

**“SEVERAL MISCARRIAGES OF A PUBLIC NATURE”:
NETWORKS OF FEMALE RELIGIOUS DISSENT IN COLONIAL NEW
ENGLAND**

by
Helen Siers

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History

Spring 2020

© 2020 Helen Siers
All Rights Reserved

**“SEVERAL MISCARRIAGES OF A PUBLIC NATURE”:
NETWORKS OF FEMALE RELIGIOUS DISSENT IN COLONIAL NEW
ENGLAND**

by

Helen Siers

Approved: _____
Rebecca Davis, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved: _____
Alison Parker, Ph.D.
Chair of the Department of History

Approved: _____
John Pelesko, Ph.D.
Dean of the College of Arts & Sciences

Approved: _____
Douglas J. Doren, Ph.D.
Interim Vice Provost for Graduate and Professional Education and
Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to first express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to Dr. Rebecca Davis, who guided me through this process with expertise and wonderful support. Her guidance has been invaluable and I am incredibly thankful for the dedication, the time, and the kindness she has given me throughout this project. She has been instrumental in shaping my work and helping to develop my skills as an academic.

I also give my thanks to my family, for their endless support and encouragement, and for picking up the phone to listen to me vent, no matter the time of night.

And lastly, but by no means least, to my friends: thank you. Thank you for always being there, for always listening to feverish rants on incredibly niche topics, for pointing out my mistakes, for sharing in the trials and the triumphs.

Everyone involved in this process has made it a truly exciting and wonderful experience. It wouldn't have ever been the same without you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	v
Chapter	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 FROM THE CITY ON A HILL	12
3 “NOR FITTING FOR YOUR SEX”	22
4 “AND SHE SPAKE OF GOING TO RHODE ISLAND”	36
5 CONCLUSION	48
BIBLIOGRAPHY	51

ABSTRACT

By applying a queer analysis to the 1646 religious dissent trial of Lucy Brewster in New Haven, Connecticut, this thesis shifts the analytical lens away from reading religious dissent trials as battles of individual women against patriarchal authorities. Instead, this thesis places the cases of female religious dissenters into conversation with one another in order to discuss how the interpersonal relationships they built with one another led to exchange and development of religious thought.

The first chapter lays the groundwork of religious ideology at play in New England during the 1630s and 1640s, discussing Puritan belief systems and how they impacted the outcome of these trials. The following chapters analyze the cases of Anne Hutchinson, Anne Yale Eaton, and Lucy Brewster, three infamous female religious dissenters in New England, placing each woman into context with her community, her church, and her relationships with the women around her.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

On June 24th, 1646, in New Haven, Connecticut, three women stood face-to-face with the full weight of Puritan legal, gender, and religious law. Across from them stood John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, two founders of the colony and each with a grudge to bear on behalf of their faith. The three women, identified in the court documents as Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Leach, and Mrs. Brewster, were accused of “several miscarriages of a public nature,” or crimes against their community.¹ At the head of this cabal of local trouble-makers stood Lucretia “Lucy” Brewster.

The founders of Puritan colonies in New England formed legal codes based on English common law and Old Testament law in an effort to create a community with faith as the foundation. John Cotton, a Puritan clergyman, wrote in *Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation Whose Design is Religion* that, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, men in positions of authority in the new colonies should

¹ *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New-Haven from 1638-1649*, edited by Charles J. Hoadly, (Hartford: Tiffany and Company, 1857) <https://archive.org/details/recordsofcolonyp00newh/page/474>), 242, 246. As this copy of the New Haven Colony Records was transcribed and reprinted in the mid nineteenth century, it is possible that there had been a level of meddling or editing done by the transcribers. Even if editing occurred, content is far more likely to have been removed for the sake of censorship than manufactured. The source itself is limiting, but still does merit further examination, given that surrounding evidence supports the authenticity of this case.

be members of the Puritan church.² Cotton also wrote prospective laws for the Bay Colony in 1636 that New Haven Colony later adopted.³ Puritan dogma and legal code were inseparable in the Bay Colony, and when New Haven adopted their laws, that dogma and law became similarly entangled.

A wealthy woman of social prominence, Lucy Brewster did not set out to cause such upheaval in New Haven. Lucy married Francis Brewster before beginning the voyage from England to the colonies, joining a land-owning family whose wealth rivaled that of the Governor, Theophilus Eaton's. By 1644, Brewster, her husband, and their two children were settled in New Haven. A year before the trial, in the winter of 1645, Francis Brewster left for England. His ship, carrying trade goods and manuscripts, never made it back to shore. After several months, he and the rest of the crew were presumed dead. Brewster managed a reputation as being sharp-tongued but involved and respected enough in church to have a seat of prominence near the front of women's side of the service. That honor was an indicator of her social standing that reflected both her financial status as well as her place in the religious and social hierarchy of New Haven.

² John Cotton, *A Discourse About Civil Government in a New Plantation*, (Cambridge, 1663), 3.
<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=evans;cc=evans;rgn=main;view=text;idno=N00042.0001.001>.

³ Julie M. Thompson, *Mommy queerest: contemporary rhetorics of lesbian maternal identity* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 19; John M. Murrin, "Things Fearful to Name: Bestiality in Colonial America," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 65 (1998): 9; Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 43.

Although widowed, and without any potential protection from her husband, Brewster was still not the most vulnerable woman facing trial. She stood beside two of her compatriots, Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Leach, both newcomers to the colony without the same financial standing, who had yet to join the church formally.⁴ Leach was Moore's daughter and the wife of trader Edmund Leach, though she often stayed with her mother, as her husband's livelihood kept him away from home.⁵ The Moore residence became the chief point of congregation for four of the most notorious women in the colony: Moore, Leach, Brewster, and Anne Yale Eaton, the wife of the governor and one of the first women excommunicated from the New Haven church.⁶

It was this group of four women, meeting in the unsupervised space of Moore's home, that drew the attention of the patriarchal authorities. By 1646, when Brewster stood trial, Anne Yale Eaton had already been excommunicated from her church in New Haven at the ruling of both her husband, Theophilus, and of their long-time friend and minister, John Davenport. Though she had been excommunicated, Anne Yale Eaton was not banished from New Haven. Her position as the wife of the governor kept her from being banished. While New Haven did not adhere to the Church of England's practice of requiring full shunning of excommunicated members,

⁴ Lily Handlin, "Dissent in a Small Community" *The New England Quarterly* 58, no 2 (1985) 193-220, 203-204.

⁵ Handlin, "Dissent," 204-205

⁶ Handlin, "Dissent," 204; Cornelia Dayton, "Excommunicating the Governor's Wife: Religious Dissent in the Puritan Colonies Before the Era of Rights Consciousness" in *Religious Conscience, The State, and the Law: Historical Contexts and Contemporary Significance* eds. John McLaren and Harold Coward. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 29-45, 32.

active members of the church were expected to not socialize with excommunicated members and received warnings to keep from becoming overly familiar with them.⁷

Each of these women had an atypical relationship to local authorities that left them vulnerable to accusations of insubordination. Brewster was a sharp-tongued widow, and Moore and Leach were new-comers with a low status and no concrete reputations to bolster them.⁸ Together, and outside of the purview of the masculine authority of New Haven, these individuals represented a broader network of women sharing and discussing religious ideas and voicing religious dissent. This thesis examines how Lucy Brewster and her trial exemplify both the ways women shared their knowledge and faith, and how patriarchal authorities responded to female religious dissent as a broader, systemic threat to the religious community. It was the presence of these women as a group, rather than the actions of any one woman individually, that instigated efforts to punish them and that raise new questions for historians about gender, power, and Puritan faith.

On the other side of the trial stood two men looking to tighten their grip on the wayward women of New Haven. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton reigned as two of the most prominent and powerful men in the colony. They came, together, from England by way of Boston. Both men were paramount to the founding of the New

⁷ *Records*, 245; Dayton, “Excommunicating the Governor’s Wife,” 39.

⁸ Handlin, “Dissent,” 205.

Haven Colony.⁹ Davenport served as the local minister, delivering powerful sermons that enthralled his congregation, while Theophilus Eaton governed New Haven according to a strict moral code inscribed into law.¹⁰

The courts brought eleven charges against Brewster, each of them a separate example of her dissent. The two chief witnesses were also members of the Moore-Leach household. Elizabeth Smith and Job Hall, two servants of Moore, testified against Brewster, as well as against Moore and Leach, although their testimonies largely consisted of complaints against Brewster. Any complaints made against Moore and Leach were in relation to complaints against Brewster, questioning Moore and Leach's relationship with Brewster.¹¹ Smith provided the bulk of the testimony, although Hall corroborated most of it. The testimony itself consisted of recollected conversations between the four women co-conspirators that Smith overheard from the adjoining room.¹² These complaints against Moore and Leach suggests that Brewster's reputation within the community, while commendable, was still one of a woman out of place. Moore and Leach were of a lower social standing and had not officially joined the church in New Haven and as such were already considered marginal members of the community.

⁹ Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1976), 33, 80; Cornelia Dayton, *Women Before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut 1639-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 22-23; Francis J. Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem: John Davenport, a Puritan of Three Worlds* (New Haven: Harvard University Press, 2012), 144-145.

¹⁰ Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem*, 145.

¹¹ Handlin, "Dissent," 205; *Records*, 242.

¹² *Records*, 242.

Brewster was found guilty of publicly disparaging the church, admonished, and fined 200 pounds for her affront to the community. Yet unlike other women who committed similar acts, Brewster she was ultimately neither exiled like Anne Hutchinson was from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637, nor was she excommunicated like Anne Yale Eaton in New Haven. Yet far from lenient, her enormous fine indicated how greatly the court wanted to punish her. In other trials from New Haven during this period, the fines tended to be no more than twenty pounds, and often between six to twelve.¹³

Why was Brewster's punishment so different? This thesis uses a queer analysis to shift the focus of this trial away from understanding it as an individual woman against male community leadership and instead considers how the connections among women and a female network of religious dissent challenged the patriarchal authorities in New Haven. Brewster had once threatened to take other women with her should she be banished from the colonies, and her fine, far from a slap on the wrist, could have been an attempt by Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport to undermine her ability to do so.¹⁴ It is unclear whether the courts intended for Brewster to pay this fine or if it served as a symbolic gesture to represent the gravity of her crime without banishing

¹³ An example of a 20 pound fine is found on page 213 of *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, an example of a 12 pound fine can be found in the case of Francis Brown and Goodman Basset. *Records*, 213, 241.

¹⁴ Handlin, "Dissent", 205.

her. She never paid, nor was she ever exiled or excommunicated. Moore and Leach were only admonished, not fined.¹⁵

The first accusations that Smith brought against Brewster questioned her role in both the community and the church. According to Smith and as confirmed by Hall, Brewster had claimed that John Davenport made “the people believe that to come into the church [was] as much as the receiving of Christ.”¹⁶ Brewster claimed that Davenport suggested that joining the Puritan church was equivalent to salvation, an idea heretical to Puritan dogma. Puritan theology was based on predestination, or the belief that each individual was born either “elect” or “damned.” Those who were “elect” would have salvation, and the “damned” would not. Under Puritan theology, nothing an individual did could change their predetermined fates.¹⁷ If Davenport had suggested that joining with the church was similar to, or could lead to, salvation, as Brewster reportedly claimed he had, then he would have spoken against the Puritan doctrine.

Hall confirmed Smith’s assertion that Brewster said she fell physically ill during Davenport’s sermon on Ephesians 4:12. The verse that Brewster reacted to, in the New King James version of the New Testament, proclaims that the “equipping of the saints for the work of ministry” would build up the body of Christ and argues that

¹⁵ Dayton refers to this fine as the “largest ever heard of” for New Haven at this time. For a frame of reference, in his will, the reportedly wealthy Theophilus Eaton left Anne Yale Eaton fifty pounds “in token of [his] love.” Dayton, “Excommunicating the Governor’s Wife,” 37.

¹⁶ *Records*, 242.

¹⁷ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 80.

it is the responsibility of church-goers to do good works in order to build the church.¹⁸ Davenport had gone on to argue that “if a man lived where he might join the church and did not” that his lack of participation “would prove a delusion to him.”¹⁹ Brewster reportedly told her companions that, upon hearing Davenport say this, her “stomach wombled as when she bred child.”²⁰ Meaning that she experienced physical discomfort at the sermon.

Smith and Hall’s testimony further incriminated Brewster by stressing her relationship with Anne Yale Eaton. Hall and Smith both testified that Brewster discussed Anne Yale Eaton’s excommunication during the same conversation wherein Brewster reportedly discussed Davenport’s sermons. Brewster reportedly asked Eaton why she had not repented. According to Hall, Eaton responded that the church had not accepted her confession. Later, Hall testified, Brewster asked Leach “whether she had any mind to join with the church.”²¹ When Leach denied that she intended to, Brewster suggested that her mother, Moore, teach her in her own home.²² Hall thus testified that Brewster rejected the masculine authority of the church by suggesting that Moore become a religious leader to her own daughter, taking over a space in the social structure intended for men.

¹⁸ NKJV Ephes. 4:12

¹⁹ *Records*, 242.

²⁰ *Records*, 243.

²¹ *Records*, 244.

²² *Records*, 244-245.

Paired with the previous claim, the most scandalous accusation against Brewster was her reported threat to leave New Haven for Rhode Island and bring with her a cabal of women. According to Smith, as Brewster continued to upset the social order on the heels of Eaton's drawn-out religious dissent trial, Eaton asked Brewster if she feared banishment. Brewster responded that should the court banish her, Brewster would bring Eaton's views on infant baptism to other women around New Haven and that the two of them would "seduce some other women" and "be banished together" to Rhode Island.²³ Brewster threatened to continue sustain this idea of women-run religious services by spreading her and Eaton's dissent to other women in a concerted effort to convert them away from the church.

According to additional testimonies from "widow Potter," a woman called to testify against Brewster with her companion, Edward Parker. Edward Parker had previously been excommunicated from the church for lying, while Potter had been excommunicated for engaging in a relationship with Parker.²⁴ The records did not indicate what sort of relationship these two had, but suggested that the church had not given them permission to marry. According to Parker, Brewster suggested to him that he and Widow Potter go to the church with a witness and demand to be married regardless of the original verdict. When Parker resisted, Brewster went to Potter instead.²⁵ She reiterated the same point that she brought to Parker, but additionally

²³ *Records*, 246.

²⁴ *Records*, 245

²⁵ *Records*, 245, 249.

noted that if the church rejected them again, they could simply marry without its permission. Potter turned down Brewster's suggestion because, she explained, she hoped to return to the church one day. Brewster called both Potter and Parker hypocrites, implying that they did not need a connection with the church in order to be married in the eyes of God. This exemplified what John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton were afraid would happen, that Brewster would spread her dissent to other women in New Haven. Potter rejected Brewster's involvement but that would have by no means meant that every woman would have resisted. Instead, it proved to the masculine authority that Brewster was seeking out other women on the fringes of New Haven and attempting to recruit them against the church.

Brewster did not yield to the social expectations of her gender role within Puritan New England, which would have required her to be subservient to the men in the courtroom. The court found her to be "full of speech" and warned her that "meekness and modesty" would have "better become her."²⁶ By defending herself in the way that she did, Brewster transgressed Puritan gender boundaries. The men that founded these colonies ingrained those boundaries into colonial law in order to maintain a sense of English social structure and to retain their positions of power within the community. Brewster not only defied the religious and legal tenets of New Haven, she defiled the law and upset the social structure at its core.

²⁶ *Records*, 251.

Brewster was not the sole female threat to New Haven. Other female religious dissenters sparked fear in the patriarchal heads of the colony. Brewster had established a sense of kinship with Anne Yale Eaton and she had, reportedly, begun suggesting alternative modes of keeping the faith to Moore and Leach. Brewster's ideology and her dissent were spreading, and the courts sought to put an end to it. At the core of this trial were Brewster's relationships with other women in New Haven and the content of the conversations that she had with them. Brewster was not simply making conversation. She was not gossiping about her neighbors, nor was she spreading any intentional deceit. Brewster was engaging in a discourse on religion, and she was doing so with other women, outside of the supervision of male religious authority figures. Here was a network of women conversing about faith in New England and trading their knowledge and information freely and openly with one another. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton feared this network, and it was what they attempted to punish in court.

Chapter 2

FROM THE CITY ON A HILL

Brewster's troubles did not begin when she first stepped foot into Theophilus Eaton's court, nor did they begin with the pricked ear of Elizabeth Hall. Her troubles started when she first found herself up against the religious and social ideals that founders embedded into New Haven. At face value, as magistrates stacked charges of disparaging sermons and encouraging women to disobey the church against Brewster, it appeared that she had violated matters of faith. The charges against Brewster were, largely, religious in nature and concerned her relationship to her church. But by putting pressure on the church, Brewster was upsetting a delicate social ecosystem based on the performance of piety and gender.

To Puritan faith, membership within the community was nearly synonymous with membership to the church. In *Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation Whose Design is Religion*, clergyman John Cotton wrote that the Massachusetts Bay Colony, one of the predominant Puritan colonies, was a "plantation" designed by and for religion, and that "freemanship" and the ability to hold civil office should only be given to church members.²⁷ The founders of these colonies embedded Puritan theology into legal codes, not only giving congregational

²⁷ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 80; Cotton, *A Discourse About Civil Government*, 3.

churches the right to excommunicate members of the church, but also authorizing magistrates to banish, fine, or otherwise punish individuals for “crimes of religious belief.”²⁸ This relationship between members in the church and members in the community provided the foundation for how inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and those in New Haven, later viewed religious disputes and excommunication.

Membership within the church in the Puritan colonies meant adhering to specific social, moral, and religious codes that defined their lived experiences. The Puritan religious dogma was predicated on the idea that “all men deserve damnation,” but “God in his benevolence chose to save some men.”²⁹ The Covenants of Salvation, a doctrine interpreted by clergy and faith leaders, provided the theological foundation that guided Puritan thought and behavior. There are three Covenants of Salvation: the Covenant of Works, the Covenant of Redemption, and the Covenant of Grace.

The Covenant of Works explained that redemption would only be granted to those who practiced “absolute obedience to the will of God.”³⁰ The Covenant of Works required strict adherence to the moral guidance provided by the Church and those elected to preach the word. Under the Covenants of Salvation, the Covenant of Redemption offered the only respite from the natural, inherited, corruption that

²⁸ Dayton, “Excommunicating the Governor’s Wife,” 29.

²⁹ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 20.

³⁰ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 21.

Puritans believed was the state of all humanity.³¹ This natural state of unworthiness stemmed from the Puritan interpretation of Original Sin—the biting of the apple from the Tree of Knowledge—which determined that from that moment, all of humankind bore responsibility for sin and deserved punishment. This unworthiness manifested physically and spiritually, as physical pain and suffering and as the corruption of one’s soul.³²

The Covenant of Grace was the most significant facet of Puritan dogma. The Covenant of Grace stated that God selected only a few individuals, the “elect,” for redemption. The community and the church expected a man who was among the elect to “abide by the standards of perfection...show true repentance for his failings, and...lead a morally improved life.”³³ This performance of redemption created the balance between the idea of the Covenant of Grace and the performative nature of piety in New England. While an individual could not change their status through good works by performing religious behaviors and adhering to codes of conduct set by the Church, Puritans could express their internalized status. Conversely, those who did not perform these rites or successfully perform these ideals could be seen as being outside of the elect and outside of God’s “grace.” As John Cotton would later note, to be a part of the community and a part of the citizenry was to be a member of the church.

³¹ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 21.

³² Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 20.

³³ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 23.

Anything that might stray from that, or signal a separation from the ideals of the Puritan Church, would signify a separation from the community as a whole.

Women were expected to perform different expressions of piety than men were. Colonies imported a number of their ideals of gendered roles and behaviors from England. For a woman, behaving in her most proper and community-accepted form, her home was her domain.³⁴ The male head-of-household still dominated the woman's life of the woman—in social, economic, and legal terms. A woman remained a daughter until the moment she became a wife, legal claim over her transferring from father to husband. Her place in the household was “firmly fixed beneath her husband and above her children.”³⁵ Puritans in New England replicated the English social and family order in the colonies to impart a sense of order onto an unfamiliar landscape.

Social order rested on individuals adhering to these social, moral, and religious codes. Historian Carol Berkin in her 1996 book *First Generations*, writes that in Early America, “[to] transgress family rules and norms was to transgress public order.”³⁶ This public order was predicated on the idea of performance of roles deemed socially appropriate. These roles included the keeping of the home in a functional order, maintaining the skills required to manage a household, and managing the labors of servants, as well as children.³⁷ Female subservience to the masculine authority of the

³⁴ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991, originally published 1982), 13

³⁵ Carol Berkin, *First Generations: Women in Colonial America*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996). 27

³⁶ Berkin, *First Generations*, 27

³⁷ Berkin, *First Generations*. 28

household remained paramount. John Winthrop, who became Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629, compared a woman's subjection to her husband to the subjection of men before authorities, specifically noting that all people, including men, were to yield to God, revealing the balance of subjection to be in terms of those without power to those with.³⁸

Women had no formal voice in the church, but they exerted an informal influence over their church and communities.³⁹ "Gossip created reputation," Berkin argues, and that ability to create reputation gave women power over their communities. Lyle Koehler claims, in *A Search for Power*, that any rebellion, including "a woman rebelling against the limitations of her sex role," was inherently done in order to get power.⁴⁰ The traditional space for women in Puritan New England, according to Koehler, was "in the shadow of her male masters from cradle to grave." Men instructed women to remain chaste and suppress any passionate or sexual outbursts or desires.⁴¹ Her duty was to her husband, to mollify and obey him. Some religious and social leaders urged women to address their husbands as "My Lord," to

³⁸ Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 79; James A. Monroe, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 62

³⁹ Berkin, *First Generations*. 42.

⁴⁰ Lyle Koehler, *A Search for Power: The "Weaker Sex" in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980) 3

⁴¹ Koehler, *A Search for Power*, 31.

seek permission and approval from their husbands before they acted outside the home.⁴²

Men, however, had additional responsibilities towards their wives. In Connecticut, until 1696 (Massachusetts until 1649), the law granted a widow a “dower right” of one-third of her husband’s assets. In New Haven, as in Plymouth, a wife’s permission was required before a husband was permitted to sell their land or their home.⁴³ This inclusion of women in the legal code did not imply that English women in these colonies exercised power over their husbands or their financial situations. Instead there was an increased legal claim over women, such that her status and ability to act could still only be defined through her male counterpart.

Because the doctrine of predestination stipulated that each individual had been “saved” or “damned,” and no person could have knowledge of their true status until their death, the Puritan emphasis on maintaining a relationship to the church was largely about the idea of performing piety. Performance, of faith and of gender, constituted a large part of what it meant to appear to be a good Puritan, which in turn would lead people to believe that an individual was among the elect. Puritans did not believe that by performing good deeds, or by regularly attending church, they could gain redemption, but instead they viewed these acts as reflections of their souls.⁴⁴ To Puritans, a person who was elect and was saved by God would have a natural

⁴² Koehler, *A Search for Power*, 32, 47.

⁴³ Koehler, *A Search for Power*, 48

⁴⁴ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 21

inclination towards joining with the church and exemplify moral goodness.

Additionally, those who were not elect would be less inclined to join the church.

Similarly, Puritan religious ideology expected women in New England to perform a specific expression of piety that reflected both their social status and their subservience. If performing an expression of piety was reflecting the true status of the soul, then performing femininity likewise reflected a socially-appropriate and socially-understood status as a woman. Should a woman reject that performance of gender ideology, instead acting as a man's social role, she disturbed the socially-understood status of women and threatened the balance of power as it stood. Ministry was a traditionally masculine role, so when women attempted to teach or learn religion in the same capacity, they encroached on the male space. If men were to be socially and morally superior, then this transgressing of gender boundaries would have threatened the foundational social structures within the colonies. New Haven's colonial authorities would not tolerate these transgressions.

These foundations of Puritan New England had already been established as the *Hector* came into port at Boston in June of 1637. It carried with it the promise of a tumultuous and difficult future. Among its passengers were John Davenport, alongside and his childhood friend, Theophilus Eaton. Separatists like Davenport and Eaton renounced the Church of England, citing the religious and moral failings of the Anglican Church. In the early 1630s, under charter from King Charles I, a number of

them left for the so-called New World. They came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony as Puritans.⁴⁵

Boston was a well-established village by the time Davenport and Eaton stepped off the *Hector*, but the fate of the colony remained in doubt amid ongoing conflicts with the Pequot people who lived in and around it. The population of Massachusetts as a whole increased by six thousand only five years after Winthrop first staked his claim to Pequot lands. The expanding population resulted in continued expansion westward, pushing colonizers into indigenous land, and subsequently provoking retaliation by the Pequot people, who sought to protect their land and their way of life against the invading forces. The English responded with increasing violence, securing their stake in the land with the blood of the indigenous population.⁴⁶

Secular and religious authority could not be separated in Puritan New England. In Boston, Davenport resided with John Cotton, who furnished Davenport with a copy of *Discourse about Civil Government*. Cotton's involvement with the creation of the New Haven colony did not end with *Discourse*. Cotton had been vital to the writing of the Massachusetts Bay Colonies legal code, though not all of his input was accepted. When writing the sodomy laws for Boston, Cotton intended to include wording specifically outlawing same-sex sexual encounters between women. Boston rejected the final wording, but Davenport later took Cotton's legal code with him to New

⁴⁵ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 33, 80; Dayton, *Women Before the Bar*, 22-23; Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem*, 144-145

⁴⁶ Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem*, 147-148

Haven, where it was written into law, binding the church and government together explicitly.⁴⁷

Following their stay in Boston, John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton assembled those wishing to move further outward from the bustling city on a hill. In 1638, they left Boston with their group, collecting other citizens of Massachusetts and heading south towards a region called Quinnipiac, a place that would be later renamed New Haven. Davenport was chosen as pastor, and Theophilus Eaton as the magistrate. Once settled along the northern shores of the Long Island Sound, they began using punitive legal actions in order to reinforce the moral and social normative behavior imported from England and the Bay Colony. Davenport brought with him laws and regulations that John Cotton had written. These stringent laws were one of the “defining features” of the New Haven colony, — which set it apart from other Puritan colonies.⁴⁸ According to Cornelia Dayton, a legal historian, in 1640s and 1650s New Haven, legal justice was “swift.”⁴⁹ Theophilus Eaton, as the overseer of nearly every examination and trial, emphasized “pursuing sin and maintaining watchfulness” as ways to protect the fledgling colony and allow it to flourish by maintaining social, moral, and religious order.⁵⁰

However, as Dayton argues, the need to maintain the social order and prevent a change in the established patriarchal system precluded the possibility of any

⁴⁷ Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*, 43.

⁴⁸ Dayton, *Women Before the Bar*, 24.

⁴⁹ Dayton, *Women Before the Bar*, 19.

⁵⁰ Dayton, *Women Before the Bar*, 29.

advancement in female legal rights. Women in New Haven were not treated as equal under the law, nor was their testimony nor accusations given equal weight because female testimony, specifically in cases where women testified against men, would undermine the “natural” male authority.⁵¹ This need to preserve the social hierarchy was paramount to every relationship in New Haven under the leadership of Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport. The social system required that relationships between men and women, between men and faith, and between women and faith replicate and preserve the subjugation of women in New Haven. This need for subjugation and preserved social order was an attempt by the patriarchal figures of New Haven to replicate and preserve the hierarchy imported from England.

For Lucy Brewster and the other female religious dissenters of New England during this period, the concept of dissent from the church would mean dissenting from the community as a whole. Puritans premised the laws of New Haven on the same ideals as those that inspired their religious doctrine. They followed an ideology that made a relationship with the church and a relationship with the community inseparable and in order to be a member of New Haven, Lucy Brewster must have been a member of the church. To do that, the church required that she performed her roles as both a woman and as a Puritan which, in the eyes of the court, Brewster failed to do.

⁵¹ Dayton, *Women Before the Bar*, 33.

Chapter 3

“NOR FITTING FOR YOUR SEX”

In the early years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a woman named Anne Hutchinson gained notoriety as a talented midwife. Born in 1591, Hutchinson was the daughter of Francis Marbury, an Anglican minister who preached in Alford, Lincolnshire, a small town in England along the North Sea coast. When she was 21, she returned to Alford with her husband, William Hutchinson.⁵² In that same year, John Cotton, an enigmatic and forceful Puritan preacher, established himself in a town only twenty miles from Alford. Hutchinson became enamored by his preaching, joining his band of followers. Once Cotton fled from England in 1633, she and her family followed him across the Atlantic to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.⁵³ Yet four years later, in 1637, Anne Hutchinson was banished from her new home for heresy.⁵⁴

_____The experiences of Hutchinson and of Anne Yale Eaton, spiritual predecessors for Brewster, provide evidence of a broader system of devout yet dissenting women who communicated with one another in defiance of male religious authority. Many of the key figures in the trial of Lucy Brewster, the subject of our next and final chapter, played central roles in the drama of Anne Hutchinson’s ministry, trial, and exile.

⁵² David Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 5

⁵³ Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy*, 5

⁵⁴ Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy*, 5

Similarly, before Brewster stepped foot in the courtroom, Anne Yale Eaton faced a trial for her vocal opposition to John Davenport and her criticisms of infant baptism.⁵⁵

Brewster's friendship with Eaton, wife of New Haven Governor Theophilus Eaton, and Eaton's knowledge of Anne Hutchinson, as well as Brewster's relationships with other scandalous women, connect these trials and these individuals. Consciously or not, by arguing against patriarchal authority, these women became interwoven into a larger conversation about piety and theological debate occurring in sitting rooms and behind closed doors, a debate which threatened the masculine religious authority of New England.

These women affected each other and the development of New England. Hutchinson, Eaton, and Brewster were shaped by the relationships they chose to build with women around them, and their relationships affected those of the women around them as well.

#

Anne Hutchinson

Hutchinson's impact on the later Brewster trial began the moment she embroiled herself in what scholars refer to as the "Antinomian Controversy" or the "Free Grace Controversy." The Antinomian Controversy was a religious and legal dispute in the Massachusetts Bay Colony concerning the Covenant of Works, or the idea that behavior and actions are vital to an individual's salvation. Puritan theology

⁵⁵ Handlin, "Dissent," 205.

was rooted in the ideas of “predestination,” the belief that God had determined the cosmic fate of each individual before their birth. Under this belief system, no amount of “good works” or morally approved behaviors, could change that. While the community and the church still preached the benefits of these good works, Hutchinson rejected the performative nature of worship, believing that if all souls were predestined for salvation or damnation, then to listen to sermons preaching a Covenant of Works was heresy.⁵⁶ Her brother-in-law, John Wheelwright, proclaimed the same rhetoric and was exiled before Hutchinson ever faced her trial, however, suggesting that the colony was hostile toward dissenters of any sex.⁵⁷ What separates Hutchinson from Wheelwright, however, was how she was tried and how her relationships were presented and remembered in the years following her exile.

Hutchinson’s relationships with other women made her a threat to the patriarchal authority of Boston. As a skilled midwife, Hutchinson had established herself as a trusted individual among Boston women. When the sermons she heard filled her with unease, Hutchinson began hosting weekly religious meetings in her

⁵⁶ Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy*, 60.

⁵⁷ Hall, *The Antinomian controversy*, 312; Monroe, *Hellfire Nation*, 60. Hutchinson’s beliefs, much like Brewsters, were nearly identical to John Cotton’s.; Marilyn J. Westerkamp, “Puritan Women, Spiritual Power, and the Question of Sexuality.” in *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past*, edited by Brekus Catherine A., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 51-72, 58.; Anne Jacobson Schutte. ““Such Monstrous Births”: A Neglected Aspect of the Antinomian Controversy.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (1985): 85-106.

own home, openly criticizing the teachings of the ministers of the Bay Colony and arguing that their sermons were often filled with heresy.⁵⁸

Hutchinson's act of discussing faith in her home was especially threatening to the church because it transferred the masculine role of preaching to the feminine space of the home. Women in Puritan New England considered the domestic space of the home as an environment they were intended to manage.⁵⁹ The significance of her challenge to gendered spatial norms would have been especially true at Hutchinson's weekly meetings. Puritan New Englanders considered both gender and faith to be outward performances, illustrating position and role within the broader community. The ability to understand God and to preach were considered part of the Christian's intimate bond with God, a bond that women were incapable of making in the same ways that men were.⁶⁰ To place herself in the position of direct connection to God, Hutchinson took the place of the man in the religious and social hierarchy.

By placing herself in a masculine position, but maintaining her space inside her home, Hutchinson blurred gender boundaries and twice-transgressed the normative gender ideology. She performed a masculine role inside the home, a place and position occupied by women, and surrounded herself with other women. Her home became a holy place, much like a church, and the women she met with became her congregation,

⁵⁸ Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy*. 5; Hutchinson also mentioned speaking the words of God and argued that she "spake of the Spirit that God gave". "Report of the Trial of Anne Hutchinson" in David Hall ed. *The Antinomian controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1968). 357

⁵⁹ Ulrich, *Good Wives*. 13

⁶⁰ Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution*, 79; Monroe, *Hellfire Nation*, 62.

with Anne Hutchinson taking the helm as their minister. Despite the fact that John Cotton reportedly sent women to Hutchinson's meetings to discern the nature of them, and despite the fact that these women returned to him with only messages that nothing untoward had occurred, Hutchinson's actions were soon grounds for punitive legal action.⁶¹

By 1637, John Winthrop had had enough of Anne Hutchinson. The trial began even though Winthrop and the magistrates of the court did not bring any concrete charges against Hutchinson given that there were no laws that Hutchinson broke. What she broke was an unwritten social code. As far as Winthrop was concerned, that violation of norms was sufficient to warrant a trial. Hutchinson defended herself in court by saying that her actions were legal.⁶²

It was not until after being subjected to imprisonment and relentless questioning that Hutchinson began to claim that God spoke to her directly. This claim led Winthrop to charge her with heresy, claiming that God could not have spoken directly to her, but that instead she heard the call of Satan. She was ultimately found guilty.⁶³ Anne Hutchinson was exiled because she defied the role of her sex the social hierarchy embedded into the Bay Colony. Winthrop said it himself, snapping that her

⁶¹ Deborah Lucas Schneider, "Anne Hutchinson and Covenant Theology." *The Harvard Theological Review* 103, no. 4 (2010), 487

⁶² "Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson" in David Hall ed. *The Antinomian controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 314.

⁶³ Munroe, *Hellfire Nation*, 60-63; Winthrop recalls this in *A Short Story* written after Anne Hutchinson's death. Winthrop, *A Short Story*, 64.

sermons and meetings were “not tolerable or ... fitting for [her] sex.”⁶⁴ Her beliefs did not undermine the Puritan theology as it stood. Rather, it was her position as a woman that led to her arrest and eventual exile. For Hutchinson to claim that God spoke to her directly cemented the fear that she took the place of a male religious authority, transgressing the boundaries of her gender and the social order that held together New England during the early decades of its settlement. When Hutchinson transgressed these boundaries, she upset a hierarchy that these communities viewed as natural and holy.

The consequences of Hutchinson’s trial stretched beyond Boston and survived into the following decade, in part because of how Winthrop viewed her relationships to other women. Anne Hutchinson died in 1643, six years into her exile, but Winthrop refused to let her legacy perish with her. In 1644, a year after Hutchinson’s death, Winthrop wrote a book on the Antinomian Controversy, *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines that Infected the Churches of New-England*.⁶⁵ He continued to use her case and her name as examples of the unnaturalness and inherent evil of a woman stepping outside of her societal bounds. While the charge of heresy held no immediate sexual connotation, Winthrop referred to her as “this *American Jesabel*,” comparing Hutchinson to the biblical Queen of Israel who caused Ahab’s fall by luring him to apostasy and convincing him

⁶⁴ “Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson,” 313.

⁶⁵ John Winthrop, *A Short Story of the rise, reign, and ruin of the Antinomians, Familists, and libertines that infected the churches of New-England*. (Ann Arbor: Text Creation Partnership. Originally Printed: London, 1692) <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A65392.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>

to worship false idols before being executed.⁶⁶ Puritans associated Jezebel's image and name with the 'whoredoms and societies' of women, which was precisely how Winthrop employed it. Making himself clear, Winthrop referred to Hutchinson next as the "*Whore and Strumpet of Boston*" before calling her a "prophetess" who sought to "seduce [his] servants to commit fornication."⁶⁷ Writing in 1644, he harkened back to Hutchinson's trial, where the magistrates perceived her invocation of God's word as Satan's, claiming "this subtlety of Satan was discovered."⁶⁸ Winthrop saw Hutchinson's dissent and her inability to perform her role as a pious Puritan woman as examples of her godlessness.

By connecting Hutchinson to witchcraft, idolatry, and Satan, Winthrop was actively attempting to destroy any surviving image of Hutchinson as a woman worthy of emulation. Hutchinson was never tried for witchcraft, nor was it ever considered during the trial itself. Winthrop only made these accusations publicly after her death. Winthrop's public disparagement of her was not in an effort to convince her to change her ways or to force her to repent and join the church under masculine authority. To the contrary, he sent a warning for other women who would dare question the patriarchal system of Boston: Anne Hutchinson was evil.

Hutchinson's relationship with women became Winthrop's focal point in his warnings about her. One of Hutchinson's former followers, Jane Hawkins, had been

⁶⁶ Winthrop, *A short story*, 64.

⁶⁷ Winthrop, *A Short Story*, 64.

⁶⁸ Winthrop, *A Short Story*, 64.

executed for witchcraft in 1641.⁶⁹ Before the courts forced Hawkins from the Bay Colony, she served as a midwife to another member of Hutchinson's cohort of heresy, Mary Dryer, who in 1637 gave birth to a male infant that Winthrop described as a "monster."⁷⁰ Winthrop wrote that the baby "had no Forehead, but in the place thereof, above the Eyes, Four Horns, whereof two were above an Inch long, hard and sharp," and "...instead of Toes, it had upon each Foot Three Claws, with Talons like a young Fowl."⁷¹ Winthrop then made a list of observations, the sixty-fourth noting that "The Midwife, one Hawkins Wife of St. Ives, was notorious for familiarity with the Devil." He connected Hutchinson to the "monster" in his essay, pointing out to his readers that it was "Mistriss Hutchinson" that had been present for the concealment of the infant.⁷²

Winthrop was not the only male authority figure in New England connecting religious dissent to unnatural and "monstrous" reproductive outcomes. Not long after Hutchinson's exile, John Cotton, who initially supported her upon her arrival to Boston, delivered word that Hutchinson gave birth to "twenty-seven several lumps of man's seed, without any alteration or mixture of anything from the woman."⁷³ The reference to it being a man's seed without any addition from a woman is from the two-seed theory of conception, which stems from the Galenic theory of the body. In this understanding, there is "one canonical body and the body is male." Any

⁶⁹ Munroe, *Hellfire Nation*, 64.

⁷⁰ David Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement* (New York: Knopf, 1989), 100.

⁷¹ Winthrop, *A Short Story*, 46.

⁷² Winthrop, *A Short Story*, 46-47. Winthrop would have been familiar with the concept and stories of monstrous births, given their popularity in England.

⁷³ Quoted in Schutte, *Such Monstrous Births*, 100

variations, like the female reproductive system, were merely incomplete, inverted versions of the male. By this theory, all persons possess a penis, scrotum, and testicles. What varies, and what determines a body's sex, is the position of those organs within (or outside of) a body. Under this model, women produce semen, and both male and female ejaculation are required for conception.⁷⁴

John Cotton and Winthrop linked Hutchinson's dissent with her inability to produce a child following her exile. When Cotton noted that Hutchinson's seed had not been "mixed" and that, as a result, she gave birth to "twenty-seven lumps", he suggested that her reproductive system—a socially ingrained symbol of her womanhood—had failed.⁷⁵ If she could not conceive a "whole" child, she could not have been wholly woman, nor a holy woman. Instead, Hutchinson's subversion of the social hierarchy that she accomplished by performing the masculine role of preaching altered her status as a woman and caused damage to the symbolic and socially understood center of her biological sex, her womb.

Her dissent was simultaneously de-feminizing, yet centered entirely on her status as a woman. According to Thomas Weld, a New England minister who arrived just a few years before the Hutchinson trial, none of the masses that Hutchinson birthed were "of humane shape."⁷⁶ Weld, Cotton, Winthrop, and Thomas Baker

⁷⁴ Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 5.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Schutte, *Such Monstrous Births*, 100

⁷⁶ Quoted in Bethany Reid, "'Unfit for Light': Anne Bradstreet's Monstrous Birth." *The New England Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (1998), 417. Modern interpretations believe that Hutchinson's "monstrous birth"

(another religious and social leader and the formers' contemporary) publicized the birth. For all of these men, a woman's creation of a "monster" within her womb indicated that she was guilty of amoral behavior.⁷⁷ In Hutchinson's case, Winthrop explained that the thirty (elsewhere counted as twenty-seven) "monsters" she birthed represented her thirty opinions, suggesting that this monstrous birth was sent by God as punishment for her dissent.⁷⁸ That location of religion dissent within the womb reappeared a few years later during Lucy Brewster's trial in New Haven, where Smith claimed Brewster experienced ramping and pains similar to that of childbirth.⁷⁹

Hutchinson betrayed the limits of her sex, not only by behaving in a way that was deemed unnatural for her own body, but by transgressing boundaries of gender. What she did was not "fitting for her sex" as Winthrop frothed, changing the boundaries of what was and was not considered tolerable.⁸⁰ It was not only this transgression of her gender roles that caused her such infamy, however, it was also her relationship with women like Mary Dryer and Jane Hawkins, and the implications for any other woman who attended her sermons. Both Dryer and Hawkins followed Hutchinson's religious ideology and Winthrop labeled them all as witches, heretics, and harbingers of evil. The women who then agreed with Hutchinson, and the women

was in fact pre-malignant growths—that she had given birth to a cluster of tumors. Applying modern medical diagnosis to an event that precedes that medical understanding risks undermining the sincerity of belief these people held. To them, there was no question that Hutchinson had birthed a "monster." Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 247-248.

⁷⁷ Reid, "Unfit for Light." 532.

⁷⁸ Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 101

⁷⁹ *Records*, 243

⁸⁰ Quoted in Reid, "Unfit for Light," 530

who would later find themselves in her footsteps, were, in Winthrop's eyes and in the fears of the patriarchal authorities of New England, just as tainted as she was.

#

Anne Yale Eaton

Anne Yale Eaton landed alongside her husband, Theophilus Eaton, and John Davenport at the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the midst of the Antinomian Controversy, witnessing the latter half of the religious debate and the exile of Hutchinson before they left Boston to found New Haven. The two men she accompanied became embroiled within the debate almost immediately. While in Boston, Davenport resided with John Cotton, an Antinomian himself who had once supported Hutchinson, but who later resorted to spying on her and testifying against her. Theophilus jumped at the chance to witness the trial. At first, Anne Yale Eaton dutifully supported her husband's theological opinions. A pious and well-spoken woman, she maintained her orthodoxy to a point of commendation from the likes of Davenport.⁸¹ The Eatons built a large mansion in New Haven, staffed with servants, a home that was only ever matched by that of John Davenport. With Theophilus appointed governor and Davenport preaching, Anne was well-situated in the community and her church.⁸²

Anne Yale Eaton nevertheless quickly entangled herself into the world of religious dissent. Deborah Moody, an excommunicated woman from the Bay Colony

⁸¹ Handlin, "Dissent," 197

⁸² Handlin, "Dissent," 197

introduced Anne to texts that critiqued child baptism sharing with Eaton a Baptist theology that would set her at odds with her husband.⁸³

As Anne grew more frustrated with the church, she began to disturb the social hierarchy of New Haven in ways that Hutchinson had in Boston. Most publicly, Anne began to exist the church during baptisms.⁸⁴ As the governor's wife and a woman of prominent social status, Anne occupied a first-row seat in the sex-segregated meetinghouse, making her objection unmissable.⁸⁵ By walking from out of the church service in full view of every single Puritan in attendance, Anne made her position on Baptism clear to them.

Davenport attempted to mitigate the damage Anne caused in order to protect the reputations of the colony and of Theophilus. Davenport suggested that Anne simply misunderstood the text she had read or that she was suffering from a mental illness, allegations to which she refused to respond.⁸⁶ As the theological debate around Anne grew, servants and family members came forward to allege that Anne's religious failings matched her moral deficits. Davenport kept accounts of the allegations against Anne, leaving him with a list of seventeen examples of her social, religious, and moral failings. Among these were allegations that she had struck her mother-in-law and her

⁸³ Dayton, "Excommunicating the Governor's Wife," 32.

⁸⁴ Dayton, "Excommunicating the Governor's Wife," 33.

⁸⁵ Dayton, "Excommunicating the Governor's Wife," 33.

⁸⁶ Dayton, "Excommunicating the Governor's Wife," 33.

stepdaughter, made accusations that her stepdaughter was pregnant out of wedlock, and challenged Theophilus' authority in front of members of the church.⁸⁷

Although Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport hesitated to condemn Anne, the steady pressure of the community forced them into action. Davenport began with a formal admonishment, which would have required Anne to repent, publicly acknowledge her misdeeds, and recant her beliefs on infant baptism.⁸⁸ He hoped to stop the spread of her Baptist theology, as it had from Deborah Moody to her, and as it had from Anne Hutchinson to the women she preached to. A public recanting of her beliefs would have righted the disturbed social order and reminded the women of New Haven that Anne was not a religious leader, an honor that belonged to Davenport. Despite Davenport giving her an exit, Anne refused to admit her guilt.⁸⁹

Anne did not yield to her husband or Davenport, but. Instead, she continued to express her disdain for infant baptism and maintained contact with Moody. Anne wrote to the church elders to attempt to sway them, and she began sleeping in a separate room from Theophilus, a fact that caused a substantial amount of gossip among the community.⁹⁰ She argued with Theophilus in public, ignored his demands for her to repent, and refused to sleep with him. By refusing to lie with her husband, and presumably refusing sexual intercourse, Anne was rejecting what Puritan theology understood as part of her duty as a wife to her husband. Anne Yale Eaton would not be

⁸⁷ Dayton, "Excommunicating the Governor's Wife," 33.

⁸⁸ Dayton, "Excommunicating the Governor's Wife," 34.

⁸⁹ Dayton, "Excommunicating the Governor's Wife," 34.

⁹⁰ Dayton, "Excommunicating the Governor's Wife," 34.

subservient to her husband, she would not yield to him as an authority, and even in the most base, physical, sense she would not lie beneath him.

The fear of her continued insubordination culminated in her excommunication. Her position as Theophilus's wife protected her from exile. To banish his own wife from the community would have tarnished Theophilus's reputation, and to banish her after years of excusing her and attempting to placate her would have made it seem as though the authorities of New Haven did not take allegations against her seriously.

Anne Yale Eaton was close friends with Lucy Brewster during this time. Both women were high-status wives of merchants. This relationship was at the center of Brewster's religious dissent trial.⁹¹ It was this relationship that was problematic—not just because Brewster was questioning the role of the church alongside Anne, but because her connection to Anne was a connection to Moody and connection to Hutchinson.

⁹¹ Handlin, "Dissent," 203.

Chapter 4

“AND SHE SPAKE OF GOING TO RHODE ISLAND”

By the time Lucretia “Lucy” Brewster and two other women stood trial in New Haven on June 2nd, 1646, New Haven was already in a volatile position.⁹² The community had just recently seen the end of the Anne Yale Eaton fiasco, and John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton had only just managed through with the reputation of themselves and the colony intact. Brewster represented the culmination of this threat—a woman who vocally spoke against the church, and who actively threatened to recruit other women into doing so as well.

In Puritan New Haven, these women’s dissenting words about their church constituted criminal behavior. Their disparagement of Davenport’s sermons and their efforts to steer women away from total reliance on the patriarchal authority of the church violated the colony’s moral and legal guidelines.⁹³ Women in neighboring Massachusetts Bay Colony had been exiled and excommunicated for similar crimes, but Brewster was the only one of the three New Haven women who was convicted at the end of this trial. Rather than exile, she incurred a heavy fine.⁹⁴

⁹² *Records*, 242.

⁹³ *Records*, 242-258.

⁹⁴ Lucy Brewster’s husband, Francis Brewster, was lost at sea after his ship, the infamous Lamberton ghost ship, departed New Haven in January of 1646. Lucy Brewster was re-married to Thomas Pell by 1647. Mary Edith Bullock Shaw, *The Descendants of Francis Muncy I: With Allied Families* (Ann

The nature of her punishment may have reflected local leaders' concerns about her relationships with other women. When Anne Yale Eaton asked Brewster if she worried about banishment, a punishment Anne herself avoided, Brewster responded that "if it came to that" she would cite Anne's beliefs and texts on infant baptism and "by them seduce some other women...so they would be banished together."⁹⁵ This threat encapsulated the fears of John Davenport and the patriarchal authority that he represented. This cohort of female religious dissenters would have confirmed anxieties that there were women in New Haven preaching amongst themselves, and sharing and learning religion in private. These women were operating outside the purview of the menfolk of New Haven. Brewster had threatened to cement each of those fears and build a cabal of female religious dissenters in Rhode Island, the spiritual resting place of Anne Hutchinson, were she to be exiled.

A queer reading of Brewster's case reveals a network of information-sharing that relied on relationships among women in 1640s New Haven. An expansive definition of "queer," shifts the historical lens away from examining the Brewster trial as a conflict between herself and Davenport and instead highlights Brewster's relationships with other women.

Laden with social and historical context, the term "queer" is often used to describe, or in conjunction with, a number of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc. 1948), 10; Moore and Leach are referred to as mother and daughter by the court documents. *Records*, 256, 246. For a partial narrative of the trial, see Handlin, "Dissent," 205-213

⁹⁵ *Records*, 246.

(LGBT) identities.⁹⁶ This chapter uses “queer” to encapsulate ideas about subverting hegemonic social hierarchy. It engages with aspects of “queer theory” that are less concerned with physical sexual behavior or with sexual or gender orientation and more concerned with the nature of power dynamics. As literary theorist Jonathan Goldberg wrote, “queer theory is not and never was just about sex.”⁹⁷ Instead, as Carla Freccero notes in her 2005 book, *Queer/Early/Modern*, queer as a word and a theory has “something to do with a critique of... historical assumptions of sexual and gender (hetero)normativity.”⁹⁸ By setting aside concepts of sexual or gender identity, a queer re-reading of Brewster’s case exposes both a deeper vein of how socio-sexual power dynamics governed colonial North America, and how women built discursive communities amongst themselves.

These relationships among women became the focus of Brewster’s trial. Conversations between her and other women were key evidence in her dissent case. A queer reading reveals how central Brewster’s relationships with other women were both to the accusations brought against her and the trial’s outcome. Anne Yale Eaton’s position as a woman who publicly disavowed the church on multiple occasions meant

⁹⁶ The word “queer” has roots as both an archaic term for “strange” or “odd,” but also as a slur employed against LGBT people. Its use and reclamation remains a divisive subject within LGBT communities.

⁹⁷ Jonathan Goldberg, “After thoughts” in *After Sex?* Edited by Janet E. Halley and Andrew Parker. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011) m 35.

⁹⁸ Carla Freccero, *Queer/Early/Modern* (Durnham: Duke University Press, 2006), 5; Annamarie Jagose echoes a similar sentiment in *Queer Theory: an Introduction*, claiming that there is no “critical consensus on the definitional limits of queer,” but that it “focuses on mismatches between sex, gender, and desire.” *Annamarie Jagose, Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1996) 3.

that, by association, Brewster became just as guilty as she was. And that Anne Yale Eaton, Brewster, Moore, and Leach all met in secrecy harkened back to the sitting-room sermons run by Anne Hutchinson in Boston and to the threat of a coterie of female religious dissenters.

Smith and Hall brought the first blasphemy charge to the court. They accused Brewster of disagreeing with the covenant of works that John Davenport espoused in his sermon.⁹⁹ Smith, in her testimony, claimed that she overheard Brewster complaining that the preaching of John Davenport had driven her to physical illness. Reporting to the New Haven court, Hall and Smith “both affirm that Mrs. Brewster ... speaking of his sermon said, Mr. Davenport makes the people believe that to come into the church is as much as the receiving of Christ.”¹⁰⁰ The two servants then testified that Brewster claimed she fell “sermon sick,” and that upon hearing Davenport’s sermon, “her stomach wombled [sic] as when she bred child.”¹⁰¹ The supposed physical nature of Brewster’s response, reportedly claiming she experienced physical pain equivalent to labor, suggested a bodily revulsion against Davenport’s sermons that centered on her womb.

⁹⁹ In Calvinist theology, the “covenant of works” is an idea that by acting piously and behaving according to church rules, a person is presenting themselves as being “elect” or one of God’s chosen to enter Heaven. Mary Maples Dunn, “Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period” *American Quarterly* 30 no 5 (1978), 583.

¹⁰⁰ *Records*, 242

¹⁰¹ “Sermon-sickness” does not appear as a repeated term outside of this trial. In the court, Brewster rejected the notion that she claimed she was “sermon sick” but confessed that she had been ill. *Records*, 242

That Elizabeth Smith claimed that Brewster felt labor-adjacent pains centering on her womb harkens back to the allegations against Hutchinson. Considering her status as a recent widow, Brewster would have been at more risk of being tied to the image of Anne Hutchinson's "monstrous" birth. While Brewster did not give birth as Hutchinson did, Elizabeth Smith's suggestion that Brewster reacted to hearing a sermon given by John Davenport with a bodily revulsion that centered on her womb nevertheless evoked the image of Hutchinson, of her monstrous birth, and of her heresy.

Although Lucy Brewster may not have had direct contact with Anne Hutchinson, she was a close compatriot of Anne Yale Eaton, and it does not stretch our collective imaginations to assume that, in a colony built on the heels of the Antinomian controversy, Hutchinson could have been a subject of conversation for these women. We do not know when Brewster first made her acquaintance with Eaton, but we do know these two women remained friends following Eaton's excommunication. Elizabeth Smith, the lead witness against Brewster, accused her of meeting with Eaton in private to discuss prospective outcomes of Brewster's trial before the set date of her testimony.¹⁰²

That alleged conversation between Brewster and Eaton also encompassed aspects of the Anne Hutchinson trial, as well as aspects of Eaton's excommunication. Those details suggest that both women were at the very least familiar with the

¹⁰² *Records*, 246

Hutchinson case, and they talked about Eaton's trial. According to Smith, Brewster told Eaton that, should the court attempt to banish her for her supposed heresy, Anne should come to Brewster with her "grounds about baptizing."¹⁰³ Eaton was, by this point in 1646, inseparable from her vocal rejection of infant baptism. By invoking the memory of Eaton's recent trial, Smith reminded the magistrates of the same social upheaval that Eaton threatened and that Brewster was now continuing. This argument located Brewster within a larger body of female religious dissenters that included Deborah Moody, the woman who furnished Anne with the pamphlets, Brewster herself, Anne Yale Eaton, and the memory of Anne Hutchinson. Brewster allegedly told Eaton that they would "seduce some other women" from the church and flee from New Haven themselves. Brewster herself suggested Rhode Island, the very same colony to which Anne Hutchinson had been exiled.¹⁰⁴ By suggesting that she and Eaton both leave New Haven for Rhode Island, Brewster equated the both of them to Hutchinson in terms of beliefs and relationship to the community. By suggesting that they then take other women with them, Brewster expressed a desire to replicate the circumstances that Hutchinson had created in her Boston home.

Brewster confessed to the quote from Smith but claimed she said those words "in jest."¹⁰⁵ The court quickly reminded her that "foolish and uncomely jesting" was "sinful" and claimed that her guilt could have caused her to pass her honest desires

¹⁰³ *Records*, 246

¹⁰⁴ *Records*, 246

¹⁰⁵ *Records*, 246

“under a pretense of jesting.”¹⁰⁶ The court dismantled her defense, as her acknowledgment that she had said those words meant the possibility that she sincerely believed them. This threat to take women from New Haven and congregate them under the religious and social preview of two female religious dissenters was a threat to the social hierarchy of New Haven itself.

This was not the only time Brewster reportedly suggested having women teach faith within the home. When she spoke with Moore and Leach, two women who had not yet formally joined the New Haven church, Brewster suggested that Moore begin instructing Leach in the faith.¹⁰⁷ This instruction would have mirrored the same gender transgressive behavior that Anne Hutchinson had performed in Boston, with Moore taking the masculine place of a religious leader within the feminized space of the home. By suggesting that Moore and Leach not join with the church, and instead engage with their religion themselves, Brewster rejected the notions the John Cotton outlined in *Discourse* and Davenport adopted for New Haven, that community, government, and the church must all be interconnected.

Historians have written volumes on the Hutchinson and Eaton trials, connecting their individual cases back to their gender.¹⁰⁸ One of the few scholarly

¹⁰⁶ *Records*, 246

¹⁰⁷ *Records*, 244

¹⁰⁸ Scholarly works written on Anne Hutchinson by far outweigh those on Anne Yale Eaton and Lucy Brewster, most often portraying her as a heroine who stood up to oppressive patriarchal rule. Some of those texts include: Michael P. Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636-1641*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Marisa Anne Pagnattaro. *In defiance of the law: from Anne Hutchinson to Toni Morrison* (New York: P. Lang. 2001); and Amy

studies of the Brewster case, by contrast, claims that her gender had no impact on either the criminal charges, nor the verdict and punishment. Historian Lilian Handlin claims in her article, “Dissent in a Small Community,” that the trial was “largely free of gender issues” and that the magistrates were “gender neutral” and concerned solely with the dissent itself.¹⁰⁹ What Handlin does not consider is the broad culture of female subjugation that made religious dissent punishable by courts. Historian Cornelia H. Dayton describes Lucy Brewster as one of Connecticut’s primary female religious dissenters, comparing her to Anne Hutchinson.¹¹⁰ In “Excommunicating the Governor’s Wife,” a book chapter in *Religious Conscience, The State, and the Law: Historical Contexts and Contemporary Significance*, Dayton considers the Brewster case to be a coda to the Anne Yale Eaton trial as opposed to an individual and separate account.

Additional works, including Judge Jon C. Blue’s *The Case of the Piglet’s Paternity: Trials from New Haven Colony, 1639-1663*, explore the “Orwellian nature” of seventeenth century New Haven, including Brewster’s trial, but ignore gender.¹¹¹ Blue focuses on the nature of servants bringing testimony against their employers and their employers’ acquaintances, under a broader scope of community policing.¹¹²

Schrager Lang. *Prophetic woman: Anne Hutchinson and the problem of dissent in the literature of New England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)

¹⁰⁹ Handlin, “Dissent in a Small Community”, 213.

¹¹⁰ Dayton, *Women before the Bar*, 299-300, 322.

¹¹¹ Jon C. Blue, *The Case of the Piglet’s Paternity: Trials from the New Haven Colony, 1639-1663* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2015), 62.

¹¹² Blue, *The Case of the Piglet’s Paternity*, 62-65.

Blue's analysis of the case focuses primarily on privacy in New Haven, since Smith and Hall's testimonies stemmed from conversations they both claimed to have overheard. While the lack of privacy played an important role in the trial, as the primary form of evidence was overheard conversation, Blue does not further investigate this case in relation to Lucy Brewster's gender or her relationship with women, like the ones she offers to "seduce" from the church to go with her to Rhode Island.

The available evidence suggests that Brewster's life belongs alongside these other dissenting women in the English colonies. Brewster's case overlaps with Hutchinson's and Eaton's in several ways: players from the Hutchinson case are paramount to Brewster's case, and Eaton herself appears in Brewster's trial as a woman that Brewster was in reported contact with. Anne Yale Eaton was excommunicated and exiled by the time Brewster faced trial. John Davenport dogged Eaton after she refused to accept the masculine authority of both the church and her husband.¹¹³ When Brewster, Hutchinson, or Eaton rejected these notions, they rejected the fundamental socio-sexual hierarchy that governed New England, both by spurning male authority and by electing to spend time with other women and threatening to remove themselves entirely from male oversight by leaving the church and the colony.

Brewster's communication with Eaton was not the only problem at hand. Brewster herself disparaged the sermons that John Davenport gave. Brewster claimed

¹¹³ Dunn, "Saints and Sisters," 587.

that Davenport had been preaching what amounted to a Covenant of Works, or the idea that actions done by an individual, affected whether or not they would be damned or saved. This idea directly contradicted the Puritan theology of predestination. Brewster claimed that Davenport had made it seem as though the congregation at New Haven “could not have salvation without coming to his church.”¹¹⁴ This message defied the foundational idea of the Covenant of Grace which acknowledged that salvation was determined by God alone. Brewster considered this sermon borderline heretical. She claimed that Davenport had made “the people believe that to come into the church is as much as the receiving of Christ” and that his sermons had challenged fundamental Puritan doctrines.¹¹⁵

The crux of the court's problem with Brewster was her disregard for masculine authority. Brewster’s rejection of Davenport’s sermon provided a catalyst for examining every conversation she had with other women and every question she raised against a colony founded on the basis of “pure and peaceable enjoyment of the Ordinances of Christ in Church fellowship with his People.”¹¹⁶ Brewster rejected Davenport’s religious authority as a male leader of the church. She challenged what Davenport preached in a manner that spread her dissent to others within New Haven. Brewster shared her qualms, vocalizing her rejection of masculine authority in a way fundamentally at odds with the social structure of the New Haven Colony.

¹¹⁴ *Records*, 242

¹¹⁵ *Records* 242

¹¹⁶ Cotton, *A Discourse*, 3

One of the eleven counts against Brewster regarded her relationship to “widow Potter,” a woman who had previously been excommunicated for her entanglement with a man named Edward Parker. Theophilus Eaton called both Potter and Parker to testify about the nature of their conversations with Brewster. According to Parker, Brewster had gone to him after speaking with Anne Yale Eaton, and had discussed with him the nature of Eaton’s excommunication. Brewster advised both Parker and Potter to “take two or three witnesses” and go to the governor himself and demand to be married, absolving them of their crimes. However, Parker reported that he refused to spurn the authority of the magistrates. According to Parker, Brewster reacted to this by repeating her disavowal of Davenport’s sermons, and asking to speak privately with Potter.¹¹⁷ To the courts, it might appear as though Brewster was attempting to make good on her threats to seduce Potter away from the church and have her join the ranks of Brewster and Eaton.

Brewster’s conversations with the excommunicated Potter cemented Brewster’s position as a threat to the patriarchal authority of the church. Potter testified that Brewster had come to her and asked her personally to explain why she “was not received into the church,” claiming that Brewster had asked “in a hurry of spirit and apt to lay blame on the church.”¹¹⁸ When Potter and Parker refused to consider Brewster’s idea, both of them claiming to the magistrates that they had intended to do right by the church in the hopes of reversing Potter’s excommunication,

¹¹⁷ *Records*, 248.

¹¹⁸ *Records*, 248.

Brewster called them hypocrites. Brewster attempting to intervene in Potter's affairs and prevent her from rejoining with the church threatened the social fold of New Haven. If a person was excommunicated, the church's intent was that they could not enjoy the benefits that come from being part of not only the church but the community in New Haven. By advising Potter and Parker and by continuing to be friends with Eaton, Brewster was not only flaunting that division, she was also flaunting the court's ruling that these people were not part of the community. That in and of itself was an act of defiance. By meeting with Potter, Brewster solidified Smith's claim that Brewster was attempting to build a religious cabal of women. Regardless if this was true, or if this was Brewster's intent, what Smith managed to do in her testimony was create an image of Brewster that was nearly indistinguishable from Anne Hutchinson, in ideology, in practice, and in dissent.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

The saving grace for Brewster was the fear she provoked in Davenport and Theophilus Eaton. Their fear that she would follow through with her threat to take women from the colony and convert them to her dissenting version of Christianity may not have stopped them from punishing Brewster with a fine, but it likely kept her from exile.

On the one hand, Brewster might have seemed more, rather than less, likely to have been exiled and excommunicated than other women who challenged Puritan orthodoxy. As Brewster had no husband to protect her or argue on her behalf, Brewster risked exile. Unlike Eaton, who was kept from banishment by her marriage to Theophilus Eaton, Brewster's remaining family could not protect her reputation or her status should she be excommunicated. Her status as a widow left her socially and legally vulnerable.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, however, Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport might have hesitated to excommunicate Brewster for fear that she would follow through on the comment she made to Anne Yale Eaton. She said to Anne Yale Eaton that, if she were to be banished, she would form a colony of religious seenders, including Baptists and other scandalous women.

¹¹⁹ Handlin, "Dissent", 204.

Any woman who did not disavow or disagree with Brewster risked punishment. Moore and Leach never offered to join Brewster, but their very association with Brewster landed them in Theophilus Eaton's courtroom. The only involvement they had in her religious dissent case was that they provided her with a place to speak and that they entertained her.¹²⁰ It was Brewster who had committed religious dissent in Moore's home when she suggested to Moore that she begin teaching the faith to her daughter in open defiance of the church.¹²¹ While Moore and Leach's involvement in the case was relegated to the sidelines, these two women highlighted the depths of fear that underlined the trial as a whole. Because Anne Yale Eaton had already been excommunicated Moore and Leach were the only people who could be charged alongside Brewster as her followers. They were publicly admonished, not for teaching faith amongst themselves, nor for participating in any nefarious deeds, but for keeping the company of the likes of Brewster and Eaton.

Moore and Leach were forced to stand trial alongside Brewster even though they did not voice criticism of Davenport's sermon. The only issue the court took with the two women was their relationship to Brewster. Ultimately, in the eyes of the court, the problem of Lucy Brewster trumped the problem of Moore and Leach. The magistrates admonished the two women and fined Brewster, perhaps finding that they had ended the dissent at the source. These women existed as part of a network of religious dissent that expanded beyond New Haven. Ideas traveled from Hutchinson to

¹²⁰ *Records*, 244-245.

¹²¹ *Records*, 244-245.

her followers and from Moody to Anne Yale Eaton to Brewster and Potter and Moore and Leach. They were attempting to understand their faith and their place in an unsure place, and they did so in communication with one another. Because they excluded men from their conversations, the patriarchal authority understood their conversations as a threat to their power and sought to stamp down these conversations.

This masculine fear and anxiety centered on the relationships between women. It did not die with any of those who participated in this trial. Instead, it thrived wherever someone dared upset the balance of power. The fear of women transgressing gender boundaries, subverting religious hierarchies, and diminishing the natural order would haunt Puritan New England throughout the rest of the century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Cotton, John. *A Discourse About Civil Government in a New Plantation*. Cambridge, 1663. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=evans;cc=evans;rgn=main;view=text;idno=N00042.0001.001>

Danforth, Samuel. *The Cry of Sodom Enquired Into; Upon Occasion of the Arraignment and Condemnation of Benjamin Goad, for His Prodigious Villany*. London, 1674. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=evans;cc=evans;rgn=main;view=text;idno=N00131.0001.0 1>

Records of the Colony and Plantation of New-Haven from 1638-1649 edited by Charles J. Hoadly. Hartford: Tiffany and Company, 1857.

“Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson” in David Hall ed. *The Antinomian controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1968

“Report of the Trial of Anne Hutchinson” in *The Antinomian controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History* edited by David Hall. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1968.

Winthrop. John, *A Short Story of the rise, reign, and ruin of the Antinomians, Familists, and libertines that infected the churches of New-England*. (Ann Arbor: Text Creation Partnership. Originally Printed: London, 1692)
<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A65392.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>

Secondary Sources

Battis, Emery. *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962.

Berkin, Carol. *First Generations: Women in Colonial America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1996)

Bremer, Francis J. *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1976.
——— *Building a New Jerusalem: John Davenport, a Puritan of Three Worlds*. New Haven: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Dayton, Cornelia. *Women Before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut 1639-1789*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
——— “Excommunicating the Governor's Wife: Religious Dissent in the Puritan Colonies Before the Era of Rights Consciousness” in *Religious Conscience, The State, and the Law: Historical Contexts and Contemporary Significance* edited by. John McLaren and Harold Coward 29-45. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Dunn Mary Maples. “Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period” *American Quarterly* 30 #5 (1970): 582-601.

Everhart, Janet S. “Jezebel: Framed by Eunuchs?” *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (2010): 688-98.

Freccero, Carla, *Queer/Early/Modern* Durnham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Goldberg, Jonathan “After thoughts” in *After Sex?* Edited by Janet E. Halley and Andrew Parker. Durham: Duke University Press. 2011.

Godbeer, Richard. *Sexual Revolution in Early America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Hall, David. *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1968.
——— *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement*. New York: Knopf, 1989.

Handlin, Lily. “Dissent in a Small Community” *The New England Quarterly* 58, no 2 (1985): 193-22.

Herbert, Amanda E. *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

Jagose, Annamarie. *Queer Theory: An Introduction* New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Koehler, Lyle. *A Search for Power: The “Weaker Sex” in Seventeenth-Century New England*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980.

Lang, Amy Schrager. *Prophetic woman: Anne Hutchinson and the problem of dissent in the literature of New England*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

LaPlante, Eve. *American Jezebel: The Uncommon Life of Anne Hutchinson, the Woman who Defied the Puritans*. San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2010.

Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Monroe, James A. *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Murrin, John M. "Things Fearful to Name: Bestiality in Colonial America" *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 65 (1998): 8-43.

Pagnattaro, Marisa Anne. *In defiance of the law: from Anne Hutchinson to Toni Morrison*. New York: P. Lang, 2001.

Reid, Bethany. "'Unfit for Light': Anne Bradstreet's Monstrous Birth." *The New England Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (1998): 517-42

Shaw, Mary Edith Bullock. *The Descendants of Francis Muncy I: With Allied Families*. Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1948.

Schneider, Deborah Lucas. "Anne Hutchinson and Covenant Theology." *The Harvard Theological Review* 103, no. 4 (2010): 85-500

Schutte, Anne Jacobson. "'Such Monstrous Births': A Neglected Aspect of the Antinomian Controversy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (1985): 85-106

Thompson, Julie M. *Mommy queerest: contemporary rhetorics of lesbian maternal identity*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Traub, Valerie. *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750*. New York: Vintage Books, 1991, originally published 1982.

Winship, Michael P. *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636-1641*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Westerkamp Marilyn J.. "Puritan Women, Spiritual Power, and the Question of Sexuality." in *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past*, edited by Catherine A. Brekus 51-72. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.