Bay, compared to those in Virginia or Pennsylvania, were "remarkably durable" and had an "unusual stability" socially, explaining that this was largely because their shared faith was "powerful enough to imbue the founders' efforts with a transcendent significance."[57] This revelation of connection to the transcendent came not from enlightened reasoning but from affective action rooted in spiritual sacrifice and a hope that God would reward them with prosperity and peace. And they were primarily bound, not as followers of an individual charismatic minister, but by a commitment to the shared revelation that they must, as Historian Frances Bremer put it, "transform society by first using grace to make God's will one's own," and then, "by doing so [they] would lead an exemplary life that would persuade others – family, friends, and the broader community – to follow the path of right belief and behavior."[58]

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[57] Virginia Anderson, *New England's Generation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1, 11.
[58] Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment,* 3.

Before exploring the details of the case of the Puritan project in Massachusetts Bay, it will be helpful to delve into the philosophy of this Christian sect more thoroughly so as to establish some sense of the underpinnings of their shared revelations, and thus, their charisma as a group and how it was sustained. In this chapter, we will first investigate Christendom generally as a faith tradition that, historically, has witnessed the eruptions of charisma repeatedly. A bit of English Puritan history will also help to set the stage, and better understand the Massachusetts project. Then, we will examine why the Puritans are an ideal example of a charismatic community, including the shared revelation that drew them together. This includes Augustinian piety and why the Massachusetts Puritans are often called visible saints, as well as their vision of their holy errand into the wilderness, which is strongly tied to their sense of English identity.

Christianity and Charisma

It is important to consider, when investigating the details of any religion, that the majority are structured in such a way as to answer three fundamental questions, "Who am I?," "What's wrong with me?," and "How does it get fixed?" The solutions are usually dictated by interaction with and interpretation of social and environmental realities, as well as the existing authorities' ability to provide a language for this interpretation. From this, a society is ordered. Power often rests with those who claim access to both the transcendent knowledge of how to answer these questions and the ability to put them into a fully realized practice. In this way, religion inherently has a strong charismatic propensity.

Christianity took hold, early on, in a Mediterranean world ripe with inherited sin theories and ritual purification practices – the theories and practices that sought to answer the three religious

questions.[59] Believing that the cycle of guilt and punishment was broken with the birth, death and resurrection of Jesus, thought to be the prophesied Hebrew Messiah, Christianity teaches that faith in Jesus as a savior-god will purify and provide peace to all who believe. This, in itself, qualifies Christianity as charismatic. By focusing on salvation by grace, and promoting the concept of faith over good works, Christianity is fundamentally prone to charisma, in its defining and original sense, as "the state or quality of being produced by receipt of the gifts of grace."[60] In Weber's usage of the term, as a manifestation of divine or extraordinary power, it also meets the requirements; in the New Testament, Paul asks the Corinthians in his first letter, "Don't you realize that your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit, who lives in you and was given to you by God? You do not belong to yourself."[61] By believing in Jesus as the savior, a person becomes a conduit or a vessel of the divine, and is set apart as unique and exceptional.

The new religion also made several claims about the state of society and how it was ordered, including that "the first shall be last," that Christians should break bread with the socially marginalized, and that the revered Judaic laws were no longer the most necessary conduits to the transcendent. To put it generally, those in power should not get comfortable, for the kingdom Jesus would usher in upon his return to Earth would upend all traditional forms of power. This, in addition to the negative pagan attitudes towards Christianity as well as the legal status of becoming a Christian (think Nero's

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[59] The early Egyptians, living the farmer's dream with predictable flood patterns and rule by one they thought was a mindful and rational god-made-flesh. For Archaic Greeks, the gods had *phthonos*, a jealousy of humanity, and became destructive if man did not heed the warning against rising above human limitation. And finally, the ancient Israelites believed that God fundamentally loved them and cared for their wellbeing, and when they sinned, though the fear of God's wrath was intense, it was not because of a divine vendetta against their personhood but because of their idolatrous ways. All groups believed that they were punished for their arrogance and inherited sin, but they dealt with feelings about ritual purification differently. For the Egyptians, they believed that they would be held accountable for their choices in life upon death, but trusted the mindful gods that they would be given a fair trial before entering the after life. The question of how problems were fixed was never answered for the Archaic Greeks; they received only temporary feelings of affirmation from healing cults like Asclepius. The Hebrews lived with God's promise of salvation, and they believed that they would one day be purified and restored to personal relationship with God thorough the Messiah.

[60] Shills, 200.

[61] 1 Corinthians 6:19, NLT.

famous gardens), bolstered the faith tradition's charisma.[62] It follows Weber's notion that charisma is

inimical to existing structure, and that it is made legitimate by the continuous recognition of its genuine

exceptional nature. Jesus's teachings that the true way to spiritual purity and immortality in heaven is

to throw off all traditional power ("It is written…but I say unto you…"), that followers should expect

to be persecuted, and that these things are, in fact, signs of their salvation ("You will be hated by

everyone because of me, but the one who stands firm to the end will be saved.") opened a door for

further instances of hardship or interruption to be interpreted as signs of Christianity's truth.[63] And

the basic traditions of Christianity – Communion, Baptism, Easter remembrance – help sustain it; they

are, in essence, practices of continuous recognition.

As time went on, Christianity faced the reality of legitimating itself to others in society,

especially in the face of the more prominent religious visions, like the Hellenistic Greeks or the

Hebrews in Judaea. Adam B. Seligman discusses in his book, *Innerworldly Individualism* that early

Christians were "fundamental[ly] reorient[ed]" and refined as they were challenged by other

"apocalyptic visions":

> Central to this process were the ideas of Augustine of Hippo, who transformed the
> City of God from an eschatological vision into a mystical territory incarnate in the

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[62] Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity, 3rd ed.* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 608-9; Tacitus' account of Nero torturing Christians sheds light on the reality of being a Christian before Constantine's conversion: "Yet no human effort, no princely largess nor offerings to the gods could make that infamous rumor disappear that Nero had somehow ordered the fire. Therefore, in order to abolish that rumor, Nero falsely accused and executed with the most exquisite punishments those people called Christians, who were infamous for their abominations. The originator of the name, Christ, was executed as a criminal by the procurator Pontius Pilate during the reign of Tiberius; and though repressed, this destructive superstition erupted again, not only through Judea, which was the origin of this evil, but also through the city of Rome, to which all that is horrible and shameful floods together and is celebrated. Therefore, first those were seized who admitted their faith, and then, using the information they provided, a vast multitude were convicted, not so much for the crime of burning the city, but for hatred of the human race. And perishing they were additionally made into sports: they were killed by dogs by having the hides of beasts attached to them, or they were nailed to crosses or set aflame, and, when the daylight passed away, they were used as nighttime lamps. Nero gave his own gardens for this spectacle and performed a Circus game, in the habit of a charioteer mixing with the plebs or driving about the race-course. Even though they were clearly guilty and merited being made the most recent example of the consequences of crime, people began to pity these sufferers, because they were consumed not for the public good but on account of the fierceness of one man."

[63] Weber, 243; Matthew 10:22. See also John 15:20, Matthew 24:9, Mark 13:13, Luke 21:12, Luke 21:17, Acts 5:41, 1 Peter 4:14, Revelation 2:3.

Church and united by no temporal bonds other than common participation in the sacraments.[64]

In many ways, this period of redefinition further infused Christianity with charismatic traits. The dehistoricized, dualistic, otherworldly Augustinian transformation launched Christianity into a long conversation about the nature of the sacred and the profane, and this conception of grace as purification helped early Christians see themselves as a community set apart from normative society by their sense of how the world is ordered, thus keeping with our synthetic theory of charismatic communities.

Not following traditional definitions of order or morality, Seligman notes that early Christians were bound "by bonds of exclusive communal fellowship."

> Cutting across existing solidarities of kith and kin, the message of the early Church was one of a social solidarity rooted only in a shared experience of the sacred. In the words of St. Paul, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."[65]

By rooting the religion in grace, identity and community were both founded in and bolstered by "an immediate connection to the fount of transcendental order" through the confession of sins and the acceptance of salvation through grace, rather than a "primordial given," as in the Hellenistic divines, and especially within the ethical boundaries of the Judaic Law, where you had to be born to the faith to be viewed as chosen or set apart, and where the strict adherence to law and hierarchical religious structures meant that you would likely never have access to the divine. In Christianity, the fact that anyone could be connected to God opened up and equalized the society of early Christians; Seligman argues that this is reason enough to accept early Christianity as "genuinely charismatic," and I agree, considering that this equalizing, grace-based community created an opportunity for what Weber called

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[64] Adam B. Seligman, *Innerworldly Individualism: Charismatic Community and Its Institutionalization* (New Brunswick, Canada: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 15.

[65] Seligman, 16.

Vergemeinschaftung, or "an emotional form of communal relationship," which was the foundation for a charismatic community (*Gemeinde*).[66]

Following Weber's thought, we must consider that charisma exists "in statu nascendi" – it faces the constant threat of routinization.[67] What is interesting about Christianity is that firm in the underpinnings of the faith tradition is the stark tension between charisma and routinization (or institutionalization) lingering throughout time. If the Church is Christians' transcendent relationship with God incarnate, and if believers are to wait for the return of Christ by existing as living temples to God on Earth, then all the while, Christians must balance the call to live purely and faithfully with the expectation that this must be done in a fallen world without any knowledge as to when the new order will be ushered in. As Seligman writes, "The very negation of the world and worldly affairs inherent in the idea of grace stood in constant contrast to the realities of historical existence."[68]

This set up Christianity as a religion prone to eruptions of charisma, as well as recurrent attempts to routinize (or institutionalize), throughout history. Beginning with Jesus, it is easy to see these moments throughout the faith's chronology, both in the sense of Weber's pure type, meaning the charismatic individual, and the charismatic community. For instance, with Constantine's conversion in 312 AD, Christianity was infused with the emperor's charismatic summoning of his entire dominion into the fold.[69] As is expected when a religion becomes nationalized, though, routinization quickly followed; the first Ecumenical council was held in Nicaea within 15 years in 325 AD. And so this wave of charisma and routinization went on – Charlemagne became the first Holy Roman Emperor in 800 AD (institutionalization), medieval mysticism and monasticism gained ground

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[66] Seligman, 17; Weber, 243; An important distinction for a study of the Puritans, however, is that this equalization was only broadened to the predestined Elect.

[67] Weber, 246.

[68] Seligman, 17.

[69] "The charismatic leader is not simply any leader who is idolized and freely followed for his extraordinary leadership qualities, but one who demonstrates such qualities in the process of summoning people to join in a movement for change and in leading such a movement." (Tucker, 737)

with the likes of Hildegard and Francis of Assisi (charisma) in the 12th century – up and down, up and down, all the way up until the Puritans landed in Massachusetts Bay, and arguably up until the present with modern American Evangelicalism.

The Reformation gives a clear example of this process. With the *95 Theses* nailed to the door in 1517, Luther ushered in another charismatic eruption in Christianity. Other charismatic individuals followed, like Calvin, as did communities like the Puritans in England. It only took 15 years, though, for institutionalization to begin as King Henry VIII coopted Protestantism in an attempt to get away from Catherine of Aragon. By reforming the country, accepting divorce, and creating the Anglican Church, Henry ushered in a new religious age in England. Though Henry had little desire to purge England of all Roman vestiges, the institutionalization had taken root enough to last until his daughter, Elizabeth I, solidified Protestantism – albeit moderate Protestantism, in the eyes of the Puritans – as a legitimate religion (Figure 1).

Date (AD)	Nature of Charisma	Event
30	*Charismatic Individual*	Jesus begins teaching
33-312	*Structural tension between charisma and institutionalization*	Early Church
312	*Charismatic Individual*	Constantine's Conversion
325	*Institutionalization*	First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea
400	*Charismatic Individual*	Augustine of Hippo writing
800	*Institutionalization*	Charlemagne crowned Holy Roman Emperor
1054	*Structural Break*	Great Schism between East and West
1095	*Charismatic Communities*	Crusades begin
1098	*Charismatic Individual*	Christian mystic Hildegard of Bingen born
1182	*Charismatic Individual*	Christian monastic Francis of Assisi born
1291	*Charismatic Communities*	Last Crusade, begin structural break
1453	*Structural Break*	Turks conquer Constantinople, eastern Church
1517	*Charismatic Individual/Community*	Luther's *95 Theses*
1532	*Institutionalization*	Henry VIII creates Church of England
1630	*Charismatic Communities*	The Great Puritan Migration begins

Figure 1: A brief chronology of charismatic eruptions and institutionalizations throughout the history of Christianity. Of course these events are all complex and nuanced, and cannot so easily be typified, but this brief, overgeneralized glance helps to visualize the wave-like rhythm of Christian charisma throughout time.

Visible Saints and Early English Puritanism

Starting with England, now we will begin to investigate the Puritan tradition more closely. First, though, we must go back about 1200 years to Augustine of Hippo. For the Puritans – with their errand into the wilderness, their city on a hill – all was motivated by a yearning for a realization of St. Augustine's soliloquy – "Deum et animam scire cupio. Nihilne plus? Nihil omnino," which means "I want to know God. Nothing more? Nothing at all."[70] However, most of the superior historical accounts of the Massachusetts Bay Puritans begin with a discussion of Augustinian Piety because an investigation into the details of the Visible Saints –the Puritans – is incomplete without first understanding the concept of the visible (and invisible) church.[71]

Augustine wrote about the idea of two churches in his book, *The City of God.* According to him, the invisible church was made up of everyone who was predestined to receive salvation. The visible church, in contrast, included everyone who made a claim that they believed in the faith, but who, perhaps in truth, did not. As historian Edmund Morgan writes, "a man's fate was therefore decided before he entered the world of time, and his progress in this world either toward salvation or toward damnation was simply the unfolding of a decree made before he was born."[72] This meant that while the invisible church was pure in its composition, including only those who would truly be saved, the visible church was fallen and impure, and included some who were not honest in their professions of belief.[73] Augustine writes in chapter 35 of Book One,

> But let this city bear in mind, that among her enemies lie hid those who are destined to be fellow citizens, that she may not think it a fruitless labor to bear what they inflict as enemies until they become confessors of the faith. So, too, as long as she is a stranger in the world, the city of God has in her communion, and bound to her by the sacraments, some who shall not eternally dwell in the lot of the saints. Of these, some

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[70] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939), 8.

[71] Both Perry Miller's *New England Mind* and Edmund Morgan's *Visible Saints* start with a discussion of Augustine. And like any good student of colonial American history, if Miller and Morgan say it is important, you listen. See Miller (previous note) and Edmund Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 1963).

[72] Morgan, 67.

[73] Morgan, 3.

are not now recognized; others declare themselves, and do not hesitate to make common cause with our enemies in murmuring against God, whose sacramental badge they wear…In truth, these two cities are entangled together in this world, and intermixed until the last judgment effects their separation.[74]

This was the conception of how society should be ordered that, along with the basic tenets of the Protestant Reformation, which preached faith over good works, made up the majority of their shared revelation.

If the visible church needed to be as pure as possible, the Puritans, with their strong emphasis on community, did what they could to distinguish the true believers from the false.[75] Since they believed that good works did little for salvation, with all focus on faith in God's grace, they made strong attempts to discern to whom God had adorned with grace and made apart of the invisible church. Of course they would make mistakes, but, in their view, an "approximation" should still be sought.[76] Exclusion practices were common, as this helped keep the charisma of their community alive and well. If sinners or nonbelievers infiltrated their community, they would risk losing stability. As Weber says, "This basis [of legitimacy] lies…in the conception that it is the duty of those subject to charismatic authority to recognize its genuineness and to act accordingly."[77] We will discuss this further while investigating the role of conversion stories in the Puritan church service, but in its simplest form, the focus on being visible saints is a practice of continuous recognition to the charismatic authority working in their lives. And to "act accordingly" in England called for a considerable amount of work, debate, and hardship (including the risk of being burned at the stake) that lasted over 75 years.

Beginning as a reform movement before transforming into a religious practice, Puritans were adamant that the concept of the visible church was as close to that of the invisible as possible. They

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[74] St. Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. by Marcus Dods (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2009), 35.

[75] Francis Bremer writes on page 74 of his book, *Puritanism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2009), that "in an age when many were crafting a philosophy of individualism, Puritans generally asserted the importance of community and bending private aspirations to societal needs."

[76] Morgan, 34.

[77] Weber, 242.

wanted nothing more than to live their lives according to God's will, and then, leading by example, encourage others to do the same. This desire, though, was on a national scale, and in their minds, there would be no rest until the whole of reformed England, which became Protestant in 1534 for political reasons rather than spiritual ones, reformed even further.

When Henry VIII famously brought the Protestant Reformation to England, it was, as we all know, to divorce Catherine of Aragon, which Pope Clement VII refused to allow. In many ways, Henry was content to keep Catholic practices and traditions alive within the new Church of England. However, the fire of the Reformation was spreading rapidly throughout the continent, and was taking hold easily in England now that it had rejected Rome. Many of his church advisors and top ministers, including Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranner, were taken with the philosophy, and persuaded Henry to allow an English Bible, to accept more of the Protestant concepts, such as faith over good works, and to reject Catholic teachings, like a belief that Christ is truly embodied in the Communion bread and the wine (transubstantiation).[78]

Once Henry's children took the throne, England's religious climate continued to fluctuate. His son, tutored by some of the most liberal Christian reformers of Henry's court and guided politically by his Protestant uncle, the Duke of Somerset, Edward VI opened many doors for Protestantism in England.[79] He approved Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer, ordered churches to be stripped further of Catholic vestiges, including wall paintings and stained glass, closed shrines, and destroyed both statues and musical instruments.

The vestments controversy, so central to the Puritans, also began with Edward. When John Hooper, whose writings were deeply influential to the Puritans, declined the offer to be Bishop of Gloucester in 1550, he set off a turbulent debate about the wearing of clerical cope and surplice. His

[78] Bremer, *A Very Short Introduction,* 5; Morgan, 5.
[79] John Henry Primus, *The Vestments Controversy: An Historical Study of the Earliest Tensions Within the Church of England in the Reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth* (Kampen: J.H. Kok., 1960), 21.

ideas are, themselves, inherently charismatic. They make claims about the centrality of humanity and its ability to order itself and find meaning. To Hooper, the vestments were contradictory to the ideas of the Reformation. If the Word of God and the grace of Jesus was enough for salvation, then why should a minister wear white robes? He blamed it on the ghost of the Roman Catholic Church still haunting reformed England. In his own words, Hooper declined the bishopric,

> both by reason of the shameful and impious form of the oath, which all who choose to undertake the function of a bishop are compelled to put up with, and also on account of those Aaronic habits which they still retain in that calling, and are used to wear, not only at the administration of the sacraments, but also at public prayers.[80]

He was required to meet with both King and Council, as his declination was considered an offense to both God and monarch. Forced to recant his statements and accept the position, his protest stained his reputation in England. Nevertheless, he continued to lobby both King and Council for further reformation. When Edward's Catholic sister Mary ascended the throne, he was quickly tried and executed by fire for his remonstrations. Bremer says that, "in the eyes of man, such individuals who remained in the national church but demanded a faster, more thorough purification of the church were the earliest puritans."[81]

Mary Tudor was no friend to Protestants or Puritans. Daughter of Henry's Catholic first wife, Catherine of Aragon, she was eager to rejoin England with Rome upon ascending the throne in 1553. She facilitated the reconciliation of England to the Papacy by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Reginald Pole, in 1555, and in the same year, she burned over 300 men and women for heresy, including John Hooper and Thomas Cranmer. This persecution also forced a mass exodus of over 800 people who refused to forego their reformed faith to the continent to find Protestant havens in Geneva, Zurich, Frankfurt, and Strasbourg. Her hard rule against the Protestants quickly lost her favor with her people,

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[80] Primus, 25. See also Hooper to Bullinger, June 29, 1550, *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation,* Vols. 1 and 2. Translated and edited by H. Robinson. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1847), 87.

[81] Bremer, *A Very Short Introduction*, 6; "Hooper, John." *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. Livingstone, E. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Date Accessed 13 Mar 2016 (http://goo.gl/y7xQc1).

and when she died in 1558 and was succeeded by her Protestant sister, Elizabeth, the reformation found permanence in England.[82]

Often called the Golden Age of England, Elizabeth's 40-year, religiously moderate rule allowed the Puritan movement to gain sure footing. Though she did not return the country to the more liberal status her half-brother Edward had left it in, the disappointed Puritan leaders (especially the early Separatists who left the Anglican Church and started their own congregations – illegally), refined their philosophy and strengthen their communal charisma under her rule.[83] Though ceremonial disputes over the likes of kneeling during communion and the wearing of clerical vestments still lingered, Elizabeth did focus on the primacy of Scripture and on negating Rome's power in the Church, as well as integrating Calvinism into official church doctrine and emphasizing university education for ministers, all things that pleased the Puritans greatly.

As education blossomed in renaissance England, some bishops began an exercise called "prophesying," which would prove integral in Separatist Puritan church services in Massachusetts Bay, in order to advance the knowledge of those ministers, and even lay people, who had not gone to university for training. When Elizabeth became wary of the practice and tried to shut it down, many ministers refused. Though Puritans, following the structural path of prophesying, began to meet separately during this time, they did not accomplish much during Elizbaeth's rule. Morgan tells us of a list made in 1600 of ninety-one things that Puritans still found wrong with Anglicanism.

> Among other offenses, he objected to the use of the Apocrypha, to liturgies and set forms of prayers, to prohibitions of marriage and of eating meat at certain times, to the rituals used in baptism, in the Lord's Supper, in marriages and burials; he objected to confirmation, to popish vestments, to the neglect of preaching, to tithes, canon law, bishop's courts, and to the very existence of archbishops, lord bishops, and some thirty-odd other offices recognized by the church.[84]

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[82] Bremer, *A Very Short Introduction*, 7; "Mary Tudor." *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. Livingstone, E. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Date Accessed 13 Mar 2016 (http://goo.gl/Z4DJLo).
[83] Morgan, 18.
[84] Morgan, 6.

It became very clear to the Puritans that the visible church was too distant from the invisible.[85] When James I of Presbyterian-Scotland took the throne, the Puritans hoped once more for favor with the crown, but it did not come. Separatist movements within Puritanism began to strengthen, and the infamous group from Scrooby (who would later land at Plymouth in 1620) illegally left in 1608 for Holland, only five years after James took the throne.

Tensions mounted when James permitted his son, Charles I, to marry an openly Catholic princess from France, and after Charles ascended the throne in 1625, it became clear that he, along with clergy like Archbishop Laud, were not interested in furthering Protestant reform. Laud opposed Calvinism, and wanted to return much of the Church of England to its pre-Reformation status.[86] Many of the Puritans found themselves at a crossroads. After generations of pushing for reform, they were getting nowhere. Their shared revelation about the nature of transcendence, of the visible church, and of the necessary re-ordering of society had been tested and refined, and the emotional turbulence of nearly a century of progressive protest against the Anglican church had bound them together into a clear charismatic community. William Bradford poetically proclaimed these ideals in 1617 when he and the Pilgrims had set out on their divine mission, saying that their group was

> knit together as a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord…straightly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole, by every one and so mutually.[87]

They saw themselves as a special people bound affectually, and set apart for a special purpose. And it was at this time that many chose to leave to create a new order – a new Jerusalem.

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[85] Morgan, 10.

[86] "Laud, William." *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.* Ed. Livingstone, E. A (Oxford University Press, 2006). Date Accessed 13 Mar 2016 (http://goo.gl/oDx9rD).

[87] William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, ed. by Samuel E. Morison (New York, 1952), 33n; Mark L Sargent, "William Bradford's 'Dialogue' with History," *New England Quarterly*, 65, 1992:396-7. As quoted in Bernard Bailyn's *The Barbarous Years - The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600-1675* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012), 356.

The Errand Into the Wilderness

At the turn of the 17th century, there arose in England an emphasis on national identity, both abroad

and at home. The French, the English, and the Dutch were contending with an expansionist vision

that necessitated a presence of royal subjects in claimed territories. As historian Elizabeth Mancke

notes, "[a] negotiated formula of legitimate expansion made national identity, rooted in being natural-

born subjects, critically important to extra-European claims."[88] At home on the island, many

Englishmen at the turn of the century claimed modern freedom as an English invention and a deep

source of pride. Also, the religious controversy surrounding Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, followed by

the accession of a Stuart, *Scottish* king sparked many conversations about the nature of being both

Protestant and English.[89] Additionally, a court case regarding the status of children born abroad

clarified the extent of English identity; in 1582, a ruling on the statute *De natis ultra mare* (1350) stated

that children born outside of England to parents who had left, or stayed too long outside of, the

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[88] Elizabeth Mancke, "Britain and Its Overseas Peripheries, c. 1550-1780," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*. Edited by Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (New York: Routledge, 2002):238; Royal subjects, by the criteria of the English, French and Dutch, could not be indigenous people acquired as such. Requiring that settlers be natural-born subjects was a way for the English, as well as the French and the Dutch, to contest the Spanish notion that native people could be acquired and then assimilated as true royal subjects. The practice of assimilation was partially a consequence of their philosophy of conquest, and the papal order that accompanied it, which asserted that appropriated souls belonged to the Catholic Church. Also, the Spanish believed that the European race was superior, and that they were tasked, by God, to be "paternal instructors," leaving them with a strong sense of moral duty (Pagden 2003:72). The English, though they shared the belief in their racial supremacy, took a different, less involved approach to the native people they encountered while colonizing. The English did not share with the Spanish the value, or the collection of priests and funds it required, of evangelizing to the indigenous people. On the whole, there was not the same sort of discipline and rigor in the Anglican Church that produced, on a large-scale, bands of missionaries. There are instances where settlers speak of their initial devotion to proselytize, as in Virginia, but often the desire for short-term profits took precedent. In Massachusetts Bay, the Puritans generally sought peace, but preferred to live as separate as possible from the native tribes who surrounded them. For more info, see J.H. Parry's, "Introduction: The English in the New World," in *The Westward Enterprise: English activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979); Anthony Pagden, *Peoples and Empires: A Short History of European Migration, Exploration, and Conquest, from Greece to the Present* (New York: Modern Library, 2003)

[89] *Calvin's Case* (1608) debated the status of a young boy born in Scotland in 1606 after James I became king – would young Robert Calvin be called English, and given all the full rights that come with it, or would he be considered an alien? After heated debate, Robert Calvin was deemed an alien to the king. For more information on this foundational case, see chapter one, "Natural-Born Subjects and the Theory of Natural Allegiance," in James H. Kettner's *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608-1870* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

country illegally would be considered aliens.[90] These cases along with the conquest in Ireland paint a sweeping picture of the importance of national identification in the 17ᵗʰ century English conversation.

There exists in popular culture many flawed conceptions of the New England Puritans, including that they were grumpy, ascetic isolationists who battled storm and sea for freedom, both religious and political. There is also a teleological assumption that they had always intended to create a new democratic nation. Both views are incorrect. They had no desire to abandon their English identity. From our discussion earlier in the chapter, we know that the Puritan self-conception was tied to their belief that they were born to this world for a sole mission: to marry the visible with the invisible church. In their view, this had to be done on a national scale. Not only would institutional power allow them to advance their beliefs further and more effectively, but they also worried that, should they not try to reform the whole of society, God would punish them for disobedience.[91]

By 1630, five monarchs had ascended since the Reformation had come to England. Despite monarchial support, there hadn't been a strong turn among the populace to change their ways. "Most laypeople acquiesced in the Reformation because they hardly knew what was going on, were understandably reluctant to jeopardize life or limb, a career or the family's good name."[92] They had worked for generations within the boundaries of both church and crown to advance their spiritual convictions, and there was a strong sense that they were making no progress. For the majority, the decision to leave for Massachusetts Bay was never about abandoning England or their English identity; instead, as in their individual lives and families, they wanted to model their desired society so that others would follow suit. This sense of concern over English identity served as a structure that sustained the legitimate authority of their charismatic community by clearly recognizing the source of their charisma – the shared revelation that they would be a light in a dark world. As Winthrop said on

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[90] Ibid.

[91] Bremer, *A Very Short Introduction,* 76.

[92] J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 81.

board the *Arabella*, "…men shall say of succeeding plantations, "may the Lord make it like that of New England." For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us."[93]

In his 1952 essay, "Errand Into the Wilderness," named for the 1670 jeremiad sermon of the same name by Samuel Danforth, historian Perry Miller argues that the Puritans migrating to Massachusetts Bay after 1630 were primarily motivated by a self-conception, a shared revelation, which depended entirely upon an English audience. "These Puritans did not flee to America," Miller writes. "[T]hey went in order to work out that complete reformation which was not yet accomplished in England and Europe, but which would quickly be accomplished if only the saints back there had a working model to guide them." [94] The Massachusetts Bay colony would be, in the Puritans mind, the working guide. It would be the epitome of all that they had been called to by God. Critical to the success of being a light to a dark world was the eye of the English; therefore, maintaining an English identity was both logical and crucial. This identification motivated the first generation of Puritans in their charismatic cause. In fact, "if the conscious intention" was successfully met, they could all go back to England as rulers.[95]

Having established that the Puritans fit the definition of a charismatic community, we can now turn to explore how it was that they sustained themselves. Clearly, the Puritan's shared revelation as visible

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[93] John Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity," *The Winthrop Society Quarterly*, 1997. Accessed 13 Mar 2016 (http://goo.gl/2HeCDg), 9; For the Puritans Separatists, who escaped Jacobean discrimination in 1608 to Leiden, Holland, where they lived for over a decade prior to boarding the *Mayflower*, their identity concerns were fundamentally different than of the Winthrop party and the majority of those who came to New England during the Great Migration. For the Separatists, their main worry was over their children being born and raised abroad. Drawn initially to the religious toleration Holland offered, they were deeply worried when they realized that their children were slowly but surely becoming Dutch. To add to their distress, life in Leiden was filled with grueling work and worry over a potentially violent Spanish invasion. Considering their sense of spiritual duty as well as their communal goals, living in an English colony seemed to be the best choice. They did not set out with a clear mission of remaking the world, but rather, came to New England displaced. Nathaniel Philbrick, *Mayflower* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006); Perry Miller, *Errand Into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956), 4.
[94] Perry Miller, *Errand,* 11.
[95] Ibid.

saints on a holy errand was strong enough to form a charismatic community in New England, but they also needed a plan to address the threat of routinization, as well as the "weight of material interests," as Weber calls it.[96] We will explore, in the chapters that follow, how the Puritans sustained their project by infusing their shared revelations into the whole of their community structure, specifically the church and the town.[97] By investigating further into this question of how the Puritan's preserved their charismatic community, perhaps we can understand more as to how charismatic communities in general sustain themselves.[98]

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[96] Weber 1120, as quoted in Reed, 257.

[97] I have chosen not to investigate the Puritan family in this study, not just for the sake of time and length, but also because Weber does not talk much about family in his work. This is a topic, however, that I'd like to explore more in future studies.

[98] My point is not to be able to discover a formulaic model that will help us pinpoint instances of arising charismatic communities or of those already in process that may be having trouble with routinization. Thomas Dow notes that "charisma is neither old nor new, but an omnipresent possibility in all ages. This being so, we in the present are no more able to predict future charismatic departures than were those in the past able to anticipate the revolutions of today" (1969:316). Rather, I hope that by examining this question of sustainment for charismatic communities – whether they be centered on the spiritual, political, or otherwise – we can further understand irrational social change and the role of the community in history in a broad sense. Dow asks similar questions in his 1969 article, "The Theory of Charisma."

The Puritan Church

With the landing of the *Arabella* in Massachusetts Bay in 1630, the Great Puritan Migration began, and with it founded a distinct charismatic community in the new colony.[99] In order to strengthen and continuously sustain this community, we know that they needed to fulfill their distinct duty of recognition to their shared revelation that they were visible saints on a holy errand. In this chapter, we will explore one aspect of the Puritan structure that helped sustain their community's charismatic authority: the church. We will start by examining John Winthrop's sermon, "A Model of Christian Charity," which helped to solidify a diverse group of Puritan immigrants as a community bound by their shared revelations. Then, we will turn our sights to the church in a more structural sense, including the format of their church services, as well as the practices of prophesying and conversion stories. Finally, we will explore their methods of crushing religious opposition – as in the case of the Antinomian Crisis.

A Model of Christian Charity

Winthrop's sermon, "A Model of Christian Charity," was a conscious recognition of the community's shared revelation. In it, he sought to solidify the new Puritan settlement at Massachusetts Bay into a tightly knit community based in love and God's grace. Emphasizing the covenant, or shared revelations, that they were binding themselves to, Winthrop urged all to see themselves as vital parts

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[99] Because this is primarily a sociological and theoretical analysis of the Massachusetts Bay Puritan case, we will skip over quite a bit of the history of the Puritan migration to New England. While these details proved critical to my background research, a thorough review is not possible considering the length constraints of this study. For monographs and historical analyses of the New England Puritans, see the following suggested works: Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939); Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953); Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); Edmund Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 1963); Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988); Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Greation Migration and the formation of society and culture in the seventeenth century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (Hanover, CT: University Press of New England, 1995); Nathaniel Philbrick, *Mayflower* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006); Walter Woodward, *Prospero's America: John Winthrop Jr., Alchemy, and the Creation of New England Culture, 1606-1676* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Pres, 2010); Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years - The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, from 1600-1675* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012).

of the body of Christ, fastened together by love, concern, and decency towards one another. "If one member suffers, all suffer with it, if one be in honor, all rejoice with it," he told them.[100] And they would not only care for one another as they would care for themselves, but they would commit themselves to righteous living.

> The end is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord; the comfort and increase of the body of Christ, whereof we are members, that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evil world, to serve the Lord and work out our salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances.[101]

They would do this with seriousness and due diligence, for "when God gives a special commission He looks to have it strictly observed in every article."[102] And if they were not attentive to this covenant, then surely God would bring his wrath upon them.

> Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into covenant with Him for this work. We have taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles… but if we shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends we have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us, and be revenged of such a people, and make us know the price of the breach of such a covenant.[103]

Finally, he reminded them that they had an audience. They had wanted for so long to be free to reform as they desired, to do their best to merge the visible with the invisible as much as humanely possible, and as they were only in New England to realize this mission and to show its merit to the rest of the English world; they would best remember it at all times. Here are Winthrop's most famous words:

> when He shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "may the Lord make it like that of New England." For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world.[104]

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[100] Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity,"5.
[101] Winthrop, 8.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Winthrop, 8-9.
[104] Winthrop, 9.

These were their shared revelations – a community that would be bound by love, grace, and an earnest desire to marry the visible church with the invisible. This was their shared covenant, and they would infuse these divine and exceptional characteristics throughout their settlement so as to build and maintain their charismatic community.[105]

The Church Service

The most important thing in both Weber's pure type and the community is the duty to continually recognize charismatic power. Winthrop's sermon was the first official pronouncement of this charismatic power, this shared revelation, to the New England community. Sermons would go on to be marked by Augustinian piety, which "sought to touch the feelings of [the] audience, to convert their hearts, by appealing not to the mind but to the affections…"[106] Mandated church meetings and the practice of prophesying continued this recognition throughout their daily lives. During the Separatist Puritan church service, for example, a minister would give a sermon, and then time would be given for questions and even doubts, as well as for prophecies, or miniature sermons given by church members. This seemingly basic structure (founded in the practice of prophesying in Elizabethan England) provided an immense amount of social cohesion and stability to people who were fundamentally at odds with the forces of the Anglican world; liturgical formats, including prayer, were spurned in favor of worship marked as authentic by its austerity.[107]

One might wonder how such marked asceticism could charismatically arouse, but proving this fact time and again are the seemingly unending stacks of journals, books, and pamphlets that survive

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[105] Anderson writes in *New England's Generation*, "This shared commitment to Puritan principles, however vaguely defined, became the common thread that stitched individual emigrants together into a larger social and cultural fabric" (40).
[106] Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 102.
[107] Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1944), 28.

from this time, written by ministers like Increase and Cotton Mather, that attest to the power of the Puritan church to draw people in. Cotton Mather gives an account in *Magnalia* of the words of John Wilson, a Boston colleague of the famed Puritan preacher John Cotton, who said that, "Mr. Cotton preaches with such authority, demonstration, and life that, methinks, when he preaches out of any prophet or apostle I hear not him; I hear the very prophet and apostle. Yea, I hear the Lord Jesus Christ speaking in my heart."[108]

Also, their belief that one was saved by grace and not by good works keeps with another aspect of charismatic communities: true faith, as well as true charismatic authority, could not be learned or taught, but was something that each person was roused to individually. And this awakening was an essential element of the church community, both in identifying true faith to create in the visible church an approximation of the invisible, and in sustaining their charismatic power. Conversion stories – accounts of the transformation from sinner to heaven's elect – were required for entrance into the church. Morgan writes that these admission practices were likely developed by the first generation in New England, and states an account written by John Cotton, Jr. in 1679 with detail as to the procedure.

> The practice was for men orally to make confession of faith and a declaration of their experiences of a work of grace in the presence of the whole congregation, having been examined and heard before by the Elders in private and then stood propounded in public for 2 or 3 weeks ordinarily.[109]

Morgan also notes that, for women, their accounts were taken in writing and then read out to the congregation by the minister.[110] Puritan and Massachusetts Bay colonist Anne Bradstreet – also a famous poet – described her conversion as follows:

> In my young years, about 6 or 7 as I take it, I began to make conscience of my ways, and what I new was sinful, as lying, disobedience to parents, etc. I avoided it…. But as I grew to be about 14 or 15, I found my heart more carnal, and sitting loose from God, vanity and the follies of youth take hold of me. About 16, the Lord laid His hand

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[108] Quote found in Teresa Toulouse, *The Art of Prophesying: New England Sermons and the Shaping of Belief* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1987), 13.

[109] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 61-2.

[110] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 62.

sore upon me and smote me with the smallpox. When I was in my affliction, I besought the Lord and confessed my pride and vanity, and He was entreated of me and again restored me.[111]

By sharing this conversion story with the church, one would be admitted to the community, and would also give lifeblood to the charismatic force controlling them.

They are also illustrations of what Weber calls "tests of eligibility" or means to "regulat[e] recruitment."[112] As was referred to in our discussion of Augustine's two churches in a previous chapter, the Puritan's attempt to match the visible with the invisible church helped keep charisma alive. It was, in essence, the practice of continuous recognition to their divine cause. By focusing on assessments of whether or not one was truly predestined to be a part of the Elect, we can see that their charisma was not rational. The Weberian theorist might suggest that these admission standards are signs of charisma's routinization in the community. However, this is incorrect; though it may have been a ritualized or standardized practice, its entire foundation was based on something "regarded as of divine origin," and could not be learned or taught, but only "awakened."[113] These stories were their shared revelations tangibly realized.[114]

And these were primarily affectual actions, key to forming and maintaining the charismatic community. The orderly process of admission and exclusion was, at times, value-rational, but these were a people who were deeply bound by emotion. Conversion stories had to resonate with a strong

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[111] Quoted in Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 43.

[112] Weber, 249; As Kai Erickson says in his book *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), 73: "…the New England theorists began to argue that God had entered into a covenant with the people of the colony as a corporate group and was only ready to deal with them through the agencies they had built to govern themselves. Thus the key idea of the new theology was that an individual's relationship to God needed to be screened by some intermediate level of authority… In many respects, the whole structure of the New England Way rested on that one article [of determining true conversion], for the purpose of the enterprise was to prove that God's chosen saints could and should take charge of His earthly commonwealth. No one would pretend that there were any infallible guidelines for deciding who was saved and who was not, but someone had to make judgments in the absence of divine knowledge, and this responsibility, inevitably, fell to the clergy."

[113] Weber, 241, 249.

[114] I will argue, in a later chapter, that routinization gained a firm footing with the upset of the Civil War to the Puritan identity, and with the creation of the Halfway Covenant.

sense of devotion. And as we will see later with the introduction of the Halfway Covenant, dutiful recognition to a value is not enough. When there is no longer an affectual bond over a shared revelation, the community will no longer have true charismatic authority. It will routinize into other forms of legitimate domination. Conversion stories provided a means by which to acknowledge one's excitement about being a part of the elect, and reverence to the soteriological mission.

Once admitted to the church, the assessment of true faith continued. Puritans believed that one of the clearest signs of salvation was doubt that one had achieved it. To put it another way, if one was so desperate for salvation by grace and for a spot in heaven's elect, they would find themselves to be constantly unsure of their status as they examined their life and faith for fault. To them, this intense self-examination was a positive sign that they were true in belief and care for fulfilling God's mission, and many Puritans took to journaling these self-reflections.[115] In terms of the charismatic community, this brought the affectual recognition of the shared revelation down from the institution of the church congregation into the individual life of the believer.

Crushing Opposition: The Antinomian Crisis

When it came to upholding the charismatic community in times of duress, the Puritans were not shy in working to crush opposition and to further exclude sinners from their attempts to purify the visible church. The Antinomian Crisis is an important example, for though some thought it only to be a local debate "and continued to think so until they found themselves banished as criminals," to the majority of the Puritan ministers in Boston, it was a definite challenge to their authority.[116] The basis of the free grace, Spirit-centered argument was whether or not the Boston clergy were able to truly assess the

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[115] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 70-1.
[116] Erickson, 71.

status of a person's salvation. In this way, it threatened the recognition mechanism by which their charisma was sustained, thereby also threatening the stability of their community.

To those at the center of the Crisis, individuals who were deemed to be weak in faith were too easily given acknowledgement for their justification or salvation. Reverend John Cotton, along with Anne Hutchinson, believed this to be true. They argued that faith was passive, that salvation by way of a moral life was not firm enough a foundation to mark one as truly a part of the Elect, and that the Holy Spirit was the only clear way to delineate the saved soul. Hutchinson criticized Massachusetts ministers for being too "legal," or focused on good works.[117] This was itself a claim that society was improperly ordered, and that there was a better way to access that which is transcendent and central in a person's life. This was a new charismatic propensity on the rise.

This, of course, hit a nerve with the colonial clergy. The debate over grace vs. works was the foundation of the Reformation, and, as we discussed earlier, this argument that grace was an "intimate exchange, a personal communication between God and His chosen saints," was one that many early Puritans, including John Hooper, lost their lives to. However, to Hutchinson, this "personal communication" of grace and faith opened a door for irresponsible and undisciplined spiritual behavior. The daughter of an Anglican minister and highly versed in Scripture herself, she was a force to be reckoned with. She challenged the notion that assessment, or even the structure of a church (and by extension the colonial's entire theocratic-like structure), was necessary if God's free grace was what bound their community.[118] In a very real way, Hutchinson was challenging the form the charismatic

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[117] Lippy, Charles H. and Peter W. Williams. "Puritans." In *Encyclopedia of Religion in America*, edited by Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010).

[118] Erickson, 83-5. Erickson notes that this tension between responsible and irresponsible grace-based faith was not new in Protestantism, citing Luther's initial protest and the civil war that later broke out in Germany. "When the Boston insurgents were called "Antinomians," the familiar cycle seemed to be repeating itself, for this was the name given to the desperate heretics of Luther's day and a name many ministers in the Bay had heard applied to themselves in old England."

community had taken in the Bay colony by calling for the primacy of an even more charismatic force – the Holy Spirit.

Hutchinson, it could be argued, was a charismatic leader herself. She referenced the divine as the basis for her opinions, and was able to draw in anywhere from 60 to 80 people to her house every week for church meetings and theological discussions. She was clearly a threat to the Puritan order, as it stood in the mid 1630s. In order to resolve this crisis, the colonial leaders were forced to put Hutchinson and all of the other Antinomian leaders involved, including Reverends Roger Williams, John Wheelright, and John Cotton, and even Governor Henry Vane, on trial. This follows Weber's description of charisma. He tells us that,

> when such an authority comes into conflict with the competing authority of another who also claims charismatic sanction the only recourse is to some kind of contest… In principle, only one side can be right in such a conflict; the other must be guilty of a wrong which has to be expiated.[119]

We know, though, the mainstream Puritan leaders won out. As we discussed earlier in the chapter, and with our introduction to Shils in the previous chapter, power resides with those who are the most able in providing answers to the three religious questions, in interpreting human realities, and in their claims of access to the transcendent.[120] Though there is no argument that Hutchinson had an enticing measure of charismatic authority, she was not able to keep it alive as soon as people stopped recognizing her claims of access to the transcendent as truth. Her followers quickly abandoned her.

The Antinomian Crisis became what it did – a fiery storm in New England that ended with the banishment of Hutchinson, Williams, and others – because the Puritan leaders, threatened by a growing spiritual malaise in the colony and a new charismatic force that might take it in a different direction, needed to find a useful language for both the Antinomian wrongdoings and a reignited claim

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[119] Weber, 244. He also says, "concrete judgments are newly created from case to case and are originally regarded as divine judgments and revelations." In this instance, both forces were following this prescription.
[120] Shils, 208.

to access to the divine so that this challenge to the community's authority would not be repeated.[121] They were able to effectively quell this uprising, and reign in recognition to their original shared revelations.

The church was a key element in structuring and maintaining the new charismatic community. It was a tangible representation of their shared revelation, as the church was supposed to be the embodiment of their sacred, eschatological mission, and it gave them a clear location upon which to focus their acts of continuous recognition. The health of the church was a sign of healthy charismatic authority up and down society – from the individual all the way out to the town and government. Now, let's turn our sights to how the New England Puritans continued to diffuse their charismatic propensity throughout the whole of their new society so as to maintain their communal authority.

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[121] Erickson, 102-3.

The Puritan Town

After investigating the structure of the New England church, we have a clearer picture of how the Puritans were able to sustain their charismatic community through procedures and social control measures that emphasized recognition of their shared revelation. A fascinating question to consider, now that we have a better sense of their religious organization, is how this translated into the rest of society. Shils says that the diffusement of charisma outward is what creates civil society – is that the case? Their mission was to create an ideal model of the pure religious life for England to follow, but their great distant from the island created a lot of room for experimentation and authoritative latitude. Did the social order they created in the New England town sustain their charismatic community? To answer this question, we must start with a look into the demographics of the colony, including who came to the colony and in what social condition. Secondly, it is necessary to examine their economy, including the issue of land and farming, as well as how they dealt with the tension between piety and profligacy with a concept known as "competency." Finally, we will look into an important aspect of town creation – the covenant.

The Puritan Population

To understand the Puritan town, which includes their economic structure, we first must understand the demographics of the Great Migration. The Puritans as a group of emigrants were characteristically quite different from the rest of those traveling to the New World in the 17th century. They were not young, single men in search of financial success, and as a group, they did not invest in the boom-and-bust cycle of cash crops that defined the Chesapeake Bay. Mostly, they sailed as intact, multi-generational families who left behind economic stability for uncertain futures. Many of them had invested ten years in apprenticeships only to leave profitable urban centers where their skills were

highly valued for a colony categorically defined by subsistence farming.[122] By and large, they were of the 'middling' class; they came to Massachusetts Bay with a good deal of wealth, both economically and socially. They brought as much as they could carry with them, including furniture and tools, and, in contrast to those in Virginia – where the idle ruling class oversaw massive plantations run by indentured servants and, later, slaves – immediately upon arrival, the Puritans began planning and building permanent communities based upon private, family farms where all were required to work.

Again, it is important to note that this orientation was primarily emotional. There was, undoubtedly, value-rational action present in their conception of working to achieve a millenarian goal, but consider how tough it must have been to set up a completely new society in a raw and unknown world. Think of the fear that would have been present for all settlers – fear of unrelenting storms, deathly attacks from neighboring native tribes, as well as famine and disease. To uproot your whole life and family, to leave behind economic security as well as everything you've ever known about the world for a new land, a new order, a new civilization – this mission would have required an incredible amount of hope and devotion. Anderson notes that settlers were worried about how they would make ends meet. "Solitary ascetics can afford to reject the things of this world in order to contemplate the glories of the next," she writes. "Family men cannot."[123] With all of this heightened emotion present, the community was fastened and secured to one another and to their shared, divine mission. And it was through this affectual lens that they saw the world, and translated how it should be ordered. The invisible church would be brought as close to the visible as possible, and that meant

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[122] There is a long-standing argument amongst historians as to whether the Puritan migration was motivated by economic reasons or by religious persecution. Though the majority of emigrants to the New World can be categorized by economic motivations, the Great Migration into New England is characteristically different – by demographics, settlement locations, economic diversity, social stability, and more. For a comprehensive review of these arguments, and a thorough description of the ways in which the Great Migration differs, see Virginia Anderson's *New England's Generation.*

[123] Virginia Anderson, "Migrants and Motives," *The New England Quarterly,* 58(3):379. See also her chapter entitled "Passage," in *New England's Generation* for more about the religious symbolism they searched for an interpreted to help describe their experiences, pp. 47-88.

assessing everyone in the community, from the minute they arrived, for their sense of predestined salvation.

Competency

This vision of social worth was conceptualized in the Puritan economic and civic mind as "competency," which is defined as "the possession of sufficient property to absorb the labors of a given family while providing it with something more than a mere subsistence," or, to put it succinctly, "comfortable independence."[124] Competency was both another outward sign of your position as part of the elect and an answer to the tension between financial corruption and the need for survival; it worked to sustain their mission. Competency, as a concept, was also deeply Calvinist, which put an emphasis on discipline, sobriety, and hard work, and connected sin with poverty.[125] In the words of John Winthrop, "such things as we stand in need of are visually supplied by God's blessing upon the wisdom and industry of man."[126]

This interpretation of financial security all other social matters – if your life looked orderly, then it was likely that God favored you. This solidified the Puritan revelation deep into the fabric of the new society. The church was organized in such a way as to promote unity, exclusiveness, and piety, and the town followed suit. It was also assumed that the town should provide the means to acquire competency, should you be worthy, by granting land and supporting a communal right to church and education. Achieving competency was a sign to the rest of the town that life was in order for you and your family. And, as a reminder, this is authority in action. It would be tempting to think that the

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[124] Writing in 1630, Reverend John White said in *Planter's Plea* that, "nothing sorts better with Piety than Compete[n]cy." Ibid, 44; The definition of competency can be found in Daniel Vicker's "Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (Jan., 1990). Anderson also discusses competency at length in *New England's Generation.*

[125] John McKay, Bennet D. Hill, and John Buckler, *A History of Western Society – Volume 1: From Antiquity to the Enlightenment,* 8th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), 550.

[126] Anderson, "Migrants and Motives," 381.

charismatic community only had authority in the church, where the doctrine of their belief had the most resonance with the group who adhered to it. However, through the town we can see that the authority structure of people delivering orders and people taking them in the church imbued the civil order of their new society, as well. You had to prove your worth, and this marked your social station.

The Puritan economic system, based on competencies, was largely one of subsistence farming. Their early vision may have been a diverse economy like that of the home they had left behind, but the demand of the first years of settlement required a wholesale commitment to clearing and farming the land. Fearful the large amount of land would attract those greedy for it (and profit), New Englanders abandoned the Virginian headright system, which they found antithetical to their communal values, and granted land "to towns as corporate entities" to better bolster cohesive communities, both civically and geographically.[127] The abundance of land also did away with primogeniture; there was no need if you could just divide your land for your family, or simply request the addition of more acreage from the town when the need arose.[128]

The process of receiving land was as follows: upon arriving in Massachusetts Bay, a settler would apply to join a town. The admission and exclusion process of the Puritan town was a way to sustain their shared revelations; town leaders were very serious about who they included in their communities. They accepted applications to join the town, and extensive interviews were conducted. If someone were found in a lie, they would immediately be turned away.[129] If admission was granted, private property would be parsed out, based on your social standing and how many people were in

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[127] Anderson, *New England's Generation,* 91. See footnotes on this page for further reading recommendations about the headright system vs. the town-grant system. Also, Puritan settlers in Nicaragua in 1635 are an interesting counter-example to the Puritan scheme of private property – for more information see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island: 1630-1641, The Other Puritan Colony* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). She derives a notion of private property as a key to successful colonization. Thank you to Dr. Virginia Anderson for her guidance in understanding the 17th-century English perception of private property.

[128] See Philip F. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover Massachusetts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970).

[129] Kenneth Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years* (New York: W.W Norton & Company, 1970), 8.

your household, through the town body (instead of the Massachusetts Bay Company owning it and then letting it) in the amount of roughly 50-100 acres. In the town of Dedham, the founding 30 families were granted nearly 200 square miles of land, and in the first twenty years, they divided amongst the town members nearly 3,000 acres.[130]

Once land was secure, farming began. No easy task, clearing the land to start farming took several years. One Salem resident was only able to clear six of his seventy acres in a span of ten years - this is affectual devotion, in action.[131] Farming was the primary basis of their economy until the early 1640s when, congruent with the "comfortable independence" of competency, they became aware that all they had to trade – fish, lumber and provisions – was exactly what the West Indies needed, and the merchant economy took off. Other than farming, the only crafts that survived were those necessary in an agrarian society, like textiles, carpentry, and locksmiths.

Additional to assessing the predestined state of your soul, the competency-based system sustained charisma because ever present throughout the initial settlement years was the concern that too much focus on the material world would cause spiritual devotion to wane. The Puritans spent a great amount of time writing about the tension between profligacy and piety, helping to keep competency, and thus their charismatic authority, alive. To some, like Edward Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, "religion and profit jump together," but many others like Cotton Mather warned of the dangers of material temptations.[132] The Reverend John White wrote, "If men desire to have a people degenerate speedily, and to corrupt their minds and bodies too, and besides to toil-in thieves and spoilers from abroad, let them seek a rich soil that brings in much with little labor."[133]

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[130] Lockridge, 4, 12.
[131] Anderson, *New England's Generation,* 97.
[132] Katherine Carté Engel, *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).
[133] Quote found in Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1995), 8.

Indeed, the pressures of being both a pious Puritan and a successful merchant were often nearly too much to bear, but the Puritans as the first merchants to permanently settle in New England believed that religion was an indispensable guide to their commercial pursuits. If being righteous in the eyes of God meant working hard in all that you do, economic success ensured spiritual success in the life to come. As historian Stephen Innes writes, "The Bay Colonists established a market economy and erected a moral-cultural system and civic society to supplement and control it."[134] To survive, they were forced to participate in economic activities, and, in fact, by focusing on competency and the stability it offered them, they became quite good at it.

The Covenant

The Puritans also built a social contract into their town structure that controlled both civic and economic life in New England. Grounded first in the charismatic, revelatory covenant that God had made with them as visible saints, the covenant was diffused into every aspect of civic life.[135] First and foremost, it began in the home where the family was the little commonwealth, and each was strongly self-regulated by devotion to God. Anderson writes that, "the predominance of families preserved traditional patterns of patriarchal authority and kinship ties that contributed to social stability."[136] This was extended out into the organization of the town. In terms of this study, the town covenant is of particular importance. In his book *A New England Town*, Kenneth Lockridge investigates in detail the town covenant of Dedham. He describes that the covenant served as a way for the town's founders

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[134] Innes, 6.

[135] Timothy .H Breen and Stephen Foster, "The Puritans' Greatest Achievement: A Study of Social Cohesion in Seventeenth Century Massachusetts," *The Journal of American History,* 60(1):12. Breen and Foster also suggest Miller's *The New England Mind*, pp. 365-491, and Edmund S. Morgan's *The Puritan Dilemma: A Story of John Winthrop* (Boston: Pearson, 1958), pp. 69-83, 93-95.

[136] Anderson, *New England's Generation,* 26. Additionally, they purposefully brought small numbers of servants – who could more easily be swayed to the contrary of Puritan life – so as to ensure social control in the home.

to clearly set forth their social goals, as well as the rules and guidelines they would follow in order to achieve those goals.[137] Dedham begin their covenant with,

> *One*: We who names are here unto subscribed do, in the fear and reverence of our Almighty God, mutually and severally promise amongst ourselves and each other to profess and practice one truth according to that most perfect rule, the foundation whereof is everlasting love.[138]

Anyone who chose to join the town's membership would be expected to sign and adhere to the covenant, and anyone who did not follow the guidelines could expect to be expelled. In this way, their shared revelation achieved continuous recognition. They included statements about who they would include – "we shall by all means labor to keep off from us all such as are contrary minded, and receive only such unto us as may be probably of one heart with us" – and how they would deal with arguments and actions that required discipline.[139] These facts along with the idea of competency were reliable ways to take the temperature of the community. Was everyone working according to the community guidelines? Was greed being curtailed? For those who disrespected these social boundaries, they would be warned, disciplined, and the error recorded. Lockridge tells us that, in Dedham, a town book was kept as a record of people's blunders and subsequent mediations.[140] If the person in question continued on in their misguided ways, they would be discharged for threatening the stability of society.

For example, Philbrick gives us a great account of Thomas Morton, a man who "represented everything that Pilgrims had come to America to escape."[141] He consistently spent time hunting and drinking with the local native people, who loved trading with him, and even built an eighty-foot-tall maypole, a sign to the Puritans that he didn't take religion seriously, in the town he helped found – aptly named Merrymount. Morton underestimated the seriousness of the Puritan/Pilgrim mission to

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[137] Lockridge, 4-7.
[138] Lockridge, 4-5.
[139] Lockridge, 4-7.
[140] Lockridge, 13.
[141] Philbrick, 163.

keep their community stable. Throughout his time in New England, he had many encounters with the Puritan authority, including finding his house burned to the ground at the urging of John Winthrop. He was arrested several times, and was even marooned on the Isle of Shoals before being sent back to England. This was an extreme form of exclusion, but we will see that the Puritans, desperate to keep their charismatic authority stable, increasingly relied on measures such as this.

The ideas of competency and the covenant worked to manifest and build the charismatic propensity of the Puritan's shared revelation in Massachusetts Bay. However, attempts to imbue the aura of charisma into the town were touch and go. By moving to new the new colony, they were obeying God's call, and by working hard and obediently toward their shared revelation, they would gain the favor of God and a surer sign of their place in Heaven's elect.[142] Other colonies were never able to gain the same sense of social cohesion that the Puritans were able to attain, and this is because of the deeply held spiritual significance that infused purpose and a sense of order throughout the whole of their society. However, they had to administer and create a sense of bureaucratic order, which takes away charisma. While the town, as an example, still supports the thesis – they made efforts to render even subsistence farming part of the order of grace – it was still a challenge. And after a certain point, their charismatic authority could no longer be sustained. Anderson writes that the phenomena of colonial stability was unique to New England's first generation.[143] Later generations, especially those living in the late 17th century, cried out in jeremiad sermons a strong desire for the charismatic propensity which marked the first group of settlers. But what changed? To understand this, we must go back to the shared revelation of the visible saints, and their holy errand into the wilderness.

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[142] Anderson, "Migrants and Motives," 381.
[143] Anderson, "Migrants and Motives," 382.

An Interlude: The Errand Fractures

In 1674, the great Puritan preacher of New England's second generation, Increase Mather, preached the first of the jeremiad sermons that would make him famous.[144] Entitled "The Day of Trouble is near," he cautioned the people of his congregation to turn inward in deep reflection over the state of their souls.

> Oh this World, the World undoeth many a man, that thinks he shall to go to Heaven when he dieth. And in this respect our Land is full of Idolatry…We have changed our Interest. The Interest of New England was Religion, which did distinguish us from other English plantations… now we begin to espouse a Worldly Interest and so to choose a new God.[145]

He and other ministers would go on to preach countless of other sermons like this, all with the same theme; yearning for the piety and sense of purpose that the first generation had, they recognized that there had been a turn away from their initial mission. How would they ever go back? What had brought them here?

Throughout this study, I have examined the various ways in which the Puritans in New England fit the definition of the charismatic community, as well as the ways that they successfully kept this authority alive in the colony. They were affectually bound, they practiced acts of continuous recognition, and they made claims about where charisma was located and how it could be accessed – all through the likes of Augustinian theology, church organization, competency, and town implementation. However, as the jeremiad sermons in the late-second and third generations show us, routinization crept in and the charismatic propensity of their mission dwindled. By the mid-17th century, their initial sense of domination in the colony lost its legitimacy. What happened? And what can this teach us about the nature of and the boundaries inherent to this new addition to Weber's typology, the charismatic community?

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[144] Hall, 96.

[145] Increase Mather, *The Day of Trouble is near* (Cambridge, 1675),23. Quoted in Hall, 98.

Turbulence in Old and New England

A lot had happened in 40 years since John Winthrop preached his covenant-building "A Model of Christian Charity" aboard the *Arabella*. The colony was losing so many of the leaders that had that had shepherded them through the trials and tribulations of initial settlement: John Winthrop died in 1649, and John Cotton passed in 1652. "Alas! Our Nehemiahs are gone. [O]ur Pauls are likewise departed from amongst us, in which respect we may fear corruption in Religion will follow," wrote Increase Mather.[146] The Antinomian Crisis was just the first in a series of other spiritual calamities. The Quaker controversy, in particular, challenged communal boundaries the Puritans had drawn around themselves in an effort to preserve their shared revelation.[147] How could the religious toleration that the Quakers pressed for be granted if the stability of the charismatic group rest, in part, on its admission and exclusion practices? Their competing charisma was stamped out, just as Hutchinson was in the Antinomian Crisis. The threat of wars with the native tribes was always constant, too. In 1636, an English trader had been killed in a skirmish with the Pequots. The tribe was decimated and the survivors divided up as slaves, and tension were mounting between native groups all throughout the colony.[148] Who knew when another massacre might arise, like that which killed Anne Hutchinson in 1643, after her expulsion from Massachusetts Bay. For these Calvinist settlers, these troubles were signs that they were falling out of God's favor.

Their plight continued when, in 1640, the Great Migration of Puritans coming over to Massachusetts Bay from England slowed to a near halt. With the outbreak of the English civil war, doors were opening for religious reform at home on the island. This challenged the heart of their shared revelation, of their errand into the wilderness. They had made a new claim about how society

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[146] Increase Mather, *A Call from Heaven to the Present and Succeeding Generations…* (Boston, 1679), 66. As quoted in Anderson's *New England's Generation,* 180.
[147] Kai Erickson, 108.
[148] Salisbury, Neal. "Pequot War." In *The Oxford Companion to United States History*: Oxford University Press, 2001. http://goo.gl/WvlKqf.

should be ordered, and where the locus of charisma was found in society. Facing opposition and uncomfortable living in the outer strata of society, the charismatic propensity that was inherent in their cause heightened and enveloped many more people into a strong charismatic community. They sustained themselves through practices of continuous recognition, like conversion stories and competency, and their disciplinarian and exclusionary measures helped maintain authority. But what did any of this mean if they lost their audience – the eye of the English? Their mission was centered around being a city on a hill, and now it seemed that the center of power in England might finally agree with them.

Perhaps most significant to the Puritans, in term of the legitimacy of their charismatic authority as a group, was the declination in church membership that arose in the second generation. It was a problem built into the very purpose of their holy mission to merge the invisible with the visible church – by strictly excluding all that appeared wicked and sinful, they were unable to sustain growth. It was their distinct duty to recognize the shared revelation that salvation was met by faith in grace alone, and not good works. And in order to bring about Christ's return, they must swiftly introduce this concept to as much of the world as possible. This was why they wanted to reform England on a national scale, and since progress proved difficult at home on the island, the new society that they built in Massachusetts Bay was designed to be a model for the rest of the world on how to live as true visible saints, in the world and not of it.

However, if salvation should be offered to the masses indiscriminately but the community's stability required exclusionary measures, how should they proceed? As Morgan writes, "How could a church serve God as an instrument for converting sinners if it consisted only of those who had been converted already?"[149] For this conundrum, they received a lot of criticism. Many said that they were reaping what was sown by the churches that they were deeming to be corrupt. But in New England,

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[149] Morgan, *Visible Saints*, 116.

where the Great Migration was bringing in thousands of potentially wicked people, the durability of their shared revelation as at stake. Some even considered moving deeper into isolation.[150] William Bradford, the founding minister in Plymouth, asked how it was that, "so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land and mix themselves amongst them…seeing as it was religious men that began the work and they came for religion's sake?"[151] The fear drove them further into their affectual, charismatic exclusionary practices.

Of this new body of people arriving, not all were able to pass the conversion story tests. Though they lived by the very same Christian beliefs of piety and competency, they were unable to gain admission into the church. This had long lasting consequences, for the charismatic authority in New England prohibited non-Puritan churches from being built, and if you were unable to gain access to the church, then it was not only you who could not be baptized or receive communion, but also your children.[152] You would be without a place of worship, and outside the fold of God. From our discussion of the Puritan town, we know that this had dire consequences, especially in terms of acquiring land and a means to support yourself economically. By marginalizing so much of the new immigrants, they created a stark discomfort in them by distancing the settlers from the locus of charisma. As we know, this could very well stoke a fiery propensity for new claims to be made about how the transcendent should be accessed and how society should be ordered – and it did. Tensions were high, and cynicism grew. Challenges to authority arose, with the likes of Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, as well as a businessman named Robert Child, who we will learn more about later in the chapter. Founding minister John Cotton asked, "May there not fall out to be Hypocrites in our Flock? And must wee not preach for their conversion?

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[150] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 120.

[151] William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, ed. by Samuel E. Morison (New York, 1952), 316, 320-321. As quoted in Bernard Bailyn's *The Barbarous Years - The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600-1675* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012), 353.

[152] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 121.

> And are not the children of the Members of our Church, many of them such, as when they grow up stand in need of converting grace?... Besides when an Indian or unbeliever commeth into the Church, do not all the prophets that preach the Word…apply their speech to his conviction and conversion?[153]

This was a crisis of maintenance. Something needed to be done. The very foundations upon which their authority rested was at stake.

The Crises Converge: The Civil War and the Halfway Covenant

These two crises converge into a distinct problem for the charismatic community: maintaining an audience. As Shils asserted, order-creating or order-destroying powers are inherently charismatic because of their ability to provide meaning and a sense of cosmic position to people in society. When a new order is established that removes the legitimating gaze through which you located yourself, the charismatic propensity diminishes as your sense of meaning scatters. Other people in society must agree about your position and about how the world is oriented. When that agreement is lost, and the audience turns to another transcendent claim, confusion and panic ensue for the former authority. For the Puritan project in New England, once the civil war made it possible that reform could take place at home, "the tide that lifted a charismatically led group out of everyday life flow[ed] back into the channels of workaday routines," as Weber writes.[154] Also, excluding people from joining the group may help maintain stability for awhile, but the problem of succession that Weber describes in his pure type lingers.[155] What happens when people die? How do you secure a path forward for your children? The Puritans struggled to answer this question before eventually settling on the Halfway Covenant, a routinized, mediated form of their initial charismatic mission.

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[153] John Cotton, *The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared*, p. 74. As quoted in Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 123.
[154] Weber, 1121.
[155] Weber, 1121-1148.

Let's investigate further in chronological order, beginning with the crisis of audience with the onset of the civil war. Royal absolutism in the 1630s and early 40s was on the decline throughout Europe, and despite Charles I's dismissal of parliament in in 1629, he was unable to govern alone for long. After several clashes with the Scots, for whom he attempted to abolish Presbyterianism, and increasingly dire budget issues, he called back in Parliament for assistance in 1640, beginning the Long Parliament era that severely limited monarchial power. Parliament also impeached Archbishop Laud, the Puritan nemesis, and even threatened to abolish episcopacy itself. Suddenly, the Puritan ideals were thrust to the main stage, and it seemed highly likely that the social order they had desperately desired for over a century could become a reality.[156]

The migration slowed to a sudden halt, causing grave economic concerns and larger questions of identity and meaning. New ships that were once so prominent on the horizon became rare, and Winthrop lamented over Parliament's "general reformation both of church and state…[which] caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world."[157] Bailyn writes that in the summer of 1640, financial panic ensued in New England as producers flooded the market and prices plummeted.[158] And even more concerning for the legitimation of their charismatic authority was the effect this inverted migration had on their sense of meaning. "Once [they] had been convinced of their unique historic mission," Bailyn writes,

> to be a beacon in the recovery of pristine, primitive Christianity in the age of Episcopal persecution. But now, it seemed, their humble efforts had been overwhelmed by the great success of Cromwell's tolerationist Puritans in England – indeed, in the very counties from which [they] had fled – and by the defeat of the oppressive church. What now was the meaning of all their strivings in the greater scheme of things?[159]

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[156] McKay, Hill, and Buckler, *A History of Western Society,* 550.

[157] John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. by James K. Hosmer (New York, 1908), vol. II, 238. As quoted in Bernard Bailyn's *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 46.

[158] Bailyn, *New England Merchants,* 47. For more information about the economic problems the English civil war caused in New England, as well as how they responded, read Bailyn's chapter "Adjustments and Early Failures," in *New England Merchants*, pp. 45-74. See also Bailyn's *The Barbarous Years*, pp. 477-389.

[159] Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years,* 357.

To add fuel to fire, some of the people that they had excluded in disciplinary episodes were leading the charge in England. Henry Vane (the younger) had emigrated from England in 1635, leaving a blossoming career in court for the religious freedom New England offered. He had been elected governor of Massachusetts Bay within six months of arrival, but his relationship with the church authority quickly soured when he aligned himself with the central characters in the Antinomian Crisis, John Cotton and Anne Hutchinson. Effectively banished, he returned home to England in 1637, where he became a leader in the Long Parliament and a close ally of Oliver Cromwell's.[160] We can only assume that, as they watched the Great Migration end due to reform at home, these events with Vane were salt in a deep wound for the Puritans back in Massachusetts Bay.

Some returned to England during this time. Estimates say that at a minimum of 1,500 colonists sailed back home to the island, which, of a rough population of 12,500 in 1640, would have been a rate of one in eight, no insignificant number.[161] Many of these were the young, creative individuals that the New England project needed desperately to sustain its mission.[162] What ensued at home, though, lead directly to the exclusionist challenges that produced routinized forms of their charismatic authority like the Halfway Covenant. The economic concerns sparked by the civil war had brought repressed social ones to the surface, and those who had lived at the margins of society were finally ready to voice their discomfort, as well as the new opinions they had about how society should be ordered. This time, the Puritans in New England would not so easily silence their opponents.

Robert Child, an investor in John Winthrop, Jr's. metal works venture in Saugus, was deeply concerned about the strict and disciplinary boundaries that the Puritan clergy had infused throughout the whole of New England society. Protesting the rules against strangers, he helped create the

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[160] Cannon, John. "Vane, Sir Henry the elder." In *A Dictionary of British History.* (Oxford University Press, 2009). http://goo.gl/oMYp6E.
[161] Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years,* 473.
[162] Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years,* 477.

Remonstrance of May 1646, an open challenge to the legitimation of the colony's charismatic authority.[163] The signers grieved over the false promises made to them upon their arrival, only to be met instead with exclusion from the church that left them destitute, socially and economically. They demanded that the liberties guaranteed to them as Englishmen be admitted and acted upon in the Bay Colony, including the right to hold administrative office even if they were not deemed legitimate church members. They also wanted a guarantee to take communion in the church. A terrible fight between the clergy, the General Court, and Child ensued, and after a year of legal battle, he left for England. The instigator might have been gone, but a deeper and more tragic realization remained in his departure: Child was not an enemy of the Puritan project. In fact, he was, in many ways, the ideal reformer.[164] This light-bulb moment shed light on a larger, more threatening problem: their charismatic community was coming apart at the seams. The sense of meaning they gleaned from the social order of their initial mission was thrown into disarray. Who were they now that the civil war weakened the charisma of their errand into the wilderness?

As for the exclusionary practices that Child had challenged, the Puritans first tried to quell the problem in 1646 by requiring that everyone in each town attend their local church.[165] However, ministers still spoke primarily to the saved, and effectively continued their impartiality, "in sermons designed less to plant the seed of faith than to nourish it where it already grew."[166] They had to find a way to maintain their authority, to ensure its succession to the substantial number of new settlers, both immigrants and the babies that were being born to them. The New England colonists lived remarkably longer lives than those who stayed at home in England, with one in five living past 80

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[163] Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years*, 482. See also Stephen Foster's *The Long Argument* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 169-172.
[164] Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years*, 477-489.
[165] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 123.
[166] Ibid.

years old.[167] They were also producing large families, and in the 10 years after 1640, the population increased by 66 percent.[168] There were simply too many people who potentially would not be admitted to receive the church sacrament, and consequently, whose children would be excluded as well.

Also, with the end to the Great Migration after the onset of the civil war, there was an accompanying end to a recurring supply of godly men and women who met the requirements of church admission.[169] It was highly likely, then, that by the third generation, the church meeting house would be virtually empty of true visible saints. And even for those children who would be admitted because of the salvation of their parents, their own baptism proved inconsistent with Puritan theology. If predestined election could never be fully known, and the conversion story was essential to helping estimate someone's likelihood of visible sainthood, how could it be properly assumed that the baptized children would be a part of the elect just because their parents were? They needed to go through their own admission process, then, but that would just put them in the same position as all of the suspect strangers who were deemed undeserving of church membership.[170] If the child did not properly present his own conversion story upon arriving at adulthood, what was the status of his baptism and soul? Was he a full member? And what about his children? Should they be baptized and admitted conditionally as he was? He couldn't be expelled for not showing signs of faith alone, especially if he was a model citizen otherwise. As Morgan writes, "the Puritans had in fact moved the church so far from the world that it would no longer fit the biological facts of life."[171] The inconsistencies weakened the church, and as people like Child began to protest, their authority dwindled.

The Halfway Covenant of 1662 was both the answer to their problems as well as the primary nail in the coffin; it was the fatal blow of routinization that their charisma had succumbed to. Instead

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[167] Anderson, 180-1.
[168] Anderson, 183.
[169] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 129.
[170] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 125-127.
[171] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 128.

of answering questions of how to evangelize into the world and convert more people into their cause, which I think would have been a truer measure according to their original charismatic mission, they sought to answer the questions of baptism and children. There were seven propositions adopted at the synod, and we shall focus on the third, fourth, and fifth. They were as follows:

> Proposition 3d. The infant-seed of confederate visible Believers, are members of the same Church with their parents, and when grown up, are personally under the Watch, Discipline and Government of that Church.
>
> Proposition 4th. These Adult persons are not therefore to be admitted to full Communion, merely because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications, as the Word of God requireth thereunto.
>
> Proposition 5th. Church-members who were admitted in minority, understanding the Doctrine of Faith, and publicly professing their assent thereto; not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and their Children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, their Children are to be baptized.[172]

These opinions meant that if a person was born to a full member of the church, they could be baptized and put under dutiful care to help cultivate his soul and faith. Then, as an adult, he would be expected to go through the full admission process. If he did not pass, but was still a moral citizen in all other respects, he could keep the membership he was "admitted [to] in minority," could baptize his children in the church (they would start the same process), but could not take communion or vote in church proceedings. In this way, he would be a half-way member.

Morgan argues that the Halfway Covenant was not an example of declination in Massachusetts Bay, but was rather a rationalization of a necessary consideration which had been initially ignored in the early years when "ministers and church members were so dazzled by the pure new institution they had succeed in creating."[173] He does not admit to know what did cause the declination in piety, but is firm in his belief that it was not the Halfway Covenant. And to this, I must agree. The Halfway

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[172] Williston Walker, *Creeds and Platforms,* pp. 325-328. As quoted in Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 130.

[173] Morgan, *Visible Saints,* 138.

Covenant seems to me to be more of a systematized reaction to a problem of charismatic succession. Declination was not the result of this one synod, but rather, one aspect in a highly nuanced problem relating to audience. The Puritans did not answer the question they should have when creating these propositions, the question of evangelism, which would have been a reflection on the nature of how to truly recreate their charisma. The Halfway Covenant routinized the Puritan project because it let loose the boundaries surrounding their charismatic authority, and allowed the affectual bonds of their initial shared revelation to diffuse and wane. The visible church would hereafter be more mediated and systematic; instead of being a community of people who saw themselves as extraordinary bound and devoted to something otherworldy and divine, they would become a community of mediated people bound to something that was more habituated, value-rational, and traditional.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to investigate a new type of legitimate domination – the charismatic community – that can be added to Weber's tripartite typology by way of Shils' theory of the charismatic propensity. The charismatic community is one which is forged and bound by affectual devotion that arises out of "enthusiasm, or of despair and hope" to shared revelatory experiences, rather than to an individual leader. These shared revelatory experiences are considered extraordinary, with capacities to reach the divine or the exceptional. They are also personal events that impart or disclose some measure of previously unknown information about the state of the world or of the self, and which rouse feelings of devotion, based on this knowledge, to a divine or extraordinary cause.

After examining the case of the Puritan project in New England, can we say that all of the above conditions of the definition presented were met? Yes, absolutely. The long struggle to further reform Reformed England left the Puritans uncomfortable with their position on the margins of society. The collective excitement about their new claims to the transcendent and the social order affectually bound them to a share mission to be a city on a hill, and they left for New England with a mission to be a Christian model for the rest of the world. And upon arriving, they infused into their new society, from the town to the church to the family, continuous acts of recognition that sustained their charismatic authority as a community. Using Weber and Shils to synthesize a new theory, we can aptly see in the Puritans a new theoretical opportunity to better understand forms of legitimate domination throughout the social world.

Critical to extending Weber's typology, though, is a consideration of how charismatic authority is routinized into other types, both legal-rational and traditional. This too happened in Puritan New England, as the problem of succession threatened their stability into major factors of audience: the crisis of meaning after the English civil war and the exclusionary measures that produced the Halfway Covenant. After it seemed like their mission had been realized, not in the new colony but at home on the island, their shared revelation to be a city on a hill lost a great deal of its charismatic propensity.

This confusion and loss of meaning launched them into a crisis of confidence. The economic troubles that accompanied the slow down of the Great Migration produced extensive disenchantment, fitting with Weber's notion that all charisma suffocates "under the weight of material interests."[174] They also were dealt a lofty challenge of succession when they realized that their exclusionary measures, originally installed for stability's sake, were potentially ruinous to their cause. How would their community survive if there would be little to no members left within one or two generations?

In response, they systematized the personal experience of grace that had initially initiated their charismatic community. The Halfway Covenant was a revolution by way of "technical means," as Weber calls it, rather than one that worked from within. They didn't seek to "transform charisma and charismatic blessing from a unique, transitory gift of grace of extraordinary times and persons into a permanent possession of everyday life," which was the great evangelizing mission of their cause.[175] Their call to proselytize, had they chosen to follow it, would have been a internal revolution that "result[s] in a radical alteration of all attitudes toward the different problems" in society.[176] This would have kept their charisma alive.

Instead, they chose not to solve the crisis of succession with resolutions about converting more settlers, opting for a technical solution that would help keep members in their seats. The Halfway Covenant provided a value-rational, or even instrumental, set of actions that would help keep the authority of the church alive, but the authority was routinized into something other than charismatic. Their desire to merge the visible with the invisible church became so extreme that it was hard to see where to go. They were no longer providing "an immediate connection to the fount of transcendental order." By leaning too much on exclusionary measures, they had lost sight of the Augustinian charge that they must not "think it a fruitless labor to bear what they inflict as enemies," and that the two

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[174] Weber, 1120.
[175] Weber, 1121.
[176] Weber, 245.

churches would be "entangled together in this world, and intermixed until the last judgment effects their separation."[177] This crisis of audience, both in the makeup of their community and of the ordered world around them, is crucial to understanding the nature of routinizing charismatic communities. This means that, in addition to the requirements of succession and maintenance, there is something elementary to this type of charismatic authority having to do with meaning and order, and perhaps the general lifecycle of charisma itself.

Shils tells us that the meaning that provides us with our cosmic location is given to us by the powers that be, the authority that tells us how society is ordered and how we can connect with that which is central in our lives – the transcendent. We also know that whenever there is too much distance between the central power and the outer strata of society, charismatic opportunities emerge. The Puritans had started on the outskirts of this order, and by building a large-scale charismatic community, they were able to work their way to the center in the Bay Colony. Then, when the civil war began, the charismatic propensity alive in their central position was taken away as the eye of the English disappeared, and the Great Migration waned. This brought to light the discomfort of those who were marginalized by the Puritans, and they engaged in stating their own charismatic claims about how the world should work. Here we see again, the onset of the back-and-forth swinging motion between charisma and routinization we analyzed generally in the first chapter.

This reveals an important truth about legitimate domination and our new typology: charismatic authority requires a minority position socially in order to start and sustain itself. The charismatic propensity will wax and wane as a Shilsian characteristic that people engage constantly, while Weber's typology exists in clear, definite terms. Once the charismatic community gains central power in society, their ability to communicate about meaning and cosmic location becomes increasingly difficult. With authority over the majority of those in their colony, town, state, and so on, they slip into routinizing

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[177] St. Augustine, *The City of God,* 35.

tasks of administration, much like the example given of the war hero turned king from the first chapter. Charisma requires an exceptional nature – how can something that claims to be fundamentally set apart, unique, extraordinary, and otherworldly sustain itself as a dominant authority when to be dominant is inherently normative? This is consistent with Weber's argument that, "in every case charisma is henceforth exposed to the conditions of everyday life and to the powers dominating it."

> The turning point is always reached when charismatic followers and disciples become privileged table companions…and subsequently fief-holders, priests, state officials…all of whom want to live off the charismatic movement… The charismatically dominated masses, in turn, become tax-paying subjects, dues-paying members of a church…or law-abiding "citizens." Even though the apostle admonishes the followers to maintain the purity of the spirit, the charismatic message inevitably becomes dogma, doctrine, theory, reglement, law, or petrified tradition.[178]

The special becomes the everyday, the singular becomes the standard. And with it, the charismatic propensity will decrease as people on the outskirts of the new order start to make new claims.

There is something more to this case, though, which is vital to theories of the charismatic community: when you have a charismatic movement, you need people who have not yet been converted. You need an in-between audience, a bridge audience, who have experienced the social discomfort of being on the margins, and who will respond to the new order the charismatic authority is suggesting. When this audience dries up, the authority risks being dried up along with it.

When the Great Migration ended, the bridge audience that the Puritans project in New England required was lost. This was the group of people from which they added to their flock. And because they did not evangelize, they depended upon this stock of individuals for survival. As we discussed, the true charismatic response would have been to sustain the project by proselytizing. However, there is a tendency in charismatic authority to value the purist of the pure, and it is likely heightened in the community. They don't want to be of this world – and as long as they had the bridge audience of new, already saved visible saints arriving from England, they could sustain the purity

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[178] Weber, 1121-1122.

project without proselytizing. They could convert without compromising. And once this source was cut off, it followed Weber's thesis. They stopped performing miracles – converting new souls to visible sainthood, then systematized and routinized to try and survive, and with it, transitioned into another type of legitimate domination. For further evidence, consider the following counterfactual: what if the Great Migration hadn't stopped? They would likely not have needed the Halfway Covenant.

For a modern example, the case of presidential candidate Donald Trump is particularly interesting. Here you have a charismatic leader who is imbued with exceptional qualities and who espouses a new central order, and a group of followers who themselves have been living on the uncomfortable margins of society, craving a new social structure that will help them feel more connected to that which is vital in their lives. Political reporters have hypothesized that the masses who support Trump are those who have felt marginalized over the last twenty or thirty years as society has progressed and reformed to be more equal and inclusive of the truly stratified – these followers are mostly white males who have been called privileged, without a referent for knowing what the term really means.[179] If this is true, then we have in this country a large stock of people from which Trump can cull more and more supporters to his following. All he need do is continue performing miracles – making speeches, rationalizing violence, dismissing protesters – that justify the feelings of discomfort they have experienced as they're told that they are out of touch, racist, sexist, and disillusioned. And there is no denying that this bridge audience of potential converts is large – one only has to look at the polls to see its size.[180]

So, what does this mean for the charismatic community? They are clearly not immune to the routinization that accompanies all charismatic authority. Weber says that charismatic authority and

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[179] Ball, Molly. "The Resentment Powering Trump." *The Atlantic,* 15 March 2016. Accessed on March 27, 2016. http://goo.gl/3yOmQi.
[180] Arkin, James. "Trump, Supporters Undeterred by Protests." *Real Clear Politics,* 13 Mar. 2016. Accessed on March, 27 2016. http://goo.gl/Fzo4MZ.

traditional authority tend to go hand in hand. There is a great opportunity for future research for those who study the post-Halfway Covenant society in New England, especially the events of the Glorious Revolution and the Interregnum of Massachusetts Bay. Did their charismatic community routinize into something traditionally structured, as Weber asserts is common, or was their society more legal-rational? Another option would be to investigate the role of Harvard College in creating a new throng of Puritan ministers to serve the New England project. Another form of maintenance to their charismatic mission, by training new clergy, they were able to keep a vital aspect of their community alive. However, this developed what Weber called a "charismatic quality," which, like the conversion story, required development, testing, and confirmation. How does something so systematic keep its affectual devotion alive?

If one accepts that there is an ever-present engagement between the privileged and the oppressed, then they must consider that always accompanying it is a charisma charismatic propensity which courses throughout the social body. When the discomforts of marginalization become too difficult to bear, those who are feeling most heavily the ill effects will seek new meaning, new order, and new authority. Sometimes, this new orientation will be directed at a charismatic person who, by miracles or other seemingly-divine abilities, will inspire and excite a new hope and a new emotional bond to a new social order. However, this is not always the case. When charisma is focused, not on the person but the ideological, the authority that is placed on humanity is redirected into a unique and special arrangement: that of the charismatic community. By expanding off of Weber's foundational theory and extending a concept that has been called "a debased, floating signifier," I risk both polemical charges from staunch Weberians and problematic ones from his critics.[181] However, I think that this examination of the New England Puritans, in its synthesis, carefully contribute theoretically while also providing a grounding referent.

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[181] Smith, 43.

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