

This book presents the history of the first two religious sects successfully launched in seventeenth-century Massachusetts, where it was illegal to participate in any faith other than the legally established congregationalism of the Puritan founders of the colony. Taking a comparative approach, the author examines the Quaker meeting in Salem and the Baptist church in Boston over more than a century. The work opens with the dramatic events surrounding dissenters' efforts to gain a foothold in the colony. Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts then locates sectarians within their families and communities, examines their beliefs and the changing nature of the organizations they founded, and discusses their interactions with the larger community and its leaders. The book deals with the religiosity of lay colonists, finding that men and women responded to these sects differently. It also analyzes sociological theories of sectarian evolution, the politics of dissent, and changes in beliefs and practices.



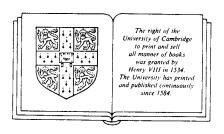
Quakers and Baptists in colonial Massachusetts



# Quakers and Baptists in colonial Massachusetts

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For Donald



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### Preface

During most of the period covered by this book, the English began the calendar year on March 25. Because the remainder of Europe had already adopted the Gregorian calendar, the English regularly followed a practice of dual dating for the period from 1 January through 24 March. What we would consider 1 March 1660, they thought of as 1 March 1659/60. Their practice of providing both years has been utilized here for the sake of clarity. In addition, most early New Englanders avoided the use of month names – which they considered pagan – and instead numbered the months. They would have rendered 1 March 1659/60 as 1st day 1st month 1659/60. To avoid confusion, all months have been given their "pagan" names.

Quotations from colonial sources have been left as in the original except that the letters of the alphabet have been changed as necessary to follow modern usage. Seventeenth-century publications typically had extremely long titles. The ends of these have regularly been lopped off without the insertion of ellipses.

Where Knowledge of a woman's family history is needed to follow a discussion, the full name — including any maiden name or previous married names — is provided. For those cases in which a name is not known, brackets, [ ], indicate the omission.

While working on this project, I have incurred many debts. The American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Humanities provided leave from teaching duties with the Fellowship for Recent Recipients of the Ph.D. An exchange program between the Huntington Library and the British Academy made a research trip to London possible. Short-term fellowships at the American Antiquarian Society (the Kate D. and Hall J. Peterson Fellowship), the Henry E. Huntington Library (the Frank Hideo Kono Memorial Fellowship), and the John Carter Brown Library financed visits to those archives. The Ohio State University provided various forms of assistance, including leave time with a College of Humanities' Special Research Assignment and the Department of History's Faculty Development Quarter as well as research support through the College of Humanities' Grant-in-Aid and the Graduate School's University Small Grant programs. A Charlotte W. Newcombe Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship from the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation freed me from having to seek employment during my



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last year of graduate study. At Cambridge University Press, Frank Smith moved my manuscript quickly through the review process.

Research for this project was conducted at various repositories, where staff members provided assistance. These included the libraries of the Massachusetts Historical Society, New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Essex Institute, Lynn Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, and Rhode Island Historical Society, as well as the John Carter Brown Library, Henry E. Huntington Library, British Library, Boston Public Library, Houghton Library, Widener Library, Friends' Library at Swarthmore College, James P. McGill Library at Haverford College, Library of the Society of Friends of the Friends' House in London, William Andrew Clark Memorial Library, Dr. Williams's Library in London, Massachusetts Archives Library at the State House, University Research Library at the University of California at Los Angeles, and the William Oxley Thompson Memorial Library at the Ohio State University. In addition, I consulted court, probate, and deed records in the public repositories of three Massachusetts counties - Essex, Middlesex, and Suffolk - as well as court records in the new facility on Columbia Point in Boston, the Massachusetts Archives. Peter Drummey of the Massachusetts Historical, Norman Fiering of the John Carter Brown, and Martin Ridge of the Huntington libraries, as well as Robert Middlekauff and Prudence Bakman, formerly at the Huntington and the Essex Institute libraries, respectively, made special efforts on my behalf, for which I remain grateful.

I have had the good fortune to receive advice and encouragement from able and generous scholars. My graduate school adviser, Gary Nash, has a well-deserved reputation as an incisive critic. I had the benefit not only of the close readings he gave my work, but also of his invariably astute insights about navigating the shoals of graduate school and launching oneself into academia. I found that I could rely on Joyce Appleby for both an encouraging word and thought-provoking ideas about my material. Ruth Bloch and Jon Butler helped me to begin thinking about how to transform my dissertation into this book, and both of them have continued to advise me on the project. Christine Heyrman, E. Brooks Holifield, and Richard Sheils also thoroughly critiqued the revised manuscript. Edwin Gaustad, Stephen Marini, Randolph Roth, Leila Rupp, and, especially, Kathleen Myers read portions of this work. My graduate student, Raymond Irwin, assisted me in preparing the manuscript for publication.

Finally, my loved ones have helped in less direct but no less important ways. My extended family may have wondered about the wisdom of pursuing a Ph.D. in history, especially after I had explained my prospects for employment; their good-natured concern has been a constant source of encouragement. Don, who has made this work possible by making my life as a graduate student and an assistant professor enjoyable, maintains that it has been no sacrifice. For that, I am especially grateful.



## Abbreviations used in the footnotes

#### Sources

BTR	Reports of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston Records Relating to the Early History of Boston. 39 vols. Boston, 1876—
	1909
<i>CMHS</i>	Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society
CSMC	Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Collections
ECPR	Essex County Probate Records. Essex County Courthouse, Salem, Mass.
<i>EIHC</i>	Essex Institute Historical Collections
EQC	George Francis Dow and Mary G. Thresher, eds. Records and
~	Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1636-
	1686. 9 vols. Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1911-21, 1975
MAE	Massachusetts Archives, Bound Manuscripts, Ecclesiastical. Ju-
	dicial Archives at the Massachusetts Archives, Boston, Mass.
MCC	Middlesex County, County Court Records (including the "Folio
	Collection"). Judicial Archives at the Massachusetts Archives,
	Boston
MCPR	Middlesex County Manuscript Probate Records. County Court-
	house, Cambridge, Mass. Microfilm
<i>NEHGR</i>	New England Historic Genealogical Register
NEQ	New England Quarterly
<i>PMHS</i>	Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society
RIHSC	Rhode Island Historical Society Collections
RIYM	Society of Friends. Rhode Island Yearly Meeting Records. New
	England Yearly Meeting Archive. Rhode Island Historical So-
	ciety Library, Providence, R.I.
RMB	Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed. Records of the Governor and Company
	of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. 5 vols. in 6. Boston,
	1853-4. Reprint. New York: AMS Press, 1968
SCC	Suffolk County Records. Judicial Archives at the Massachusetts
	Archives, Boston
SCPR	Suffolk County Manuscript Probate Records. Boston Public Li-
	brary, Boston. Microfilm



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SMM	Society of Friends. Salem Monthly Meeting Records. New England Yearly Meeting Archive. Rhode Island Historical Society Library, Providence, R.I. (only the men's monthly meeting records are extant before 1767; for the records beginning in 1767, references distinguish between men's and women's meetings)		
SQM	Society of Friends. Salem Quarterly Meeting Records. New England Yearly Meeting Archive. Rhode Island Historical So- ciety Library, Providence, R.I.		
WMQ	William and Mary Quarterly		
Archives			
AAS	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.		
ANTS	Franklin Trask Library, Andover Newton Theological Seminary, Newton, Mass.		
LHS	Lynn Historical Society, Lynn, Mass.		
LSF	Library of the Society of Friends, Friends' House, London		
MA	Massachusetts Archive, Boston		
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society Library, Boston		
NEHGS	New England Historical Genealogical Society Library, Boston		
RIHS	Rhode Island Historical Society Library, Providence, R.I.		