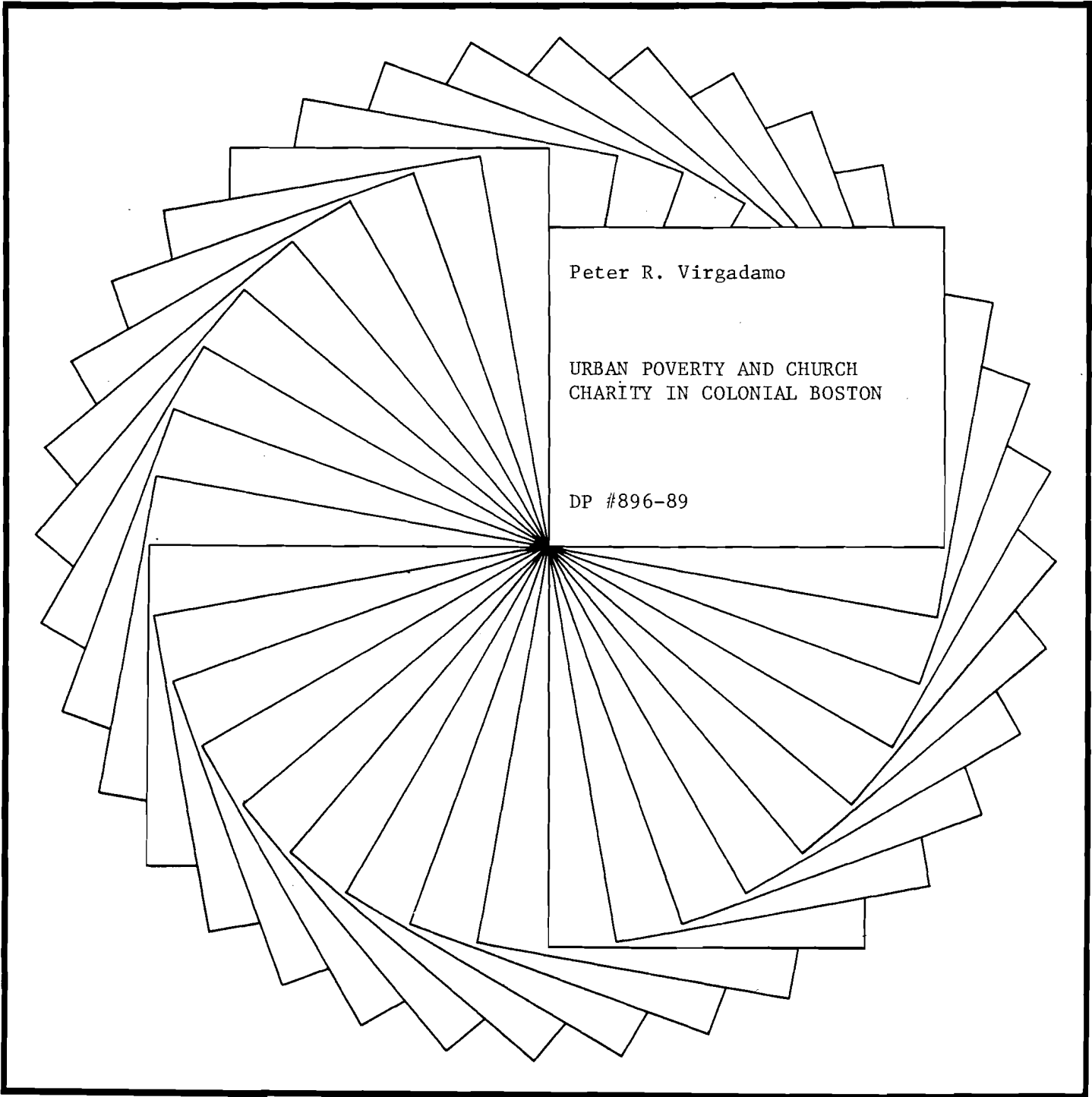

IRP Discussion Papers



Peter R. Virgadamo

URBAN POVERTY AND CHURCH
CHARITY IN COLONIAL BOSTON

DP #896-89

Institute for Research on Poverty
Discussion Paper no. 896-89

URBAN POVERTY AND CHURCH CHARITY IN COLONIAL BOSTON

Peter R. Virgadamo
University of Southern California

October 1989

This research was supported in part by a grant from the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin-Madison through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Any opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the opinions or policy of the Institute, the University, or the Department of Health and Human Services.

Abstract

Drawing on archival sources, this paper contrasts the practice of charity toward the poor by two very different minority churches, Anglican and Baptist, in eighteenth-century colonial Boston, when the Puritan faith was dominant. The brief glimpses into poverty and efforts to alleviate it in this pre-industrial society indicate that the feminization of poverty prevailed: widows and orphans were the chief recipients of assistance. Although it is almost impossible to construct a poverty line for the 1700s, it is clear that church activity provided only a small portion of what the needy required to survive.

URBAN POVERTY AND CHURCH CHARITY IN COLONIAL BOSTON

As the English fleet departed Boston in March of 1776, Dr. Silvester Gardiner may have watched from his ship as the town receded from view. He would never see Boston again and later in life would rage against the political events that led to his departure from the town. As a Loyalist, he undoubtedly expected the English military to return to the seaport and defeat the American rebels, so that he could return to his home. He would also have expected to resume his activities in helping the poor, for he was widely recognized as one of the most charitable men of Boston, particularly toward his fellow Anglicans of King's Chapel Church.

Equally renowned for his charity in Boston was the Reverend Samuel Stillman, of the First Baptist Church in Boston. Like Gardiner, Stillman worked for the poor of one of the town's lesser religions, the Baptists. Also like Gardiner, he struggled against the prejudices and even the persecution of the Congregational majority. One might think that the two men would have shared a common ground. As outsiders to the mainstream faith in Boston, they certainly shared many of the same problems. But the politics of the American Revolution precluded any serious cooperation by the two churches. Stillman remained in Boston with his congregation and as a rebel American continued to help the poor of his faith, while Gardiner languished in England as a Loyalist exile. How these two men, so important to the charity of colonial Boston, took separate paths in response to persecution and poverty is the subject of this paper.

When I began this research I envisioned a comprehensive inventory of the records of the eleven Puritan (Congregational) churches with a cursory review of the secondary churches, such as the Anglicans and Baptists. But as I studied the vast records of the Congregational churches, I realized that other historians had, in bits and pieces, reviewed most of the Puritan church manuscripts. How the Puritans collected and distributed the charity of their churches, how they helped the poor and why, are known in general form to historians of early America. However, scholars have not investigated in great depth the church records of the other religions in colonial Boston. They have concentrated on the Puritans and assumed that the other faiths did not merit their attention. Yet the other faiths had established at least seven churches, and historians have generally neglected those congregations and their efforts for the poor. With perseverance and a bit of good fortune, I located the records of five of the seven churches of Anglican and Baptist faiths (see Appendix A). Of these five sets of manuscripts, the records of King's Chapel and of the First Baptist Church offered the most promise for study and analysis.

All previous historical work on early Boston church records has concentrated on the Puritan (Congregational) churches, which in the eighteenth century meant a focus on a faith in decline, although still the major religion in the community. But the church records of the other two faiths, Anglican and Baptist, revealed vigorous and energetic efforts of religions in ascendancy. Their endeavors to aid the church poor proved to be more innovative, and at times more comprehensive, than those of their Congregational counterparts. They accepted new ideas on

charity and incorporated practices brought over from England, which the Puritans disdained but which would later become part of our modern charity practices.

This paper concentrates on the path of these two churches and how persecution, as well as secondary status, provided them with the vigor to seek new ideas to help the poor.

For the Anglican faith and in particular King's Chapel, the road to a viable church (and charity for their own poor) required unusual perseverance and patience. Although Anglicans arrived with the first generation of immigrants to New England, the dominance of the Puritan faith precluded any organized religious effort outside of Puritanism. From 1630 to 1680 the Puritans and their churches of the Congregational faith had little tolerance for those of other religions. Most Puritans had fled England precisely because of their distaste for the Anglican faith; many of them, particularly the clergy, had been persecuted by the officials of the Anglican church when in England.¹

In New England the Puritans thus had the opportunity to create a world of their own design, which did not include other faiths, especially Anglican. For those who publicly challenged Puritan hegemony, as the Quakers did in the 1650s, their fate could be the gallows. As long as the Puritans controlled the government and the church, no other faith could openly practice in Boston. This of course affected the poor of other faiths: they lacked a formal church to seek charity, and instead had to rely on such public institutions as the Alms House.

But the monolithic control of the Puritans change in 1684, when King Charles II revoked the charter of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay. For years the English government had sought to mediate with Puritan magistrates on the issue of political control of the colony, efforts that had started in the 1640s. Puritan intransigence finally provoked the last Stuart king to the drastic step of making Massachusetts-Bay a royal colony. He revoked the Company charter of 1629 and appointed the first royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros.²

A military man and an Anglican, Andros arrived in Boston in December 1686, determined to change the world of the puritans. Even before his arrival, Anglicans were emboldened enough by the change of the charter to begin to practice their faith. Their first religious service was conducted in June of 1686, in a private home. Andros insisted on a proper edifice for worship and requested that the Puritan ministers provide him with one of their churches. The Puritan clergy rejected his request; in retaliation Andros arbitrarily selected the Old South Church for Anglican services in Boston. Samuel Sewall, the Puritan merchant and diarist who worshiped in that church, recorded in his daily entries the anguish of the congregation when Andros seized the church keys on Easter Sunday of 1687.³ For fledgling Anglican congregation of Boston, now known as King's Chapel, Andros's efforts brought a temporary church for their worship. Every Sunday Andros forced the Puritans to wait outside their Old South Church until the Anglicans had completed their service, a practice that tended to polarize the people of the two faiths.

Andros compounded the problem when he sought a permanent site for the new Anglican congregation of Boston. He selected a plot near the town's center. That land was owned, however, by Samuel Sewall, who refused to sell it to the Anglicans. Andros then seized some public property next to the Boston Latin School and granted it to the Anglicans. They started construction immediately, and by the spring of 1689 had nearly completed the structure. But political events conspired against King's Chapel. In April 1689 Boston rose against Andros and, in a bloodless revolution, removed him from power. While there were other reasons for the revolt, his arbitrary behavior in religious matters had contributed to Puritan anger against the first royal governor. Jailed in Boston and then sent in chains to England, Andros never worshipped in the church he had worked to build. Boston mobs rampaged against local Anglicans and attacked the incomplete King's Chapel.

Although damaged by attack, the church structure survived, and a provisional government, composed of Puritans, restored order in the town. The members of King's Chapel quietly repaired their structure and dedicated the new church in a private ceremony, to allay anti-Anglican sentiment. A constant expense for the church in the next few years was the continual replacement of broken windows as local Puritans vented their wrath against the Anglican structure. When a new charter and a new Royal governor arrived in 1692, King's Chapel entered a period that blended church problems with those of the town. Epidemics, economic woes, and colonial wars marked much of the eighteenth century.⁴

Despite adversity, King's Chapel enjoyed a steady growth in membership as well as in prominence. Royal governors, military officers,

and wealthy merchants worshiped at this first Anglican church in the seaport. Although two other Anglican churches were built in the next few decades in Boston, King's Chapel enjoyed special prestige and remained a favorite of those attached to the Crown. Its members were among the most distinguished in the town, and the congregation included a number of wealthy families.

Gradually King's Chapel attracted a broad spectrum of Boston's society, including the poor. Although the records of the church poor are not complete, there does exist an excellent volume titled "The Poor's Book, 1758-1773." The entries in the manuscript actually, continue to 1775, just before the battles of Lexington and Concord, but this oversight is typical of early records on the poor. If there were previous volumes devoted to the poor of King's Chapel, they have not survived, to our knowledge.⁵

The volume is essentially a monthly account book, itemizing the charity given to the poor of the congregation. Each page is a two-column list, organized by dates, of the names of the poor and the charity received by them in the monthly distribution. It is a complete record, even though it covers only a short period in colonial history, of the least known and least documented social group in early Boston. It gives us a glimpse of the world of the Anglican poor.

By far the majority of the poor listed in these records are women. For the years 1760 to 1765, the last years before the political turbulence of the American Revolution and for which the volume is virtually complete, nearly 70 percent of the identifiable names belong to women. The "feminization of poverty" that is so often deplored today

was not a new development for Anglican women of the 1760s in Boston. The largest seaport for much of the colonial period in America, Boston had enjoyed years of growth and prosperity, which had provided a measure of economic stability for the poor. But in the mid-eighteenth century its inhabitants suffered from periods of economic depression, epidemics brought in from ships overseas, and calamities such as shipwrecks as well as the dangers of war. These events took a dreadful toll among the men of the seaport, and their deaths left a disproportionate share of widows and orphans,⁶ who dominated by far the ledger of this Poor Book. Often they are listed as widows per se, such as "Mary Western, Widow," or "Widow Keyes," both in 1762. More anonymous were the women known only by their husband's name, as "Luke Ryan's Wife," who never appeared in the ledger in her own name, or for "Michael Crafts widow," who asked for charity in 1761.⁷ Widowhood, before the advent of death benefits in our modern social security system, was often synonymous with poverty.

Typically the charity varied from season to season, as did the number of poor who asked for help. Usually each person received about three shillings early in the month for the warm seasons and up to six shillings during the cold months. The charity was dispensed in the first week of the month. Winter proved to be the toughest season on Boston's poor: more people sought charity from King's Chapel during that period than in any other period of the year. About twenty or more would ask for funds in the months from November to March, whereas in the summer months the average number declined to about twelve recipients.⁸

The entries provide clues to the lives of the poor, in particular their seasonal needs. Mrs. Hillary in December 1762 received ten

shillings for a "1/2 Cord [of] wood," and Mr. Ayres received twelve shillings for "mak[*in*]g Shirts." Other problems that afflicted the poor transcended the seasons, such as the charity given to Philip Mulder, "an Agerman with broken Arm." Evidently he worked in the shipyards with the long saws and an artisan in his specialty could not function with only one arm, hence his sudden need for charity. Or Susan Thomas, who received five shillings because she was "Sick with ye Small Pox" and could not work.⁹

What did charity mean to the lives of those beset by these misfortunes? Was it the main source of their income, significantly alleviating their poverty, or was it a supplement to other resources? These questions introduce the larger issue of the incidence of poverty in the colonial period, and the correlative problems of establishing a "poverty line" for early Boston's society, the annual income for the poor, and the expenditures for those below the poverty line. There is considerable debate among historians about such issues and consensus is lacking, owing mostly to the paucity of records. In essence, how do you measure urban poverty in a colonial world from the perspective of two-hundred years later?

The initial modern effort at poverty measurement was Mollie Orshansky's landmark article, "The Measure of Poverty," published in 1965, which has had its critics. Her research suggested a standard of subsistence in which one-third of a family's income should be devoted to food. I have discussed the issue with colonial historians, particularly Edwin Perkins, author of The Economy of Colonial America, who believes that the base criterion for a "poverty line" in the colonial period

should be calculated at two-thirds of the poor's annual expenditure for food. He regards an annual income of about £20 in colonial Boston for the 1760s to be an appropriate "colonial poverty line."¹⁰

The records of King's Chapel suggest answers to questions concerning a "colonial poverty line" and the role of church charity. For example, if Mrs. Allison, who first received church charity in January of 1760, had applied for alms each month of that year, she would have received about £3 and 3 shillings from King's Chapel. This amount would not have maintained her at a subsistence level of £20; it would in fact have amounted to only 15 percent of her annual economic need. For the poor of Boston in 1760, Anglican church charity could have only been a supplement to income. While Anglican charity could assist the poor in difficult moments, it was insufficient to provide them with a living subsistence.

The ledgers reveal pitiful details in the lives of Boston's poor. For months in the late 1750s Rachel Bergier came to King's Chapel to receive charity. A lingering illness may have been the cause of her poverty, in view of the notation in June of 1760: "p[ai]d her daughter for her mothers funeral." It could not have been an elaborate ceremony, since the daughter received only twelve shillings from the church. Sometimes the poor could not, because of illness or disability, come to the church to receive their monthly charity, and a friend or the pastor, the Reverend Henry Caner, brought it to them.¹¹

Some of the colonial poor may have been too ashamed to admit their condition, since a number of them gave a fictitious name when they requested charity from King's Chapel. Boston was a small community of

about 15,000 souls, and people knew each other. When Elizabeth Sanderson asked for charity in 1762, the scribe entered her name as "alias Robinson." Curiously, all the cases that I located involving false names were women. Perhaps that was their maiden name or perhaps they were senile and could no longer remember their correct name. This aberration deserves more study; perhaps a cross-check with the membership of the church will resolve this puzzle.¹²

King's Chapel helped not only those who came to its door, but also those in Boston's public institutions for the poor. The Alms House, located in what is now the fashionable Beacon Hill area, was the residence for a number of the church poor. The Alms House was the institution of last resort, since its high mortality rate meant that most of the poor left the facility in a casket. Here the terminally ill came to die, and the elderly poor came to live their last days. Some of them were Anglicans: in 1764 the congregation donated £4.16.0s to their brethren impoverished in the Alms House.¹³

A distinctive feature of the charity of King's Chapel was the special collection at Christmas for the poor of the church. Each year, usually in mid-December, the congregation raised additional funds for the poor. Today we follow a similar charitable spirit: corporate fundraisers recognize that more charity is dispensed at the holiday season than at any other time of the year. But Boston in 1760 was still a largely Puritan town, and as far back as 1659 the Puritans had passed a law forbidding any celebration or recognition of Christmas. Samuel Sewall's diary records his glee when the town ignored Christmas because the Puritans considered it a legacy of the pagan era.¹⁴ A century later

the Puritans evidently still adhered to the old law, since there are no notations of any special Christmas collections for the poor in the records of the eleven Puritan churches.

The Anglicans established a special ceremony to distribute their Christmas collection. At the mansion of a wealthy Anglican, the poor would gather for an elaborate ritual that united them with the prosperous. Reverend Caner usually presided at the ceremony, which often included members of the Anglican elite, distinguished in the ledger by such titles as "Geo. Craddock Esq." or "Capt. John Forbes." Entertainment was offered in the form of a small concert or a dance. The poor would then receive their donation, which was often double their usual monthly allotment. It was a ceremony peculiar to the Anglicans in Boston and had a touch of Dickens about it: we can imagine a colonial version of little Oliver Twist in the mansion as he humbly awaited his charity.¹⁵

For much of the Revolutionary period in Boston the host of these special Christmas ceremonies for the poor was Dr. Silvester Gardiner, whose mansion served as the site for many social functions. New England-born and raised, Dr. Gardiner learned the physician's craft in Boston and married the daughter of his master. At that time colonial America lacked a medical school; to learn the newest surgical techniques, Gardiner traveled to Europe and studied there for several years. On returning home he built the largest apothecary shop in Boston and then operated a chain of these shops in New England. He invested his capital in land. Most of his real estate acquisitions, located in present-day Maine, proved to be wise investments, and by 1760 he was one

of the wealthiest men in Boston, conservative by nature yet generous with his charity.¹⁶

Yet Gardiner and his fellow Anglicans were not among the leaders of society, as well as government, in Boston. Although influential in many ways, their loyalties were to England, not to the Puritan world around them. They looked to the Bishop of London for religious guidance and mistrusted the majority around them, choosing an insular path that precluded their complete assimilation into the world of colonial Boston.

This behavior also affected their charity. They did not participate in many of the public rituals devoted to helping the poor of the community. For example, although at various times the ministers of Boston selected colleagues to preach in the Alms House and provide religious solace to the poor therein, there are no records of such participation by the clergy of the three Anglican churches in the seaport. Also, Puritan ministers for more than a century gave public sermons on charity and printed them for the benefit of the community. Cotton Mather delivered numerous charity sermons and included them among his 400 publications. These were important rituals that bound together the seaport's clergy in their efforts to help the poor, and hundreds of such charity sermons exist in manuscript or on microfilm. But in six years of research in New England, I have yet to encounter a single charity sermon by an Anglican minister. In King's Chapel, the Reverend Henry Caner presided for nearly forty years yet never published a sermon on charity.¹⁷

Politics set them apart from the Puritan community as well, and determined their fate as American's. Anglicans looked to London not

only for spiritual but also for political guidance, a dependence that led to Loyalism. Many Anglicans could not comprehend a world without allegiance to the King and to his bishop. As the resistance of the 1760s turned into the revolution of 1770s in Boston, most people had to make a choice. Nearly half of the families in King's Chapel (30 of 73) chose to join the English fleet when it evacuated the besieged town.¹⁸

Most of the Puritan churches suffered a loss of only 10 percent or less to Loyalism, whereas the ranks of the Anglican faithful were decimated by the flight to England. Their loss included some of the most charitable men of Boston. Chief minister of King's Chapel since 1747, the Reverend Caner left with the fleet, taking the church's records as well as its silver. His heirs in the nineteenth century returned the records of King's Chapel to the congregation in Boston, although the silver disappeared in England.¹⁹

For Dr. Silvester Gardiner, the decision to flee must have been difficult. He had to abandon his mansion and apothecary shops in Boston, and could do nothing to save his land in northern New England. although a friend of John Adams and John Hancock, he chose loyalty to a king and bishop he had never seen. Ahead lay years of bitterness, litigation, and exile. Long after the last shot of the Revolution had been fired he returned to America, but his property had been confiscated by the state of Massachusetts and he did not visit Boston in his few last years in New England. Yet, at the end of the siege of the town in 1776, he left his medical stores for the use of the Americans, a gesture that undoubtedly helped the poor.²⁰

The Reverend Samuel Stillman remained in Boston during the Revolution, a decision that benefited the poor as well as the Baptists. More than any other faith in Boston except the Quakers, the Baptists suffered severely from religious persecution. As early as 1646 Samuel Gorton and a group of Baptists who sought to worship in the seaport were expelled for their efforts by the Puritans. Their descendants persisted nevertheless, and several decades later formed a proto-Baptist congregation in Charlestown, just across the river from Boston. Although details concerning this group are sketchy, they apparently gathered together in 1665 or 1666 and moved to Boston in about 1671 to worship in the capital.²¹ Puritan authorities discovered their activities and suppressed the new effort. When the Baptists returned in 1679 and started a formal church, the town magistrates nailed shut the doors of the structure. With revocation of the colony's charter in 1684, the Baptists benefited from a new era of legal toleration. As one contemporary Puritan noted, the "cursed Bratt toleration" is now amongst us.²²

Official toleration meant that the Baptists could cease covert worship, end their underground existence, and start to keep their formal records. Some of the manuscripts of the First Baptist Church have survived; the earliest records are now more than three hundred years old. Remaining today is a volume of church records in which various ministers noted major decisions of the congregation and entered accounts of the church's routine activities. Although the volume is not an elaborate "Poor's Book" like the King's Chapel manuscript, it reveals important information on colonial charity and its growth within a small

congregation. I was not aware of its existence until, less than a year ago, a retired genealogist in Boston mentioned her work among obscure Baptist records and indicated that the manuscripts had survived in one of the smallest archives in New England. In the archives of Andover Newton Theological Library, outside Boston, I found this frail volume, representing a small treasure for early American scholars.²³

The first entry appears to be for 1677, although the ink is so faded and the script so illegible that many of seventeenth-century notations are almost impossible to decipher. (At one point I deciphered an entry of 1692 stating that a certain Ann Landers was excommunicated because she was "guilty of drunknes & [was] a busy body [,] going Tatling vp an[d] Downe." But as the archivist worked with me on this volume, we realized that it was Ann Sanders, not Landers, who was guilty of such misbehavior.) The details of Baptist charity and the outlines of their approach to benevolence began to emerge in the mid-eighteenth century, as the men of the congregation accumulated wealth and could give to the poor. Originally the congregation consisted mostly of artisans, laborers and sailors--men from the lower ranks of Boston's social strata, not comparable to the Anglicans in wealth or status. Nonetheless they tried to help their own poor, formalizing as early as 1721 the process of charity relief. Each Sunday they collected funds from the Sabbath service and set aside the surplus for their poor. They by then had some wealth in their congregation: when Captain Frisk died in 1742, his will granted £5 to the poor of the church. But such efforts were sporadic, and the church lacked the leadership to effectively help the poor in the congregation.²⁴

That situation changed in September of 1764 when the First Baptist Church, in a public ceremony, ordained Samuel Stillman as its pastor. Born in Pennsylvania, raised in the South, and educated at Harvard College, Stillman brought an energy and an organizational spirit that revitalized the church.²⁵ He reformed the financial operations of the institution and insisted on the election of a treasurer as well as formal rules to guide the expenditure of church funds.

His reforms benefited the Baptist poor. The treasurer consolidated accounts and put tighter controls on expenditures. He collected overdue pew accounts, identified debts owed to the church, formalized the collection process for charity, and created the image of a financially sound religious institution. Such efforts attracted attention in the community and the gifts of philanthropic Baptists throughout New England, such as Mrs. Elizabeth Bass of Cape Anne, who donated £60 "to be given among the poor of the Church" in late 1765. Sixty percent of the gift went to poor women in the congregation, a figure that is comparable to data in the King's Chapel records.²⁶

Within six years Stillman had reorganized the government of the church, and many of his reforms involved financial matters that affected the poor. The weekly surplus was automatically deposited into "the Hands of the Church Treasurer, for the Poor." The annual Thanksgiving collection was designated for the exclusive use of poor Baptists present at the service, the remainder to be reserved for the future needs of the destitute. While the records of the First Baptist Church are not as extensive (or as luxurious) as the manuscripts of King's Chapel, they provide details on the different approaches to church charity in Boston.

They also indicate specific differences in the two faiths in efforts to help the poor. Even though the Baptists had good reason to stay aloof from the charity endeavors of the Puritan town, as did the Anglicans, they instead chose to participate fully in them. This spirit of cooperation is evident in various city wide appeals for charity collections.²⁷

Cooperative acts occurred often in colonial Boston, usually in response to a local disaster or a particularly bad winter season. When nearly two-hundred families were made homeless in the Great Fire of 1760, the First Baptist Church collected £143 for their impoverished neighbors. When Widow Sluyter and her children lost most of their possessions in another fire two years later, the congregation collected £16 for the family. Even before Stillman's arrival the First Baptist church thus had a tradition of generous response to the charity needs of the community, which they continued in 1767 with a collection £109 for the victims of yet another fire.²⁸

Reverend Stillman's focus on charity prompted his congregation to greater efforts on behalf of the poor. In 1767 the church leaders presented a question to the congregation: "What Method may be fallen upon, to raise a Fund, to supply the Necessities of the Poor of our own Society?" Their solution was to sponsor a charity sermon, three times a year, when the congregation and the guests would have a special collection for the poor. The public sermon would display the oratorical talents of their dynamic young pastor in a public forum, and his best charity sermons would be printed for local use. For a small congregation of moderate means the idea of a public charity sermon was

innovative and bold, an endeavor that Stillman continued through the years of war, certainly a significant achievement for a faith that had suffered much persecution in its early years.²⁹

Their charity endeavors helped the Baptists assimilate into the fabric of Boston's society. Although they did not have the wealth or the prominence of the Anglicans, they developed an allegiance to the local community that transcended the memories of the early years of persecution and ridicule. Although the financial accounts of the charity sermons are lost, the single volume does record that in 1770 the Baptists had sufficient funds to help "70 Widows & 150 fatherless Children" with £45.4.5, "tho extremely hard the Times."³⁰

The attention of anonymous donors was attracted. For years Reverend Stillman noted with surprise a steady flow of gifts for the poor. Even in the harsh days of the American Revolution, when the British fleet patrolled the waters off Boston to strangle trade, and when inflation soared with the Continental dollar, anonymous people still contributed to the First Baptist Church. An entry by Stillman in 1779 is representative: "Received from an unknown friend 30 Dollars to be distributed among objects of charity." As the deprivation of war deepened, charity for the poor continued to be received by Stillman, who remarked on the altruism of his people. In a burst of eloquence he summarized his feelings: "Received from an unknown friend eighteen pounds to be distributed to such necessitous objects as I may meet with in the course of my [pastoral] visits. The Lord's name be praised, that he puts it into ye hearts of some to relieve ye poor: many of whom

Suffer great hardships! May he reward thim a thousand fold, with grace & glory!"³¹

Stillman's allegiance remained with the town and his church, rather than to a distant king or a distant bishop. Charity acted as one of the tight cords in that fabric of local loyalty, and his participation in the charity rituals of the community undoubtedly were an important factor.

Acts of charity functioned as a bridge between Baptists and Puritan in a number of ways. They eased the painful memories of the early persecutions and softened the harsh attitudes of the latter-day Puritans. The Baptists contributed less in charity funds than the Anglicans, but the way in which they gave their charity made a significant difference. Their efforts created strong communal bonds, whereas the charity endeavors of the Anglicans seemed to reinforce the insular nature of their world.

Appendix A

Final Records Survey

Denomination	Date	Designation/Name	Records	Location
Anglican	1686	King's Chapel	1686-1785 30 vols.	Boston-Massa. Hist. Society (MHS)
Anglican	1723	Christ Church	1723-1776 5 vols.	Boston-Anglican Diocese Lib.
Anglican	1740	Trinity Church	1740-1800 15 vols.	Boston-NE Hist. Gen Soc.
Baptist	1665(?)	First Baptist	1665(?) -1800 1 Vol.	Boston-Andover Newton Ctr.
Baptist	1743	Second Baptist	1743-1790 1 Vol.	Boston-Andover Newton Ctr.
Congregational	1630	First Church/Old Brick	1630-1785 2 vols. 1630-1847 5 vols.	Boston-First Church Boston-City Hall
Congregational	1650	Second Church/Old North	1650-present 89 books	Boston-MHS
Congregational	1669	Third Church/Old South	1669-1854 5 vols. 1667-1674 1 vol.	Boston-Third Church New Haven-Yale University
Congregational	1698	Fourth/Brattle Street	1699-1804 1700-1804 2 vols.	Missing Boston-City Clerk
Congregational	1714	Fifth Church/New North	1714-1863 5 vols.	Boston-City Clerk
Congregational	1719	Sixth Church/New South	1719-1850 10 vols.	Boston-City Clerk

Notes

¹For the study of the early Puritans in New England, see Francis J. Bremer, The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), and for the early Puritans in Boston, see Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965).

²Massachusetts's resistance to the imperial network is recounted in Benjamin W. Labaree's broad study, Colonial Massachusetts: A History (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1979), 106-124.

³There is no biography of Sir Edmund Andros. A good, albeit brief, source for his interaction with the anglicans in Boston is in Andre Mayer, King's Chapel: The First Century 1686-1787 [Boston?]: n.p., 1976), 3-8. See also M. Halsley Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 2 vols. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), I, 135-136.

⁴Mayer, King's Chapel, 10-12; on the rebellion of 1689, see David S. Lovejoy, The Glorious Revolution in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

⁵For the manuscripts of this church see "The Poor's Book, 1758-1773," in The Archives of King's Chapel, volume 14, The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

⁶There is considerable folklore on early American widows, and especially on the protocol of courtship, most evident in the awkward efforts of Samuel Sewall; see his diary entries for 1717 and 1718 in Volume II for his attempts to marry a wealthy Boston widow. However, these rituals of courtship applied only to widows whose inheritance (especially property) enhanced their eligibility for remarriage. But who would marry a poor widow in a seaport crowded with widows? In the six years under study in this essay, only one poor woman's name changed, evidently by remarriage. See the "Poor's Book," Mary Leddle (December, 1761).

⁷Colonial widows and their poverty have often attracted scholarly interest. The best of this research on New England is Alexander Keyssar's lengthy article, "Widowhood in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts: A Problem in the History of the Family," Perspectives in American History, VIII (1974), 83-119.

Since "The Poor's Book" lacks pagination, the various examples are here cited by the names of individuals, followed by the dates in the manuscript, particularly the months and the year; for example, Western (December, 1762); Keyes (December, 1762); Ryan (December, 1762) and Crafts (December, 1761).

⁸There is considerable controversy, and literature, on poverty in colonial Boston. For additional study see James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, XXII (January, 1965), 75-92; Alan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," William and Mary

Quarterly, Third Series, XXVIII (July, 1971), 375-412; G. B. Warden, "The Distribution of Property in Boston, 1692-1775," Perspectives in American History, X (1976), 81-129; Gary B. Nash, "Urban Wealth and Poverty in Prerevolutionary America," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 6 (Spring, 1976), 545-584; and G. B. Warden, "Instability and Inequality in Eighteenth-Century Boston," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 6 (Spring, 1976), 585-620.

⁹"Poor's Book," Hillary (December, 1762); Ayres (April, 1761); Mulder (December, 1762); and Thomas (April, 1764).

¹⁰See Mollie Orshansky, "The Measure of Poverty," Social Security Bulletin (January, 1965).

¹¹"The Poor's Book," Bergier (June, 1760); Caner (March, 1760).

¹²Ibid., Sanderson (December, 1762).

¹³Ibid., Alms House (December, 1764). For life in Boston's Alms House in this period, see Stephen Edward Wiberly, "Four Cities: Public Poor Relief in Urban America, 1700-1775" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1975).

¹⁴Thomas, Sewall Diary, I, 62n and I, 90.

¹⁵"Poor's Book," mansion (December, 1763), entertainment (December, 1764); Craddock (December, 1763); and Forbes (December, 1759).

¹⁶On the basis of his charity efforts alone, Gardiner merits additional study but still awaits a biographer. In the meantime the best sketch of his life is by John F. Fulton, "Silvester Gardiner," in

The Dictionary of American Biography, 20 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), VII, 139-140. For a portrait of Dr. Gardiner see Mayer, King's Chapel, 26.

¹⁷For the best analysis of the colonial sermon see Harry S. Stout, The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹⁸Mayer, King's Chapel, 21-26.

¹⁹Ibid., 25.

²⁰Lorenzo Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1864), I, 459-462.

²¹On the early trials of the Baptists, see Nathan E. Wood, The History of the First Baptist Church of Boston (1665-1899) (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1899), 55-175.

²²Peter R. Virgadamo, "Colonial Charity and the American Character: Boston, 1630-1775," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Southern California, 1982), 100-103.

²³Records of The First Baptist church (Boston), Franklin Trask Library, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Center, Massachusetts.

²⁴There is no pagination for this manuscript volume. For documentation I here cite the topic (or name) and the date, for example,

Frisk (? , 1742). For another charity bequest of this nature see "Brother Jennings" (December, 1764).

²⁵On Stillman, see Clifford K. Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates: Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College, 17 vols. (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1968), XIV, 216-227.

²⁶Baptist Church Records, "elect treasurer" (October, 1764); "pew accounts" (October, 1765); "Mrs. Bass" (December, 1765).

²⁷Ibid., "Treasurer" (February 1765); "Thanksgiving" (February, 1770).

²⁸Ibid., "fire of 1760" (April, 1760); "special collections" (April, 1767); "£109" (April, 1767).

²⁹Ibid., "charity sermon" (April, 1767); "special collections" (April, 1767); "war years" (January, 1779).

³⁰Ibid., "1770 Collection" (July, 1770).

³¹Ibid., "30 Dollars" (January, 1779); "Stillman quotation" (no specific date available in the manuscript but most likely post-1779).