Trinity Church Boston: Facing the Reality of Our Past

Allan Rohan Crite—Mother's Liturgy

The Anti-Racism Team of Trinity Church Boston
Presented October 26, 2014 at the Forum

History Committee
Helen Soussou, *Chair*
Alexander Bok
Marty Cowden
Judith Lockhart Radtke

Trinity Church Boston: Facing the Reality of Our Past

The Anti-Racism Team of Trinity Church Boston
Presented October 26, 2014 at the Forum

History Committee
Helen Soussou, *Chair*
Alexander Bok
Marty Cowden
Judith Lockhart Radtke

Trinity Church Boston: Facing the Reality of Our Past

Table of Contents

TRINITY CHURCH BOSTON: FACING THE REALITY OF OUR PAST

Preface and Executive Summary

PREFACE

We are a committee of the Trinity Church Boston Anti-Racism team that set out to research an important part of our church's history: its origin, organizational structure and its relationship, or lack thereof, to People of Color throughout the church's nearly 300-year history. Our goal has been to pose the question of how Trinity's history has influenced our current church community. It is our belief that for a mostly White institution such as Trinity to move forward as an anti-racist Christian community, reflecting our commitments in the Baptismal Covenant to "seek and serve Christ in all persons" and "respect the dignity of every human being", it helps to study and analyze the role of what is called "White privilege" and institutional racism in its past.

Therefore, in the following document we focus on times when individual racial prejudice becomes linked to systems and institutions of power in a way that gives advantages to the dominant group over others. In the American colonies and then in the United States, systems of power were and are often stacked to give advantage to white people at the expense of other racial groups. This is what is described by the term "White privilege." We seek to identify instances of that occurring in the history of Trinity Church. We will also identify instances of our church and its leaders' resistance to institutional racism.

We acknowledge that the events described in this document took place in the context of their time. We must be careful in applying the 21st century lens of racism and White privilege to earlier times. However, we believe that the racism we describe resulted in great harm to People of Color over three hundred years, and that People of Color who articulated these effects were largely ignored or criticized. When we tell this story, we stand with them as witnesses. This project is at heart about witness rather than judgment; the point is not to condemn people in the past, but to acknowledge where the accumulation of their activities has left us as participants in a historical institution, one that spans several generations.

Peering back into history can make us uneasy; after all, the Spirit has moved our church community in a more loving, inclusive direction, so why would we want to dwell on the past? But the Bible shows us the importance of remembering our history complete with all its missteps and heartache. When the Jews wrote about Moses's leadership and their eventual arrival in the promised land, they didn't edit out the forty years in the desert. Jonah made it to Nineveh, yet we still focus on his detour via a whale. And as Christians we celebrate the resurrection, but we also continue to commemorate the torture and death Jesus suffered on the cross. Paul returned again and again to memories of his work as an oppressor of Christians, even though he had since become the chief architect of the worldwide Church. The Bible calls on us to chronicle and study the hurts and errors of our past, in order to hold them up for healing before God and learn from them in the future.[3]

[3] Correspondence from Kenzie Bok, a Trinity parishioner and current doctoral student of history at the University of Cambridge, October, 2014.

The Episcopal Church in the United States of America has undertaken similar efforts with Pastoral Letters of March 1994 and March 2006 on the Sin of Racism and with resolutions passed at its General Conventions of 2006, 2009, and 2012, calling for each diocese to gather information in its own community on

> **(1) the complicity of the Episcopal Church in the institution of slavery and in the subsequent history of segregation and discrimination;**
>
> **(2) examples of resistance to slavery and discrimination; and**
>
> **(3) the economic benefits derived by the Episcopal Church from the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery.**

The national church has recently established two major positions. The first is Missioner on Racial Justice and Reconciliation to oversee the church activities on racial reconciliation, education and the development of a policy platform. This person is located on the west coast in Seattle.[4] The second position is Missioner for Social Justice and Advocacy Engagement. This position, located in Washington, D.C. is expected to "build and support locally led coalitions for social change according to the policy position of the Episcopal Church (with a particular focus on racial justice and related issues).[5]

The national church also has established an extensive national website and collection of materials on racism. These can be found at www.episcopal archives.org. These extensive and rich archives are located in Austin, Texas.

The Diocese of Massachusetts did work in this arena in the years 2008-2012 and has requested each church in the diocese to look at its own particular history. That is especially important for the churches that date to the colonial period, including ours.

In our research for this project, we have drawn on the archives of Trinity Church and have read widely on related subjects. Our work has also been influenced by The Church Awakens: African Americans and the Search for Justice, an electronic publication and online exhibit of The Archives of the Episcopal Church.

In summarizing our work, we identified twelve moments in the history of Trinity Church that illustrate aspects of our history related to White privilege, slavery, segregation and also to resistance to these forces as we seek to understand more clearly the character of the church and its larger community from the early 18th century to the 21st century. To meet the requests and requirements of the national church and the Diocese of Massachusetts, we generally focused our attention on African Americans, starting with their experience as enslaved Africans and following them to the present time. We understand that racism and White privilege have affected the lives of other People of Color in the United States, in Boston, and in our church community too; while we were not able to cover their experiences in this report, we hope it may spark conversations that bring such voices to the fore. We must also acknowledge that this effort is evolving, not perfect, and that it reflects the fact that most American history has been written from a perspective of those in power at the time, primarily wealthy White men. Whether we have suggested connections some don't see or agree with or have left out connections obvious to others, we welcome your comments and suggestions on how to develop this document and expand the knowledge of our collective past. With your help, recognizing our history can be part of laying a sure

---

[4] Episcopal Church Office of Public Affairs. *"Kim Named Episcopal Church Missioner for Racial Reconciliation"*. Retrieved September 26, 2014 from http://www.episcopalchurch.org/notice/kim-named-episcopal-church-missioner-racial-reconciliation

[5] Episcopal Church Office of Public Affairs. *Wynder Named Missioner for Social Justice and Advocacy Engagement"*. Retrieved September 26, 2014 from http://www.episcopalchurch.org/notice/wynder-named-missioner-social-justice-and-advocacy-engagement

foundation, one on which our beloved church can continue to build its inclusive mission in the twenty-first century.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

We have read from the archives of Trinity Church and have read widely on related subjects. Our work has also been influenced by The Church Awakens: African Americans and the Search for Justice, an electronic publication and online exhibit of The Archives of the Episcopal Church.

In summarizing our work, we identified twelve moments in the history of Trinity Church that illustrate aspects of our history related to White privilege, slavery, segregation and also to resistance to these forces as we seek to understand more clearly the character of the church and its larger community from the early 18th century to the 21st century.

Significant Events

I	1730-1776	Colonial Trinity
II	1740-1830	156 People of Color Baptized at Trinity Church
III	1820-1865	Boston's and Trinity's Role in the Struggle to End Slavery
IV	1869-1891	Phillips Brooks is made the Rector of Trinity Church After Anti-Slavery Leadership in Philadelphia
V	1871-1879	Initial Copley Pewholders and the Building of Trinity Church Copley Square: Evidence of White Privilege.
VI	1733-1952	The Story of Pew Ownership and Governance
VII	1880-1925	Trinity's Role in Establishment of Black Episcopal Churches in Boston
VIII	1861-1954	Vida Dutton Scudder, Trinity and Establishment of Settlement Houses in Boston
IX	1923-1958	Henry Knox Sherrill (Trinity Curate; Trinity Rector; Bishop, Diocese of Massachusetts; Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church)
X	1954-1974	The Integration of Boston Public Schools and Trinity's Role in the Struggles
XI	1970-2014	People of Color on Trinity's Vestry, Clergy, and Staff
XII	1990-2004	Development of the Trinity Anti-Racism Team/Commissioned by The Rev. Anne Berry Bonnyman, Rector.

General Themes from Our Research

- In the 17th and 18th centuries slave holding and slave trading were very common within the Boston circle of merchants and other prosperous residents. While ships from Rhode Island "carried" more enslaved Africans than any other New England colony, Massachusetts ranked second. Evidence shows that the wealth of some of the early Trinity Church leaders and contributors was generated directly or indirectly from the slave trade and slavery.

- The National Episcopal Church's work and that of our own Diocese focused our efforts on delving deeply into our past as Christians and as Trinity parishioners.

- For much of its history Trinity Church has overtly or indirectly excluded Blacks as active members of our church community. The complexity of institutional racism is shown through many strands of our history:

    - Blacks were baptized at Trinity as early as 1740. Most Blacks baptized before the 1780s on the list of baptisms were likely household slaves of Trinity pewholding families. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) prepared an oath for Blacks to take before baptism. As part of the oath, they were required to swear that "…I do not ask for Holy Baptism out of any design to free myself from the duty and obedience I owe my master while I live…." We have not found a reference to this oath in Trinity's records; however, it is likely that Trinity's leaders at the time would have known about the substance of the pastoral letter, legal opinions and the SPG oath.

    - It appears that Trinity Church was not actively involved in the abolitionist movement. None of our sources on the subject mentioned any Trinity involvement in abolitionist activities. Moreover, the 1933 history of Trinity Church does not include any mention of the Civil War or abolitionism in its discussion of The Rt. Rev. Manton Eastburn, Rector from 1842-1868.

    - Pews were owned by Boston's white elite, and at least some part of the galleries were specifically labeled for "coloureds" as documented by the 1829 Plan and Valuation of Pews Trinity Church, Boston. A few oral histories indicate that some Blacks were directed to the galleries well into the 20th century.

    - The Reverends. Brooks and Sherrill were outspoken and active in anti-racist work before or after they came to Trinity Church, but they were not public leaders in this area while they were at Trinity.

    - There have been very few People of Color represented in the clergy and lay leadership and on the staff of the Church. However, Trinity Boston Foundation has made a concerted effort to hire People of Color and now reports that 45% of the total staff and 25% of the management staff are People of Color.

    - From at least the 1800's Trinity clergy and parishioners were active in reaching out to those in need across the city through establishment of mission churches, the settlement house movement, and more recently through the work of the Rev. Sam Tyler, the Second Mile Committee, and other church efforts, but often, particularly in earlier times, white people worked hard to "help" Blacks or other economically disadvantaged groups rather than involving them as equal partners in the work.

- When Trinity Church was confronted by issues of poverty and race within the city and beyond in the second half of the twentieth century, its leadership, clergy, and many active parishioners got involved in efforts for social justice. They helped to form a landscape of organizations that still shape Boston in positive ways today. At the same time, the church community was too shaken and perhaps too divided to take a very visible stance in the busing and school desegregation controversy, the central race relations issue of the era. The church was deeply enmeshed in all the complexities—the triumphs and the failings—of Boston as it struggled with questions of social justice in that period, a set of questions which largely persist to today.

We acknowledge that this research effort is evolving, not perfect, and that it reflects the fact that most American history has been written from a perspective of those in power at the time, primarily wealthy white men. If we have suggested connections some don't see or agree with, or have left out connections obvious to others, we

welcome your comments and suggestions on how to build upon this document and expand the knowledge of our collective past.

I 1730-1776 Colonial Trinity

This section looks at Trinity Church Boston 1730-1776 with the goal of better understanding Trinity's formation, the colonial people who founded it, and the institutions within which they lived and worked, all in a context of **White privilege**, **slaveholding** and **slave-trading.** **"**White privilege" refers to the fact that Americans who are "White" have had the privilege of living in a society whose systems and institutions have been over the years structured to serve white people exclusively or in a superior way. Several sources refer to the early colonists regard for themselves as "God's chosen people" (starting over in America, the land of Eden). Some "looked upon the enslavement of the Indians and Negroes as a sacred privilege Divine Providence was pleased to grant His chosen people and attributed military and economic success against Indians and Negroes as signs that God was again favoring his chosen people."[6]

In 1881, Phillips Brooks wrote in a paper about the history of the Massachusetts diocese: "Up to the beginning of The Revolution, the Episcopal Church in Boston had been counted an intruder. It had never been the church of the people, but had largely lived upon the patronage and favor of the English governors." [7]

Men-of-"ease" from King's Chapel donated funds to build Trinity in the decade of 1730-1740. Once it had been built, a man needed money to belong to colonial Trinity because the pews were sold; pew buyers became the proprietors of the church, who made major financial and policy decisions. In effect, it was their church. During the 1730s, four trustees managed the building project: Thomas Greene and Peter Luce, merchants, Thomas Child, distiller, and William Price, engraver, cabinetmaker and organist.[8]

In 1739, when the church was formally transferred from the managing trustees to the wardens and the vestry, church records identify the vestry as seven merchants, two distillers, a goldsmith/merchant, an apothecary, a wine cooper and a tailor.[9] Some of these men had inheritances (including land granted by the British and/or taken or bought cheaply from Indians by their ancestors) and some had strong connections with rich relatives in England and/or in the British West Indies who aided them in their mercantile careers. Some made fortunes from trading. Typically, they had large families. Some had positions in the colonial British administration; sometimes their sons did too. For example, 1739 vestry members Charles Apthorp, William Coffin, Phillip Dumaresque and Lawrence Lytwych died before the American Revolution, but their sons held positions with the British government and left town when the English did. Leonard Vassall, who negotiated the land for the church building, had grandsons who left Boston for London when their properties were attacked.[10]

Slaveholding. Eleven years after Winthrop's fleet of immigrants arrived in Salem, the colony created the Massachusetts Body of Liberties of 1641, making Massachusetts the first colony to legally sanction slavery. That document limited those eligible to be enslaved to "lawfull Captives in just Warres, and such "strangers" as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us." Under biblical influence, the statue prohibited stealing humans to

---

[6] Lorenzo Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England* (New York: Atheneum Press, 1942,1968), 61-62; See also, C. S. Manegold, *Ten Hills Farm: The Forgotten History of Slavery in the North.* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2010), 40. "(Lion) Gardiner later wrote of the day with gratitude, 'The Lord God blessed their design' he said of the Puritans, 'so that they returned with victory to the glory of God and honour of our nation, having slain three hundred (Indians), burnt their fort, and taken many prisoners.'"

[7] Phillips Brooks, "The Episcopal Church," in *The Memorial History of Boston*, published in 1881, Volume 3, Chapter 10.

[8] Andrew Oliver and James Peabody editors, *The Records of Trinity Church: 1728-1830* in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume 55*, xxxiv for "Men-of-ease," 8 for trustees.

[9] Ibid., 8.

[10] Charles Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts,* A Project Gutenberg eBook.

make them slaves. The Bible did not forbid trading for slaves. The word "strangers" was removed from the statues in 1670, apparently to eliminate suits on behalf of slaves' children claiming that native birth constituted free birth.[11]

The first recorded arrival of enslaved Africans in New England was in 1638 when a ship that Governor Winthrop had sent to the West Indies with Indian captives returned with Africans.[12] By 1647, New England farms were producing a surplus of food while Barbados had become so focused on producing sugar that it needed to import all other products. Winthrop saw a fortuitous "fit" for his colony. Massachusetts trade with the British West Indies grew quickly. In 1645, Winthrop's brother-in-law, Emanuel Downing, told him "I don't see how we can thrive until we get a stock of slaves sufficient to do all our business." Downing was advocating war with the Indians to gain prisoners to trade in Barbados for Negroes.[13]

Russell Adams writes that in 1654, an observer said about Boston that "the chiefe Edifice of this City-like Towne is crowded on the Sea-bankkes, and wharfed out with great industry and cost, the buildings beautiful and large….This Town, he added, is the very Mart of the Land, French, Portugalls and Dutch; come hither for trade." … and by 1675 William Harris could observe that "Boston's merchants seem to be rich men, and their houses are handsomely furnished as most in London." By 1700, Boston was North America's premier shipping and trading port. [14]

In the 1700s, the need for skilled and unskilled labor increased as the city's economy grew rapidly. Historian Lorenzo Greene devotes a chapter of his book to discussing the work life of New England's enslaved Africans, who labored on the wharves and in skilled trades as well as in unskilled roles in town and on farms. Enslaved Africans were required to adapt to a variety of jobs to meet the owner's needs; they could also be rented out by the owner for short term work.[15]

Adams tells us that, as early as 1687, a French visitor to Boston reported that "scarcely any Boston household of consequence didn't have at least one slave."[16] Wealth in Boston increased greatly during the 18th century; both the wealth and the black "servants" were concentrated in the merchant class and landed gentry.[17] The work of these household servants enabled their masters to maintain businesses or professions. Whether in the house or in business and social realms, enslaved Africans accomplished tasks that permitted Boston's leaders the time and energy to help Boston grow as a major trading city. Without the enslaved Africans help, our city would not have thrived so much in colonial times.

Slave-trading. Adams writes that it was easy for Boston merchants to observe, when trading in the Indies, that enslaved Africans brought high profits.[18] High mortality rates and low birth rates on sugar plantations led to a

---

[11] Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England*, 63-68; see also Melish, pp. 34-35.

[12] C.S. Manegold, *Ten Hills Farm*, 43.

[13] Anne Farrow, Joel Lang, and Jenifer Frank of the *Hartford Courant, Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged and Profited from Slavery* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2005), 46-49. Also, Greene, 60 and Manegold, 48-49.

[14] Russell Adams, *The Boston Money Tree* (New York: Thomas V. Crowell Company, 1977), 7-9.

[15] Greene, Chapter IV, "Slave Occupations," 100-123.

[16] Adams, 17.

[17] Greene, Chapter III, "The Negro Population," 74 and 79, especially.

[18] Adams, 17, Greene, 20.

constant need for labor replacement. During the late 17th century, slaving from the Mass Bay Colony grew along with the demand for enslaved Africans in the West Indies and the southern colonies.

Boston merchants took part in what came to be known as the "Triangle Trade", which included Boston, Africa, the British West Indies and later the southern U.S. coast. New Englanders became major distillers of rum and used the lowest quality to trade for enslaved Africans and gold dust in Africa. They then sold enslaved Africans in the British Caribbean, bringing home sugarcane to make more rum and English specie to buy finished goods in London.[19]

The rate of slave-trading from Boston reached an apex in the 1730s. Merchants and factors were careful to refer to buying and selling enslaved Africans as the "African Trade," or "Guinea Trade." Adams notes that Boston descendants of merchants tend to minimize their participation in the slave trade and point instead to "the more uncouth merchants of Providence and Newport."[20] (Ships based out of Rhode Island did "carry" more enslaved Africans than any other New England colony, but Massachusetts ranked second.) In recent years, members of one of the major slave-trading families of Rhode Island sought the truth about their family's trading and made a film, *Traces of the Trade*, to share with the rest of us.[21] It has been shown to groups at Trinity several times.

Slaveholders and Slave-traders related to colonial Trinity.

Since house slaves were widespread among Boston's well-to-do families, it is likely that many colonial Trinity pewholders held enslaved Africans. In the list of Trinity baptisms 1740-1830, 43 baptized Blacks were identified as the "servant" (slave) of a named white person, likely a Trinity pewholder. The last listing of that kind was in 1793.[22] See the Appendix for a list of all Blacks baptized at Trinity 1740-1830. In addition, we have found specific information about a few early Trinity merchants' business involvement with enslaved Africans.

Charles Apthorp (1698-1758) subscribed to the first building fund in 1733 and he was a member of the first vestry in 1739. He was also a leader at Kings Chapel. He was active in slave-trading (for example, advertised slaves for sale in *Boston Gazette* 7/25- 8/1/1737). He also acted as agent in retrieving missing slaves (*Boston Gazette* 8/13-8/20/1733, *Boston Post-Boy* 1/18/1742, and 6/7/1756).[23] Charles Apthorp was an important man in colonial government and was at one point viewed as the richest man in Boston. He and his wife had eighteen children. Charles's grandson, Colonel John T. Apthorp (1769-1849), became a Trinity vestryman in 1817 and was active on many church committees, including the Price donation committee.[24]

John Rowe. (1715-1787). Rowe was a vestry member 1760-68, 1777-1786, Junior Warden 1769-1770, and Senior Warden 1771-1773, 1776. He was apparently Senior Warden when Trinity decided to remain open as an independent church in 1776. If so, he was instrumental in the preservation of our church. Rowe was a merchant and a leader of merchants in Boston. We have some evidence that he used enslaved Africans in his business. An advertisement in the 7/26/1746 *Boston Evening Post* indicates he offered to buy "Some Negroes

[19] Adams, 17; also, Farrow et al, *Complicity*, 48.

[20] Adams, 18.

[21] The Tracing Center Website. www.tracingcenter.org

[22] Andrew Oliver and James Peabody, *Records of Trinity Church: 1728-1830, Vol. 56.* Also see Appendix of this project.

[23] See footnotes in Wikipedia article on Charles Apthorp for references to advertisements in the colonial newspapers.

[24] List of Trinity Rectors and Officers, Trinity Archives. Also see *Records, Vol 55* for Price committee report and Apthorp's name.

that can work at the carpenter trade, promising to "give a handsome Price if he likes them." In 1759, during the French and Indian War, Rowe leased the ships *Hannah* and *Devonshire* and several others to the British government as supply ships. In a 1760 letter to the merchant James Dunlop, Rowe wrote that he had rented his highly skilled slave carpenters to travel with the British army and build vessels in Quebec. Rowe maintained political and economic relationships with many people in the city and was often chosen for local office or for working committees.[25] He built Rowe's Wharf, which exists today.

Thomas Amory (1682-1728) was described by Russell Adams as "big in the slave trade." He died in 1728, before Trinity began, but during his short life, he owned warehouses and wharves in Boston and land in Carolina, the Azores, and Maine.[26] His oldest son, Thomas Amory (1722-1784) was a merchant and ran a distillery inherited from his father and grandfather. He traded in partnership with his brothers until his death in 1784. This younger Thomas was a Trinity vestry member 1777-1784. We have not found evidence that the younger Thomas (b. 1722) traded in slaves during his merchant career.

Peter Faneuil sent ships to Africa for slaves and was among many donors for Trinity's first organ.[27] He also built Faneuil Hall for the city and aided other charities.

In his 1968 book, *The Negro in Colonial New England*, Lorenzo Greene tells us…

> "Slave merchants belonged to what was then known as the gentility. The names of many are famous in the annals of New England, and others are intimately associated with the history of the United States. Many were honored with private and public offices of great trust, power and responsibility. There was no stigma attached to trading in Negroes before The Revolution, for the slave trade was as honorable a vocation, as lumbering or fishing. Wealthy slave merchants, like the industrial captains of the era, were successful men –the economic, political and social leaders of their communities—and were regarded by their fellows as worthy of emulation."[28]

In the cities, particularly New York and Boston, a vast number of legal, financial, and clerical workers handled the insurance, taxes, financial transactions, and voluminous paperwork involved in the colonial slave trade."[29] Clearly, slave trading was part of Boston's culture at that time.

---

[25] Matthew Kaminski, *Freemason Grand Master John Rowe*. eBook. For letter to James Dunlop, Kaminski cites Rowe's Letter Book, August 8, 1760 in Harvard's Baker Library.

[26] Adams, 18.

[27] *The Records of Trinity Church Boston, Vol. 55, 76 (P. Faneuil)*

[28] Greene, 57

[29] James A. McMillan, *The Final Victims*. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 73.

II 1740-1830: 156 People of Color Baptized at Trinity Church

Trinity church baptisms 1740-1830 are recorded in the second of two volumes of Trinity Church records. (Sacramental records 1830-1872 were lost in the great fire of 1872.) People of Color were typically identified as "Negroe". We have identified and noted 101 adults and 55 children of color from that ninety year list. (see appendix). In the early years, the name of the enslaved African's owner might be included. In later years, some were listed as "freemen" and others could have been slaves or free.[30] The revelation in these records is that, from its very beginning and during the era of slavery, Trinity Church Boston has held within its embrace, via the baptismal sacrament, 156 Persons of Color. These people have always been a part of our congregation.

Why were Blacks at Trinity? Part of the Europeans' rationalization of slavery was to bring Christianity to Negroes. Cotton Mather, in his 1706 treatise, "The Negro Christianized" advised that Christianizing slaves would help them integrate positively into the household.[31]

In 1727, Bishop Gibson in London issued two pastoral letters to the colonies, one to slave owners, the other to Anglican ministers, to encourage the conversion of enslaved people. On June 14, 1729, the King's Attorney General Philip Yorke and Solicitor General Talbot issued their opinion that baptism did not mean freedom. The Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) prepared an oath for Blacks to take before baptism:

> "I declare in the presence of God and before this congregation that I do not ask for Holy Baptism out of any design to free myself from the duty and obedience I owe to my master while I live, but merely for the good of my soul and to partake of the grace and the blessings promised to the members of the Church of Christ."[32]

We have not found a reference to this oath in Trinity records, so we don't know whether Trinity rectors insisted enslaved Africans say this when baptized. However, it seems likely that Trinity Boston's founders would have heard the substance of these pastoral letters and legal opinions.

Lorenzo Greene in *The Negro in Colonial New England* tells us that the SPG from 1702-1785 pursued many activities in all the English colonies of America aimed at the religious and secular education of Negroes. They sent missionaries, catechists and teachers to convert Negroes and set up schools for their special instruction. They also distributed catechisms, Common Prayer Books, thousands of Bibles, and other literature among the Negroes. Greene devotes four pages to quoting reports from Anglican rectors in New England to the SPG on their efforts to baptize slaves. Trinity is not mentioned. In 1730, The Rev. Dr. Cutler, rector of Christ Church Boston reported one infant slave among his baptisms of the previous year. He wrote in 1740 "that there was much indifference on the part of the masters to the conversion of their slaves." He later reported that during a seven-month period in 1749-1750 he had baptized five Negro children, only one of whom was a slave.[33]

---

[30] *Records of Trinity Church Boston: 1728-1830, Publications of Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. 56*, 1980.

[31] Cotton Mather, *The Negro Christianized.* (Boston: B. Green, 1706), 2-3, 21. Quoted by Joanne Melish, *Disowning* Slavery (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 32.

[32] Lydia T. Wright, M.D., *The Black Experience in the Episcopal Church* (1986, Cincinnati, Ohio: Forward Movement Publications) p. 4, which footnotes Robert A. Bennett, *Black Episcopalians: A History from the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill), page 1.

[33] Greene, 270-273.

(Christ Church had received financial support from the SPG in its early years so was likely to have had a continuing relationship with it.)

New England household slaves might have learned about the Christian religion by participating in family worship at home,[34] or they possibly could have been sent to a catechism class with one of the SPG missionaries or with The Associates of Dr. Bray, the other Anglican organization that offered secular and religious education and teaching materials to slave children in the American colonies.[35]

Colonial Trinity Vestry minutes do not mention Blacks at all, so we don't know where they sat if they came with their owners. Vestry records tell us that balcony pews in the first church building were sold to white men. More generally, Greene reports that Alice Morse Earle wrote that in New England churches "generally there was an African corner, where Negroes either stood in the rear of the church or sat upon benches. Sometimes they sat on the stairs. If the church had an upper story, the Negroes usually were assigned to a remote corner of the gallery, commonly referred to as the 'Nigger Pew,' or 'Nigger Heaven.'"[36]

Who were these people? For the pre-Revolution years most Blacks on the list were likely household slaves of Trinity pewholding families.

There is no mention of Trinity rectors having slaves, but many ministers in colonial New England held enslaved Africans. For example, rectors of the colonial Anglican churches in Marblehead and Quincy had household slaves. The slave of an Anglican rector in Quincy made a gift of a chalice to the Quincy church. "With slavery defended upon such high grounds (of religion), even the clergy might hold slaves with an undisturbed conscience."[37]

Post-Revolutionary Boston saw a gradual increase of freed Blacks. Two of those with names on Trinity's baptism list are described more fully below.

George Middleton, baptized 11/30/1781, served in the Revolutionary War. Soon after the war, Middleton led his company in a march down Beacon Street on their way to a gathering in a neighboring town. The then Governor John Hancock, who had requested that the group stop in front of his Beacon Hill mansion, presented them with an inscribed silk flag and a badge. Little is known of the group's war activity, but Kaplan and Kaplan speculate that Hancock might have rewarded a volunteer group of black men, "The Protectors," who protected Boston merchants and the city from sabotage by the British during the war. They were also called the "Bucks of America." The banner called them the "Bucks."[38]

Middleton is listed as a coachman in tax records of 1784 and 1792. He worked for Dr. James Lloyd (Trinity Vestry 1802-09, 1813-27). He bought a lot at 5 Pinckney Street and built a house there. Middleton became an activist for freedom for Blacks and for public schooling for Blacks. He helped found The African Benevolent

[34] Ibid, 276-277.

[35] Ibid, 274

[36] Ibid, 283. Greene's footnote identifies Mrs. Earle's chapter v in "Seating the Meeting" in her *Customs and Fashions in Old New England* (New York: Scribners, 1896)

[37] Ibid, 62.

[38] Kaplan, Sidney and Emma Nogrady Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution*, 1989, 65-67; see also, National Park Service, African American Churches of Beacon Hill. http://www.nps.gov/boaf/historyculture/churches.htm

Society, a mutual aid society of freemen. In 1781, he married Alice March of Boston at Trinity Church. She was baptized at Trinity soon after. Middleton was the third Grand Master of the Prince Hall Masons.[39]

Prince Hall, founder of the Prince Hall Masons, which grew to be a strong national Black organization, was a sponsor for several free People of Color at Trinity Church. Hall's background is not clear. His name first appears as the slave of William Hall in Boston in the 1740s; he was apprenticed to a leather worker. In 1770, his master freed him, writing that he was "no longer Reckoned a slave, but had always been accounted as a free man." After that, Hall worked as a leather dresser and caterer, a job in which he had contact with White Bostonians in their homes.[40]

In 1787, Hall led free Negroes in presenting a petition for free public education (not granted) and in 1788 a petition to the General Court, seeking freedom for fellow Blacks who had been kidnapped—and to abolish the slave trade. Some Quakers also filed a petition to stop the slave trade. This time the General Court passed an act to prevent the slave trade and to grant relief to families of kidnapped enslaved Africans. In 1796, Hall led those presenting "the Black man Petition" to Boston selectmen asking them to fund Black children's education. They didn't, so Blacks organized a private school in 1798 and, by 1806, they held classes in the newly built African Meeting House on the north side of Beacon Hill. Prince Hall died a poor man in 1807; during his life he was an organizer of the freed community of Boston, a passionate advocate for full citizenship for Blacks, and a supporter via the Prince Hall Masons of middle class values.[41]

Joanne Pope Melish, in her seminal book *Disowning Slavery,* writes about the narrative of a "free, White New England" stating that a "virtual amnesia about slavery in New England" was almost as old as local slavery itself."[42] Her book presents the "more complex reality in which economic, political, and social relations were structured by 'race,' itself emerging from a still earlier set of relations structured by slavery."[43] She notes that New England Whites idealized the vision of the small, all-White New England town that became an American ideal and wished that Blacks would just vanish.[44] Whites could not imagine Blacks having full citizenship like them and mocked Negroes' efforts to share in post-revolution freedoms. A big step in masking the realness of Blacks as people was the construction of a crude set of caricatures that portrayed Blacks as stupid or ridiculous. A genre of humorous and (often savage) satirical anecdotes, cartoons, and broadsides began in the 1780s and 1790s as emancipation gradually unfolded.[45] Leaders such as Prince Hall and George Middleton, meanwhile, tried by word and deed to help Boston Blacks survive and build a more positive life in community.

---

[39] Ibid.

[40] Kaplan and Kaplan, "Prince Hall: Organizer," 202-214.

[41] Peter P. Hinks and Stephen Kantrowitz, Editors. *All Men Free and Brethren,* 2013.
"Introduction," 1-6 and Chernoh, M. Sesay Jr.,"Emancipation and the Social Origins of Black Freemasonry, 1775-1800," 21-39.

[42] Joanne Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, Preface, xiii

[43] Ibid, xv.

[44]Ibid, 163.

[45]Ibid, 171-183.

III 1820-1860: Boston's Role in The Struggle to End Slavery

Boston played an important role in the struggle against slavery. Antecedents included the post-Revolution tension some Bostonians felt between having been leaders in the fight for liberty while continuing to deprive enslaved Africans of their liberty. Bostonians were proud to have started the American Revolution and to have been leaders in founding the nation. There were many players in the struggle between 1820 and1860 on both sides of the slavery question. William Lloyd Garrison, Boston's black leaders, and some upper-class women were among those campaigning for abolition, while Whigs and Democrats were unionists, willing to settle for the status quo in slavery if it didn't expand. We tend to think of the abolitionists as being prevalent in Boston since their goals came to fruition in the end, but the story is more complicated, and in Boston the pressure against abolition was also intense.

Another thread in Boston's pre-Civil War history was the arrival in Boston of enslaved Africans in hopes of a free life. Several important court cases featured cooperation between volunteer white and black lawyers. In 1836, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society brought a case for a visiting young slave girl named **Med**[46]**.** They won her freedom, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court Lemuel Shaw agreed that Med's slave status ended when she reached the "free soil" of Massachusetts. In 1842, **George Latimer and his wife** fared less well. Justice Shaw decided that Congress's fugitive slave law of 1793 applied to the Latimer case. Upset Bostonians protested. The Latimers' jailer said he could not guarantee their safety. George Latimer's owner then agreed to sell him for $400, and Bostonians raised money to free him. [47]

With the passage of the stricter Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Boston's free Blacks, as well as refuges from the South, lived in fear of being captured as enslaved Africans. Escapees **William and Ellen Craft** found their way to Boston in 1849 and, after settling in, lectured about their experiences. Hearing news of the Crafts' lectures, angry Southerners sent a slave-catcher for them as soon as the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act passed. Bostonians harassed the slave-catcher until he retreated and the Crafts left for England.[48] Southerners, angrier than ever, sent a slave hunter to Boston with an affidavit for escapee **Shadrach Minkins**. A group of black men seized Minkins from the courtroom and sent him to Canada. Also, in 1851 **Thomas Sims** was arrested after a slave hunter brought a warrant north. When an escape plan failed, abolitionists brought a court case, but Justice Shaw decided that under the Fugitive Slave Law Sims had to be returned. Guards sneaked him onto a waiting ship at 4 a.m.; he was sent directly to his Georgia owner, who had him lashed in public.[49]

When it was passed in 1820, the Missouri Compromise created Maine as a separate "free" state, balanced by allowing Missouri to be a slave state and prohibiting slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of 36 degrees 30'. Americans came to view this law as a basic tenet of agreement, but 34 years later, in 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act broke the Missouri Compromise by giving the men of Kansas and Nebraska the right to vote on whether to permit slavery. That Act made Amos Adams Lawrence, Bishop Lawrence's father, very angry. He felt that Southerners had acted in bad faith after he and his northern friends had supported the Fugitive Slave Act compromise to protect national union. Amos Adams Lawrence is quoted as stating in 1854,

[46] Berenson, *Boston and the Civil War,* 34

[47] Ibid, 34-35.

[48] Ibid, 47-51.

[49] Ibid, 50-54.

"You may rely on it…the sentiment at this time among the powerful and conservative class of men is the same as it is in the country towns throughout New England."[50]

Anthony Burns had been arrested in Boston as a fugitive on the same day in 1854 that the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed in Congress. Now breaking with the Fugitive Slave Law he had supported, Lawrence made an about-face to help finance Burns' defense when he was tried as a fugitive slave.[51] In spite of Amos Adams Lawrence's help with legal fees, Burns was convicted by a federal commissioner, who remanded Burns to his owner. Bostonians watched as two thousand federal troops, local police and hired guards led Burns to a ship sailing for Virginia. His master abused him severely for four months and then sold him to a new owner.[52] Mary Blanchard, the abolitionist daughter of a then recent mayor of Boston, wrote to her father that Amos Adams Lawrence remarked, "We went to bed old-fashioned conservative Union Whigs and waked up stark mad Abolitionists."[53] Boston Abolitionists bought Burns for $1000 and paid for him to study at Oberlin College.

Amos A. Lawrence also joined with others in the New England Emigrant Aid Company, helping finance anti-slavery settlers in Kansas. Lawrence became treasurer and an active fundraiser and planner. Money came from old friends, including William Appleton and Joseph Lyman.[54]

On May 22, 1856, after giving a fiery speech on "the Crime against Kansas," Senator Charles Sumner, an abolitionist from Boston, was severely beaten by Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina who was furious that Sumner had insulted his relative who had suffered a stroke. It took Sumner three years to recover enough to return to the Senate. Meanwhile, Bishop Lawrence tells us "My father was a conservative and not a supporter of Sumner. This, however, was a national issue. Hence, when Sumner, partially recovered, came on his triumphal tour to Boston, he was taken from the train at Cottage Farm Station and rested over Sunday at our house. On Monday he drove over the Roxbury Neck to the cheers of the people."[55]

Trinity Church. Trinity Church's 1933 lengthy self-history of the previous two hundred years did not mention the Civil War or abolition, and we have found no books on abolition or abolitionists that mention Trinity Church. We did find information about nineteenth-century Trinity vestrymen Robert C. Winthrop, Theodore Lyman, and Gardiner Greene, who were definitely not abolitionists.

Robert C. Winthrop (1809-1894) (vestry 1834-1843, 1846-1894, a total of 57 years). Robert C. Winthrop was elected as a Whig to the U.S. Congress in 1840. He served several more terms as a Congressman and served as U.S. Speaker of the House for 15 months in 1847-49. Then, in 1850, he was appointed by the Massachusetts Governor as a US Senator for six months in 1850 when US Senator Daniel Webster was appointed to be Secretary of State. Winthrop then failed to be re-elected by the state legislature as a result of opposition by the Free-Soilers.[56] He finished his political life at the age of 41. He spent the rest of his life in literary, historical

---

[50] Robert F. Dalzell Jr., *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World That They Made* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 214.

[51] Ibid, 59.

[52] Berenson, 58-59.

[53] Ibid, 59.

[54] Dalzell, *Enterprising Elite,* 215.

[55] William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, *Memories of a Happy Life* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company; Cambridge Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1926), 7

[56] Wikipedia, Robert C Winthrop. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Charles_Winthrop

and philanthropic pursuits—and as an officer of Trinity Church. In *Black Bostonians,* both Robert C. Winthrop and Theodore Lyman are included in a list of "Cotton Whigs" who "saw militant abolitionism as a dangerous threat to the peace of Boston, to orderly trade with the southern states, and to the maintenance of the Union."

Theodore Lyman (Vestry 1839, 1843, 1848-1849) became the first Democratic Mayor of Boston from 1834 to 1836, defeating William Sullivan, the Whig Candidate. He was apparently so popular as mayor in his first term that the Whigs nominated him to run again, but he didn't win. He was known as an intense opponent of the radical abolitionists. In 1835, he presided over a pro-slavery meeting in Boston,. Shortly after, during an anti-abolitionist riot, he was the mayor who rescued Garrison from a mob by jailing him overnight.[57]

Gardiner Greene (1753-1832) was another important vestryman, serving from 1810-1832. He was a great nephew of Thomas Greene, a merchant who served as one of four trustees who managed the building of the first Trinity Church in the 1730s and who created the Greene Fund for Trinity Church in his will. Gardiner Greene was a cotton planter and merchant from Boston, who lived in Guyana in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In 1803, he bought property on Pemberton Hill (Cotton Hill). He lived there with his family until 1835. In 1804, he built the South Boston Bridge in association with William Tudor, Harrison Gray Otis and Jonathan Mason. Being a plantation owner and a cotton grower, he likely opposed abolition.[58]

As a Trinity leader and member of the vestry, Gardiner Greene also was treasurer of the Widows and Orphans Fund, a delegate to the Episcopal Conventions (1814-1822), and on the committee to buy the land for the 1830 Trinity Church building, among many other church activities. Greene was an officer of the United States Bank and the Provident Institution for Savings. His son J. S. Copley Greene was on Trinity's vestry just one year, 1842-43.

Trinity Church 1842-1868: Rectorship of The Reverend Manton Eastburn.

In 1842, a tired Bishop Griswold asked for an assistant Bishop. Church leaders decided that it could be done if the new rector chosen for Trinity Church would also serve as Assistant Bishop. The Reverend Manton Eastburn was chosen and was consecrated as Assistant Bishop on December 29, 1842. Less than two months later, on February 15, 1843, Bishop Griswold died. Eastburn served as Trinity's rector from 1842, through the Civil War, until he resigned in 1868.[59] Bishop Eastburn was known among his peers as firmly evangelical and as a bishop who emphasized discipline in the diocese. In his eulogy for Bishop Eastburn, Brooks strongly implied that the era of evangelism was over.[60]

In 1869, Phillips Brooks consented to be the new rector at Trinity. There was much work to be done to bring the congregation alive. It had shrunk. Many parishioners had moved to Beacon Hill and were now worshipping at St. Paul's on Tremont Street while younger people were drawn to Newbury Street's five-year-old Emanuel Church.[61]

---

56 Wikipedia, "Theodore Lyman (militiaman)" http://en.wikipedia.org/wik/Theodore_Lyman_ (militiaman)

58 Wikipedia, "Gardiner Greene". http://en.wikipedia.org/wik/Gardiner_Greene

59 Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, editors, *Trinity Church in the City of Boston 1733-1933* (Boston: B. D. Updike, The Merrymount Press, 1933), 15; see also chapter on The Reverend Manton Eastburn, 53-64.

60 Gillis J. Harp, *Brahmin Prophet: Phillips Brooks and the Path of Liberal Protestantism* (Latham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2003), 79.

61 *Trinity Church in the City of Boston 1733-1933*, 67.

IV 1869-1891 Phillips Brooks is made the Rector of Trinity Church after his anti-slavery leadership in Philadelphia.

Phillips Brooks grew up in Brahmin Boston, attending Boston Latin School, Harvard College and Virginia Theological Seminary before becoming at 26 the very successful rector at Holy Trinity, Philadelphia. In Philadelphia, Brooks was one of the leading abolitionist preachers in the Episcopal Church, giving a famous Thanksgiving Day sermon in 1863 that supported President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. He also "warn[ed] his congregation against the fragments of old prejudices still clinging about them:"

> Let us get rid of these. If the negro is a man, and we have freed him in virtue of his manhood, what consistency or honor is it which still objects to his riding down the street in the same car with us if he is tired, or sitting in the same pew with us if he wants to worship God? Brethren, the world is not all saved yet. There are a few things still that "ought not to be."[62]

In the same sermon Brooks lamented that the Christian Church had played such a weak role in the abolitionist effort:

> Year after year the Church stood back while they who fought the battle went out from her; the whole movement against slavery became not only unchurchly but openly infidel, disowning all interest in every presentation of that Christianity of whose spirit and operation it was nevertheless of itself the legitimate result.[63]

In 1863, Mary Grew, one of the leading abolitionists, wrote a letter to Wendell Phillips--an abolitionist, a Boston lawyer known as "abolition's Golden Trumpet"[64] and one of Phillips Brooks' cousins. According to the biography of Grew:

> "You would not be ashamed of him if his name was *Wendell* Phillips Brooks," Mary Grew wrote. "You know he has made a sensation here for some time past, as a *live* Episcopal minister, but he is doing more than that now. At a meeting in behalf of "the western contrabands, the other night", he had made "a first rate speech, thoroughly anti-slavery, anti-prejudice against *color*, fervent & hearty as *you* cd desire." She had been particularly impressed with two sentences from his address: "We hear a great deal about radicals and radicalism. In God's name, let us try to get back to the radicalism of our Master; a radicalism so deep that it cuts to the root of every sin."[65]

---

[62] Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks, Volume 1. Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, E.P. Dutton, 1901. P. 467. This quote appeared in Harp, Gillis J., *Brahmin Prophet: Phillips Brooks and the Path of Liberal Protestantism.* Latham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2003, p. 53.

[63] Phillips Brooks, 1835-1893: Memories of his life, with extracts from his letters and note-books (Google eBook) Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, E.P. Dutton, 1907, p. 152.

[64] Berenson, *Boston and the Civil War*, p 30.

[65] *Mary Grew, Abolitionist and Feminist, 1813-1896*, Ira Vernon Brown, 1991, Susquehanna University Press, p. 85.

After the Civil War, Brooks was prominently involved in the efforts for the relief of the newly freed, "serving on the staff of the American Freedman's Aid Commission of New York, which had oversight of several relief agencies."

Brooks also attracted much attention with a very notable sermon following Lincoln's assassination:

> (Lincoln) was a character such as only Freedom knows how to make. Now it was in this character rather than in any mere political position that the fitness of Mr. Lincoln to stand forth in the struggle of the two American natures really lay. We are told that he did not come to the Presidential chair pledged to the abolition of Slavery. When will we learn that with all true men it is not what they intend to do, but it is what the qualities of their natures bind them to do that determines their career? The President came to his power full of the blood, strong in the strength of Freedom. He came there free and hating slavery. He came there leaving on record words like these spoken three years before and never contradicted. He had said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure, permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall; but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." When the question came he knew which thing he meant that it should be. His whole nature settled that question for him….And with a reverent and clear mind to be controlled by events, means to be controlled by God. For such a man there was no hesitation when God brought him up face to face with Slavery and put the sword into his hand and said, "Strike it down dead." He was a willing servant then. If ever the face of a man writing solemn words flowed with a solemn joy, it must have been the face of Abraham Lincoln, as he bent over the writing the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and giving manhood and freedom as he wrote it to hundreds of thousand of his fellowmen."[66]

Lischer King, author of the critically acclaimed The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Word that Moved America, states that King drew on "nineteenth-century bishop Phillips Brooks" for "much of his inspiration."[67]

Despite the political and military victory over the South, Gillis G. Harp, one of Brooks' leading biographers, comments on the greater challenges Brooks recognized and spoke to in the Lincoln sermon:

> Americans were not all bad and could choose which of the two natures they would follow. Brooks warned his hearers that this spirit of slavery was far from dead "while one man counts another his born inferior for the color of his skin, while both in North and South prejudices and practices, which law cannot touch, but which God hates, keep alive in our people's hearts the spirit of the old iniquity." If only momentarily, Brooks demonstrated in these (some of his last explicitly political) sermons a recognition of the limits of constitutional or political change that many Congressional Radicals failed to appreciate during Reconstruction. His remarks on race transcended the juridical formalism that hobbled Radical Reconstruction. Although, like most northerners, Brooks appears to have quickly lost interest in

[66] The life and death of Abraham Lincoln: A sermon preached at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, Sunday morning, April 23 1865 by The Rev. Phillips Brooks. Retrieved at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moa/ack8574.0001.001/4?page=root;rgn=full+text;size=100;view=image

[67] Douglass Shand-Tucci, "Saint Phillips Brooks," Back Bay Historical—The Global Boston," June 1, 2009, www.backbayhistorial.org/blog/

> the long-term fate of the freedman, in the spring of 1865, his preaching showed a sincere concern about working towards a genuinely egalitarian biracial society.[68]

Harp went on to write: "At some point between the end of the war and his accepting the call to Trinity Church, Boston, in 1869, Brooks turned to focus on preaching as primarily a way to change the sensibility of his listeners, rather than to enlist them in the cause of social change." Noteworthy in Boston, and likely a key reason for Brooks being called to Trinity several years later, was Brooks' sermon at a July 1865 Harvard service commemorating Harvard's Civil War dead. The future President of Harvard, Charles Eliot, is quoted by Harp as saying, "that one spontaneous and intimate expression of Brooks' noble spirit convinced all Harvard men that a young prophet had risen up in Israel."[69]

The Rev Phillips Brooks arrived in Boston in October, 1869 to become Rector of Trinity. At his arrival, Trinity was struggling with poor attendance, as its parishioners moved to Beacon Hill or the newly filled-in land of the Back Bay. The church, located on Summer Street in the downtown area, was surrounded with shops; its gardens had been allowed to languish, and the building was in disrepair.[70]

Once Brooks was at Trinity, according to Douglass Shand-Tucci:

> Black leaders drawn to Copley Square [after Brooks became Rector at Trinity Church in 1869] included W.E.B. DuBois when he was at Harvard, Booker T. Washington whenever he was in Boston and Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, widow of the first Black graduate of Harvard Law School and the first Black judge in the Northeast, who herself would convene the first National Conference of Colored Women. Her son, George Ruffin Jr., sang in the choir of Trinity, Copley Square, for over thirty years and Brooks himself officiated at the marriage of his sister, Florida, in 1888, at a time when only Blacks who were servants were welcome in the Back Bay.[71]

Furthermore, Adelaide Cromwell, the founding director of Afro-American studies at Boston University, notes that: "the strength of the Episcopal church among Boston's [Black] upper class results from a combination of circumstances: first, a definite effort was made by ministers such as Phillips Brooks to attract Negroes to Trinity Church…."[72]

According to another biographer, Douglass Shand-Tucci, "in post-Civil War Boston, however, Brooks seemed to most to take on rather a larger cause, responding to what would become his life's motivation, meeting the challenge, naturally most evident in the nation's intellectual capital, of increasing disbelief in religion itself."[73]

---

[68] Gillis Harp, *Brahmin Prophet,* p. 60.

[69] Ibid. p. 60-61.

[70] See section 3 above.

[71] Douglass Shand-Tucci, "Saint Phillips Brooks," Back Bay Historical—The Global Boston," June 1, 2009, www.backbayhistorial.org/blog/ According to Shand-Tucci, the scholarly foundation for "Saint Phillips Brooks" is "The Ecumenical Quest" in Douglass Shand-Tucci, *Ralph Adams Cram: an Architect's Four Quests—Medieval, Modernist, American, Ecumenical.* University of Massachusetts Press, 2005.

[72] *The Other Brahmins: Boston's Black Upper Class, 1750-1950,* Adelaide M. Cromwell, 1994, University of Arkansas Press, p. 119.

[73] Douglass Shand-Tucci, "Saint Phillips Brooks,"

V 1871-1879 Copley Pewholders and the Building of Trinity Copley Square

Trinity's existing downtown church burned down during the great Boston fire of November 10, 1872. The congregation had already purchased land on Copley Square in 1871. During construction, Trinity held services in other churches and buildings. In addition to sale of the old lot, the congregation planned to sell pews to pay for the building, which had been initially estimated to cost $250,000, but eventually cost $750,000. The new rector, Philips Brooks, insisted on free galleries, thus reducing income. This resulted in supplemental subscriptions and "taxes" on each pew owner. The rector also insisted that the building be debt-free before being consecrated. After the building's completion, a lingering $65,000 was still needed, so a final call for funds was made and the building was consecrated on February 9, 1877.[74]

A list of 1879 Copley Trinity pewholders indicates that about 159 of 250 pewholders gave Back Bay, Beacon Hill or nearby South End addresses.[75] With rapid growth from 1830 to 1850, Boston had become overcrowded and dense tenement housing had proliferated. By 1850, the "foreign" people of Boston had reached 47% of the total population, and 81.4% of those were Irish Catholic.[76] Meanwhile, the advent of commuter trains had made it possible for families to leave the city and easily commute to Boston in significant numbers in the 1850s.[77]

Worried about losing its wealthy families, the city and state strategized in the 1850s to make Boston's new Back Bay an elegant neighborhood with amenities that would appeal to the wealthy, mostly Protestant, elite of the city. The state auctioned filled-in Back Bay land, but halted sales when demand was low in order to keep prices high and the neighborhood upscale. Sales grew from 1858 to 1872. They were suspended during the Depression of 1874-78 and then declined gradually after 1879.[78]

To interest buyers, the government sited key cultural institutions in the Back Bay. The state donated a block of land on Boylston Street between Berkeley and Clarendon to MIT and the Museum of Natural History. In 1870, the city donated the south side of Copley for the first Museum of Fine Arts. Trinity and Old South Church bought land on Copley Square, and other Protestant churches built nearby. The Boston Public Library graced Copley Square's west side by 1895. Harvard Medical School sat behind the library.[79]

Some of the 1879 pewholders' names were among those families identified in various sources as having been slavers or having built businesses related to West Indies trade, so some of the original wealth of these 1879 families derived from the institution of slavery. After the Revolution, some merchants sought a more stable way of working than mercantilism. That impulse fueled a turn toward manufacturing.

The term "the Boston Associates" ("BA") was coined in 1935 by a historian, Vera Shlakman, to describe a group of about eighty highly-connected Massachusetts men who led the textile industry and used their profits to become investors and leaders in the banking, railroad and insurance businesses in mid-nineteenth-century

---

[74] Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, *Trinity Church in the City of Boston 1733-1933.* (Boston: Marymount Press, 1933), 24 and 77.

[75] Trinity Archives: Trini*ty* Church Owners and Occupants of Pews, Easter, 1879.

[76] William Newman and Wilford Holton, *Boston's Back Bay.* (Boston: Northeastern University, 2006), 46-48, 63.

[77] Ibid, 47.

[78] Ibid, 43-78.

[79] Ibid, 69-70.

Boston.[80] (The book *Enterprising Elite* includes a list of Boston Associates and the boards and executive committees they served on between 1813 and 1865.)[81] During that period, three of the people on the BA list also served as vestry and officers of Trinity Church while twelve other vestry members shared last names with BA members. On the 1879 list of Trinity pewholders (fourteen years after 1865), we find two more men from the BA list and thirty more pewholders who share family names with people on the BA list. In summary, amongst the vestry, officers and pewholders, some Trinity people were highly connected to the textile industry.

Trinity Church was built by Harvard men. Phillips Brooks and Robert Treat Paine were classmates at Harvard, graduating in 1855.[82] Just after graduation, Paine joined his family on a European tour.[83] After the Civil War, in 1866, Brooks took a year off from his Philadelphia church to tour Europe and the Middle East, paying great attention to church architecture. H.H. Richardson, a wealthy young southerner, came north to Harvard, graduated in 1859, spent 1860-65, the Civil War years, studying at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and went on to become the architect for Trinity Copley.[84] As it turned out, Brooks and Richardson and five of the eleven-man building committee had connections through Harvard's Porcellian Club.[85] These men were just a few of the Harvard men, before and after them, who were associated with Trinity Church Boston. Their privileged upbringing allowed these young men to attend Harvard and connect with each other through the university, one of many elite institutions of higher learning which received donations from alumni and benefactors who took part in the slave trade, who owned plantations, and/or owned slaves. Both MIT's Craig Wilder, who leads the History Department at MIT and published *Ebony and Ivy* in 2013, and Harvard history professor Sven Beckert, who authored with Katherine Stevens the 2011 article and website *Harvard and Slavery*, describe these connections with the slave trade and identify some of these people.[86]

[80] Robert E. Dalzell, Jr., *Enterprising Elite.* (New York: W.W Norton & Company, 1993). 79.

[81] Ibid., 233-238.

[82] James E. O'Gorman, *The Makers of Trinity Church in Boston.* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 35.

[83] Ibid., 35.

[84] Ibid., Kathleen A. Curran, "Architect: Henry Hobson Richardson," 62.

[85] Ibid., Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., "Trinity Church at 125," 14.

[86] Craig Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy*. (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013); Sven Beckert, Katherine Stevens and the students of the Harvard and Slavery Research Seminar, *Harvard and Slavery: Seeking a Forgotten History*. (www.harvardandslavery.com 2011)

VI 1733-1952 The Story of Pew Ownership and Governance

Donors for the construction of the first Trinity Boston were granted pews and, in 1739 pew owners became proprietors, Trinity's governing body. More pews were sold and the pews were "taxed" annually to maintain the parish. Since 1737, Trinity has had a vestry and wardens who make decisions and manage the church. Proprietors met to make decisions related to finance and hiring of ministers.[87]

The Trinity Church Archives contain an 1829 plan and valuation of pews to be sold at public auction for the second Trinity Church. Pews on the ground floor were valued from $200-$800, and those in the side galleries were valued at $70-$300. The word "coloured" is marked at the back of the side galleries.[88] It is unclear whether the "coloured" notation means the gallery seats are for purchase and/or seating only by "coloureds", or whether "coloureds" were allowed to sit only at the back of the galleries behind the pews.

In 1831, an act of the Legislature incorporated "The Trinity Religious Society" and proprietors created by-laws that gave each pew a vote.[89] Dr. Wainwright, Rector 1833-38, "wrote to the vestry of pecuniary embarrassments and of thin congregations." [90] During the years 1842-1868, when The Rev. Eastburn was rector, there were few services—just one a week on Sunday morning. On Sundays, families occupied the pews they owned or rented. There were few strangers and those that came were seated in the gallery.[91] During that period, instead of regular Sunday collections, pew-owners received monthly bills to pay for their pews. The monthly communion service included a collection for the poor. Collections for special purposes were made on third Sundays.[92] 1863 church records state that for the prior ten years, current expenses had exceeded income from pew rates or rentals. In 1866, the debt was about $24,000. At that time, annual expenses of about $12,000 were met with the pew tax and Trinity's share of the Price Fund.[93]

In the third Trinity Church building, opened in 1877 in Copley Square, the galleries were free at The Rev. Phillips Brooks' insistence.[94] Bishop Lawrence, writing about his friend and mentor Phillips Brooks, described a typical Sunday morning during Brooks' fifteen-year tenure.

> "Here is a description of such a Sunday as went on week after week, year after year. As the worshippers enter the west door and wait to be shown seats, the organ in the gallery overhead is heard. The galleries are already packed with people. Promptly at half past ten all the doors are opened, and the waiting crowd surges up the aisles, entering the pews, and up into the chancel, sitting upon the cushions of the Communion rail and on the chancel steps, and lining the walls wherever there is room to

[87] Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, *Trinity Church in the City of Boston 1733-1933. (Boston: Marymount Press, 1933), 4-6.*

[88] *Plan and Valuation of Pews, The Trinity Church, Boston to be sold at public auction on Thursday, November 12, 1829.*

[89] Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, *Trinity Church in the City of Boston 1733-1933,* 15.

[90] Ibid, 15.

[91] Ibid, 59.

[92] Ibid, 60-61.

[93] Ibid, 15

[94] Ibid, 76-77.

stand.[95]….."The afternoon service was much the same. The church was packed, but with a larger proportion of strangers" [96]

When The Rev. Winchester Donald succeeded The Rev. Brooks in 1892, two Sunday services continued to fill up the floor pews and most of the galleries, (but not the chancel.). Pew owners dominated the morning service. Many men attended the four o'clock service and attendees were mostly "the regular congregation" plus visitors and transients.[97] The afternoon sermons were described as "extemporaneous, with never so much as a line or note to refer to; they were direct, personal, usually with a strong ethical bearing" in contrast to the morning sermons which were written out and described as logical and argumentative.

Changes in 1911 allowed one vote per proprietor (who might own several pews).[98] By the 1930s, the church owned and rented ½ of the pews on the floor. According to the 1933 history of Trinity Church, proprietor meetings were "few and small" to "cover legal requirements." They were described as "an antiquated method of church control—which will give way before long, and naturally, to a method more befitting the age and stronger ideals of a Christian fellowship."[99]

On February 25, 1952, the Massachusetts Legislature passed an act amending the church's 1831 charter. Later in the year, the proprietors met to change Trinity's form of government and end paid pews at Trinity.[100] The Rev. Theodore Ferris was rector at that time. A few oral histories indicate that some Blacks were directed to the galleries well into the second half of the twentieth century.[101]

[95] Ibid, 78-79.

[96] Ibid, 80.

[97] Ibid, 101-102.

[98] Ibid,15 in footnote.

[99] Ibid,163.

[100] Record of Special Meeting of Proprietors of Pews of Trinity Church in the City of Boston, 1952.

[101] Oral histories of Trinity Church Boston.

VII 1880-1925 Trinity's Role in Establishment of Black Episcopal Churches in Boston

Before any Black churches were established in Boston, many Blacks, both free and slaves, attended White churches. Historians disagree on where these Blacks were allowed to sit in the White churches. According to the National Park Service, black people generally sat with the white families they served.[102] On the other hand The Rev. Robert A. Bennett reports that African Americans were required to sit in the galleries from the earliest times.[103] In the 1700s, after some African Americans in Boston had gained freedom and financial independence, they continued to attend White churches, including Trinity Church. For example, George Middleton was baptized and married at Trinity during the 18th century. (See Section II. for more information on Mr. Middleton's background and accomplishments.) After the Revolution, however, both authors agree that many Boston churches required segregated seating.[104]

In part due to these church practices, Black churches began to emerge. The African American Meeting House was founded in 1805 on Beacon Hill.[105] Five Black churches were established on the north side of Beacon Hill in the early nineteenth century. They were: First Baptist Church, Revere Street Methodist Episcopal Church (which later moved and became Union United Methodist Church), First African Methodist Episcopal Bethel Society of Boston (later named Charles Street AME Church), Columbus Ave. AME Zion Church, and Twelfth Baptist Church.[106]

During the 19th century the black population in Boston increased substantially. Blacks lived in the West End and later on Tremont and Washington Streets in the South End. During the same time period, Episcopal churches started mission parishes in several neighborhoods of the city. These White churches also began to establish churches for Blacks. In 1884 the Society of St. John the Evangelist, with the Church of the Advent, established a Sunday school for Blacks from the West End. St. Augustine's was later built on Phillips Street on the north side of Beacon Hill, and it was dedicated in 1892 by Bishop Brooks.[107] Trinity Church also supported a mission at St. Andrews Church in the West End, which Trinity later sold.[108] To honor this historical mission, the top floor of Trinity Church's Parish House was named St. Andrew's Hall. The Episcopal City Mission's first two ministries were a shelter for homeless people in the North End and a Sunday School in the North End for homeless children which was run by two women from Trinity Church. William Appleton then donated $50,000 to build a chapel for these two ministries. This chapel was the first St. Stephens, a multi-racial urban mission in 1846.[109] In spite of their neighborhood work, White churches continued to require Blacks to sit in

---

[102] National Park Service. *African American Churches of Beacon Hill. Retrieved April 16, 2014 from http://www.nps.gov/bo/historyculture/churches.htm*

[103] Bennett, The Reverend Robert A. Ph.D. (1984) Black Episcopalians and the Diocese of Massachusetts *in The Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts 1784-1987*. 58. Boston: Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. (Mark Duffy, Editor)

[104] National Park Service

[105] Bennett. 59.

[106] National Park Service.

[107.] Bennett. 64

[108] Corinne Barnwell. *Highlights of Outreach Ministries – Trinity Church in the City of Boston, 1733-1999, 4.*

[109] Episcopal City Mission. *History.* Retrieved on July 11, 2014 from www.episcopalcitymission.org/about/history/

the galleries and excluded them from having a voice in church affairs. The Rev. Phillips Brooks modified this practice slightly when Trinity Church was built in Copley Square, since he insisted that the galleries in the new church be free to all comers. [110] According to Adelaide Cromwell, the founding director of Afro-American studies at Boston University, Brooks also reached out to encourage Blacks to attend Trinity Church.[111]

In response to being excluded from the traditionally White churches, the Black Episcopal community in Boston also began to develop their own churches. St. Bartholomews in Cambridgeport (1908) and St. Cyprian's in Roxbury (1913) were established at this time.[112]

In the 1960s-1970s the demographics of several Boston neighborhoods changed. (See Section X.) Many African Americans moved to Roxbury, Dorchester, and Mattapan, and created majority African American congregations at St. Marks in Dorchester and the Church of St. John & St. James' in Roxbury. Black membership in Holy Spirit in Mattapan, All Saints in Dorchester, and St. Paul's Cathedral also increased.[113]

[110] Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church. *Trinity Church in the City of Boston Massachusetts 1733-1933*. (Boston: D.B. Updike, The Merrymount Press) 76.

[111] Adelaide M. Cromwell. *The Other Brahmins: Boston' Black Upper Class, 1750-1950* (University of Arkansas Press,1994). 119.

[112] Bennett, 66,69.

[113] Bennett, 70-71.

VIII 1861-1954 Vida Dutton Scudder, Trinity and establishment of settlement houses in Boston

Vida Dutton Scudder was an activist, scholar, and Christian intellectual who is honored in *Holy Women, Holy Men: Celebrating the Saints*[114] with a yearly day of remembrance. She was particularly connected to Trinity because of her close relationship with Phillips Brooks, who presented her for confirmation after two years of study. The two remained friends until his death.

Scudder was born in Madurai, India in 1861 as the child of Congregational missionaries. She was part of a large missionary family who founded the Vellore Medical School in India, which is still supported by a family foundation. After her father drowned accidently when she was two years old, she and her mother returned to Boston. She attended a private grammar school before going to Europe for several years. Returning to Boston she joined the first class at Girl's Latin. She studied English literature at Smith College, where she graduated in 1884. She then went to Oxford where she met John Ruskin, whom she credited with her social awakening. When she returned she joined the faculty at Wellesley, where she spent her teaching career.

In 1892 she took a leave from Wellesley to found Denison House in Boston. Denison House was a settlement house which worked primarily with Greek and Italian immigrants. This gave her an opportunity to see the stratification of the rich and poor. In the end she thought the movement failed because they had never addressed the systemic structures which caused these problems. Scudder stayed until 1901. Overwhelmed with her teaching and activities at Denison, she went to Italy to spend two years to recuperate. When she returned refreshed, she continued her work at Denison House, her teaching, and her social activism.

Her work as a social activist is conveyed by her own words:

> "…we have hardly been able to congratulate ourselves for 100 years on the abolition of slavery before the new cry arises that under our economic system some men are work slaves while others are free.… it is the grip of a system over some which determines at what they shall work while others are economically free to choose their vocations."[115]

Scudder was no mere onlooker in movements for reform; as a woman, an activist, and a devout Anglican she brought a distinctive perspective to bear on the Social Gospel proclamation of her time. She was influenced by Socialism. She connected class divisions to issues related to gender and race. Her Socialist/Pacifist critique of society located racial and gender discrimination within an unjust economic system. She was outspoken and wrote sufficiently to be marked by the FBI for surveillance in 1941. She adamantly opposed Senator McCarthy and McCarthyism and the violence and repression it represented. Six months before she died, she attended a meeting of the New England Progressive Party in Boston. One of their petitions expressed the expectation that representatives would attend the meetings for African-Americans running for political office and would vote for them. Scudder died in 1954 at age 93.[116]

---

[114] "Holy Women, Holy Men: Celebrating the Saints", The Church Publishing House, 2010. 633.

[115] "On Journey", Vida Dutton Scudder, an autobiography, 1937. This book is the source of the personal information about Ms. Scudder.

[116] Elizabeth L. Hinson-Hasty. "Beyond The Social Maze, Exploring Vida Dutton Sudder's Theological Ethics", 2006.

IX 1923-1958 Henry Knox Sherrill (Trinity Curate; Trinity Rector; Bishop, Diocese of Massachusetts; Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church)

Henry Knox Sherrill was the Rector of Trinity Church from 1923 to 1930, after having earlier served as curate at Trinity for two years before World War I. In 1930, Sherrill was elected the Bishop of Massachusetts, a position he held until 1947 when he was elected the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church of the United States.[117] He held that position until 1958, a period of great turmoil in the struggle for civil rights. Bishop Sherrill was the leading face of the Protestant Church in the United States during that decade, identified as such and appearing in 1951 on the cover of *Time* magazine.[118] He served as the founding President of the National Council of Churches from 1950 to 1952, and led the prayers at President Eisenhower's inauguration in 1953. Bishop Sherrill also served in 1946-1947 on President Truman's blue-ribbon Committee on Civil Rights. With the Committee's report as inspiration, within a year of its conclusion, Truman would present a Special Message on Civil Rights to the Congress and issue historic executive orders to eliminate discrimination from the US civil service and armed services.[119]

According to a national church statement at the time of his death in 1980, Sherrill's tenure as Presiding Bishop was characterized by his belief in the power of cooperative Christian action. In a statement shortly after he became presiding bishop, he noted: "Progress cannot be attained by sporadic, intermittent, individualistic action by churches working as separate and distinct units, but only by a well-planned and effective strategy backed by the pressure of Christian consciences and purposes in all Churches."[120]

Presiding Bishop Sherrill was instrumental in bringing about the opening up of previously white-only seminaries to admit black students. In 1949, the Bishop Payne Divinity School, a black-only seminary, was closed and John Walker was admitted as the first black student at Virginia Theological Seminary in the fall of 1951.[121] On June 3, 1953, the closed Bishop Payne Divinity School was formally merged with Virginia Theological Seminary, and John Walker became its first black graduate in 1954; he went on to become Bishop of Washington. The year 1953 also saw the School of Theology at the University of the South at Sewanee open its doors to black students.[122]

Bishop Sherrill moved the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in 1955 from its scheduled meeting place of Houston to Honolulu after protests from church leaders and Black congregations over segregated facilities in the Texas city.[123] In Hawaii, the Convention adopted a resolution urging the clergy and people of the Church to accept and support the 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court (*Brown v. Board of Education*)

---

[117] Former Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill Dies, Episcopal News Service, May 15, 1980, Archives of the Episcopal Church. Retrieved 10 October 2014 at http://www.episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/ENS/ENSpress_release.pl?pr_number=80174

[118] Time magazine cover story on Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill, March 26, 1951

[119] Records of the President's Committee on Civil Rights—Harry S. Truman Library and Museum. Retrieved at: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/hstpaper/pccr.htm

[120] Ibid, Episcopal News Service, May 15, 1980, Archives of the Episcopal Church.

[121] *Christian Social Witness*, Harold T. Lewis, Cowley Publications, 2001, p. 62.

[122] Church Awakens: African Americans and the Search for Justice, 2008 timeline from the Archives of the Episcopal Church. Retrieved at: http://www.episcopalarchives.org/Afro-Anglican_history/exhibit/timelines/timelines.php

[123] *Christian Social Witness*, Harold T. Lewis, Cowley Publications, 2001, p. 100.

that found segregated schools to be unconstitutional. The Convention asked Episcopalians to "anticipate constructively the local implementation of this ruling as the law of the land," stating that "discrimination and segregation are contrary to the mind of Christ and the will of God," and affirming that "in the work of the church, we should welcome people of any race at any service conducted by a priest or layman of any ethnic origin, and bring them into the full fellowship of the congregation and its organizations."[124]

Bishop Sherrill was a true national and world leader on ecumenical efforts, serving as the President of the World Council of Churches from 1954 to 1961. While some note that the national Church during and after Bishop Sherrill's leadership was often more reactive than in the lead on civil rights issues, others such as Rev. Harold T. Lewis point out it nevertheless was often the first national religious body to take action on a range of social justice issues.[125]

[124] *Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1955*.

[125] *Christian Social Witness*, Harold T. Lewis, Cowley Publications, 2001, p. 66. This is also argued in David A. Hollinger, "After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Ecumenical Protestantism and the Modern American Encounter with Diversity," *The Journal of American History* 98:1 (June 2011): 21-48.

X 1954- 1980 The Integration Struggles in Boston and Trinity's Role

Over the several decades between Brown v. Board of Education and the implementation of busing as a mechanism of desegregation, the public school system was perhaps the foremost focal point of race relations in Boston. Nonetheless, the question of discrimination in the schools was in fact intertwined with housing, employment, and other issues. Throughout this period, Trinity Church Boston played a significant role in creating and supporting important organizations dedicated to improving the conditions of Boston's black citizens. It was particularly involved in Roxbury and the South End, areas that—along with parts of Mattapan and Dorchester—were becoming home to an increasingly large number of black Bostonians.[126] After these neighborhoods had become majority-minority areas and the elected members of the obstructionist Boston School Committee still blocked racial desegregation of the public schools, a federal judge finally ordered that students be bused between neighborhoods in order to force the delivery of an equitable education. During the height of the battles over busing in the mid-1970s, Trinity Church also served as a safe location for and convener of meetings between all sides, although it was no longer as active a voice as it had been a decade prior. In order to understand the historical context and Trinity's role at that time, we will use as chronological touchstones three major legal events during this period: the US Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education in 1954; passage of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act in 1965; and Judge Arthur Garrity's decision in Morgan v. Hennigan in 1974.

The Brown v. Board era: Trinity's social mission work in the city

With Brown v. Board of Education (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court declared, "to separate [black children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." The court demanded that schools be desegregated "with all deliberate speed." In Boston this order met with fierce opposition from citizens and leaders resistant to desegregation, although at the state level it eventually led to the passage of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act in 1965.

Over the intervening decade, however, the educational inequity issue was largely left to fester, and Trinity Church's involvement in race relations work was on other fronts. The key figure in that period, who personally embodied Trinity's outreach efforts through his ministry in the city, was The Reverend Samuel Tyler. He had been hired by the rector in 1946 to administer the Benton Fund. Upon the death of parishioner Josiah Benton in 1917, Mr. Benton's will established the Benton Fund for the benefit of the Boston Public Library. But the will included some provisions not entirely acceptable to the library. After the resolution of legal issues, the Boston Public Library was instructed to give a portion of the income from the Benton Fund to the Rector of Trinity Church for the relief of the needs of the poor of the City of Boston. Tasked with disbursing this income for nearly 25 years, The Rev. Mr. Tyler used monies from the Benton Fund both to help individuals and also to found and support agencies addressing community needs, after having creatively sought and obtained the permission of the state attorney general to employ the fund in the latter manner.[127]

For example, Mr. Tyler used the Benton monies to provide significant support to Freedom House in Roxbury, where he also served as a board member. Founded by Muriel and Otto Snowden in 1949, Freedom House aimed to address issues of racial inequality in Boston, especially Roxbury. Trinity Church parishioners, Clark Miller (Senior Executive at Bank of Boston) and Robert Rutherford (Dean of the Simmons College School of

[126]Information shared by The Rev. Tom Kennedy, during several long interviews during July/Aug 2014 by the History Committee.

[127] Ibid.

Social Work) also became board members at Freedom House. Upon Mr. Tyler's death, The Reverend Thomas B. Kennedy, another Trinity clergyman, became a member of the board. The METCO program, which made it possible for urban school children to attend suburban school, had its initial headquarters at Freedom House. Gay Smart administered a program called "Trinity Church/Freedom House New Experiences for Children," also located at Freedom House. In this program, children from families residing in Roxbury and Dorchester and children from Trinity families residing in the suburbs switched homes once a month for a weekend in order to experience a different neighborhood.[128]

The South End neighborhood of Boston was also an important focus for Samuel Tyler's work, and his efforts included the founding of the Low-Cost Housing Corporation ("LCHC") in 1966. This South End-based housing corporation bought row houses from the BRA, renovated them, and used them for integrated low-cost housing. The majority of the residents were People of Color. In addition, a home ownership program was established, selling many of the recently renovated homes to former renters. Mr. Tyler was the first president of LCHC, at the same time as Melvin H. King, social worker at United South End Settlements, resident of the South End and future mayoral candidate, was the chairman of the board.

In June, 1967 The Rev. Theodore Parker Ferris, Trinity Church's Rector (1942-1972) preached a sermon entitled *The Second Mile*. Recognized as one of the foremost preachers in America, The Reverend Ferris made the focus of his sermon a plea to encourage Trinity's parishioners to go "the second mile" in the church's mission endeavors. Coincidently, a sizeable legacy was left to the church in the summer of 1967. The vestry determined the income from the legacy should be given away to worthy projects associated with Trinity's mission efforts within the city of Boston, rather than being spent on the church itself. Thus was formed "The Second Mile Committee", tasked with operating in the spirit of the sermon.[129]

Schools, housing, and race: Boston and Trinity in the run-up to busing

However, Trinity's social work was happening against the background of a brewing political maelstrom. In 1965, the state legislature passed the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act, which enshrined a state-level commitment to the federal decision in favor of school desegregation, and established a threshold of 50% residents of color in a neighborhood as the trigger point for requiring active integration. Some areas of Roxbury, Dorchester and Mattapan, previously home mainly to Jews and Irish/Polish Roman Catholics, had seen a rise in black residents over recent years and now cleared that threshold. In light of the recalcitrance of the Boston School Committee, it would take a court order nine years later to give integration practical force. But in the meantime the late 1960s and early 1970s were a period of hot debate and experimentation over urban education in Boston.

Because of the poor quality of many Boston public schools, Trinity and others supported alternative choices from the mid-60s onward. Trinity was involved in leading and financing The Advent School on Beacon Hill through gifts from the Benton Fund; though always a school catering primarily to the elite, it was generally integrated at a time when many private schools were not and was viewed as a demonstration that integrated education could work. In the South End area that Trinity supported through the LCHC, the Bancroft School became an early example of an integrated public school because its neighborhood was so mixed and it enjoyed

[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid.

substantial parental support. But it soon faced challenges, tangled with the School Committee, and was eventually closed two years after Judge Garrity's "mechanistic decrees" changed everything.[130]

The background conditions that intensified the conflict over the schools were the changing demographics of many Boston neighborhoods during this period. Although the exact degree of its impact is still debated, one factor in accelerating that demographic change in the late 1960s was a federal real estate program established to make housing loans to low-income people. That program was managed by a consortium of bankers called the Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group (B-BURG). Unlike classic "redlining" wherein banks and insurance companies withheld housing loans from residents in less prosperous neighborhoods, the Boston experiment implemented a new twist. Tasked with expanding home ownership opportunities for the city's Black community, twenty-two Boston saving banks established a carefully limited and well defined inner-city district within which less stringent financial requirements applied and wherein black Bostonians could now therefore obtain attractive, federally insured housing loans. These neighborhoods included significant parts of Roxbury, Dorchester, and Mattapan. The out-migration of white residents, mostly Jewish and Roman Catholic, had begun earlier from these areas, but the mortgage program now available to prospective black homeowners increased White flight.[131] In some areas, this led to speculation, panic selling, blockbusting, street violence and rage. In some areas it did not.[132] But the bank's strategy of containing minority home-ownership within this particular set of neighborhoods contributed to the segregation of Boston's housing[133] and thus to the segregation of its neighborhood schools, making the city's noncompliance with the dictates of Brown v. Board all the more stark.

Trinity in the desegregation era

The 1960s and early 1970s featured massive and continuing resistance to desegregation on the part of the Boston School Committee. Strong support for its intransigence from some voters even led to the election of the School Committee leader Louise Day Hicks to Congress in 1970. This refusal to end school segregation in turn prompted the Boston chapter of the NAACP to file suit in the case of Morgan v. Hennigan on March 14, 1972. The federal court found evidence of past segregation and ordered that a satisfactory process be established to desegregate the system, but the defiant Boston School Committee refused to accept the court's decision and comply with the order. Finally, in 1974, Judge Arthur Garrity ordered desegregation of the Boston Public Schools by busing children to achieve integrated schools. For much of the 1970s, Boston was roiled by angry demonstrations against and in support of busing.

---

[130] *Reflections on Busing* by Yvonne Abraham, Boston Globe column, June 22, 2014. Retrieved at http://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2014/06/21/abraham/wqPzTGyBfVRrTxiL8tuj1J/story.html The story of the Bancroft School and the surrounding community—including subsequent 'White flight' to the suburbs during and after the integration effort—is dramatized in J. Anthony Lukas, *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families* (New York: Knopf, 1985).

[131] Hillel Levine and Lawrence Harmon, *The Death of an American Jewish Community* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), Introduction.

[132] In *The Death of an American Jewish Community* (1992), Levine and Harmon indicated that this was specifically directed at Jewish areas. However, a more recent work by Gerald Gamm, *Urban Exodus: Why the Jews Left Boston and the Catholics Stayed* clarifies that where the lending program lines were actually drawn included both the Jewish and Roman Catholic white communities of Roxbury, Dorchester and Mattapan. It argues that socioeconomic mobility led to the early (1920 to 1950) out-migration of the Jews, whereas the lack of such mobility and strong centering in local parish communities resulted in considerably less flight by Roman Catholic Whites. By the 1960s, however, there was little difference in these two groups socio-economically.

[133] As Gamm points out, while homeowners led the exodus, renters left as well, a decision which cannot be tied so directly to the banks lending program inasmuch as renters could not be motivated by fear of property devaluation.

During this time Trinity Church members were involved in a number of urban ministries. The Second Mile Committee and the Benton Fund distributed $100,000 per year to various community organizations. Parishioners and church leaders worked with a number of agencies including the Pine Street Inn, Freedom House, Low Cost Housing Corporation, Boston Council of Alcoholism, Tent City Corporation, and Saturday's Bread. Trinity parishioners served on the board of these organizations. At Sherrill House, a nursing home serving mostly poor Bostonians of color, the Board of Directors consisted of 80% Trinity parishioners, including the Rector.[134]

As one of the larger church communities in Greater Boston, with parish members from both the City of Boston and the suburbs, Trinity Church could not ignore the desegregation crisis. Its own parishioners included people who continued sending their children to the city's public schools, parents who sent their children to parochial or private schools, and families who responded to the turbulence by leaving the city altogether and moving out to the suburbs. The Church played a role as an occasional safe meeting place for all parties, but it was not otherwise an important player, in part because the Trinity Church community was quietly suffering from its own two tragedies. The Rev. Mr. Tyler's death by suicide in 1970 was followed closely by the death of Trinity's beloved rector, The Rev. Theodore Parker Ferris, in 1972.

During this period, from 1972 to 1975, The Rev. Thomas B. Kennedy was Minister-in-Charge of Trinity and enabled the parishioners to focus on their grief over the loss of these two beloved leaders while still maintaining Trinity's urban ministry program. Nonetheless, Trinity's loss of Sam Tyler as the full-time and respected citywide leader of the parish's outreach efforts to the minority community was enormous and impacted what Trinity was able and willing to do during the desegregation era. In addition, the building of the Hancock Tower next door to Trinity Church between 1968 and 1976 had a major adverse effect, threatening the physical foundations of the Church and serving as a significant distraction.[135]

The end of the 1970s: looking forward and looking back

The Reverend Thom Williamson Blair, Trinity Church's Rector from 1975-1981, was a former dean of Christ Church Cathedral in St. Louis and a leader in urban ministry. As a result of this past experience, he was chosen to lead the Urban Mission Committee of the Diocese of Massachusetts soon after he became Trinity's rector. The work of this committee was to hold "Urban Hearings" throughout the diocese, focusing on issues of racial inequality and poverty in the major urban areas including Boston. Mr. Blair was an outspoken advocate on pressing urban issues. He was also instrumental in helping Trinity Church parishioners realize their gifts and responsibilities as a parish for addressing pressing social and economic issues within Boston.

When Mr. Blair was installed as Rector in 1975, then-U.S. Senator Edward M. Brooke, a Trinity parishioner and the only African-American ever directly elected as both a State Attorney General and a United States Senator, was part of the procession.[136] Senator Brooke, at the June 2000 dedication of the Edward Brooke Courthouse on New Chardon Street in Boston,[137] remarked how on the prior Saturday he and his wife:

> … continued our walk up Newbury and Boylston Streets, miraculously without incurring major debt, and at noon, sat in silence, prayed and listened to the beautiful rehearsal music of the choir of Trinity

[134] Information shared by The Rev. Tom Kennedy, during several long interviews during July/Aug 2014 by the History Committee.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137]: TRIBUTE TO FORMER SENATOR EDWARD W. BROOKE -- (U.S. Senate - July 24, 2000) The Congressional Record. http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?r106:S24JY0-0028:

> Church in old Copley Square where I worshipped years ago, heard the wonderful sermons of the rector, Dr. Theodore Ferris, and where my daughters were confirmed. I shall always remember election night 1966 when I received my first congratulatory telegram. It simply read: ``Hallelujah'' and was signed Ted Ferris.[138]

When Trinity Church was confronted by issues of poverty and race within the city and beyond in the second half of the twentieth century, its leadership, clergy, and many active parishioners got involved in efforts for social justice. They helped to form a landscape of organizations that still shape Boston in positive ways today. At the same time, the church community was too shaken and perhaps too divided to take a very visible stance in the busing and school desegregation controversy, the central race relations issue of the era. The church was deeply enmeshed in all the complexities—the triumphs and the failings—of Boston as it struggled with questions of social justice in that period, a set of questions which largely persist to today.[139]

[138] Ibid.

[139] The research for this section included multiple discussion sessions, including meetings with Joseph M. Cronin, who was the Massachusetts Secretary of Education from 1971-75, The Reverend Thomas B. Kennedy, who was Minister in Charge at Trinity Church from 1972-75, and with Jane Bowers, a resident of the South End through the troubled years, who is also a member of ART. In addition, Grace Clark, Ron Geddes, Damon Syphers, Robert Yearwood, Elizabeth Cook, Marty Cowden, Alexander Bok, and Judith Lockhart Radtke each attended two discussion sessions about this period, had been present in Boston during this time, and are or have been members of the Anti-Racism Team.

XI 1970 – 2014 Persons of Color on Trinity's Staff, Clergy, and on the Vestry

Our research indicates that People of Color were not represented on Trinity's clergy or vestry leadership until the 1970's. There probably were some Blacks on the staff before then, but not very many and none that we know of were in leadership positions. Recruiting black clergy is difficult because there are very few Episcopal Priests of Color. While the Census figures for the City of Boston show that there were 32% People of Color in 1980 and 52% People of Color in 2010[140] (and Census reports for Massachusetts indicate that People of Color made up 8% of the state population in 1980[141] and an estimated 24% in 2013[142]), the percent of People of Color on the vestry and staff, with the exception of the Trinity Boston Foundation, has been significantly less than that.

Vestry of Color

The number of People of Color who worship at Trinity Church has risen and fallen at various times throughout the history of the Church. (The Church does not keep records of members by race.) However, it wasn't until 1983, just after The Rev. Spencer Morgan Rice became the Rector, that the first Person of Color was elected to the Vestry – Richard P. Evans. Dick Evans was introduced to Trinity Church when he was married there in 1977. He became active, served on the Mission Committee, and was involved in community work with the nearby Tent City development project in the South End. He started the Trinity program of Stations of the Cross on Good Friday, served on the Altar Guild, and with his wife brought the chalice to the altar on several feast days. Through his work at the Church, he became close to The Rev. Rice. Mr. Evans' area of expertise is human relations; he is retired now, but still does some research.[143] Since then there have been 11 more Persons of Color elected: Alpha L. Howze 1990, Linda Davidson 1993, Grady B. Hedgespeth 1994, Dana Whiteside 1997, Ebi Okara 1997, Rita Roberts Hedgespeth 2002, Frieda Garcia 2005, Barbara Dortch-Okara 2005, Marva Nathan 2007, Frederica Williams 2009 and 2013, and Grace Clark 2011.[144] No People of Color have served as officers or wardens at Trinity Church.

Clergy of Color

Trinity Church did not have an African American clergyman until 1994, when The Rev. Dr. Ronald E. Ramsey was hired by Rev. Samuel T. Lloyd III to be Assistant Rector. He served in that position until the end of 1996. Since then there have been two other Clergy of Color: The Rev. Bruce Jenneker (South African born) served as Precentor (1996-2004) and The Rev. Lorna Williams was Assistant Rector for Youth and Children's Ministries (2009-2010).[145] In addition The Rev. Canon Stephanie Spellers served as Consultant on Radical Welcome at

---

[140] Boston Public Health Commission, *The City of Boston Community Assets, 2012*, 12,29 Retrieved September 3, 2014 from www.bphc.org/healthdata/health-of-Boston-report/Documents/HOB-2012-2013/B_HOB12-13_FullReport.pdf

[141] U.S. Census. *Table 36. Massachusetts – Race and Hispanic Origin: 1790 to 1990.* Retrieved August 7, 2014 from www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056/twps0056.html

[142] U.S. Census. *Massachusetts Quick Facts from the US Census Bureau.* 1. Retrieved on September 3, 2014 from http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/25000.html

[143] Martha Cowden interviews with Richard Evans. Spring and Summer, 2014.

[144] Trinity Church annual meeting materials and weekly bulletins.

[145] Trinity Church Annual Reports, bulletins, and archive materials.

Trinity Church in 2005.[146] Marceline Donaldson served at Trinity Church through a field education placement from the Episcopal Divinity School under The Rev. Spencer Morgan Rice and The Rev. Thomas Kennedy, from the early to mid-1980s. As part of her work, Ms. Donaldson taught a course and facilitated workshops on racism. She was the first Woman of Color to serve at the altar, regularly for the Sunday evening service and occasionally for the Sunday morning 11:00 service.[147] The Rev. Karen Coleman served in a field education placement at Trinity under the supervision of The Rev. Samuel T. Lloyd III and The Rev.William Barnwell when she was a seminarian.

Staff of Color

Since 1970, there have been 12 Staff of Color at Trinity Church, not including the Trinity Boston Foundation (TBF). The 12 are: four in the office - Bob Yearwood, Barbara Green, Rev. Dr. Zina Jacque and Fanny Barnes with an additional eight in facilities - Anna Cadoza, Thelma Puckett, Flora Howard, Daisy Howard, Bill Holly, Audrey Miller, Anthony Williams, and Steve Braithwaite.[148] TBF meanwhile has nine People of Color on its staff out of 20 total (45%), and the TBF management staff is now 25% People of Color.[149]

[146] Email correspondence between Martha Cowden and Rev. Canon Stephanie Spellers

[147] Interviews and correspondence with Marceline Donaldson

[148] Interviews with Robert E. Yearwood and Sandi Marxen, Trinity Church archives.

[149] Email correspondence with Louise Packard

XII 1990-2014 Development of the Trinity Anti-Racism Team/Commissioned by The Rev. Anne Berry Bonnyman, Rector.

Starting in the mid-1990's, a number of Trinity parishioners gathered to consider the great damage that systemic racism has done to our country, our culture, our church, and ourselves as Christians. In conjunction with the Massachusetts Diocesan Anti-Racism Task Force, the Trinity Church Inclusivity/Anti-Racism Task Force worked from the fall of 1997 to early 2000. The committee grew to 24 active members with Ruth Ann Dillon, chairperson. The Task Force established an information table during Sunday morning coffee hours. A one day Anti-Racism training session led by Martha Dunn-Strohecker from the Diocesan Task Force was held with the goal of making continued training available for parish leadership and parishioners. The Task Force encouraged incorporating hymns from "Lift Every Voice and Sing," and other resources that utilized music and text in addition to those from the European white culture. Trinity's Statement of Affirmation that is included in our worship leaflets was written by the Task Force and is an important result of their work. During 2000, Trinity parish leadership began to focus resources and personnel on the development of the Greater Boston Interfaith Organization (GBIO), and the Anti-Racism Task Force became inactive.[150][151]

A group of 50 parishioners and clergy attended three anti-racism sessions sponsored by the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts in 1999. In 2001, ten Trinity parishioners attended the MAAFA Suite, a docu-drama involving music and dance of the middle passage journey of Africans, at St. Paul's Community Baptist Church, in Brooklyn, NY. These trips continued, and by 2006 over 80 parishioners had attended the MAAFA Suite. In 2002 Rector Sam Lloyd, Senior Warden Al Mulley and other parishioners participated in a 2.5 day Undoing Racism Workshop conducted by the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond. Sam Lloyd then asked Dain and Constance Perry to form a committee at Trinity to explore the feasibility of bringing the MAAFA Suite to Boston and how to introduce anti-racism training to Trinity. This committee of six members recommended that Trinity partner with an African American Church to bring the MAAFA Suite to Boston and contract with Crossroads Ministries to conduct its 2.5 day anti-racism workshop for Trinity clergy, vestry, staff, parishioners and /or the partner African-American church. Trinity members and partners from five community groups attended MAAFA that year. In 2005 the Beyond Racism Committee became an official ministry of the church, and Crossroads Ministries conducted two trainings at Trinity in 2006 and 2007. [152]

The Beyond Racism Committee designed and scheduled ongoing educational activities for the church community after their first 2005 meeting. The Committee sponsored four Forum events, six evening sessions, one tour of the Black Heritage Trail and Meeting House on Beacon Hill, and a retreat for the committee. Trinity parishioners watched films including "Something the Lord Made", "Traces of the Trade"," Coming to the Table", and "The Angry Heart". Other activities included a discussion about Martin Luther King's legacy and its relevance today and Peggy McIntosh's article "Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack". Attendance at the events ranged from a handful to more than 50 people.[153]

---

[150] Ruth Ann Dillon. *Inclusivity/Anti-Racism Task Force Report 1997-2000* (September, 2014)

[151] Interviews with Ruth Ann Dillon, Grace Clark, and Martha Cowden, August, 2014

[152] Bok, Alexander T., et. Al. (2008) *Proposal to Form An Anti-Racism Team at Trinity Church in the City of Boston*, 6-8

[153] Constance Perry and Madeline McNeely. *Trinity Church Anti-Racism History 1998-201.*

In 2006, The Rev. Anne Berry Bonnyman was called as Rector of Trinity Church from an urban ministry in Wilmington, DE where she had been a leader on social justice and race issues. Due to substantial personal and parish interest in expanding the anti-racism ministry at Trinity, the Rector appointed a Planning and Design Task Force of 10 members (nine parishioners and The Rev. Pamela L. Foster, Vicar) to develop a proposal. With the strong support and leadership of both the Rector and Vicar, the Task Force concluded its work by submitting a proposal to the Vestry in April, 2008 to form a Trinity Anti-Racism Team.[154] The Vestry approved the proposal, and in June, 2008 the Task Force members wrote to all parishioners inviting those interested to join an Anti–Racism Team "to begin the work of dismantling racism."[155] Following interviews and further discussions, 29 people were invited to join the team, and were consecrated at a Sunday service on the weekend of Martin Luther King Day and the Inauguration of President Obama in January, 2009.

Soon after its inception, the Anti-Racism Team created the following vision statement:

With the help of God, and in the tradition of Jesus Christ, we envision Trinity Church Boston as an anti-racist community that (1) walks its talk in every aspect of daily life and work, and (2) heals the scars of racism and bigotry that each of us has acquired. Each parishioner is ready for true reconciliation because:

- Trinity acknowledges its history, listens for God's call, and moves into the future with courage as a member of the global community.
- Trinity examines the pain caused by our racist practices and steadfastly faces the daily challenge of reconciliation.
- Trinity celebrates the incarnation of anti-racism which blesses and transforms our parishioners, clergy, staff, and all who worship here.
- Trinity works with our neighbors to eradicate other forms of oppression.[156]

A group of 14 new members were initiated to the Anti-Racism Team in 2011 and were commissioned at a Sunday service. Personal commitments, moves, and a death of one member, resulted in membership changes. As of September, 2014 there are 21 active members of the Team and four members on leave.

In 2013, Anti-Racism Team members decided to honor former Rector Anne Berry Bonnyman and her social justice ministry by creating The Rev. Anne Berry Bonnyman Symposium. The Symposium's mission" … is to give Trinity Church a living platform for addressing systemic racism in our church and community. We pray that the Symposium will sustain us with courage and strength to take concrete actions towards the creation of an antiracist environment by presenting public events that promote deep introspection regarding racism and related social justice matters."[157] The Vestry approved the concept. A team of ART members and other Trinity parishioners raised funds to support an annual Symposium, and are now designing the first Symposium, to be held on Sunday, January 18, 2015.

---

[154] Bok et.al. 11-13. and

[155] *An Invitation from the Rector and Vestry of Trinity Church in the City of Boston June 2008.* Retrieved July 11, 2008 from http://www.trinitychurch boston.org/justice/race.php

[156] Anti-Racism Team at Trinity Church Boston. (May 22, 2012) *A Journey Toward Healing and Transformation. 3*

[157] The Reverend Anne Berry Bonnyman Symposium Mission Statement (undated)

Appendix A.

Colonial Society of Massachusetts Volume 56, This, the second of two volumes of records from the early Trinity Church Boston, lists baptisms and marriages 1728-1830. The names below compile a list of Negroes baptized at Trinity Church Boston 1730-1830. The person is identified as a Negro by the writing of "Negro" after his or her name. The spelling and wording is presented as it appears in the book. In colonial days, "servant" was taken to mean slave. Some people in the list are identified as servants. By my count, the complete list includes 101 adults and 55 children. (Helen Soussou 2/5/14)

Page	Baptism	Name
524.	8/10/1740	Londen, Negro Man Servt of Mr. Issac Walker of Bosten
525	3/10/1741	Tryphena, Negro Woman of Mrs. Green the Widow of Mr. Nathl Green dec'd.
525	6/13/1741	Cuffee, a Negro boy Servt. to Mrs. Eliza Green the Widow of Mr. Nathl Green
526	10/10/1742	John an adult Negro Servant of Mrs. John Yeomans of Barbadoes
526	10/18/1741	Statira a Negro Child of Capt. John Snow
529	5/23/1745	Dafney an adult + Prince negroes.
529	9/22/1745	Shelah Negro of Mrs. Mary Aurthor
530	6/24/1746	Hannah + Silva Negro Children of Mr. Christ (rest of page worn
531	7/5/1747	Simon an adult Negro belonging to Mr. Bautenot away)
532	4/11/1748	Charles McAllaster Son of Patience, a negroe young woman
534	11/6/1748	Thos. A Negro Child of Mrs. Marshall
534	11/13/1748	George a Negro man
534	2/5/48	a Negro child belonging to a Servant of Mrs. Wood
534	5/21/1749	Simon a negro Child
537	5/27/1750	Thomas a negro child
537	7/19/1750	Mosley a Negro boy of Robt Asterig Esq. Sponsors B. Brinton George Beathun Mrs. Gerik
539	7/28/1751	Vilell a Negro Child
539	10/25/1751	Franck a Negro Child
540	7/8/1752	Venus a Negroe Woman

540	7/27/1752	porter
540	12/1/1752	Simon a Negroe Child
543	5/1/1755	The Three Negroes whose names follow, with Wm. Dumont do not stand in their proper place.
543	3/27/1755	Ubba
		Nancy Negroes belonging to Mr. Vassal
		Celia
545	6/28/1756	Lucy a Negroe Girl Daughter of Hanover
545	6/29/1756	Antony Berbrie a molatto man
545	2/19/1756	Simon
		Peter all Negroes baptized February 19
		Squashie
		Celia
546	7/8/1757	Saul a Negro Man Servt. to Mr. Goold
546	6/10/1758	Cooper a Negroe Woman of Mr. V-al.
547	4/19/1758	Thomas Roulican a negroe man
548	12/28/1760	Prince a negro-man
549	6/24/1761	Violet a negro woman
550	3/17/1762	Bristol a negro–man
550	3/19/1762	Flora a negro-woman
550	4/22/1762	Katy a negro girl
551	11/3/1763	Peter Merro a Negro
554	3/19/1766	Catharine a Negro
558	3/25/1769	Phoebe a Negro Woman
		Quaco a Negro Boy of Mr. Robert Gould
		Sarah a Negro Girl of Mr. John Baker
558	4/16/1769	Marea a Negro Woman in her last sickness pr. B.
559	7/20/1769	Quash, Negro Servant of H. Minot pr. B
559	8/8/1769	Abraham Son of Abraham & Elizabeth free Negroes Pr. B.
560	3/16/1770	Caesar Negro Servt. of Mrs. Co
560	3/28/1770	Sapho Negro Girl of Mr. Nathl Coffin
560	8/10/1770	Margaret Daughter of Caesar and Margt. Negro persons pr. B.

560 8/31/1770 Sophia a negro Child of Mr. John Amiel pr. B

563 5/30/1772 Phoebe a molatta maid Servant of Capt. Sola Davis

567 9/21/1774 Jack a Negro Fellow in his last Sickness pr. B.

567 12/7/1774 Flora a free Negro in her last Sickness pr. B.

567 4/5/1775 Bacchus a free Negro formerly a Servant of Capt. Hammock

568 5/24/1775 Peter & Eunice Negro Children belonging to Mr. John Coffin

568 9/5/1775 James black Servant of John Rowe Esq. pr. B.

568 10/20/1775 Timothy Molatto Servent Child belonging to Mr. Fred. Willm. Heicht

568 11/16/1775 *Boston*, Black Servant of Mr. Surcomb, & Ann his Daughter

568 12/19/1775 *Peter*, a Negro Child by Servants of Richard Lechmere Esq.

571 11/3/1776 Violet Spear Daughter of Cuff Servant of Mr. Jennings by Rose Servant of Mrs. Bene his Wife p. B.

572 4/2/1777 Quid Children of Negro Servants of Wm. Gordon Esq.
Marcus Dec'd at Dunstable

572 4/9/1777 John Son of Cyrus Servant of Benja. Kent Esq. by Flora his wife Servant of B Kent pr.B

575 9/24/1777 Julia & Sidney children of Servants of Lady Frankland

575 11/13/1777 Drawdy Negro Servant of Wid. Gardner in Sickness

576 11/20/1777 Hannah Daughter of Negro Servants of Mr. Powell
Sponsors Thomas Moore & Wife & Sister

578 4/17/1778 John Negro Servant of Ralph Inman Esq. an Adult ??
Witnesses Mr. Inman Mr. Goldthwait Mrs. Forbes

583 3/17/1779 Judith Gibbins a free Negro Adult
Witnesses Mr. Crosby Mrs. Delaplace Mrs. Jones

584 6/11/1779 James Son of James Waters a free Negro by Catharine Negro of his Wife P. B. Mrs. Broames

584 6/11/1779 Phillis an Adult formerly belonging to Mr. Merret of Providence

587 2/18/1780 Diana Daughter of Stepney Servant of James Apthorpe Esq. by Servant of Mrs. Waldo his wife

592 10/22/1780 Rose a Negro Woman Adult

		Witnesses Thomas Moore & wife
594	3/24/1781	Dinah Daughter of Prince Servant of Mr. Winthrop by Minerva
		Servant of Mrs. Frazier
594	5/13/1781	Stepney an Adult Negro Servt. Of James Apthorp
594	5/21/1781	John an Adult Negro Servt. Of Sylvester Gardner
		Witnesses Lancaster Hill & Wife
594	5/24/1781	Minerva an Adult Negro Servt. Of Mrs. Frasier
		Witnesses Luke Belcher & Wife
597	11/30/1781	George Middleton a free Negro an Adult
		Witnesses Gregory & Wife
598	3/28/1782	Alice wife of George Middleton an Adult
		Witnesses Thoms. Moor Mrs. Gregory
599	5/9/1782	Ammon Negro Servant of Doctr. Spring of Watertown
		14 years old
599	5/21/1782	Bacchus Negro man formerly Nathl. Dowse's
		Witnesses Mr. Dowse Dr. Smith Peggy Dowse
599	6/9/1782	A Negro Child was baptized by Revd. Mr. Bass
603	6/9/1783	Caesar Holmes a free Negro an Adult
		Witnesses Neptune Tom Saunderson & Wife
606	12/14/1783	Meriah Elliot a Negro Adult
		Witnesses Jack Boylstone & Wife
614	11/20/1785	Samuel Adult Negro Servant of Capt. Waters
		Witnesses Thoms. Saunderson
618	9/17/1786	John Harrison a Negro Adult
		Witnesses Prince Watts Phillis Miller
623	3/24/1788	Margaret an Adult Negro Woman
		Witnesses Geo. Middleton
624	7/13/1788	Henry Stevenson> I<free Negro Adults
		Rufus Callahan > I
		Sponsors Prince Hall Jack Harrison & Wife Dinah &c.
626	11/9/1788	John Dennis an adult Negro

Witnesses Prince Hall Diana Belcher

627 3/15/1789 Fortune Simms an Adult free Negro

Witnesses James Underwood & Wife

?627 5/1/1789 Thomas Burdine an Adult free Negro

Lucy Vansyse an Adult free Negro

Witnesses to both James Hawkins & Hannah Burdine

632 9/5/1790 Cloe an Adult Negro of Daniel Leonard

Thomas Burdine Mrs. Belcher

634 4/22/1791 William Servant of Mr. S. Cabot

Phebe formerly of Mr. Broome

Rosanna of Mr. Metcalf all Adults

Hannah of Do

Doll of Robt. Gould

Jane Eliza

Witnesses Middleton Jn Burdine

H. Stevenson & Wife P. Miller

Phebe Broome etc. etc.

634 5/8/1791 Lucinda an adult Negro of Mrs. Jarvis

Witnesses Prince Watts and wife

634 5/8/1791 Lucy an Adult Negro formerly of Mr. Rea

Witnesses Fortune Simms Polly Phillips

635t 6/11/1791 Joseph Hicks adult Negroes

Elizabeth Hunter

Prince Hall Thos. Burdine & Wife Mrs. Watts

Mrs. Watts Witnesses

636 8/24/1791 Bristol Thomas an Adult Negro of Dr. Sears

Dr. Sears Witness

Henry Stevenson Hannah Burdine

637 1/6/1792 Mary Catharine an Adult Mulatto

Witnesses Henry Stevenson & Wife

637 1/6/1792 Esther Ballard an Adult Negro

Witnesses Jno. Burdine & Wife

640	2/14/1793	Gloucester Adult Negro of Capt. Haskins 49 yrs
		Capt. & Thomas Haskins
641	3/29/1793	Hannah Massey an Adult Mulatto
		Thoms. Burdine & Wife
642	7/19/1793	Nancy Thompson an Adult Negro in Sickness
642	8/22/1793	Vennet Negro of Perez Morton in last Sickness p. B
643	9/5/1793	Mary Phillips an Adult Negro in Sickness
643	9/22/1799	Boston Morton an Adult Negro
		Jack Harrison Hannah Burdine
652	8/21/1796	Hannah an Adult Negro Woman
		Mr. Osborne Mrs. Burdine
662	10/18/1799	Mary
		Jane Adult Negroes
		Nancy
		Jack Harrison Hannah H. Stevenson &c.
662	11/10/1799	A Negro child was baptized
671	4/11/1803	Peter Lyon an Adult Negro
		Henry Stevenson Mrs. Lyon
672	6/12/1803	Lucy Jenkins an Adult Mulatto woman from Newton
		Mr. Dalton & Wife
673	9/25/1803	Peter fortune Bailey an Adult Negro
		Dalton & Wife Witnesses
680	9/28/1806	Eliza Flagg daughter of Cyrus Vassal (a negro)
		Sp. Parents & Mrs. Alexander
683	6/12/1808	Adam (Gardner)
		Fortune (Cummings) (all these colored people & adults)
		Unice (Townsend)
685	6/11/1809	Mary Fisher (a Black Child—daughter of Thomas Fisher)
		Sp. Parents
686	11/12/1809	Cyrus Anthony Gunther son of Cyrus Vassal (a Black)
		S. Father & Frances Gardner
687	6/20/1810	Francis Vanventor (an adult negro) & Charles his son

Sp. & Witnesses Th. Burdine & wife

689 10/13/1811 Felicia an adult negro

689 10/18/1811 Brown a blackman babtized by the name of Britton
His witnesses were Frances Envator & Mr. & Mrs. Burdine

690 5/17/1812 Mary Williams (an adult negro)

693 9/29/1814 Lewis Horton a Black adult
James Hancock his son
Sp. Parents & Thomas Burdine

695 12/31/1815 Samson Harris (an adult negro

696 11/4/1816 Daniel Munno (an adult of colour)
His witness Captain John Adamson

696 8/24/1817 Alexander son of Truce (?) & Jane Johnson (people of colour)

698 6/20/1819 Matilda Moody (an adult negro)
Witnesses Sampson H.? Moody, Hannah Bardine & Nancy Harvie

699 3/3/1820 George son of John Timmons (a negro)

699 3/30/1820 Henry Willard son of Sampson Mody (a negro)

699 5/14/1820 William son of William Vassal, aged 6 years (Negro)

699 5/28/1820 Rachel Alexander (Negro)

700 4/22/1821 Almeria Bayley aged 22 (a coloured Person)

701 3/31/1822 Mary Matilda daughter of Samson M. Moody (coloured people)

701 4/3/1822 Thomas Hedgies son of John & Sarah Toggin (coloured people)

703 10/19/1823 William brown a coloured man aged 46
Witnesses Wm Vassal & Wm Nell

703 3/28/1824 Hannah Willard daughter of Sampson H. Moody (doesn't say "Negro, but see pp. 699 and 701 for references to him)
Sp. Parents

706 6/4/1826 Absalom Williams son of Thomas Burdin & Joseph Hathaway (Negroe children)

706 6/18/1826 Catherine Louis Barbadoes (a coloured adult)

706 7/23/1826 John Williams son of Samson H. Moody (a coloured man)
Sp. John Williams & Mary Ann Davis

707	12/31/1826	William Henry son of William James Wilson
		born August 8 1826 (coloured)
		Sp. Parents & Louis York
708	7/13/1828	Thomas Adams son of James Williams (coloured)
		Sp. Thomas & Elizabeth Burdine & James Adams
709	2/15/1829	Phoebe Smith & Henrietta Russel (adult negroes)
		Sp. William Brown, Isabella Gory, Catherine Louis Barbadoes

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This process of learning about the history of Trinity Church, of Boston, and of the larger cultural context in the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries has brought history alive for us. We have read church documents as well as histories of the Boston area. We have found lively stories of people within the institution and in the larger culture that are both interesting and informative.

We note also that there is a growing interest in scholarship related to the history of African-Americans, an aspect of our national story that has been largely out of view for many of us. There is now a firm foundation of research about the African-American historical experience and each year sees new building blocks added. Interesting research can be found through footnotes and bibliographies.

References available on a website are listed separately, at the end of a section, as are interviews.

TRINITY CHURCH/EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF MA/ ECUSA HISTORY

Allen, Alexander V. Griswold. *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks:* Volume 1. E.P. Dutto*n, 1901.*

Allen, Alexander V. Griswold. *Phillips Brooks, 1835-1893: Memories of his life, with extracts from his letters and note-books.* Google ebook. E. P. Dutton, 1907.

Barnwell, Corinne. "Highlights of Outreach Ministries: Trinity Church in the City of Boston: 1733-2001." Prepared for Trinity's Outreach Steering Committee, 2000.

Bendroth, Margaret. *The Spiritual Practice of Remembering.* Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Erdmans Publishing Co., 2013.

Bennett, Reverend Robert A. Ph.D. "Black Episcopalians and the Diocese of Massachusetts." Duffy, Mark, editor, *The Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts 1784-1984.* Boston: Episcopal Diocese of MA, 1984.

Bok, Alexander T. et al. *Proposal to Form an Anti Racism Team at Trinity Church in the City of Boston,* 2008.

Bok, Priscilla MacKenzie, correspondence from a Trinity parishioner and current doctoral student of history at the University of Cambridge, October, 2014.

Brooks, Phillips. "The Episcopal Church." *The Memorial History of Boston*: Volume 3, Chapter 10. Boston: B. Osgood Company, 1881. This book is also available as an Internet Archive Book Reader. Zit can be found in the Boston Public Library.

Brooks, Phillips. *The Joy of Preaching: Lectures on Preaching.* Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1895.

Records of Denison House. Schlesinger Library. Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Includes materials regarding Vida Scudder 1892-1911.

Dillon, Ruth Ann. *Inclusivity/Anti-Racism Task Force Report: 1997-2000.* Trinity Church Boston.

Duffy, M. J., Diocesan Archivist, editor, *The Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts 1784-1984.* Boston: The Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, 1984.

Episcopal Church of the United States

"The Sin of Racism: A Call to Covenant." A Pastoral Letter from the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church, March 2006.

Resolution A123: "Slavery and Racial Reconciliation." Passed at the 75th General Convention of the Episcopal Church. 2006: 75th General Convention of the Episcopal Church.

Resolution A143: "Extension of General Convention Resolution A123 to General Convention 2012." Passed at the 76th General Convention of the Episcopal Church, 2009.

Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, "Exploring the Legacy of Slavery in the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. " 2008. Upon presentation of this document, The Diocese of Massachusetts passed a Resolution stating "We call on individual parishes to engage in a similar process of inquiry and report, as requested by the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, and report to the Bishops and Council of this Diocese on the progress and findings of this undertaking, and report to the 224th Convention of the Diocese of Maassachusetts."

Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, "The Slavery and Reconciliation Taskforce Report." Diocesan Convention, 2011.

Hall, David. "Hold Fast the Profession of our Faith without Wavering: The Founding of Trinity Church, Boston," a lecture given at Trinity Church on October 31, 2008.

Harp, Gillis. *Brahmin Prophet: Phillips Brooks and the Path of Liberal Protestantism*. Latham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2003.

Heath, Richard. "Robert Treat Paine Housing Reformer." Lecture at The Jamaica Plain Historical Society. Jamaica Plain, April 12, 2001.

Jarrett, Emmett, Editor. *To Heal the Sin-Sick Soul: Toward a Spirituality of Anti-Racist Ministry.* New London, CT: The Episcopal Urban Caucus, 1996.

Hinson-Hasty, Elizabeth. *Beyond the Social Maze: Exploring Vida Dutton Scudder's Theological Ethics.* New York: T & T Clark International Publishing, 2006.

Hollinger, David A. "After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Ecumenical Protestantism and the Modern American Encounter with Diversity." *The Journal of American History* June 2011. Volume 98.

Holy Women, Holy Men: Celebrating the Saints. New York: The Church Publishing House, 2010.

Juhnke, Frederick, MD. "President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. Microfilm Project: University Publications of America, Inc., 1984. Meier, August and Elliott Rudwich, general editors. *Black Studies Research Sources: Microfilms from Major Archival and Manuscript Collections.*

Lawrence, William, Bishop of Massachusetts. *Life of Phillips Brooks.* New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1930.

Lawrence, William, Bishop of Massachusetts. *Memories of a Happy Life.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1926.

Lewis, Harold T. "Race." *Christian Social Witness,* Chapter 5. The New Church's Teaching Series, Vol. 10.

Lewis, Harold T. *Yet with a Steady Beat: The African Struggle for Recognition in the Episcopal Church.* Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996.

Norton, Bettina, Editor. *Trinity Church: The Story of an Episcopal Parish in the City of Boston.* Published by the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church in the City of Boston. 1978.

O'Gorman, James F., Editor. *The Makers of Trinity Church in the City of Boston.* Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004.

Oliver, Andrew and James Bishop Peabody, editors, *The Records of Trinity Church, Boston 1728-1830, Volumes 55 and 56.* Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980.
Volume 55: Minutes of Meetings and Other Activities
Volume 56: Vital Statistics: Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials and Funerals.

"Perils of Forced Mixing are Cited: Rest of U.S. Urged to Understand Why Southerners Resist." *The News and Courier*, November 3, 1957. This article is from a group of reprints issued and paid for by various Episcopal clergymen presently or formerly in the Diocese of South Carolina or who attended the seminary at Sewanee, an Episcopal Church-owned school. They were questioning the appropriateness of awarding an honorary degree to the Editor of the *News and Courier*.

Perry, Constance and McNeely, Madeline. *Trinity Church Anti-Racism History: 1998-2011.*

Plan and Valuation of Pews: The Trinity Church, Boston to be sold at public auction on Thursday, November 12, 1829. Archives of Trinity Church Boston.

"*Proposal to Form an Anti-Racism Team at Trinity Church in the City of Boston,*" submitted to the Trinity Church Vestry by the Trinity Church Anti-Racism Planning and Design Task Force, April 9, 2008. Approved by Vestry on May 14, 2008.

"Record of Special Meeting of Proprietors of Pews of Trinity Church in the City of Boston, 1952." Archives. Trinity Church Boston

Scudder, Vida. *On Journey: an Autobiography.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1937.

Shand-Tucci, Douglass. *Ralph Adams Cram: An Architect's Four Quests- Medieval, Modernist, American, Ecumenical.* Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005. Includes a chapter on Phillips Brooks.

Shattuck, Gardiner H. *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights.* Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000.

Spellers, Stephanie. *Radical Welcome: Embracing God, The Other, and the Spirit of Transformation.* New York: Church Publishing, Inc., 2006.

The Reverend Anne Berry Bonnyman Symposium: Mission Statement Trinity Church Boston, 2013.

Time. "The Church and the Churches." 3/26/1951 edition. This is a feature article about Protestantism in the

Trinity Church Archives,

List of Ministers and Officers: 1740-1932.

Annual Meeting Materials and Weekly Bulletins.

Trinity Church: Owners and Occupants of Pews, Easter, 1879."

Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, Editors. *Trinity Church in the City of Boston: 1733-1933.* Boston: B. D. Updike, 1933.

"What is the American Church Institute for Negroes." Boston: ACIN, 75 Federal Street, Boston.

Wilbur, Ellen, Editor. *The Consolations of God: Great Sermons of Phillips Brooks.* Grand Rapids, MI.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003.

Wright, Dr. Lydia T. "The Black Experience in the Episcopal Church." Cincinnati: Forward Movement Publications, 1986.

Interviews.

Grace Clark and History Committee. 9/23/13.

Bob Yearwood and History Committee. 11/7/13

Bob Thornell, St. Cyprian's Church and History Committee. 11/22/13.

Representative Byron Rushing and History Committee. 11/22/13.

Meeting with Helen Soussou, Judith Radtke and Karen Montagno, Direcotor of Congregational Resources and Training, Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. 12/18/13.

Ruth Ann Dillon, Grace Clark, and Martha Cowden, August, 2014.

Grace Clark, Ron Geddes, Damon Syphers, Robert Yearwood, Elizabeth Cook and History Committee. Summer, 2014.

Jane Bowers and History Committee. Summer, 2014.

Joseph M. Cronin and History Committee. Summer, 2014.

Louise Packard, Director Trinity Boston Foundation, and Martha Cowden: email correspondence, 2014

Marceline Donaldson, Grace Clark and Martha Cowden. Spring-Summer 2014.

Richard Evans and Martha Cowden. Spring-Summer 2014.

Robert E. Yearwood and Sandi Marxen and Martha Cowden, 2014.

Stephanie Spellers and Martha Cowden: email correspondence, 2014

The Reverend Tom Kennedy and the History Committee. July/August 2014.

Websites.

Brooks, Phillips. "The Episcopal Church." *The Memorial History of Boston*: *Volume 3.* Chapter 10. Boston: B. Osgood Company, 1881. This book is also available as an Internet Archive Book Reader. It can be found in the Boston Public Library as well.

"Tribute to Former Senator Edward W. Brooke." Congressional Record. U.S. Senate, July 24, 2000. http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?r106:S24JY0-0028.

www.episcopalarchives.org/Afro-Anglican_history/exhibit/about/index.php Online **Exhibit**: "The Church Awakens: African Americans and the Search for Justice. Sections used include: Timeline: African Americans and The Episcopal Church, Leadership Gallery, Audio and Video, Bibliographic Sources, Collections and Resources.

Episcopal Church: Office of Public Affairs. *"Kim Named Episcopal Church Missioner for Racial Reconciliation."* Retrieved September 26, 2014 from http://www.episcopalchurch.org/notice/kim-named-episcopal-church-missioner-racial-reconciliation

Episcopal Church Office of Public Affairs. *Wynder Named Missioner for Social Justice and Advocacy Engagement."* Retrieved September 26, 2014 from http://www.episcopalchurch.org/notice/wynder-named-missioner-social-justice-and-advocacy-engagement

Episcopal City Mission. *History.* Retrieved on July 11, 2014 from www.episcopalcitymission.org/about/history

Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, "Meet Me in Galilee, Beginning the Journey from Repentance to Reconciliation, A History of Racism and Race in Virginia." Public draft, subject to revision: Version 1/11/12. See website: The Diocese of Virginia Committee on Race and Reconciliation.

Episcopal Diocese of Maryland, "Racism in the Anglican and Episcopal Church of Maryland." See website of that name.

Shand-Tucci, Douglass. "Saint Phillips Brooks," "Back Bay Historical-The Global Boston." June 1, 2009. www.backbayhistorical.org/blog/

National Park Service. *African American Churches of Beacon Hill.* Retrieved April 16, 2014 from http://www.nps.gov/bo/historyculture/churches.htm

Trinity Church Boston. *An Invitation from the Rector and Vestry of Trinity Church in the City of Boston June 2008.* Retrieved July 11, 2008 from http://www.trinitychurchboston.org/justice/race.php

Wikipedia

"Gardiner Greene." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gardiner_Greene

"Robert C Winthrop." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Charles_Winthrop

"Theodore Lyman (militiaman)." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodore_Lyman

"The Life and Death of Abraham Lincoln: A sermon preached at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, Sunday morning, April 23 1865 by The Rev. Phillips Brooks." Website: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?type=simple;g=moagrp;xc=1;q1=phillips%20brooks;rgn=full%20text;sid=647f8c171b8d0f285fe17152c49c6378;c=moa;c=moajrnl;view=toc;ALLSELECTED=1;subview=short;sort=occur;start=1;size=25;idno=ACK8574.0001.001;cc=moa

The Social Welfare History Project. "Scudder, Vida Dutton." Retrieved September 28, 2014 from www.socialwelfarehistory.com/people/scudder-vida-dutton

OTHER SOURCES

Abbott, Elizabeth. *Sugar: A Bittersweet History.* London and New York: Duckworth Overlook, 2009.

Adams, Russell B., Jr. *The Boston Money Tree: How the Proper Men of Boston Made, Invested & Preserved Their Wealth from Colonial Days to the Space Age.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1977.

Andrews, Charles McLean. *Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Movement.* Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1917. Reprinted from the Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. XIX.

Bailey, Anne. *African Voices of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Beyond the Silence and the Shame.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2005.

Bennett, Reverend Robert A., Ph.D. "Black Episcopalians and the Diocese of Massachusetts." Duffy, Mark, Editor. *The Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts: 1784-1987.* Boston: Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts.

Berenson, Barbara F. *Boston and the Civil War: Hub of the Second Revolution.* (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2014)

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, MA.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

Brown, Vernon. *Mary Grew: Abolitionist and Feminist, 1813-1896.* Pennsylvania: Susquehanna University Press, 1991.

Cromwell, Adelaide. *The Other Brahmins: Boston's Black Upper Class: 1750-1950.* Fayetteville, Arkansas: The University of Arkansas Press, 1994.

Cronin, Joseph. *Reforming Boston's Schools, 1930 to the Present: Overcoming Corruption and Racial Segregation.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in London, 2008.

Curtin, Philip. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census.* Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969)

Dalzell, Robert F., Jr. *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

DeWolf, Thomas Norman. *Inheriting the Trade: A Northern Family Confronts its Legacy as the Largest Slave-Trading Dynasty in U.S. History.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2008.

Du Bois, W.E. B. *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America: 1638-1870.* New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. London and Bombay, Copyright 1896 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. University Press, John Wilson and Son, Cambridge, U.S.A.

Farrow, Anne, Joel Lang and Jenifer Frank. *Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery.* Hartford, CT: The Hartford k Courant Company, 2005.

*Foote, Andrew H. (1806-1863), (*Lieutenant commanding the U.S. Brig *Porpoise*, coast of Africa 1851-'53). *Africa and the American Flag.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854.

Genovese, Eugene. *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World.* Baton Rouge, LA.: Louisiana State University Press, 1979.

Greene, Lorenzo Johnston. *The Negro in Colonial New England.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Revised edition preface by Benjamin Quarles. New York: Atheneum, 1968. A 1989 edition of this classic book was published with the assistance of the William Monroe Trotter Institute, University of Massachusetts, at Boston.

Greenidge, Kerri. *Boston's Abolitionists.* Beverly, MA: Commonwealth Editions, 2006.

Harms, Robert. *The Diligent: A Voyage Through the Worlds of the Slave Trade.* New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Hinks, Peter and Stephen Kantrowitz, Editors. *All Men Free and Brethren: Essays on the History of African-American Freemasonry.* "Emancipation and the Social Origins of Black Freemasonry, 1784-1860."

Horton, James Oliver and Horton, Lois E., *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North.* New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1979, 1999.

Johnson, Violet. *The Other Black Bostonians: West Indians in Boston, 1900-1950.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Jones, Thomas. *The Experience of Thomas H. Jones Who was a Slave for Forty-three Years.* Written by a friend as related to him by Brother Jones. New Bedford: E. Anthony & Sons, 1871.

Kaminski, Matthew. *Freemason Grand Master John Rowe. Ebook*

Kaplan, Sidney and Emma Nogrady Kaplan. *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution.* Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1989.

Kay, Jane Holtz. *Lost Boston.* Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006

Kolchin, Peter. *American Slavery: 1619-1877.* New York: Hill & Wang, 1993, 2003

Levine, Hillel and Harmon, Lawrence. *The Death of an American Jewish Community*. New York: The Free Press, 1992. Introduction.

Lukas, J. Anthony. *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families.* New York: Vintage Books, 1986.

Manegold, C. S. *Ten Hills Farm: The Forgotten History of Slavery in the North.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Massachusetts Historical Society Collections Online, "Laws of the African Society." List of original members.

Mather, Cotton, The Negro Christianized (Boston: B. Green, 1706).

McMillin, James A. *The Final Victims: Foreign Slave Trade to North America, 1783-1810.* Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.

Melish, Joanne Pope, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Melton, Maureen. *Invitation to Art: A History of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.* Boston: MFA Publications, 2009.

Miller, Neil. *Banned in Boston: The Watch and Ward Society's Crusade Against Books, Burlesque, and the Social Evil.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2010.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *One Boy's Boston: 1887-1901.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1962.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *The Maritime History of Massachusetts: 1783-1860.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1921.

Newman, William A. and Holton, Wilfred E., *Boston's Back Bay: The Story of America's Greatest Nineteenth-Century Landfill Project.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2006.

Puleo, Stephen, *A City So Grand: The Rise of an American Metropolis, Boston 1850-1900.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2010.

Rappleye, Charles, *Sons of Providence: The Brown Brothers, the Slave Trade, and the American Revolution.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006.

State Street Trust Company, Boston, MA. *Some Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston (men and mercantile houses prominent in commerce and shipping of early half of 19c Boston).* Reprint from the collections of the University of California Libraries. Boston: State Street Trust Company, 1918.

State Street Trust Company, Boston, MA. *Other Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston.* Boston, MA. Compiled, arranged and printed by direction of Walton Advertising & Printing Co., Boston for State Street Trust Company, 1918.

Thomas, Hugh. *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870.* New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 1997.

Walker, David. *David Walker's Appeal—to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly, to those of the United States of America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1965. Revised 1995: new introduction by Sean Wilentz.

Weinbaum, Elliot. "Looking for Leadership: Battles over Busing in Boston." *Perspectives on Urban Education: Volume 3.* Fall 2004.

Wilder, Craig Steven, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities.* New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013.

Wolff, Katherine. *Culture Club: The Curious History of the Boston Athenaeum.* Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009.

Websites

ancestry.com: http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com

Amory Family Papers: 1697-1894. www.masshistory//collection-guides/view/fa0292

Apthorp, Charles. Wikipedia. Used footnotes of the article.

Boston Public Health Commission: *"The City of Boston Community Assets, 2012."* Retrieved September 3, 2014 from www.bphc.org/healthdata/health-of-Boston-report/Documents/HOB-2012-2013/B_HOB12-13_FullReport.pdf

Coming of the Revolution: Rowe's Revolution. http://www.masshist.org/revolution/resources/rowes.php This site discusses complexity of Rowe's relationships as revealed in his diaries. Offers online selections from Rowe's diaries.

Rowe, John. Wikipedia. Found Kaminski source in footnotes.

Stark, Charles. *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* A project Gutenberg ebook.

The Tracing Centers, James Perry, Executive Director. www.tracingcenter.org.

Allan Rohan Crite—Mother's Liturgy

"I've only done one piece of work in my whole life and I'm still at it. I wanted to paint people of color as normal humans. I tell the story of man through the black figure."

The scene is of a street corner in the South End, which the artist knew very well as he lived on Columbus Avenue for most of his adult life. An Anglo-Catholic, Crite was very influenced by his religious beliefs in his art, as this piece shows. He was educated at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston and the Harvard Extension School where he received an ALB. He also was awarded an honorary doctorate from Suffolk University. Crite was among the few African-Americans ever employed by the Federal Arts Project. He lived from 1910 to 2007, when he was buried from Trinity Church Boston.

His work is to be found at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, The Boston Athenaeum, the Smithsonian, and the Art Institute of Chicago.

Thanks to The Rev. Thomas Kennedy to whom this picture was presented by the Episcopal City Mission when he was selected as the second recipient of the Morris F. Arnold Award in 1984.

Ask/ART, Allan Rohan Crite (1910-2007). Retrieved October 9, 2014 from www.askart.com/askart/artist.aspx?artist=21037

Wikipedia, Allan Crite. Retrieved October 9, 2014 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allan_Crite

Trinity Church in the City Of Boston
Copley Square, 206 Clarendon St, Boston, MA 02116
Tel 617-536-0944 | Fax 617-536-8916
www.trinitychurchboston.org
Parish office hours: M-F, 9:00 am – 5:00 pm